

A CONTRIBUTION ON COMMUNISM.

BY

H. B. SAMUELS.



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A CONTRIBUTION ON COMMUNISM.

"Our aim, one and all, is to obtain for the whole community complete ownership and control of the means of transport, the means of manufacture, the mines, and the land. Thus we look to put an end for ever to the wage-system, to sweep away all distinctions of class, and eventually to establish national and international Communism on a sound basis."—
MANIFESTO OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF SOCIALIST BODIES, *May 1st, 1893.*



T the present time when almost universal interest in Socialism and Socialists is being exhibited, the occasion seems to have arrived when the ideal, towards which is directed consciously or otherwise the whole of their propaganda, might advantageously be depicted and placed before them and the public generally, and in language both simple and concise. I do not pretend to have discovered anything new, rather have I borrowed from various sources and utilized in my own way certain truths and ideas discovered and elaborated by others. These I now present in this shape in the hope that my fellow students and teachers may be able to use for the Cause anything they may find of service within these covers. In a work of this kind it is usual to retrace our footsteps and show from what earlier conditions we have evolved and by what means progress has been made; but it is not my intention to look back, rather to look forward to times that we all hope for and many of us strive for, the redemption of labour and the happiness of the human race.

Communism is, as yet, not generally understood, even by many who are supposed to worship that ideal, although there are indeed many earnest workers in the cause of Freedom

who claim that the principles contained and combined in it include all that can be truly claimed as being essential to human development and the ultimate happiness of the race. Be it noticed that every school of Socialist thought, although disagreed at to immediate aims and necessities, are all agreed in the hope and desire to assist mankind towards the ultimate goal of Communism, pure and free. The Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx and F. Engels of '48 pointed clearly to this necessity for common agreement, and thanks to a few stalwarts in the movement, the flag still flies and will continue to act as a beacon through all the various phases and stages of working class struggles.

For the sake of brevity I use the term Communism as implying that condition of society where there shall be perfect freedom in the economical and social relations of life. Communism also means the extinction of the institution or idea of "private property." What is "private property" is a question that very few indeed are prepared to answer, although we hear much about "economic freedom" from all sides. Economic freedom cannot exist where private property is. Private property is that which one person claims a sole right to, and would hold against others. The idea that only the surplus over ones necessities contains the genesis of "private property" will not bear criticism, because of the obvious impossibility of defining ones "necessaries." When everything is collectively owned, therefore belonging to everybody, clearly no-thing belongs to any-body. Interest and Usury therefore could not exist. A hypothetical dweller in a society like that we read of in "News from Nowhere" would be guilty of a regard for private property were he to refuse to give up anything in his possession to any who asked. This is an extremely hypothetical case, but it illustrates my meaning, as to the extinction of the idea of private property. The idea that such a thing would be likely to happen is quite preposterous, seeing that everybody would be entitled to the satisfaction of every need and desire which would be catered for by the community generally.

Freedom is the term I use as denoting my ideal of a future

society which shall be one where "Government" of man by man will be non-existent. We claim that man in the past has made progress in proportion as he has been able to defy established rule and government; and the battle for individual freedom has waged from time immemorial between the individual and the "state" (so called) which has always tried to make the individual conform to its decrees. And the history of human progress is essentially the history of *non-conformity*.

Freedom is the natural expression of the growing dissatisfaction with "government and law."* Freedom as an aspiration, as a theory is based on the fact that Nature having nowhere produced equality or inactivity never intended that anything and everything should be reduced to inactivity or equality of condition; seeing that every form of life, from the plant to the highest type of man, has each its own particular and peculiar organism, function, emotions, and aspirations, which to make progress must have the fullest and freest scope for development, and which cannot all flourish under the same climatic or social-economic conditions that might be imposed. Just as in Nature we find inequality co-existent with freedom, each form of life dissimilar and yet free, so we affirm that man should also be free, free to the best of his capacity to develop his every faculty fully, so that the race should evolve naturally and automatically towards higher conditions, which can never be realized while some men have power to divert or obstruct others in their mental or physical growth. The idea of less restriction and more liberty, and a confiding trust that nature is equal to her work, is permeating all modern thought.

