



Fabian Tract No. 113.

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# COMMUNISM

A LECTURE BY  
WILLIAM MORRIS.

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## EDITOR'S NOTE.

THE Fabian Society is indebted to the Trustees of William Morris for permission to include the following paper in its series of Tracts. It was written for delivery as a spoken address to the members of the Hammersmith Socialist Society in 1893. By that time Morris had acquired an intimate knowledge of the attempt to organize Socialism in this country which began in the early eighties. He had himself undertaken and conducted that part of the experiment which nobody else would face: namely, the discovery and combination, without distinction of class, of all those who were capable of understanding Equality and Communism as he understood it, and their organization as an effective force for the overthrow of the existing order of property and privilege. In doing so he had been brought into contact, and often into conflict, with every other section of the movement. He knew all its men and knew all their methods. He knew that the agitation was exhausted, and that the time had come to deal with the new policy which the agitation had shaken into existence. Accordingly, we find him in this paper doing what he could to economize the strength of the movement by making peace between its jarring sections, and recalling them from their disputes over tactics and programs to the essentials of their cause.

The Socialist agitation in Morris's time had divided itself into three clearly defined sections. His own section, organized as The Socialist League, broke down because there was only one William Morris. Those who combined any real understanding of his aims or his view of our commercial civilization with high personal character and practical ability were too few and far between to effect a political revolution. The other two sections survived. One of them, the Social-Democratic Federation, concerned itself very little with Morris's fundamental conceptions of Equality, Communism, and the rediscovery under Communism of Art as "workpleasure." It set itself frankly to organize the proletariat as a single class for the purpose of wresting the material sources of production from the hands of the proprietary class; or, in the well worn phrases of the older Social-Democrats, to make the workers "class-conscious" of themselves, and to organize "the class war." The third section was the Fabian Society, which aimed simply at the reduction of Socialism to a constitutional political policy which, like Free Trade or Imperial Federation or any other accepted parliamentary movement, could be adopted either as a whole or by instalments by any ordinary respectable citizen without committing himself to any revolutionary association or detaching himself in any way from the normal course of English life.

The Fabian project was, of course, enormously more acceptable to a timidly Conservative nation than its two rivals. It also called for a good deal of administrative knowledge and parliamentary ingenuity, and so selected automatically for its membership the politically clever and officially experienced Socialists. It is not sur-

prising, therefore, that the Fabians alone made any headway ; that the Socialist League was abandoned by Morris as a failure after a patient and laborious trial ; that the Independent Labor Party, a later formation, adopted parliamentary methods ; and that the Social-Democratic Federation, after keeping up the struggle for a declaration of the class war for years, had finally to choose between assimilating its methods to those of the Independent Labor Party and being crowded out of the field of Labor agitation.

It is unnecessary to say that Morris was from the first impatient of Fabianism as an essentially superficial movement. But he was fundamentally the most practical of all the Socialists. When he quarrelled with facts, he set to work at once to alter them. He was quite accustomed to be laughed at and explained away in a superior manner, both from the popular and the academic point of view. In all the arts and crafts which he had touched with his own hands, the laughter and the superior explanations had been hastily checked by the discovery that he had effected a revolution whilst his critics were idly chattering. But the same qualities which enabled him to alter unpleasant facts when he could, enabled him to face them when he could not. When he found after trying his hardest that the English people would not join the Socialist League or allow the Social-Democratic Federation to convince them that they belonged to an ungentlemanly class, he accepted the situation and considered how to make the best of it. His inevitable isolation as a man of genius was of course not less among avowed Socialists than elsewhere ; but it compelled all the sections to listen to him when they would not listen to one another ; and the Hammersmith Socialist Society, a faithful bodyguard surviving from the extinct Socialist League, provided for him within his own curtilage a platform on which every Socialist was proud to speak.

