

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.

VOL. II, No. 1. (WHOLE No. 13.)

MELBOURNE: FEBRUARY, 1889.

PRICE, 3d.

ANARCHY.

Anarchy! There is no word which conjures up such feelings of terror to so many who hear it; nor is there one which so raises the hopes of those who ever see so little to hope for. It makes their eyes glisten, their blood course a little faster than usual, and they once more clutch at that almost forlorn hope of a "good time coming."

Never in modern times has an idea, of such revolutionary nature and such weighty import, so seized upon the mind of man, as that which the great French philosopher first promulgated less than half a century ago. Never have humanity's oppressors been so bewildered as to the course to adopt to shut out this light which has so suddenly burst on the mental vision of the world's proletariat. Armies cannot rout it; adherents; spies cannot distort its open secrets; exile cannot banish the hopes it brings; courts and tribunals, laws and special commissions, cannot combine to check its enormously extending popularity; and even the hanging of its adherents cannot silence their sympathizers, but only adds to their numbers and stimulates their courage.

And what is Anarchy?

Professional liars of every station, and fools of every bias, have been telling the people that Anarchy is destruction, rapine, and murder, and that the Anarchist is the most dangerous foe to all that is good in civilization. But even these perjurers are losing their influence as instructors of the people, and the multitude are beginning to enquire of the ideas of the Anarchists from the Anarchists themselves.

Anarchy is nothing more nor less than human liberty. It is that principle in humanity for which man has ever been striving, but has seldom perceived. We Anarchists contend that life without liberty is slavery, and that slavery is wrong and must be banished from the earth. Why should man seek to govern his fellow? Why seek to restrict his liberty and make him hate his brief existence? Why add to the inequalities of nature, the harsher inequalities which spring from man made law? We say, and

say again, that "the government of man by man is oppression." We appeal to history, to science, to reason, to every-day experience, for testimony in support of our position; and everywhere are we successful. Do our opponents do likewise? Do they appeal to fact, to reason, to argument, to show that we are wrong? No! they denounce us unheard, and cry as of yore, "Crucify him!" they appeal to the bullying State—that low disgraceful institution, which never reasons with its victims, but silences and then destroys them—and ask that we be suppressed.

Ye who ask for our suppression, learn what it is ye vainly hope to suppress.

To be an Anarchist is to believe that no man has a right to govern another, that is, to arbitrarily restrict his liberty; that the robbery of another is wrong, no matter what the pretext or the method may be; that discord, warfare, and strife of every kind are not essential to human intercourse; that the world is wide and fruitful enough for us to live together harmoniously, and that we should do so did we but cease to aggress upon each other, and we accordingly affirm that every individual must be sovereign over his own personality; that he shall have equal opportunity with every other man to work out his own salvation without begging for existence at the feet of privilege; that he shall enjoy that which his labor brings him; and that recognizing there is room in the world for all, he shall be free to voluntarily perform those actions which are most conducive to his comfort, and to live on terms of equity, peace, and fraternity with his fellow-men. In short, the Anarchist does not wail for ever, "Is life worth living?" but sets about to make it worth living.

No man can suppress Anarchism. They may kill off its adherents one after another but only to find their places filled with others, who have reached the same mental elevation. All the studies of the greatest thinkers are strongly marked with the Anarchistic tendency. No one can study the writings of the most advanced sociological writers without coming to the general conclusion that the only social solution is the freedom of every individual.

SOCIALISM IN HISTORY.

By C. L. JAMES.

INTRODUCTORY.

Socialism, a word of very recent origin, denotes a movement, which, in all its novel features, belongs to the nineteenth century. The various schemes of association upon altruistic or communistic principles which preceded those of Saint Simon will be found on critical examination to have very little in common with those of later date; and it is not for the purpose of exhibiting the similarities of earlier and later socialism, which are obvious, but rather to establish their essential unlikeness which has sometimes been overlooked, that I propose to consider them here.

When the idea of property is first developed, that is to say as soon as men emerge from the lowest possible state of barbarism, we find it associated, not with the individual, but the tribe. The right of a particular horde to a certain range of hunting or fishing ground; to their own women, who are held as slaves by the whole tribe in common; and to whatever cattle, tools, clothes, tents, or weapons, they possess among them; these are the primitive conceptions of property. Encroachment on any of these prerogatives by another tribe is deemed an injury; but the right of the individual against other members of the tribe itself is not recognized except as he is able to make it respected by superior prowess. He has no land of his own, for land in a low state of social organization is always common; he has no wife, for the women of the lowest savages are common; * his personal chattels are protected from plunder only by the dread of his vengeance, and when he dies they are unscrupulously taken from his children.† The ties of the tribe are far stronger than those of blood, which, indeed, are hardly recognized; ‡ they constitute the only protection either of person or possession; and, if the degree of general civilization in which institutions appear be any test of antiquity, they must be older than personal government; older than filial duty; older than parental authority; older than any kind of statute or any conception of personal dignity, liberty, or right; nay older than man himself, for we find them among his congeners, and among other gregarious animals. The definite point of departure from this state of things is doubtless the establishment of authority by the strong man. The individual who is able to make his own claims respected, becomes the patron of those who cannot defend theirs. Some such person leads the tribe in battle, and exercises the absolute powers of a general. Thus originate aristocracy, monarchy, private ownership, and statutory law.¶ It is not to be doubted or concealed that this change takes very diverse shapes. The organizations of nomadic people like the Arabs and Tartars, assume the patriarchal form. Those of warlike tribes, if their habits are more settled, tend to what is called the Heroic type of government. Nor is it to be doubted that democratic and priestly organizations are extremely ancient. But, not to trace out all these ramifications, which are impertinent to our principal subject, the result is everywhere the same. Government quells internal lawlessness, and individualism communism; chattels, wives, and eventually land, come to be held in severalty; and coincident with these changes, as a cause reacted on by the effects, comes a change in the feelings of the people. The intensely narrow patriotism of a small horde gives way so much that nations dwindle into amalgamated tribes and *gentes*, whose former enmity can only be traced by the analysis of an archeologist as it lingers in tradition and in customs seemingly without meaning; even towards those outside the new nation there is a much milder sentiment than formerly existed among its component clans, and as the old attachment to one of the same horde grows faint a much better moral feeling arises, which anticipates the solidarity of humanity—a feeling of respect for the former comrade simply because he is a man. In this sentiment we find the germ of all attempts to which the name of socialism is ordinarily given.

For to this new and improved feeling, individualism is repugnant. The restraints of law are an extremely poor substitute

* See McLennan's *Primitive Marriage*, Bachofen's *Das Mutterrecht*, and Sir J. Lubbock's *Origin of Civilization*.