In civilized communities we find that where the greatest freedom prevails, there the greatest activity and variety exist. Those people who are most "governed" are the least developed in art, science and invention. The least governed a people are the more self-reliant are they and the more freely do they co-operate in works of public and social utility, which reacts on all with beneficent and inspiring

* Freedom to discover any truth, freedom to develop, to live naturally and fully.

effects, and urges them on to greater effort. "Racial peculiarities, local customs, and even national prejudices are undergoing effacement before the irresistible forces which civilized man has brought to bear on time and space, and just as these influences affect communities, so must they also modify the habits and methods of individuals."

The more freedom we enjoy, the greater the harmony resulting, and our freedom is only real and satisfying when we fear no interference or restraint. At the bottom of all men's desires and aspirations is the instinct of freedom, and it seems really strange that men should tolerate so many interferences and restraints which as children they rebelled against in various ways. Whence comes this baneful submissive spirit that tolerates all sorts of tyrannies and privileges? Is a respect for private property and authority really natural, instinctive, or is it only acquired, and due to environment and monkey-like imitativeness? This is the problem; and the answer is one that only economic freedom provides. Why do men and women with intelligence and experience tolerate that which was distasteful to them before having acquired knowledge and powers of analysis? It is because of the superstition of the "state," of Government, that fatal mistake that prompts men to submit to authority, through fear that they may provoke hostility from conventional hypocrisy and prejudice; or in the hope that they may also be able at some future time to exercise it over others. By the State we mean "all that collection of institutions, political, legislative, judicial, military, financial, etc., by means of which the management of their own affairs, the guidance of their personal conduct and the care of ensuring their own safety are taken from the people and entrusted to certain individuals. And these are invested with the right to make laws over and for all, and to constrain the public to respect them." To quote another eminent writer, who says, "It is scarcely necessary to advert to the abuse of the term *State*, both in the popular dialect and, less excusably, in the speech of professed politicians or political orators. Thus the *State*, at one

moment, means the governing authority as opposed to the governed; at another the secular authorities, legislative and executive, as opposed to the ecclesiastical. Sometimes the *State* is contrasted with the existing or temporary mechanism for governing the State, that is, with what is called Government. At other times it implies the body politic, that is, the nation regarded as a subject of Government; and this last meaning is most in accord with the results of the historical analysis just concluded, though serious omissions in the full and proper connotation of the term—as in respect of territorial limits and of continuous identity in point of time—are not avoided. Lastly, there is the special meaning of the term appropriate to the constitution of the United States of America (North), and the technical meaning known to International law, according to which the State is an entity having certain recognisable predicates, such as independence of other entities like itself, and the power of self-government in respect of determining upon and controlling its own internal organisation."

In social life also the same demoralizing idea exists; that many men suffer poverty in the hope of being able to inflict it upon others at some future time when "luck" favours them; and tolerate evils and abuses through fear of immediate inconvenience which they are blind to see must lead to ultimate satisfaction. Freedom declares and proclaims the fact that all men are naturally antagonistic towards oppression. And "government" is oppression. The essence of government is Force, and all governments are essentially and necessarily brutal and conservative. "Governments oppress mankind in two ways, either directly, by brute force, that is, physical violence, or indirectly, by depriving them of the means of subsistence and thus reducing them to helplessness at discretion." Both methods are in vogue. Political power originated in the first method; economic privilege arose from the second. And both must be overcome by any means.

Governments exist primarily to protect those who *own* against those who do not. "Government" is the creation of acquired property, and one without the other could not

exist. Those who own "property" therefore—govern—and those who own nothing are governed. When Property is socialized, when Wealth is collectively owned, and economic freedom prevails, Government will be a thing of the past, owing to the destruction of classes and the reign of a true society. The terms Government and Governed are responsible in a great measure for a deep misunderstanding, which must be eradicated. Government in its nakedness, stripped of all outward appearances and foreign attributes, is simply Private Property writ large. Property governs always and poverty is perpetuated. Those who own the country govern the country; those who own and control the instruments of production—industrial capital—own and control the producers. "He owns my life, who owns the means whereby I live," and the financiers exercise the greatest power and influence over all.