What he himself said to the sections from this platform will be found in the following pages. It gives his reasons for advising the other Socialists not to quarrel with the Fabians. And it gives his warning to the Fabians that it is one thing to formulate on paper a constitutional policy, and another thing to induce people to carry it out when the Equality and Communism to which it leads are abhorred instead of desired by them.

I must add a word of editorial explanation. It was Morris's habit, fortunately for posterity, to write his lectures at full length instead of trusting to extemporization. How he found time to write so many, even when he was reviving the lost art of fine printing in his spare time, I cannot imagine. He certainly did not find time to revise them. Besides, he seems to have had the Shakespearian habit of never blotting a line, perhaps as part of his general rule not to waste time in cobbling a bad job, but to do it over again. The manuscript consists of fourteen pages of white foolscap. There are words scored through and replaced by others before the ink was dry, but no reconstructions made on revision, a ceremony which was clearly never gone through. The last half of the paper must have been written against time in great haste : more words are left

out than in the earlier pages; and occasionally a sentence becomes a hopeless no-thoroughfare. The grammar, too, is hasty: the verb agrees with the nearest noun, which is not always its subject. The ands are sometimes written at full length, and sometimes indicated by anpersands, just as we have printed them. The spelling is for the most part conventional; but the s is always doubled in disappear and disappoint, and there is never more than one g in aggressive. The italics represent Morris's own underscoring. The punctuation is very hasty; but as the sense never depends on the position of a stop, I have altered or supplemented it freely for the sake of clearness. I have been very reluctant to meddle with the words; but on page 10, line 48, I have changed "anything" to "like everything"; the footnote on page 11 occurs in the manuscript as a rather obstructive parenthesis; on page 12, line 48, I have been Vandal enough to alter the characteristic phrase "their wealth—nay their riches" into "their wealth—or rather their riches" because I found that the "nay" in this passage conveyed to a typical reader the impression that Morris thought more of riches than of wealth (a misunderstanding which would almost bring him back from the grave to protest);\* on page 14, line 4, I have altered "which doesn't involve" into "which will then no longer involve"; and on page 15, line 4, I have changed "as they are now and probably must be to be successful under the guidance of one man" to "as they are now (and, to be successful, must probably remain) under the guidance of one man." To Morris's friends, as to myself, these changes will seem mere imperfections; but others will find the meaning made clearer by the changes. At all events, those who are offended can correct their copies. The rest of the very few departures from the manuscript are only replacements of obviously dropped articles or prepositions, and need no apology. I believe that the words "of making" on page 11, line 5, should be "to make"; but I have not altered them, as such a change would affect the meaning. Finally, I may say that the back of the manuscript, which lay before Morris as he sat listening to the debate on the platform after his lecture, is adorned with decorations in pencil, which began, schoolboy fashion, with several arrows—not, it must be confessed, the clothyard shafts he describes in *A Dream of John Ball*, but fat, short, heavy-headed bolts for a medieval machine gun. Then comes a sort of fishing rod with Gothic crockets—or perhaps it is a conventionalized lily leaf. The rest is the familiar decoration of flower and scroll and leaf with which his hand was so often busy in idle moments. His notes of the discussion run as follows: "old age pensions—Mordhurst one road—means—luxury or necessity—opponent—come Bradlaugh—Bullock—workman."

Morris bibliographers should note that the title Communism is not distinctive of this lecture, as he used it on other occasions on the Hammersmith platform and elsewhere.

G. B. S.

\* See the paper on "Art, Wealth and Riches" in the volume of Morris's essays entitled *Architecture, Industry and Wealth* (London, 1902: Longmans; 6s. net).

Intelligence enough to Conceive, ~~power to Compel~~ <sup>enough</sup> courage to  
will, power enough to Compel. If our ideas of a new  
Society are any thing more than <sup>a</sup> dream, these three qualities  
must animate the due effective majority of the working  
people: and then, I say, the thing will be done.