† *Origin of Civilization*.

‡ *Ibid.*—Chapter on Marriage and Relationship.

¶ A sort of customary law exists among all gregarious animals.

for the love "which seeketh not her own," and family affections fail to reach, or fail to satisfy, multitudes of the noblest natures. The family takes, in the wrong side of the moral nature, a position not unlike that formerly occupied by the tribe—a concentration of attachment within, correlated to bitter rivalry and animosity without—a "selfishness for two" or more than two, which can excite little sympathy in those who have begun to dream of unselfishness. It is natural that a revolt against the new institutions, and a longing, not to return to the old ones, but to substitute something which, though nobler and better, may superficially resemble them, should first gather strength enough to achieve some success in countries where family affection is languid and where the ordinary motives of life are dampened by idleness among the rich and misery among the poor. The first prophet of communism, accordingly, was probably the Buddha.

Of the life of this celebrated man we have only very questionable accounts; nor would it be congruous with our plan to follow them into much detail. But the spirit of his religion must be understood in order to appreciate the significance of his social institutions. Buddhism sprang from Brahminism. Brahminism, for three thousand years the established religion of India, rests firmly on the following supports: (1) the existence of one spiritual Deity who is also the reality manifested to the human senses in all the phenomena of Nature,* (2) the transmigration of the individual at death, from one state of existence to another, until fitted by the attainment of purity to be reabsorbed in the divinity whence he proceeded, (3) the dependence of this purifying process on the observance of religious ordinances, which are inseparably bound up with the system of caste, and were evidently designed originally to separate the Aryan conquerors from the older Dravidian inhabitants of the land. At all three points Buddhism appears as a revolt against Brahminism. Denying the existence of God, it teaches, like the Brahminical school of Kapila, from which it probably sprang, that man is brought into existence by forces whose very essence is blindness; that this existence is itself a dream; that transmigration, which in Buddhism as well as Brahminism gives the system that power which can spring only from hope and fear, is the result of passion, which is again the result of ignorance; that the only true happiness is annihilation; and that the efficient cause of this deliverance is philosophy, which, in teaching men not to desire, teaches them the way to eternal rest. From this last clause it follows that Buddhism is not a creed for high caste Brahmins only, but for all intelligent beings. Time was needed to develop its tendencies. For a great while the Buddhists practised the ritual of the caste system, and appeared in India only as a Hindoo sect. But from the very first they were zealous missionaries carrying their doctrines where it would have been quite impossible to carry caste; and it was therefore but a question of how long they would be in getting rid of all that is peculiar about Brahminism. Upon the philosophic character of Buddhism rests a so those institutions which connect it with our subject. The sacramental systems of Brahminism had always proposed the subjection of the flesh as its object; and accordingly self-torture, as a short cut to perfection, had long been popular among persons of the lower castes, who thus won a reputation for holiness which the Brahmins feared to impugn. The Buddha began his career as such a self-torturing devotee. But when the idea of salvation by wisdom had taken possession of his mind, he repudiated the more extreme austerities of the fakirs as useless and pernicious acts of passion which could only delay those who practised them in gaining the untroubled repose of the true saint. His followers were to lead a very abstemious life, but it was to be a rational, decorous, and social life. Benevolence being the calmest of emotions, and the great antidote to every kind of selfishness, was particularly recommended to a sect which aimed at getting rid of self. And a system of metaphysical teaching required the machinery of a society. Thus, for the solitary devotee of the Brahminical system, Buddhism at once substituted orders of monks and nuns. These organizations have increased to an enormous extent throughout the Buddhist world—a single convent or monastery often containing thousands of pious persons who hold all their goods in common. Like the parallel institutions of Christianity, they are usually marked by charity, modesty, innocence, and simplicity. Like them, they have often been corrupted by corporate wealth, idleness, luxury, and power; nor do they fail to be centres of

* The older gods of the Aryan mythology fall into so subordinate a position that their worship is regarded by scholars as an earlier religion, and often inaccurately called Vedism.

gross superstition. But one common circumstance removes them utterly from comparison with modern socialism—they do not rest upon productive industry. The Buddhist monks are non-producers, living on the alms of those who revere their sacred character. Clearly no argument drawn from them will apply to any recent scheme of solidarity.

In Egypt and Syria, the societies of the Essenes and Therapeutic, about the beginning of the Christian era, led a communistic life founded upon those maxims of unselfishness which are embodied in the Sermon on the Mount. But, though it is admitted now that the first Christians and the Essenes were identical, yet, when Christianity was introduced into Europe, it was vain, as Buddhism had been before, to allow a secular life, without which its communistic societies themselves would have lost their means of support. And so thorough was the change that though alms-giving was always a very prominent part of Christian duty, we have little more of communism till shortly before the persecution of Diocletian, when Pachomius and Antony revived it in the Thebaid of Egypt. Their communism, like that of the Buddhists, was secondary to voluntary poverty—in other words was more religious than philanthropic. They were not originally monks, but hermits leading a solitary life. But the fame of their piety attracted, and the rage of persecution drove, multitudes of their admirers to the desert, and thus grew up the village of hermits (Laura), which from the first had for a nucleus the cell of some revered saint, and was organized on principles superficially democratic, but fundamentally autocratic: the monks elected an abbot, whom they all swore to obey, but the election at first never failed to fall upon the founder; and even in after times the obedience of the monk to the abbot was a far more salient feature of the system than the abbot's dependence on the votes of the monks. These organizations, like those of the Buddhists, attained immense proportions. The number of Egyptian monks and nuns is said to have exceeded that of the secular population. Nor were those of Syria and Europe so much behind. They were the most zealous and indefatigable theologians of the time; it was chiefly by the zeal, expressed in the form of armed mobs who destroyed the temples, that paganism was suppressed; it was in them that heretical and apostate emperors encountered the most unconquerable foes; and by them were mainly carried those great councils which continually narrowed the pale of Catholicity, until the black day when the doctrines of Eutyches were condemned, and the Egyptian church, which heartily sympathized with her most distinguished abbot, was herself cut off from the unity of Christendom, and left to dwindle into obscurity. The Christian monks had one great recommendation over the Buddhist—they worked for their own living instead of depending upon alms. Their system, introduced into Italy by Benedict, proved beneficial to Europe during the dark period of barbarism between the dissolution of the Imperial and the rise of the Feudal organization. Swamps were drained; forests cleared; agriculture, horticulture, architecture, music, and metallurgy, assiduously cultivated by a class who did not increase the population, and whose pacific maxims contributed greatly to soften the ferocity of the age. But the essential evils of the monastic system developed with fatal certainty as soon as the societies became rich enough to live without work. They had no motive in continuing to produce, as competing capitalists and fathers of families have. The religious obligation of labor sank into a form; wealth produced idleness; idleness vice; and vice inability to maintain the system. Towards the end of the tenth century, when the expectation of the end of the world had excited a general panic, it appeared probable that all the people would become monks, and those who were so already perceived that that would cut off the source of their revenues and bring them down to work again. They took the money which was offered them, but repelled the candidates. When the dreaded year, 1000 A. D., had gone by without any calamities but those which the monks created, they became generally odious. Scepticism and heresy sprang up in all directions. Catholics, as well as seceders from the church, were unanimous in regarding rich and idle monasteries as a nuisance. The use which Gregory VII made of them in enforcing the celibacy of the clergy by the same means formerly employed to suppress the pagans, rendered them more unpopular than ever. They were plundered in various countries, and nothing but reform could have saved them from suppression. When, in the 12th century, the great peril of the Church from the growth of the Albigensian heresy impelled St. Bernard, St. Dominic, and St. Francis, to reorganize the monastic system, these eminent men, especially the last, returned to the neglected principle of poverty. Hitherto this had been only a passive obligation. The