What is called Government to-day, the Lords and Commons, do not really "govern" the country, they simply legislate, they themselves being but the means whereby the legal owners of the country are able to safeguard their property and collect their rents, interests and profits. Taxes are levied on the community, direct and indirect, to pay for the means that are employed by these tools of Property—the Government of the day. Every member of the government therefore is a governor (nominally). A "governor" is a privileged person, because he is supposed to command others, and to avail himself of the force of others to make his own ideas and desires triumph. An administrator or technical director is a worker like others, in a society of course, where all have equal opportunities for development and culture.

In its ethical sense the Government so-called (the Commons) is a collection of individuals, whose function it is to govern. To govern means to control, coerce, dominate; and believing that all coercion is immoral—harmful—so should we expose and denounce it on every occasion. If Government meant, to manage, contrive, or regulate, we could hardly quarrel with it, but then it would not be govern-

ment but Management or Administration. With an administration we might have rules and regulations, but with Government we must have Laws. What is a law? Is it not—to all intents and purposes—the registered opinion of a few men with force behind and penalties attached? Law, considered ethically and historically, is quite another thing, but using the term in its well understood and not to be mistaken sense, we shall recognize it as statute law, and not custom crystallized into habit and both natural and spontaneous. "One learns by observation that it is not the restraints thrown around the individual by laws and religious creeds that make him 'good.' Often the removal of these very restrictions renders him surprisingly manful and upright, feeling that he is not *forced* into a path he would tread naturally, if let alone."

And by what right, moral or divine, do some men seek to exercise the power to make or mar the ideas and lives of their fellows? By what method of reasoning can they convince themselves or others that they may usurp the functions of other equally frail and fallible beings, and actually think for them? We impose our ideas and notions of right and wrong, good and bad, upon you for your benefit—they say in effect. So have said all tyrants, and the lie is quite as palpable and absurd whether urged by one despot or a number of them, elected even by the popular vote, with a property qualification.

Carlyle on Law, wrote, "For I must remark to you and reiterate to you, that a continued series of votings transacted incessantly for sessions long, with three times three readings, and royal assents as many as you like, cannot make a law the thing that is no law. No, that lies beyond them. They can make it a sheepskin Act of Parliament, and even hang men (though now with difficulty) for not obeying it; and this they reckon enough; the idle fools! I tell you and them, it is a miserable blunder, this self-styled "law" of theirs; and I, for one, will study either to have no concern with it, or else by judicious methods to disobey said blundering impious pretended "law."

Communism on the economic side claims that all Wealth is a social product. Political Economy instead of being a "science," will become an art; the art of economising the productive and distributive forces of the body politic. The means of producing wealth and of satisfying the needs of the community having been created by the common labours of all, must be at the disposal of all. Common possession of the necessities for production implies the common enjoyment of the fruits of the common production and when we consider that an equitable organisation of society can only arise when every wage system is abandoned, and when everybody contributing for the common well-being to the full extent of his capacities, shall enjoy also from the common stock of society to the fullest possible extent of his needs. For no one individual ever *made anything*. He may have helped or transformed it from rough to smooth, from useless to useful, from wasteful to valuable or brought it from one place to another; but he never created it or produced it or made it. And if a greater value has been added to it by an expenditure of labour or skill the greater value is in consequence of there being a desire on the part of others for it, an effective demand we might say, and of the increased facilities which are the result of a great and highly complicated organization, that has higher needs and desires, and so make possible both the effort and the enhanced value. Generations of workers have passed away and left for him and us the results of all their thoughts and labours, and we therefore as a community have equal rights to the results of past and present collective efforts. How ridiculously small is the value of one's efforts compared with the vast results of associated labour, and yet we find some prepared, even eager to maintain that some have more rights to the enjoyment of life, and others less. Let us dismiss from our minds at once the idea of "natural rights," for as we enter on the scene of life's struggles, we have no rights whatever, neither duties to, nor claims on the community. Parents owe their offspring nourishment and care through being the primary cause of their being, and they are under obligations to the babe, which they will never disown or

shirk. As children we simply share our parents rights and claims on the community. Infants will not then be the "children of the community," but the children of their parents by whom ordinarily they will be reared.