## COMMUNISM.

WHILE I think that the hope of the new-birth of society is certainly growing, & that speedily, I must confess myself puzzled about the means toward that end which are mostly looked after now; and I am doubtful if some of the measures which are pressed, mostly, I think, with all honesty of purpose, and often with much ability, would, if gained, bring us any further on the direct road to a really new-born society, the only society which can be a new birth, a society of practical equality. Not to make any mystery about it, I mean that the great mass of what most non-socialists at least consider at present to be socialism, seems to me nothing more than a *machinery* of socialism, which I think it probable that socialism *must* use in its militant condition; and which I think it *may* use for some time after it is practically established; but does not seem to me to be of its essence. Doubtless there is good in the schemes for substituting business-like administration in the interests of the public for the old Whig muddle of *laissez faire* backed up by coercion and smoothed by abundant corruption, which, worked all of it in the interest of successful business men, was once thought such a wonderful invention, and which certainly was the very cement of society as it has existed since the death of feudalism. The London County Council, for instance, is not merely a more useful body for the administration of public business than the Metropolitan Board of Works was: it is instinct with a different spirit; and even its general *intention* to be of use to the citizens and to heed their wishes, has in it a promise of better days, and has already done something to raise the dignity of life in London amongst a certain part of the population, and down to certain classes. Again, who can quarrel with the attempts to relieve the sordidness of civilized town life by the public acquirement of parks and other open spaces, planting of trees, establishment of free libraries and the like? It is sensible and right for the public to push for the attainment of such gains; but we all know very well that their advantages are very unequally distributed, that they are gains rather for certain portions of the middle-classes than for working people. Nay, this socialist machinery may be used much further: it may gain higher wages and shorter working hours for the working men themselves: industries may be worked by municipalities for the benefit both of producers and consumers. Working-people's houses may be improved, and their management taken out of the hands of commercial speculators. More time might be insisted on for the

education of children; and so on, and so on. In all this I freely admit a great gain, and am glad to see schemes tried which would lead to it. But great as the gain would be, the ultimate good of it, the amount of progressive force that might be in such things would, I think, depend on *how* such reforms were done; in what spirit; or rather what else was being done, while these were going on, which would make people long for equality of condition; which would give them faith in the possibility and workableness of socialism; which would give them courage to strive for it and labour for it; and which would do this for a vast number of people, so that the due impetus might be gained for the sweeping away of all privilege. For we must not lose sight of the very obvious fact that these improvements in the life of the larger public can only be carried out at the expense of some portion of the freedom and fortunes of the proprietary classes. They are, when genuine, one and all attacks I say on the "liberty and property" of the non-working or useless classes, as some of those classes see clearly enough. And I admit that if the sum of them should become vast and deep reaching enough to give to the useful or working classes intelligence enough to conceive of a life of equality & co-operation; courage enough to accept it and to bring the necessary skill to bear on working it; and power enough to force its acceptance on the stupid and the interested, the war of classes would speedily end in the victory of the useful class, which would then become the new Society of Equality.

Intelligence enough to conceive, courage enough to will, power enough to compel. If our ideas of a new Society are anything more than a dream, these three qualities must animate the due effective majority of the working-people; and then, I say, the thing will be done.

Intelligence, courage, power *enough*. Now that *enough* means a very great thing. The effective majority of the working people must I should think be something as great in numbers as an actual mechanical majority; because the non-working classes (with, mind you, their sworn slaves and parasites, men who can't live without them) are even numerically very strong, and are stronger still in holding in their hand the nine points of the law, possession to wit; and as soon as these begin to think there is any serious danger to their privilege—i.e., their livelihood—they will be pretty much unanimous in defending it, and using all the power which they possess in doing so. The necessary majority therefore of intelligence, courage, & power is such a big thing to bring about, that it will take a long time to do so; and those who are working for this end must clearly not throw away time and strength by making more mistakes than they can possibly help in their efforts for the conversion of the working people to an ardent desire for a society of equality. The question then, it seems to me, about all those partial gains above mentioned, is not so much as to what advantage they may be to the public at large in the passing moment, or even to the working people, but rather what effect they will have towards