monk was to have no property; but there was no objection to the order's being rich. With Francis, even more than Dominic, poverty became an active principle. Poverty, he said, was his bride, whom all his followers were instructed to love with absolute devotion. The Franciscan order always carried self-denial about as far as it could be pushed; but after the death of the founder soon fell into divisions, occasioned by the dilemma that a society which lived by mendicancy could hardly help growing rich when alms were heaped upon it. The successive reforms in, or secessions from the order, as that of the Capuchins, had the common object of preserving the principle of poverty in all its purity. When bourgeois methods of production and ideas of wealth had broken the power of the Church, a partially successful attempt was made to revive monastic industry. The monks of La Trappe, one of the severest of religious orders, make and sell all kinds of goods; and they seem to be the most successful offshoot of the system now. But, of course, their ability to get on with the spirit of the age is limited by that of the church to which they belong. It might perhaps seem as if more space had been given to monasticism than its connection with the history of socialism warrants. But the object was to enforce the moral that it depends for its success on principles, widely unlike those of modern reformers. Celibacy, poverty, and obedience, are plainly inconsistent with the spirit of a movement, which aims to engage all mankind; nor will it seem very different if for celibacy we substitute sexual communism. Yet these appear to be the exact conditions of successful communistic isolation. Marriage, the desire for wealth, and personal independence, are incompatible with it, and accordingly almost every attempt of the kind has totally failed, which did not have a religion sufficiently powerful to subdue all three. But any religion seems to answer the purpose. Mahometanism has its friars as well as Christianity; and the heretical cenobites of Europe, the Adamites* for example, have managed to preserve their secret organizations through the ages, notwithstanding the extreme unpopularity of their practices, and the relentless persecution which they have consequently suffered. This is the more remarkable because sects which did not practise communism have often been totally put down by persecution. The concentration of the religious spirit into communistic life, appears to be a guarantee of its perpetuity, while communities destitute of that spirit have, as we shall see, scarcely ever failed to die a natural and speedy death.

Secular communism, mixed in some degree with national or State Socialism, appears in speculation somewhat early. Several ancient legislators, especially Lycurgus, are said to have caused an equal division of property, but the assertion appears to lack proof. There were among the Greek States of the sixth and fifth centuries (B.C.) sundry revolutions in which the land-owning aristocracy were stripped of some part of their possessions. There were also, though mainly at an earlier period, extensive conquests with spoliation of the people subdued in war. But that the principle of equal division was ever applied to anything but spoil is neither demonstrated nor probable. The Spartans being all warriors, lived in camps, ate at a common table, and were taxed for the support of the military establishment *per capita*. But their wives administered their estates, which were as far as possible from being equal in historic times. Nowhere in Greece was the insolence of the rich, and the degradation of the poor, who were disfranchised if they failed to pay up their oppressive taxes, more conspicuous than at Sparta; and the attempt of Agis to rejuvenate the decrepit State and create a new class of citizens by a new division of property, was a total failure; though nothing else could have saved Sparta from the ignominious end which she reached at last, when her few remaining freemen, about five hundred in number, were massacred by the mercenary troops, whom they had long been compelled to employ. The iron money of the Spartans, if it really was instituted by Lycurgus to prevent their having any foreign trade, and to keep the domestic trade as small as possible, is proof that Lycurgus knew more about the laws of exchange than might have been expected.

(To be Continued.)

*They are said to pray together in a nude state, and practise sexual communism. Appearing first in the second century as an offshoot of the Valentinian sect, they retired from sight after the establishment of Catholicity, to reappear with the Paulicians in Bohemia. They were persecuted by Hussites as well as Catholics. John Ziska burnt many of them alive, but they still exist, and like most fanatics, are described as sober and industrious.

"HONESTY,"

ISSUED MONTHLY; Subscription, 3s. 6d. per annum, posted to any part of Australia or the other continents.

NOTE.—Any irregularity in date or price of publication will be allowed for on subscriptions to succeeding volume.

Post-office Orders, &c., payable to the secretary, D. A. ANDRADE, at the Publishing Office.

PUBLISHING OFFICE.—Coöperative Publishing Company, Coöperative Home, 47 Victoria Avenue, Albert Park, Melbourne.

ALL unsigned articles in this paper are editorial; for all others the writers themselves are morally responsible.

MELBOURNE: FEBRUARY, 1889.

"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.

IMPORTANT.—Mr. J. A. Andrews is no longer associated with this paper in any way, and is not authorized to transact any business on our behalf, or otherwise act as our representative. Will our exchanges, correspondents, and comrades generally, please take particular notice of this to avoid possible trouble.

With this number we commence the new volume. Those who have not done so already will oblige by now sending in their subscriptions. Subscribers who receive their paper with a red mark opposite this paragraph are notified that the paper will not be sent to them in future unless they immediately remit the amount of arrears.

The Coöperative Publishing Company, which had dwindled down to two financial members—D. W. Brookhouse and D. A. Andrade—has been formally dissolved, and steps will be immediately taken to re-organise it on a more substantial basis. A circular, stating the method proposed, will shortly be forwarded to all probable coöperators, and any who are willing to assist in carrying on the paper will oblige by communicating with the secretary.

A paragraph recently appeared in the columns of comrade Winspear's paper, the *Australian Radical*, stating that *Honesty* had ceased publication, and would probably be re-established on a new policy. The statement was a deliberate lie. No change whatever has occurred, beyond that above mentioned.