It is hardly necessary now I think to dwell upon the fact that the workers, the producers of wealth, as a class are poor, in many cases so poor as to die of actual starvation. This phenomenon is not peculiar to one country, but in all so-called civilized countries, whether young like Australia, or old like Russia, it is a common occurrence. Mr. Frederick Harrison and Mr. Charles Booth remind us that 90 per cent. of the population die worth nothing, and that in London one in every five die in a work-house, hospital or public institution. Dr. Playfair and Dr. Ogle tell us that the average life of the worker is but 33 whereas the average life of the middle and upper classes is 55. And the infant mortality of the East End of London before the age of five is 52 per cent, but in the West End it is but 17 per cent. These figures tell their own tale. Want, exposure, unhealthy dwellings, bad and insufficient food and clothing, precarious and deteriorative occupations which entails great nervous strain and excitement, as well as many other similar causes are at work among the unfortunate producers of the worlds wealth, that results in all the diseases, immoralities, suicides and so-called crimes with which present day society is afflicted.

Communism claims a healthful existence for all children born into the world, as well as economic freedom to all, regardless of size, sex, strength, or sensitiveness. All have equal rights to the earths surface, all must have free access to the means of life. None have any right whatsoever to debar or prevent the fullest development and satisfaction of all our faculties; the needs of all must be satisfied first before the so-called rights of a few. We are all equally weak and dependent upon one another, and we shall find our greatest satisfaction in the satisfaction of others.

The tendencies of the times are set in these directions. In political life there is a tendency towards more and greater

de-centralization. Home Rule is the keynote in which all legislation is pitched. Local autonomy and independence of centralized government is becoming more and more the rule, and the feeling is spreading "that the least 'government' is the best." In fact, there are even now many villages and districts where the existence of a government is not considered or known, and is only brought before the people's notice in the form of a tax collector or soldier, representing the brute force to be used against them as occasion serves. Millions of human beings live and die without having had anything to do with government, and millions of transactions are made without the slightest notice or necessity of it.

In Economics, there is the tendency widely appreciated that collective ownership is preferable and must supersede individual ownership. Pools, corners, trusts, combinations, and co-operations are the rule to-day. This proves conclusively that the principle of joint ownership and control is better in every way for those concerned. The step from comparative irresponsible collective ownership, to absolute ownership by the community is not a wide one. From the manner in which big industries are being used to-day against the employees and the people, one can see clearly that the community will sooner or later take over these industries and run them in the interests of all, and so relieve the capitalists from risk and danger. It is being admitted on all hands that trusts, syndicates and rings are becoming a real danger in industrial pursuits and a growing menace to the welfare and prosperity of the country by reason of too great centralization of the money power in their hands and the consequent tendency to attempt the control of political power, irrespective of party or national interest; the burning question is, What is the remedy, if any remedy there may be? Must the population of these isles see themselves, little by little, drawn beneath the wheels of the god mammon, without chance of resistance or escape? Direct legislation in the premises we have seen to be futile. What, then is to be done? The answer is a logical sequence from the premises. If it be, as it seems to be the case, that great public under-

takings are managed more economically, efficiently and profitably by syndicates, that is, under a common control and superintendence for joint benefit, why not broaden the scheme, and make the people of the United Kingdom stockholders in the syndicate, with their local or national councils as their agent and superintendent to administer the affairs of the peoples syndicate? In other words, the necessary consequences of the success of trusts and syndicates is Socialism in the true sense; an enlightened and intelligent socialism where the administrative concerns itself, not with making "laws," but takes in hand the construction, maintenance and control of great national and interstate enterprises not for profit, but for the general well-being of the community. From this on to Communism is but as from boyhood to full grown manhood, and there are not wanting signs that these ideas are taking root. We shall doubtless see many failures and disappointments in the march of humanity towards this ideal, but nevertheless we are hopeful of the future for England. The British race are traditionally fond of freedom and have time and often shown the most bitter resentment against oppression of all kinds. Yoke after yoke, burden after burden of injustices, political, social and religious have been thrown off, in spite of relentless and cruel opposition on the part of the classes who rule and rob.