converting the workers to an understanding of, and ardent desire for Socialism ; true and complete Socialism I mean, what I should call Communism. For though making a great many poor people, or even a few, somewhat more comfortable than they are now, somewhat less miserable, let us say, is not in itself a light good ; yet it would be a heavy evil, if it did anything towards dulling the efforts of the whole class of workers towards the winning of a real society of equals. And here again come in those doubts and the puzzlement I began by talking about. For I want to know and to ask you to consider, how far the betterment of the working people might go and yet stop at last without having made any progress on the *direct* road to Communism. Whether in short the tremendous organization of civilized commercial society is not playing the cat and mouse game with us socialists. Whether the Society of Inequality might not accept the quasi-socialist machinery above mentioned, and work it for the purpose of upholding that society in a somewhat shorn condition, maybe, but a safe one. That seems to me possible, and means the other side of the view : instead of the useless classes being swept away by the useful, the useless classes gaining some of the usefulness of the workers, and so safeguarding their privilege. The workers better treated, better organised, helping to govern themselves, but with no more pretence to equality with the rich, nor any more hope for it than they have now. But if this be possible, it will only be so on the grounds that the working people have ceased to desire real socialism and are contented with some outside show of it joined to an increase in prosperity enough to satisfy the cravings of men who do not know what the pleasures of life might be if they treated their own capacities & the resources of nature reasonably with the intention and expectation of being happy. Of course also it could not be possible if there be, as we may well hope, an actual necessity for new development of society from out of our present conditions : but granting this necessity, the change may and will be exceedingly slow in coming if the working people do not show their sense of the necessity by being overtaken by a longing for the change & by expressing that longing. And moreover it will not only be slow in coming but also in that case it can only come through a period of great suffering & misery, by the ruin of our present civilization : and surely reasonable men must hope that if the Socialism be necessary its advent shall both be speedy & shall be marked by the minimum of suffering and by ruin not quite complete. Therefore, I say, what we have to hope for is that the inevitable advance of the society of equality will speedily make itself felt by the consciousness of its necessity being impressed upon the working people, and that they will consciously and not blindly strive for its realization. That in fact is what we mean by the education into Socialism of the working classes. And I believe that if this is impossible at present, if the working people refuse to take any interest in Socialism, if they practically reject it, we must accept that as a sign that the necessity for an essential change in society is so far distant, that we need scarcely trouble ourselves

about it. This is the test ; and for this reason it is so deadly serious for us to find out whether those democratic tendencies & the schemes of new administration they give birth to are really of use in educating the people into *direct* Socialism. If they are not, they are of use for nothing else ; and we had best try if we can't make terms with intelligent Tories and benevolent Whigs, and beg them to unite their intelligence and benevolence, and govern us as kindly and wisely as they can, and to rob us in moderation only. But if they are of use, then in spite of their sordid and repellent details, and all the sickness of hope deferred that the use of such instruments assuredly brings us, let us use them as far as they will go, and refuse to be disappointed if they will not go very far : which means if they will not in a decade turn into a united host of heroes and sages a huge mass of men living under a system of society so intricate as to look on the surface like a mere chance-hap muddle of many millions of necessitous people, oppressed indeed, and sorely, not by obvious individual violence and ill-will, but by an economic system so far reaching, so deeply seated, that it may well seem like the operation of a natural law to men so uneducated that they have not even escaped the reflexion of the so-called education of their masters, but in addition to their other mishaps are saddled also with the superstitions and hypocrisies of the upper classes, with scarce a whit of the characteristic traditions of their own class to help them : an intellectual slavery which is a necessary accompaniment of their material slavery. That as a mass is what revolutionists have got to deal with : such a mass indeed I think could and would be vivified by some spark of enthusiasm, some sudden hopeful impulse towards aggression, if the necessity for sudden change were close at hand. But is it ? There are doubtless not a few in this room, myself perhaps amongst them (I say *perhaps* for one's old self is apt to grow dim to one)—some of us I say once believed in the inevitableness of a sudden and speedy change. That was no wonder with the new enlightenment of socialism gilding the dulness of civilization for us. But if we must now take soberer views of our hopes, do not reproach us with that. Remember how hard other tyrannies have died, though to the economical oppression of them was added obvious violent individual oppression, which as I have said is lacking to the heavy tyranny of our times ; and can we hope that it will be speedier in its ending than they ? I say that the time is not now for the sudden kindling of the impulse of direct aggression amongst the mass of the workmen. But what then ! are we to give up all hope of educating them into Socialism ? Surely not. Let us use all means possible for drawing them into socialism, so that they may at last find themselves in such a position that they understand themselves to be face to face with false society, themselves the only possible elements of true society.