Through the kindness of a friend, a number of copies of "The Rights of Labor," which appeared in our last issue, have been printed in leaflet form, and a thousand of them have been left at this office for free distribution. We will post them free to our friends in the country upon application. It is worthy of note that the same generous donor sent a thousand copies also to Mr. Bamford, the freethought (?) bookseller in this city, but he point-blank refused to either distribute or accept them! He is pleased to vend any works treating on spirit-rapping, theological obscenity, mysticism of all sorts, and even state socialism; but for the champions of human liberty he has no sympathy, but would rather join their oppressors by doing his share to silence them. And yet he has the audacity to pretend he is an active pioneer in the cause of freethought!

A valuable little pamphlet has lately come before our notice, entitled "State Banks." It is a New Zealand publication, and is written by J. Samllant, who takes up the position of the American "greenbackers," and asks for a State bank of issue, which, it is needless to say, we do not approve of. However, the little work is such a clear condemnation of the present monetary system, and amongst the many facts it cites are such valuable statistics, local and foreign, that we cannot do better than recommend it to our readers, and will be glad to supply copies from this office at the published price, 6d. free of postage.

The interesting article of comrade Fleming's, on the next page, shows what can be done by a solitary individual who has the courage to persistently advocate a principle, and that prin-

ciple an unpopular one. None but those who have taken an active part in such a movement know anything of the obstacles which have to be encountered in overcoming the intrigues of traitors, spies, thieves, and liars, in order that the people's voice may have a hearing, and their ears may take in the simplest, and yet the least known, facts. It is no wonder the pimps of the law take such energetic measures to silence the victims of the law.

The *Revolutionary Review* is the name of the new paper which Henry Seymour is starting in London in place of the late *Anarchist*. It is to be run on the same lines as *Honesty*, the first number appearing, if the promise were fulfilled, on the 1st ult.

John Dobell (the father of Sydney Dobell, the poet), wrote a small work, which made some sensation at the time of its publication, and which bore the significant title, "Man Unfit to Govern Man." Perhaps some of our London comrades may find it worthy of being rescued from oblivion.

Please to remember Eleventh November
Government treason and plot,
I don't see the reason why Government treason
Should ever be forgot.

The execution of our Chicago comrades on 11th November, 1887, for the sake of their opinions, has become a recognised red-letter day amongst labor organizations. On Sunday, 11th November, 1888, the Melbourne Anarchists assembled at the Queen's wharf to commemorate the martyrdom of their comrades, and to spread the principles for which they died. J. W. Fleming, D. A. Andrade, J. A. Andrews, R. Beattie, J. McMillan, and L. D. Petrie, delivered appropriate addresses, which were attentively listened to by the numbers present. A quantity of copies of *Honesty*, the *Australian Radical*, the portraits of the martyrs, and other Anarchist literature, were disposed of. At the conclusion, an English version of the "Marseillaise" was sung, after which those present joined in the memorable cry, which Fischer shouted from the gallows, "Hurrah for Anarchy!" In the evening, at the club's rooms, the secretary read the Rev. J. Kimball's famous sermon on the subject, and a short discussion followed. Our comrades in Sydney commemorated the event in a similar manner; and at all the principal centres in Europe and America similar steps were taken to keep up the remembrance of that day so eventful in the history of the struggle for labor's emancipation.

The Melbourne Anarchists' Club's debates for the past quarter have been quite as interesting as usual, and have shown an increasing spirit of earnestness amongst those who assemble to take part in them. L. D. Petrie opened on 4th November upon "Individualism," which he severely condemned; the Chicago executions were commemorated the Sunday following; on the 18th J. A. Andrews wrote against the "Labor Note;" and the Sunday following, S. A. Rosa spoke in favor of "State Socialism." On 2nd December, J. White read a vigorous paper on "Government Blackmail;" L. D. Petrie asked "What is Equity?" on the 9th; J. W. Fleming opened a highly interesting discussion on the 16th, upon the subject of "Marriage, Prostitution, and the Whitechapel Murders;" on the 23rd, D. A. Andrade read a paper on "False Relations;" and on the 30th, J. A. Andrews opened on "Revolution." No debates were held in January until the 20th, when J. W. Fleming spoke on "The Prospects of the Workers;" and on the 27th, D. A. Andrade opened on "The Socialism of Karl Marx." These debates are open to the public, who are invited to take part in them and read papers before the Club. No charge is made for admission.

The excellent poems of that poet of the people, Charles Mackay, having long been out of print, have now been issued in a neat edition for one shilling. They can be obtained from this office for 1s. 3d. post free.

An attempt has been made to establish a branch of the Australian Socialist League at Melbourne, but it has not been very successful. There is little union of opinion amongst the promoters, who seem unanimous only in one thing, and that is in repudiating the League's manifesto. A few debate meetings have been held in a public-house in the city, but beyond that nothing definite appears to have been done, and it is proposed to convert it into a free discussion society without any defined principles at all.

"Henry George's *Standard*," says *Liberty*, "makes a protest against the attitude of the Chicago authorities toward public meetings and processions. It is too late in the day, Mr. George, for you to pose as a champion of freedom of speech. You once had a chance to vindicate that cause such as comes to a man but once in a lifetime, and in the trial hour you not only failed the cause but betrayed it. Let one of the meetings against the suppression of which you now protest be held; let some one present throw a bomb and kill an officer; let the speakers be arrested on a charge of murder; let a jury packed with the hirelings of capital convict them; let a judge sentence them to be hanged; let the supreme court formally sanction the whole; let a large portion of the people, hounded on by a blood-thirsty and prostituted press, clamor for these men's death; and let this culminate in the middle of a political campaign in which you are running for office: under these circumstances should we not see you do again what you have done once already,—declare that a supreme court can do no wrong, that in face of its opinion you recant yours, that the convicted men deserve to be hanged, and that you will not lift voice or pen to save them? We have known you, Henry George, in the past, and we know you for the future. The lamp holds out to burn, but for no such vile sinner as yourself. In vain your efforts to return to the fold. As Ingersoll says, 'Won't do.'"

PROGRESS OF ANARCHISM AT THE MELBOURNE WHARF.

Three years ago next winter, there were numbers of men out of work in Melbourne. These men were forced by circumstances to form a kind of combination and ask the Government to find them employment. The Government tried every means possible to avoid doing anything in the direction of opening any relief works to enable these men out of employment to tide over their distress. Deputation after deputation awaited on the different ministers of the Government, but no signs of relief appeared. Time passed; the men out of work were slowly becoming desperate through hunger. One very cold, wet Friday morning, the unemployed formed a procession, and marched to the Treasury, headed by a flag on which was inscribed in large letters: "BREAD OR WORK." When they arrived, they intended holding a large meeting; but unfortunately, one of their leaders lost self-control and ran up the Treasury steps, leaving the procession in a difficult situation, as no one had been previously cautioned about his strange conduct. The police arrested him; a disturbance followed; and three men were locked up. The following morning, they were fined—two of them, £10 each, or three months' imprisonment; and the other one, £5, or six weeks' imprisonment.