In practice, Communism will offer the greatest inducement to skill and ingenuity, art, science, and invention; for when all the material necessities of life are assured to all, there can remain no limit or hindrance to all the aspirations and hopes of everybody in the community. It is impossible for anyone to determine to-day the details of the institutions which will best fulfil the needs of a future generation. Everything in society as in nature is exposed to constant change, one thing comes and another passes, what is old and useless is replaced by that which is new and full of vitality. Innumerable inventions, discoveries and improvements of various kinds are being made, and, when turned to practical account will, in proportion to their importance, transform or revolutionize human customs and society altogether.

It would be a mere waste of time and presumption on my part to attempt to sketch, however slightly, any scheme or method by which people, living in a condition of things grown out of purer social surroundings, may conduct the various industrial operations which may be necessary. Production we may be sure will be carried on in the interest of the producers, the community, and distribution will be made as satisfactory and economical as may be; and exchange will doubtless be made on the basis of a common interest and a general well-being. Love and mutual regard will be the prime motive power in every relation of life and not profit-mongering, and mutual distrust. Standards of value money and coupons of any kind will have no place in a Society, the basis of which is economic freedom. All talk of political freedom, religious freedom, social freedom, etc. is superfluous, when once *economic freedom* is granted, which includes all that is essential to a most perfect and complete human existence. Anything short of this is less than complete freedom and is therefore tainted with some sort of slavery which must be conquered. The question of religion or theological dogma and its position in future society is one that requires to be dealt with exhaustively by itself. But in my humble judgment it does and will form the greatest obstacle in our path.

Real freedom then will induce all to devote their time and ingenuity to the improvement, simplification, and acceleration of the processes of production; and the ambition of inventors and scientists be stimulated to the highest degree; and who can predict the limits of our advance in chemistry, physics, physiology, and other sciences? Who would venture to foretell the (to us) giant undertakings, which men of later generations will achieve, for the purpose of materially modifying the climatic conditions of countries, and of utilizing their natural resources in every possible direction?

When we consider that our lives are influenced more or less by two principles, one the principle of association for the production of the means of existence, comfort and pleasure; and the other the principle of personal freedom to enjoy these

conditions, it will be generally agreed that the two principles together make one harmonious ethic, which includes and combine the essentials of a true human development. All being on a social and economical equality, though not, of course, physically or intellectually, there will be no use or necessity for collecting rents, taxes, or duties; no expenses of any kind for the maintenance of obsolete institutions, which will cease to be of any value as soon as economic equality, free access to the means of life, is the foundation of society.

Land, with its natural differences of fertility and advantage, becomes quite a simple and prosaic affair, to hold, manage or cultivate, as it will be to the advantage of all to make the best use of every acre, every foot of ground, so that it may be equally valuable and necessary for some purpose or other. Whether one plot is more fertile or prolific than another will make no difference to the social or economic status of the user or occupier, as, good or "bad," better or worse will make no difference except to the community as a whole; who will see to the distribution of the collective results over the whole people. Seeming advantages of site or situation, position or habitation, will tend to automatically regulate themselves by agreement and toleration. The principle of first come first served, with the right of use-possession, seems to me to be the most economical and equitable, and the least objectionable. The mere fact of a plot of land, or any position on it, being unoccupied or unused, is a sufficient reason for the first comer (who dispossesses no one), to enter into and hold use-possession of. Every alternative suggestion includes the necessity for rent payment which cannot be a feature among a people economically free. I admit the existence of "economic rent" (natural difference and advantage), but deny the necessity for its valuation, assessment and collection, on the ground also of expediency and economy. All the cost and expenses of commercial or national institutions would be provided for from the common stock, that is to say, from the accumulated wealth of all kinds that will of necessity be controlled, in the public interest, by such democratic methods as may commend

themselves to the people. We may be sure that experience will prove the value of certain methods over others, and we may also conclude that that method which proves the best will be adopted in spite of any opposition, and will probably form a rule whereby certain work may be most satisfactorily accomplished. What becomes a rule or custom in various processes of production, will naturally be obeyed; self-interest as well as public spirit will impel people to do that which is generally accepted and agreed on; and how could it be otherwise? When our free men of the future are no longer compelled to make the support of life the object of life, when the realization of a new faith, or rather of a new knowledge, assures to all the means of livelihood in return for congenial and useful labour, in short, when industry is no longer our mistress but our handmaid, we shall discover that the object of life is joy in living, and seek to train our children to the full capacity of enjoyment.