So now I must say that I am driven to the conclusion that those measures I have been speaking of, like everything that under any reasonable form does tend towards socialism (present conditions being understood) *are* of use toward the education of the great mass

of the workers ; that it is necessary in the present to give form to vague aspirations which are in the air about them, and to raise their aims above the mere businesslike work of the old trades unions of raising wages with the consent (however obtained) of the employers ; of making the workers see other employers\* than those who live on the profit wrung out of their labour. I think that taking up such measures, directly tending towards Socialism, is necessary also in getting working people to raise their standard of livelihood so that they may claim more and yet more of the wealth produced by society, which as aforesaid they can only get at the expense of the non-producing classes who now rob them. Lastly, such measures, with all that goes towards getting them carried, will train them into organisation and administration ; and I hope that no one here will assert that they do not need such training, or that they are not at a huge disadvantage from the lack of it as compared with their masters who have been trained in these arts.

But this education by political and corporate action must, as I hinted above, be supplemented by instilling into the minds of the people a knowledge of the aims of socialism, and a longing to bring about the complete change which will supplant civilization by communism. For the Social-democratic measures above mentioned are all of them either make-shift alleviations to help us through the present days of oppression, or means for landing us in the new country of equality. And there is a danger that they will be looked upon as ends in themselves. Nay it is certain that the greater number of those who are pushing for them will at the time be able to see no further than them, and will only recognise their temporary character when they have passed beyond them, and are claiming the next thing. But I must hope that we can instil into the mass of people some spirit of expectation, however vague, beyond the needs of the year ; and I know that many who are on the road to socialism will from the first and habitually look toward the realization of the society of equality, & try to realise it for themselves—I mean they will at least try to think what equality will turn out to be, and will long for it above all things. And I look to this spirit to vivify the striving for the mere machinery of Socialism ; and I hope and believe that it will so spread as the machinery is attained that however much the old individualist spirit may try to make itself master of the corporate machinery, and try by means of the public to govern the public in the interests of the enemies of the public, it may be defeated.

All this however is talking about the possible course of the Socialist movement ; but since, as you have just heard, it seems to me necessary that in order to make any due use of socialist machinery one should have some sort of idea as to the life which is to be the result of it, let me now take up the often told tale of what we mean by communism or socialism ; for between complete Socialism and Communism there is no difference whatever in my

\* The public to wit, i.e., the workers themselves in their other position of consumers.

mind. Communism is in fact the completion of Socialism : when that ceases to be militant & becomes triumphant, it will be communism.