Having taken an active part in the unemployed movement, I felt it my duty to take action towards obtaining the release of the three men. I advertised in the *Herald* that a meeting would take place at 3 p.m. on the Sunday following, on the Queen's Wharf. The meeting was held, and £10 collected and one man's fine paid. That meeting was the first held by the Anarchists on the wharf. I was the promoter and conductor of it. Comrade Andrade, and others, also spoke, and their names were published in the Monday's *Herald*. Several meetings were held afterwards, and the other men were released by money obtained at those Sunday meetings.

Comrade Upham spoke on several occasions, but after a short time he discontinued and devoted his energies to the advancement of Secularism exclusively.

For a long time, comrade Gregory and I carried on the meetings, until Gregory was attacked by typhoid fever, which unfortunately proved fatal, leaving me to fight the battle of Anarchy alone.

Anarchy was becoming noticed; every means were taken to suppress it; letters appeared in the daily papers drawing the Government's attention to the danger of permitting the Anarchists the right to hold meetings on the wharf. At last, the Government took action: they used the Harbor Trust as a tool, and a number of speakers were summoned to court and cautioned against going on the wharf again. I took little notice of this bounce on the part of the authorities, and continued to speak as usual. I was again brought before the city J's.P.—this time along with Jos. Symes and a Mr. Webb, who was discharged and promised not to go to the wharf again. I was fined £3, to be levied by distress. I had nothing to levy; for, like every wage-slave, my fruits were in the hands of my persecutors. So they put me in prison for seven days. Being an Anarchist, I was without supporters. Mr. Symes had his furniture taken by the police, and sold at an auction room, where the Australasian Secular Association bought it in again. Mr. Symes took his case to the Supreme Court, and the judges decided against him. Now he appears to have let the wharf drop.

A few Sundays back, I had to resist the authorities again. I had to risk imprisonment; but I took my stand on the wharf, and defied the Harbor Trust. They did not prosecute me, but sent roughs to push me off. I gave one a good blow, which blackened both his eyes.

That is how liberty of speech has been maintained on the Queen's wharf.

And more. I have fought an uphill fight; but dogged determination has crowned my labor with success. Every Sunday, I sell large quantities of Anarchist literature. On the 11th of November, a special meeting was held, to commemorate the death of our comrades in Chicago. Several comrades—comrades Andrade, Petrie, Beattie, McMillan, Andrews, and myself—spoke, and were well received. The daily "nooze-papers" gave fair reports. We closed, as they said, "by shouting 'Hurrah for Anarchy!' and singing the *Marseillaise*."

When I glance at the past, knowing the difficulties I have encountered, with foes and pretended friends, I am satisfied my labor has not been in vain. Since the 11th of November demonstration, the task has been rather hard: others have come to assist themselves, but not Anarchy. One thorough adventurer from America tried to reap the harvest which I had sown, by endeavoring to split our party; he has not succeeded, but is amongst the pretended reformers, endeavoring to work mischief. Earnest reformers are aware of his intentions—so the harm he may accomplish will be small.

Comrades, cling to your principles! Be men and women! We are fighting for freedom: why should we falter? J. W. FLEMING.



A TOO FAMILIAR INCIDENT.

BILL and TOM attend a public meeting of the Anarchists and hear them expound their principles, unbeknown to each other.

BILL [ruminating]—"Well, what those chaps have said is true enough, and I'd like to see 'em succeed. I'd go with 'em if they'd any show of success, but they can't 'cause they can't get everybody else to follow 'em."

TOM [likewise thinking to himself]—"Them Anarchists are trying for too much. Why, they'll never get what they're after. No more monopoly! no more robbery! men acting fairly to each other without being compelled, and the State done away with! Why, it's absurd. I know my mate, Bill, would never chime in with such ideas, and there's lots like him. I'll just ask him when I see him."

TOM [meeting his mate next day]—"Say, Bill, did you ever hear them Anarchists?"

BILL—"Yes; heard 'em yesterday."

TOM—"So did I. What do you think of 'em?"

BILL [who is afraid to express his sympathy with them, lest he be thought a fool or a dangerous fanatic]—"Oh, they ask too much. It's impossible for them to get what they want. They'll be hung yet if they don't mind. Don't you think they will?"

TOM [suffering like emotions to Bill]—"I think you're quite right. I was just saying to myself that their ideas was absurd, and I'm glad you think so too. They'll have to be suppressed yet."

[Exeunt both, mutually deceived, and each resolved to plump for most popular demagogue at next election.]

SHAKESPEARE'S WORDS STILL TRUE.

"There are liars and swearers enough to beat the honest men, and hang up them."—*Macbeth, Act I, Scene 2.*

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 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!

1876

1882

March 1882

March 1882

Nov 1887

GRIFFITH ON WEALTH AND WANT.

In the Christmas number of the *Boomerang*, Samuel Walker Griffith contributes an article on the question—"Wealth and Want." "Sir" Samuel, who is a leading barrister and an ex-Premier, deals with the subject from the statesman's standpoint, and undoubtedly succeeds in penning a fairly lucid and interesting article. But, like unto Henry George, the leader of the Queensland opposition, while strong in facts, is lamentably weak in his conclusions therefrom, and his "remedy" for social wrongs is as illogical and incongruous as is that of the apostle of Land Nationalization. The essayist opens with a statement, the fallacy of which is self-evident: "There are only two sources of wealth—the gifts or products of nature and human labor." Starting with this premise, he of course takes it for granted that the rights of capital (within limits) are sacred, and he does not even allude to the socialist objection to capitalist profits. As a lawyer, Griffith ought to have sufficient perception to see the flaw in his proposition. Two sources of wealth imply that if one did not exist the other would; that they are independent existences, so that drawing from one does not affect the other. This is the logical conclusion of his premise; otherwise his recognition of capitalist rights is foundationless. But is it not a fact that the two factors—natural gifts and human labor—are, from a human standpoint, as one in the production of wealth? Of what value are Nature's gifts unallied with human labor? Will the coal while in the mine give us heat? Does Nature feed and clothe us independently of our exertions? In no shape are natural substances to be classed as wealth until associated with human labor. Water-cress, to take a simple instance, is a valueless weed while in yonder gully, but when plucked by the hand of man and conveyed to market it represents so much wealth. Let us, in the light of these facts, recast the proposition thus:—*There is only one source of wealth—the application of human labor to natural products.* Griffith does not dispute the right of the capitalist to a fair reward for the capital employed by him in the process of production. Labor being the only human factor in production, I, on the other hand, claim the full product for the laborer. Reward to capital is interest, interest is usury, and usury is robbery. Why should idleness (that is, non-productive labor) be rewarded? Robinson Crusoe, say, claims the island he was wrecked on as his property. A subsequent wreck places another life on the island. Crusoe the capitalist thereupon informs the newcomer that as all the island is his, the other must pay him interest; when two fishes are captured one is for the landlord; when vegetables are grown the laborer must give some of the product as the reward of capital. When it is remembered that capital is simply stored-up labor, that it represents the application of labor to natural products, the fitness of the illustration will be realized.

