

**ANTI-FORCE PAPERS, NO. 2: THE  
RIGHT AND WRONG OF COMPULSION  
BY THE STATE, A STATEMENT OF THE  
MORAL PRINCIPLES OF THE PARTY OF  
INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY**

Published @ 2017 Trieste Publishing Pty Ltd

ISBN 9780649025084

Anti-Force Papers, No. 2: The Right and Wrong of Compulsion by the State, a Statement of the Moral Principles of the Party of Individual Liberty by Auberon Herbert

Except for use in any review, the reproduction or utilisation of this work in whole or in part in any form by any electronic, mechanical or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including xerography, photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, is forbidden without the permission of the publisher, Trieste Publishing Pty Ltd, PO Box 1576 Collingwood, Victoria 3066 Australia.

All rights reserved.

Edited by Trieste Publishing Pty Ltd.  
Cover @ 2017

This book is sold subject to the condition that it shall not, by way of trade or otherwise, be lent, re-sold, hired out, or otherwise circulated without the publisher's prior consent in any form or binding or cover other than that in which it is published and without a similar condition including this condition being imposed on the subsequent purchaser.

[www.triestepublishing.com](http://www.triestepublishing.com)

**AUBERON HERBERT**

**ANTI-FORCE PAPERS, NO. 2: THE  
RIGHT AND WRONG OF COMPULSION  
BY THE STATE, A STATEMENT OF THE  
MORAL PRINCIPLES OF THE PARTY OF  
INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY**



Anti-Force Papers, No. 2.

THE RIGHT AND WRONG  
OF  
COMPULSION BY THE STATE.

A STATEMENT OF THE MORAL PRINCIPLES OF THE PARTY  
OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY, AND THE POLITICAL  
MEASURES FOUNDED UPON THEM.

*(Reprinted, with alterations and additions, from papers  
published in The Newcastle Weekly Chronicle.)*

BY

*Edward Sullivan Molyneux,*  
AUBERON HERBERT

AUTHOR OF "A POLITICIAN IN TROUBLE ABOUT HIS SOUL."

---

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,  
14, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON;  
AND 20, SOUTH FREDERICK STREET, EDINBURGH.

1885.

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

"We wish to give society a *member* and we make a *tool*; we wish to have a free *fellow-workman* in the great business of life, and we create an enslaved and passive *instrument*; we destroy the man within him, so far as we can do so by our arrangements, and are guilty of an injury both to him and to society."—Fichte.

"A political victory, a rise of rents, the recovery of your sick, or the return of your absent friend, or some other favourable event, raises your spirits, and you think good days are preparing for you. Do not believe it. Nothing can bring you peace but yourself. Nothing can bring you peace but the triumph of principles."—Emerson.

gt-worship led  
5-18-39

## TO THE WORKMEN OF TYNESIDE.

---

I DEDICATE this small book to you with full knowledge that the creed which is taught in it demands at your hands greater sacrifice and self-denial than at the hands of any other class in Society. And yet it is a sacrifice and self-denial that without fear or hesitation I ask you to accept. I know that for those who do, the full reward shall come. I know that no man can serve Liberty for conscience-sake without finding in himself that which will make his life richer and happier; I know that he cannot reject Liberty, and grasp at power for his own advantage, without growing weak where he might have been strong, without in the end despairing where he might have rejoiced, without hating those of his fellow-men as enemies whom he might have loved as friends. The creed of Liberty does not offer what the politician offers. She neither offers to perform State services, to take land from some and transfer it to others, or to place ever-increasing burdens of taxation upon the shoulders of the rich. She does not offer to shower down upon any man gifts that are not of his own making and winning. All those who hunger for such gifts she can only bid, with scorn upon her lips, to go elsewhere. But if you wish to have much that now entangles and impedes you in your advance swept from before your feet, to escape from the customs and systems that have benumbed your consciousness, to discover

the true free, fearless, unhindered Self, that for each man shall recreate the world in which he lives, to cast aside your own weaknesses and passions and hatreds, to live in friendliness and charity with all men, whilst you resolutely tread your own path and fight your own fight, to look on all life with truer, juster, and calmer eyes, to see a meaning steadily unfolding itself through that which has too often been to you as a mere dream of pain, and with this clearness of vision and distinctness of aim to feel the joy and strength that are in you strengthened, and the moral purpose ennobled,—these things you shall find in Liberty, and in that rejection of the government of man by man which is the great lesson that she teaches to-day.