It will be learned by youths in the first years of their working lives, and even earlier when as children they will be taught the rudiments of various occupations so that what one is most fitted for as well as most interested in will be the avocation pursued later. By a thorough systematic organisation of industry the most economical means will be the most automatic; and the training of the young will tend to produce the utmost co-operation and emulation. Organization will be free, else it becomes disorganization, and that kind of system that makes necessary and permanent a horde of officials whose efforts must be directed towards keeping free men organized together. The idea is preposterous, that men, economically free can be "organised" against their will. To be organized at all they must be free; free to associate or not; having associated, free to stay or secede; otherwise there will be continual friction and waste, domestic and civil war. Organisation will be a matter of common necessity that will prompt all to fulfil their obligations towards society, society to whom the young owe their very being and worth and on whom the aged and weak have the natural and moral claim to all the comforts and enjoyments possible, as well as

the gratitude of every member of the community. Moral obligations there must be and it will not require any statute law or coercion to enforce them. Should there be any transgression of what is held to be common usage, individual initiative—spontaneous and direct—will be called into play, and the social equilibrium maintained. There will be no such difficulty as some fear in the arranging and managing of big enterprises such as Post, Railways, Telegraphs, Docks, etc., for when a community of sensible people (without which no real social condition can be reached, or maintained) have needs and desires, so will they devise satisfactory economical means for their gratification. Organized and fully equipped boards of management, collectors of statistics, boards of commerce, trade councils, labour bureaux, etc., and the many other necessary supplemental and auxiliary agencies in the orderly and economical production, distribution and exchange of commodities. Experienced men and women in the different branches of industry and usefulness would succeed to positions of influence automatically, just as students to-day succeed to scholarships and professorships by examinations and merit. It might be necessary sometimes to put certain persons to certain positions to the vote through priority or seniority but those who voted would not be sacrificing or relinquishing in the least any of their liberties; and those who were appointed or elected would have nothing but their merit to win and retain the confidence and respect of their fellows who would lose or gain just as they had selected wisely or not; and so it would resolve itself into a question of gain or loss which would soon remedy itself.

It might perhaps be necessary also to call together the principals of various departments or agencies, in face of some unexpected happening, to discuss or decide some sort of action concerning the interests of the community generally, but whatever course of action is agreed to or decided on, it would be a moral binding force upon all, even those with other ideas, and the suggestions would carry weight with the people who placed trust and confidence in those who had been selected to fill responsible posts.

There might still be disagreement, but if there were sufficient means physical and material, to carry out any special work, it would most assuredly be done, and experience would be found more advisable than enmity. Where there are identical interests, a common aim and a noble ideal, there will be found a singleness of purpose and a tenacity of effort, which must result in complete and common satisfaction. Such examples in domestic and political economy will naturally be appreciated by the young, and it is a fact that much of our actions in adult life which seem quite natural and automatic is due not to law, but to that intellectual training without which we would be hardly distinguished from the lower animals. The intelligent operations of early life have become the automatic acts of adult existence; and just as surroundings are pure and invigorating so will our lives be, and our education a drawing out of our special aptitudes and faculties which will in their development cause pleasure to those around. I cannot separate the young from the old, the simple from the experienced, the active from the passive; each depends upon the rest to some extent and the child is sometimes father to the man. It is admitted generally that the infant always starts at the same point of intelligence, but it depends upon how well the path is cleared for him, as to the goal he may be able to reach. A vast amount of what passes for education is positively mischievous and tends directly not to reduce and strengthen, but to repress and enfeeble the personality. Education will consequently be a matter of the supremest importance (nothing being taught that must later on be forgotten) so that useful and joyous youths may be reared, which will make it well-nigh impossible for anti-social acts to occur in a true social state or condition. Can a true social environment breed anti-social acts? We might just as well expect a healthy tree to bear rotten fruit.