The Communist asserts in the first place that the resources of nature, mainly the land and those other things which can only be used for the reproduction of wealth and which are the effect of social work, should not be owned in severalty, but by the whole community for the benefit of the whole. That where this is not the case the owners of these means of production must of necessity be the masters of those who do not own a sufficiency of them to free them from the need of paying with a portion of their labour for the use of the said means of production ; and that the masters or owners of the means of production do practically own the workers ; very practically, since they really dictate to them the kind of life they shall lead, and the workers cannot escape from it unless by themselves becoming owners of the means of production, i.e. of other men. The resources of nature therefore, and the wealth used for the production of further wealth, the plant & stock in short, should be communized. Now if that were done, it would at once check the accumulation of riches. No man can become immensely rich by the storing up of wealth which is the result of the labour of his own brain and hands : to become very rich he must by cajolery or force deprive others of what their brains or hands have earned for them : the utmost that the most acquisitive man could do would be to induce his fellow citizens to pay him extra for his special talents, if they specially longed for his productions. But since no one could be very rich, and since talent for special work is never so very rare, and would tend to become less rare as men were freer to choose the occupations most suitable for them, producers of specialties could not exact *very* exorbitant payment, so that the aristocracy of talent, even if it appeared, would tend to disappear, even in this first state of incomplete Communism. In short there would be no very rich men : and all would be well off ; all would be far above the condition of satisfaction of their material necessities. You may say how do I know that ? The answer is because there could not be so much waste as there is now. Waste would tend to disappear. For what is waste ? First, the causeless destruction of raw material ; and secondly, the diverting of labour from useful production. You may ask me what is the standard of usefulness in wares ? It has been said, and I suppose the common view of that point is, that the price in the market gives us the standard ; but is a loaf of bread or a saw less useful than a Mechlin lace veil or a diamond necklace ? The truth is that in a society of inequality, a society in which there are very rich people and very poor ones, the standard of usefulness is utterly confused : in such a society the market price of an article is given us by the necessities of the poor and the inordinate cravings of the rich ; or rather indeed *their* necessity for spending their wealth—or rather their riches—somehow : by no means necessarily in pleasure. But in a society of equality the demand for an article *would* be a standard of its usefulness in one way or other. And it

would be a matter of course that until every body had his absolute necessities and his reasonable comforts satisfied, there would be no place for the production of luxuries; and always labour would be employed in producing things that people (all the people, since classes would have disappeared) really want.

Remember what the waste of a society of inequality is: 1st: The production of sordid makeshifts for the supply of poor folk who cannot afford the real article. 2nd: the production of luxuries for rich folk, the greater part of which even their personal folly does not make them want. And 3rdly: the wealth wasted by the salesmanship of competitive commerce, to which the production of wares is but a secondary object, its first object being the production of a profit for the individual manufacturer. You understand that the necessary distribution of goods is not included in this waste; but the endeavour of each manufacturer to get as near as he can to a monopoly of the market which he supplies.

The minimization of waste therefore, which would take place in the incomplete 1st stages of a society of equality—a society only *tending* to equality—would make us wealthy: labour would not be wasted; workmen would not be employed in producing either slave wares, or toys for rich men: their genuine well made wares would be made for other workmen who would know what they wanted. When the wares were of such a kind as required very exquisite skill and long training to produce, or when the material used was far fetched and dear bought, they would not cease to be produced, even though private citizens could not acquire them: they would be produced for the public use, and their real value be enormously increased thereby, and the natural and honest pride of the workman duly satisfied. For surely wealthy people will not put up with sordid surrounding or stinginess in public institutions: they will assuredly have schools, libraries, museums, parks and all the rest of it real & genuine, not makeshifts for such things: especially as being no longer oppressed by fears for their livelihood, and all the dismal incidents of the battle for mere existence, they will be able to enjoy these things thoroughly: they will be able in fact to use them, which they cannot do now. But in all I have been saying about this new society hitherto I have been thinking I must remind you of its inchoate and incomplete stages. The means of production communized but the resulting wealth still private property. Truth to tell, I think that such a state of things could only embrace a very short period of transition to complete communism: a period which would only last while people were shaking down into the new Society; for if there were no poor people I don't see how there could be any rich. There would indeed be a natural compulsion, which would prevent any man from doing what he was not fitted for, because he could not do it usefully; and I need not say that in order to arrive at the wealth I have been speaking of we must all work usefully. But if a man does work usefully you can't do without him; and if you can't do without him you can only put him into an inferior position to another useful citizen by means of com-