A. H.



THE RIGHT AND WRONG  
OF  
COMPULSION BY THE STATE.

---

WE need not look for better words, than those used by Mr. Herbert Spencer,\* to describe the aim

\* It is to Mr. Herbert Spencer's clear and comprehensive sight that we owe so much in this matter of liberty. Mr. Mill was an earnest and eloquent advocate of individual liberty. He was penetrated with the leading truth that all the great human qualities depend upon a man's mental independence, and upon his steady refusal to let a church, or a party, or the society in which he lives think for him. His book on Liberty remains as a monument of a clearer sight, a higher faith, and nobler aspirations than those which exist at the present time, when both political parties compete with each other to tread their own principles underfoot, and to serve the expediency of the moment. But Mr. Spencer has approached the subject from a more comprehensive point of view than Mr. Mill, and has laid foundations on which, as men will presently acknowledge, the whole structure of society must be laid, if they are to live at peace with one another, and if all the great possibilities of progress are to be steadily and happily evolved. We owe to Mr. Spencer the clear perception that all ideas of justice and morality are bound up in the parent idea of liberty—that is, in the right of man to direct his own faculties and energies—and that where this idea is not acknowledged and obeyed, justice and morality cannot be said to exist. They can only be mere

1\*

which we place before ourselves, as the party of Individual Liberty. That aim is to secure "the liberty of each, limited alone by the like liberty of all." Let us see clearly what we mean. Each man and woman are to be free to direct their faculties and their energies, according to their own sense of what is right and wise, in every direction, except one. They are not to use their faculties for the purpose of forcibly restraining their neighbour from the same free use of his faculties. We claim for A and B perfect freedom as regards themselves, but on the one condition that they respect the same freedom as regards C. If A and B are stronger either in virtue of greater physical strength or greater numbers than their neighbour C, they must neither use their superior strength after the simply brutal fashion of those who live by violence, to tie C's hands and take from him what he possesses, or after the less brutal but equally unjust fashion, to pass laws to direct C as to the manner in which he shall use his faculties and live his life.

I will explain yet more fully what I mean. Under a system of the widest possible liberty,

shadows and imitations of the realities. I should advise all persons to read Mr. Spencer's *Man versus the State*, *Introduction to Sociology*, *Social Statics*, *Data of Ethics*, and *First Principles*. I ought perhaps to add here that I have reason to believe that Mr. Spencer disagrees with the conclusions regarding taxation, which I have drawn from his principles. I have discussed this question of taxation shortly in the last chapter of a little book called *A Politician in Trouble about his Soul*, published by Messrs. Chapman and Hall, and would beg to refer any persons who may be interested in the subject to what I have said there. I hope soon to have ready a *social paper* dealing with this matter.

each man thinks and acts according to his own judgment and his own sense of right. He labours as he will, making such free bargains as he chooses respecting the price and all other conditions that affect his labour; he is idle or industrious, he spends or he lays by, he remains poor, or he becomes rich, he turns his faculties to wise and good account, or he wastes possessions, time and happiness in folly. He is, be it for good or evil, the owner and possessor of his own self, and he has to bear the responsibility of that ownership and possession to the full. On the one hand he is free from all restrictions placed on him by others (except the one great restriction that he, too, in all his doings shall respect the like liberty of all men), and on the other hand he is dependent in everything on himself and his own exertions. He must himself meet and overcome the difficulties of life. Just because he is a free man, he must carry his own burden, such as it is, and not seek to compel others to bear any part of it for him. The really free man will neither submit to restrictions placed on himself, nor will he desire to impose them on others.

And here, it may be, you will ask, "Is it wise or right for men to claim so full a liberty? Is it not better for men not wholly to own and possess themselves, but to live under conditions which may save them, at all events to some extent, from their own folly and wrong-doing?"

To which question I first answer that to live in a state of liberty is not to live apart from law. It is, on the contrary, to live under the highest law, the only law that can really profit a man, the law which is consciously and deliberately imposed by