The writer then refers at length to the method by which capital dispossesses labor of its legitimate wealth, and shows how in the struggle for existence the wage rate tends to reach the lowest mark. "The sweating system, which is only a following out of the principle of unrestricted competition to its natural and logical conclusion, shows that sometimes the price charged to the producer for his food is so high that he cannot pay for enough to keep him alive—and so he dies, and the weakest goes to the wall." He pertinently asks, "Is such competition really free?" and answers the question by saying that "so far from being free it is the complete domination of the weak by the strong." Yet, by a process of logic peculiar to lawyers, "Sir" S. W. Griffith, while condemning our present system because it is not free, tells us that "the unrestricted competition of labor, instead of being the result of a natural law of good, is a dangerous social evil." Admitting that the real evil is monopoly, our "leading statesman" confuses it with its antithesis—liberty, and advocates the abolition of the latter!

Coming to the question of the remedy, Griffith insists, in the first place, on a recognition of the producer's right to "an adequate and fair proportion of the new wealth produced by the labor." Apparently he has no principle upon which to fix the "proportion," and he attempts to show no reason why the laborer is not entitled to the whole of what he produces. He continues: "One of the principal functions of government is, I suppose, to protect the weak against the strong, and to secure to every man real freedom. And it is only the State, *i. e.* the community in the aggregate, that can enforce the rule of freedom. It appears to follow that it is the duty of the

State to undertake the task of insisting upon a fair division of the products of labor between the possessor of the raw material and the producer."

One does not expect to meet with a politician who advocates liberty. Such animals are as rare as those vendors who cry "stinking fish," or those priests who preach against their church. But still as our knighted friend displays some desire to grapple with the question, I would ask him what entitles the State to the title of the only efficient champion of freedom? He speaks of the American monopolies known as "Trusts" as giant evils, but whence comes their power? Are they not the fruits of the State tree? Does not that government who so delights in "protecting the weak against the strong" indirectly create these monopolies and systematically oppose their destruction? Are not the biggest monopolists either statesmen or else the bosom friends of statesmen? Abolish the "State" to-morrow, and how long will these blood-sucking trusts, syndicates, corporations, *et hoc genus omni*, survive? But what does our friend mean by "enforcing freedom"? Such a distinct contradiction of terms is unpardonable, even in a learned lawyer. To enforce freedom is about as easy a process as to pick your teeth with forked lightning or measure eternity with a foot-rule. And yet, alas, this is the logic of a man who is undoubtedly one of the leading statesmen of Australia. When will politicians learn that men can only attain freedom when they have ceased "enforcing" it? But the term "enforcing freedom" is ripe with meaning in the mouth of a politician and a lawyer. It means a multiplicity of laws, and a harvest for lawyers and statesmen. It means a great accession to the ranks of government officials, and a consequent diminution of individual liberty.

The only remedy for existing evils is the abolition of government and with it interest, rent, and profits. Each individual must be free to work out his own salvation, free to make use of the "gifts of nature." Take from the State its power and capitalism dies; the laborer then receives his fair wage—the full product—and no longer does the paradox "wealth and want" present itself.

W. C. ANDRADE.

Brisbane, Xmas Day, 1888.

SOME MORE "SAVAGE" RACES.

THE PATAGONIANS.—Excepting that of the caquiques,* I believe there is no superiority of one person over another, among the Patagonians. Those who have more property than others, or who are related to the chief, have influence over the rest, who are not considered by them to be their superiors. The moral restraints of these people seem to be very slight. Each man is at liberty to do very much as he feels inclined; and, if he does not injure or offend his neighbor, is not interfered with by others.—(*Captain Robert Fitzroy's "Voyages of the 'Adventure' and 'Beagle,' 1831–1836."*)

The caquique has the power of protecting as many as apply to him; of composing or silencing any difference; or delivering over the offending party to be punished with death, without being accountable for it. In these respects, his will is the law. He is generally too apt to take bribes, delivering up his vassals and even his relations when well paid for it. In cases of importance he calls a council, . . . with whom he consults about the measures to be taken. . . The caquiques have not the power to raise taxes, or to take anything from their vassals, nor can they oblige them to serve in the least employment without paying them. They are obliged to treat their vassals with great humanity and mildness, and oftentimes to relieve their wants, or they will seek the protection of some other chief. For this reason, many of those who are born caquiques refuse to have any vassals, as they cost them dear and yield but little profit.—*Fulkner (quoted in the above work), 1780.*

THE WOOD-VEDDAHS, WEDDAS, OR VEDDAS, OF CEYLON.—Tacit agreement and immemorial use have led them to confine themselves exclusively to particular tracts of the vast extent of forest, which they regard as their prescriptive and inalienable property; and a member of one division of the tribe very rarely comes into contact with another. [There are two tribes—the uncivilized jungle Veddas, and the semi-civilized village Veddas.] . . . They think it perfectly inconceivable that any person should ever take that which does not belong to him, or strike his fellow, or say anything that is untrue. . . In all cases, they are remarkable for constancy to their wives and affection for their children.—*B. F. Hartshorne, in the "Fortnightly Review," March, 1876.*

* Hereditary chiefs.

CORRESPONDENCE.

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 miscarried.

All communications should be addressed to THE EDITOR OF "HONESTY," Coöperative Home, 47 Victoria Avenue, Albert Park, Melbourne.

THE SALE OF ALCOHOL.

(TO THE EDITOR.)

It is indeed astounding that a literary acrobat of your agility should stumble so awkwardly over my contention (in page 103, vol. 1). My contention was not that the publican had not as much right to sell liquor as another has to buy it, but that the selling of alcohol as a beverage was wrong. I cannot admit that it is right to do wrong, nor that two wrongs make a right. The fact of its being poisonous is just exactly where it does affect the issue. The chemist does not as a rule sell poisonous drugs as a beverage on any day of the week, and carefully measures and weighs such wares before consigning them to the purchaser. You say: "If not an advocate of prohibition, why dispute the publican's right to freely trade?" For the same reason that we Anarchists dispute the right of governments to do us wrong. I cannot consistently condemn the drinking of alcohol, without also denouncing the sale of it. The brewer, distiller, publican, and all engaged in the sale of intoxicating drinks, are doing a wrong to society, by delaying the advent of a happier social system. You, I think, will admit this. The teetotaler is doing right in abstaining from the vice of drunkenness, which would degrade him both mentally and physically. I can assure you that the Anarchistic abstainer does not parade his resolution to gain admiration; his object is a nobler one—to urge his fellows to assist him in destroying an evil, and to do so, we must not only boycott the drink, but those who sell it.