pulsion; and if you compel him to it, you at once have your privileged classes again. Again, when all people are living comfortably or even handsomely, the keenness of the strife for the better positions, which will then no longer involve a life of idleness or power over ones neighbours, will surely tend to abate: men get rich now in their struggles not to be poor, and because their riches shield them from suffering from the horrors which are a necessary accompaniment of the existence of rich men; e.g., the sight of slums, the squalor of a factory country, the yells and evil language of drunken and brutalized poor people & so forth. But when all private life was decent and, apart from natural accident, happy; and when public institutions satisfied your craving for splendour and completeness; and when no one was allowed to injure the public by defiling the natural beauty of the earth, or by forbidding mens cravings for making it more beautiful to have full sway, what advantage would there be in having more nominal wealth than your neighbour? Therefore, as on the one hand men whose work was acknowledged as useful would scarcely subject themselves to a new system of caste; and, on the other, people living happily with all their reasonable needs easily satisfied would hardly worry themselves with worrying others into giving them extra wealth which they could not use, so I think the communization of the means of industry would speedily be followed by the communization of its product: that is that there would be complete equality of condition amongst all men. Which again does not mean that people would (all round) use their neighbours coats, or houses or tooth brushes, but that every one, whatever work he did, would have the opportunity of satisfying all his reasonable needs according to the admitted standard of the society in which he lived: i.e., without robbing any other citizen. And I must say it is in the belief that this is possible of realization that I continue to be a socialist. Prove to me that it is not; and I will not trouble myself to do my share towards altering the present state of society, but will try to live on, as little a pain to myself and a nuisance to my neighbour as I may. But yet I must tell that I shall be more or less both a pain to myself (or at least a disgrace) and a nuisance to my neighbour. For I do declare that any other state of society but communism is grievous & disgraceful to all belonging to it.

Some of you may expect me to say something about the machinery by which a communistic society is to be carried on. Well, I can say very little that is not merely negative. Most antisocialists and even some socialists are apt to confuse, as I hinted before, the co-operative machinery towards which modern life is tending with the essence of socialism itself; and its enemies attack it, and sometimes its friends defend it on those lines; both to my mind committing a grievous error, especially the latter. E.g. An anti-socialist will say How will you sail a ship in a socialist condition? How? Why with a captain and mates & sailing master and engineer (if it be a steamer) and ABs and stokers & so on and so on. *Only* there will be no 1st 2nd and 3rd class among the passengers: the

sailors & stokers will be as well fed & lodged as the captain or passengers ; and the Captain and the stoker will have the same pay.

There are plenty of enterprizes which will be carried on then, as they are now (and, to be successful, must probably remain) under the guidance of one man. The only difference between then and now will be, that he will be chosen because he is fit for the work, & not because he must have a job found for him ; and that he will do his work for the benefit of each and all, and not for the sake of making a profit. For the rest, time will teach us what new machinery may be necessary to the new life ; reasonable men will submit to it without demur ; and unreasonable ones will find themselves compelled to by the nature of things, and can only I fear console themselves, as the philosopher did when he knocked his head against the door post, by damning the Nature of things.

Well, since our aim is so great and so much to be longed for, the substituting throughout all society of peace for war, pleasure and self-respect for grief and disgrace, we may well seek about strenuously for some means for starting our enterprise ; and since it is just these means in which the difficulty lies, I appeal to all socialists, while they express their thoughts & feelings about them honestly and fearlessly, not to make a quarrel of it with those whose aim is one with theirs, because there is a difference of opinion between them about the usefulness of the details of the means. It is difficult or even impossible not to make mistakes about these, driven as we are by the swift lapse of time and the necessity for doing something amidst it all. So let us forgive the mistakes that others make, even if we make none ourselves, and be at peace amongst ourselves, that we may the better make War upon the monopolist.



**FABIAN SOCIETY.**—The Fabian Society consists of Socialists. A statement of its Rules and the following publications can be obtained from the Secretary, at the Fabian Office, 3 Clement's Inn, London, W.C.

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