ROBERT BEATTIE.

[We do not admit that the sale of intoxicants is responsible for social wrong, but ascribe it to the interference with another's liberty of choice in drinking, feeding, and following out their other natural necessities. Drunkenness, and other vices, are the inevitable effect of a civilization built on the accumulation of plunder and the poverty of exploitation. Excessive poverty and excessive wealth breed excessive vice. The teetotal evangelist is chasing a shadow; and it is very questionable whether the majority of them are hastening "the advent of a happier social system," or whether they have any conception of one at all. We must strike at the cause to remove the effect.—Editor, HONESTY.]

ADVERTISEMENTS.

SELECT LIST

OF

ANARCHIST AND RADICAL WORKS.

ANDRADE (DAVID A.)—	
An Anarchist Plan of Campaign ...	3d
Money : a Study of the Currency Question ...	3d
ANDREWS (STEPHEN PEARL)—	
The Science of Society ...	5s
BILGRAM (HUGO)—	
The Iron Law of Wages ...	6d
CAMPBELL (RACHEL)—	
The Prodigal Daughter, or the Price of Virtue ...	9d
CARPENTER (EDWARD)—	
England's Ideal; and other papers on Social Subjects ...	1s
CHICAGO ANARCHISTS' TRIAL—	
Chicago Anarchists' Speeches in Court ...	1s 6d
" " (cheap edition) ...	9d
History of the Trial; by Dyer D. Lum ...	2s
Autobiography of August Spies ...	1s 6d
Anarchism; by Albert R. Parsons ...	5s 6d
Facts concerning the Condemned Anarchists; by Leon Lewis ...	9d
Was it a Fair Trial? by Gen. M. M. Trumbull ...	9d
The Trial of the Judgment; by M. M. Trumbull ...	1s 6d
Portraits of the Anarchist martyrs, (for framing) ...	6d
FOWLER (CHAS. T.)—	
Coöperation : its Laws and Principles ...	6d
The Re-organization of Business, ...	6d
Corporations : or how to Abolish Monopoly ...	6d
Prohibition : or the Relation of Government to Temperance ...	6d
Coöperative Homes ...	6d
Land Tenure ...	6d

FOWLER (SADA BAILEY)—	
Irene : or the Road to Freedom (A novel) ...	5s 6d
GREENE (WILLIAM B.)—	
Mutual Banking ...	1s 6d
HANSON (WILLIAM)—	
The Fallacies in Henry George's "Progress and Poverty," &c. ...	5s
HENDERSHOTT (D. H.)—	
Causes of the Conflict between Capital and Labor ...	1s 6d
INGALLS (J. K.)—	
Economic Equities ...	1s 6d
Social Wealth : the Sole Factors and Exact Ratios in its Acquisition and Apportionment ...	5s
Work and Wealth ...	3d
JAMES (C. L.)—	
Anarchy : a Tract for the Times ...	1s 6d
KELLY (JOHN F.)—	
Taxation or Free Trade? a criticism of Henry George ...	4d
KIMBALL (REV. JOHN C.)—	
Anarchy and the Anarchists : A sermon ...	9d
KROPOTKINE (PIERRE)—	
Appeal to the Young ...	3d
LIBERTY LEAFLETS—	
No. 1—Government : a Warning to the Electors ...	25 for 6d
" 2—Free-Love explained and defended ...	
" 3—Thomas Paine and Anarchy ...	
" 4—Questions for Archists. (50 copies) ...	
" 5—Free Land! (50 copies) ...	
" 6—The Rights of Labor ...	
LUM (DYER D.)—	
Social Problems of To-day : or the Mormon question in its economic aspects ...	1s 6d
NORDAU (MAX)—	
Conventional Lies of Our Civilization ...	3s 6d
Paradoxes ...	5s 6d
PROUDHON (P. J.)—	
The Malthusians, (with the author's portrait) ...	3d
System of Economical Contradictions ...	16s 6d
SEYMOUR (HENRY)—	
The Philosophy of Anarchism ...	4d
SPOONER (LYSANDEK)—	
Letter to Grover Cleveland, on the Usurpations and Crimes of Lawmakers and Judges, and the Consequent Poverty, Ignorance, and Servitude of the People ...	1s 6d
WARREN (JOSIAH)—	
True Civilization. A valuable work ...	2s 6d
WESTRUPP (ALFRED B.)—	
The Financial Problem ...	1s 6d
WILSON (MRS C. M.)—	
The Criminal Law Amendment Act : a Radical Study of the Prostitution Question ...	3d
YARROS (VICTOR)—	
Anarchism : its Aims and Methods ...	3d
MUSIC :—	
The Anarchist's March. Song, with pianoforte accompaniments ...	6d
Chants of Labor. 55 songs, with music ...	1s
ENGRAVINGS :—	
The Chicago Anarchists. Portraits of the seven martyrs for liberty, with appropriate letterpress; suitable for framing. 6d; posted ...	1s
The Heroes of the Revolution. Portraits of the leaders in the Paris Commune. 1s 6d; posted ...	2s
ANARCHIST NEWSPAPERS :—	
Annual subscriptions received for the following at the prices quoted, those in parentheses including postage:—Honesty 3/6 [3/6], Liberty 6/- [7/6], Alarm 13/6 [16/-], Fair Play 7/6 [10/-], Lucifer 8/6 [10/6], Freedom 3/- [3/6], Austral-ian Radical 4/- [4/-], Libertas 7/6 [9/-], La Revoltè 4/6 [7/-], Die Autonomie 7/6 [10/-], &c. Specimen copies, 3d.	

Obtainable at the
MELBOURNE ANARCHISTS' CLUB,
 Coöperative Home, 47 Victoria Avenue, Albert Park, Melbourne.
 DAVID A. ANDRADE, Hon. Sec.

The Famous Pamphlet on
THE MALTHUSIANS.

A scathing criticism
of the theory that poverty is the result of the pressure of population
upon its food resources.

By P. J. PROUDHON.

(With the Author's Portrait.)

PRICE, THREE-PENCE; OR 2s. PER DOZEN, POST FREE.

PRICE THREE-PENCE.

**AN ANARCHIST
PLAN OF CAMPAIGN.**

By DAVID A. ANDRADE.

"The author details, with his usual clearness, the methods which
must be taken by the workers to emancipate themselves, and man-
ages to compress a good lesson on coöperation into a small compass.
We hope the pamphlet will be well circulated."—*Australian
Radical.*

Price Three-Pence.

Post free, Four-Pence.

TO APPEAR SHORTLY.

OUR SOCIAL SYSTEM,

AND

HOW IT AFFECTS THOSE WHO WORK FOR THEIR LIVING.

By DAVID A. ANDRADE.

A concise and careful examination of the present civilization, its
laws and institutions, its wrongs and its remedies; viewed in the light
of science, economics, statistics, and common-sense.

THE AUSTRALIAN RADICAL,
A JOURNAL OF COMMON-SENSE AND UTILITARIAN
PRINCIPLES
written expressly to
IMPROVE THE CONDITION OF LABOR.

W. R. Winspear, Publisher, Hamilton, N. S. W. One Penny,
weekly. Obtainable at this office.

LIBERTY, EQUALITY, AND FRATERNITY.

The Melbourne Anarchists' Club.

Has been formed for the purpose of aiding social reform on the lines of Liberty,
Equality, and Fraternity. Its object is, amongst other things, "to foster public
interest in the great social questions of the day, by promoting inquiry in every
possible way; to promote free public discussions of all social questions; and to
circulate and publish literature, throwing light upon the existing evils of society,
and the methods necessary for their removal."

"PROSPECTUS" GRATIS.

Send penny stamp for copies. In addition to enumerating the objects and
principles of the Club, the "Prospectus" contains a number of "Anarchist Gems for
Thoughtful People," which will well repay perusal.

Apply: Secretary MELBOURNE ANARCHISTS' CLUB,
CO-OPERATIVE HOME, ALBERT PARK, MELBOURNE.

Debates every Sunday evening. Public invited.

Reading room always open. Anarchist newspapers on file.

Circulating Library for convenience of members and others.

THE CO-OPERATIVE HOME,

(Conducted on the mutual principle.)

Commodious rooms 5s. per week; board at cost price. Full particu-
lars on application. Reading room, &c. *Honesty, Radical, Liberty,*
Reynold's, Argus, &c., &c., filed. Comrades visiting the city should
make it their first point of call. Friends always welcome.

**ANARCHIST
NEWSPAPERS, BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, &c.,**
In great variety.

David A. Andrade,

Catalogues gratis. Coöperative Home, Albert Park.

PROUDHON'S GREAT WORK.

WHAT IS PROPERTY?

OR AN

Inquiry into the Principles of Right and of Government.

By P. J. PROUDHON.

Prefaced by a Sketch of Proudhon's Life and Works, and containing as a
Frontispiece a fine steel engraving of the author. Translated from the French by
Benj. R. Tucker.

This work is a systematic, thorough, and radical discussion of the institu-
tion of property—its basis, its history, its present status, and its destiny—together
with a detailed and startling exposé of the crimes which it commits, and the evils
which it engenders.

SIXTEEN SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE.

Melbourne Anarchists' Club.

THE MAN VERSUS THE STATE.

By HERBERT SPENCER.

An exhaustive study of the evil effects of legislation with numerous illustrative
facts drawn from contemporary history.

ONE SHILLING,

Or, Free by Post, for One Shilling and Threepence.

"Honesty" Office and all Booksellers.

FREE-LOVE: EXPLAINED AND DEFENDED.

A Four-page Leaflet for Propagandist Purposes.

SIXPENCE PER PACKET OF 25.

Melbourne Anarchists' Club.

WHAT'S TO BE DONE?

A NIHILISTIC ROMANCE.

By N. G. TCHERNYCHEWSKY.

(Translated into English.)

"What's To Be Done!" was written in Prison.

"What's To Be Done?" was suppressed by the Czar.

The Author was over Twenty Years an Exile in Siberia.

The Russian edition of this work is said to now be worth £120 a copy. The first
American edition was sold off in 4 days.

"It is perhaps (says the "Boston Courier") the book which has most powerfully
influenced the youth of Russia in their growth into Nihilism, and it is remarkable
and noteworthy as a work which has played so important a part in the political
and social history of the century."

FIVE SHILLINGS.

Melbourne Anarchists' Club.

AUBERON HERBERT'S WORKS.

"The Right and Wrong of Compulsion by the State," 1s. 6d.

"A Politician in Sight of Heaven;" being a protest against the Government of
Man by Man, 9d.

"A Politician in Trouble about his Soul," 4s.

GOD AND THE STATE,

By MICHAEL BAKOUNINE,

FOUNDER OF NIHILISM AND APOSTLE OF ANARCHY.

Translated into English by Benj. R. Tucker.

A neatly got up edition of this deservedly popular work, which the New York
"Truthseeker" describes as "one of the most eloquent pleas for liberty ever
written," may be obtained for

ONE SHILLING, POST FREE,

At the Office of this paper.

Secure a copy of this remarkable work by the great Russian philosopher, and
learn what the doctrines of the Nihilists are from their own writings.

WORKS OF CHARLES T. FOWLER.

"Co-operation: Its Laws and Principles" (with portrait of Herbert Spencer), 6d.

"The Re-organisation of Business" (with portrait of R. W. Emerson), 6d.

"Corporations: or how to Abolish Monopoly" (with portrait of Wendell Phillips)
6d.

"Prohibition: or the Relation of Government to Temperance," 6d.

• Excellent Works on Constructive Anarchism.

EMERSON'S ESSAYS.

Containing the Essays on "Politics," "Self-Reliance," "Compensation," and many
others. 282 pages; in strong cloth cover.

ONE SHILLING.

Melbourne Anarchists' Club.

EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION.

By ELISEE RECLUS.

PRICE THREEPENCE.

Melbourne Anarchists' Club.

"LIBERTY,"

A FORTNIGHTLY ORGAN OF ANARCHISM.

EDITED BY BENJ. R. TUCKER.

"Liberty" insists on the sovereignty of the individual and the just reward of
labor; on the abolition of the State and the abolition of usury; on no more
government of man by man; on Anarchy and Equity.

"Liberty's" war-cry is "Down with Authority," and her chief battle with the
State—the State that debases man; the State, that prostitutes woman; the State,
that corrupts children; the State, that trammels love; the State, that stifles
thought; the State, that limits credit; the State, that restricts exchange; the
State that gives idle capital the power of increase, and, through interest, rent,
profit and taxes, robs industrious labor of its products.

Subscription (payable in advance). Six Shillings per annum; post free, 8s. 6d.

Apply: Secretary, MELBOURNE ANARCHISTS' CLUB.

Printed for the Coöperative Publishing Company, by D. A. Andrade,
47 Victoria Avenue, Albert Park.