Those who by some mischance or other, by some natural mental, or physical deformity, by some want of moral perception or courage, may be led into the commission of indiscretions or anti-social acts, public opinion or the common

conscience will doubtlessly and inevitably bring such to their senses. Reason will effect more than restraint, which may be exerted by those who may suffer at the hands of or through the acts of others. This potential restraining force is inherent in all human kind and is commonly known as the instinct of self preservation or defence, the community or that part of it that feels injured, will most certainly exercise means of restraint; but this will be not in obedience to statute law, or in response to a verdict in a court of judges, but will be the result of injured feelings, will be in response to natural spontaneous emotions, which may take a more or less drastic form according to the temperament of the individual or the occasion.

This implies Force, but I submit that force established and positive, and that Force that is inherent in us all, potential, are quite different and cannot be confounded, or construed into being the same thing. To the wrong-doer or mischief-minded, the effect will be the same, inasmuch as he will be prevented from harming his fellows; but the cost in material and moral expenditure will be far different, and in favour of the more natural and economical method of reprisal in self-defence which does not require a special set of men to watch for that which does not and may never exist, *i.e.*, criminals.

And this feeling or impulse can never be eradicated. This is the natural impulse that finds expression in acts of revolt, and it is due to this principle that men have ever fought against tyranny and authority, and it also is the great lever by which others coming after have been able to wield more power, and exert a greater influence for social betterment.

When people have learned to love one another, when they are concerned with each other's welfare, when they have found how easy life could be made for all, then would the existing seeming difficulties disappear and the possibilities of the resources and joys of a real society be appreciated. The rough places of life would become smooth, the elements even would appear more friendly to humanity, were they possessed of warm hearts, with kind considerations for each

other. This is but an ordinary feeling with us all, but how difficult it is of practical realisation to-day when "property," that bane of human existence, controls the feelings of the majority of mankind.

All questions of a personal and delicate nature between the sexes would settle themselves in such a society, where both being economically free and independent, there would be but the natural instinct and affinity only, to draw them together and maintain the bond. Intelligence, culture, and independence will direct and facilitate a right choice, and only considerations of true love and affection would be necessary to ensure happy families. This question of Woman is one of very deep concern indeed, and one that cannot be lightly passed over and cynically disposed of, and I shall be among the last to say that love is not the principal motive in human affairs. In fact, love is really the great motive power and has already prompted men and women innumerable to sacrifice all that others have considered worthy, in order to benefit those they loved, and for whom they had sympathy or affection. True love will exist only when anxiety and fear will have vanished from the minds of men and women, and the sexes be mutually independent and respecting. The want of true love to-day causes selfishness, jealousies, and cruelties that lead to misery and despair, which will disappear in proportion as women gain their economic freedom as well as men. Economic freedom consists in having the right to all the necessities and enjoyments of life, guaranteed by the community to each member, irrespective of worth or ability. It will be expected, I conclude, that each will contribute his or her labour towards the production of the total wealth, and each will be entitled and enabled to consume and benefit by the results. "He that does not work, neither shall he eat," will *not* be the standard by which men's aptitudes or inabilities, or disabilities will be measured. All persons alike will have the full right to the satisfaction of all his needs, and none be denied food through not having first worked. Experience teaches that it is far more moral and economical to allow even such people

freedom, than employ others to prevent him from satisfying his needs, and punishing him for negligence or laziness. Social ostracism, the moral boycott, will effect more than all the penal inflictions possible, and the individual, should there be such, will be affected to a greater extent if it be deemed desirable by others in the community. But the probability is very remote, I might even say impossible under the newer and truer social conditions.

Woman has a great and noble part to play in the stirring and eventful times before us, and their influence upon men is so great that it becomes almost our first duty to appeal to women for their moral and active assistance. Woman, long enduring slave as she has been and is even now to such a great extent, will learn the lesson faster in my opinion, just as we direct our attention to the present unequal division of labour that makes her as a wife and mother so burdened and enslaved. In the future society that we are striving for her true place will be where Nature intended, by man and with man for their mutual benefit and happiness. Distinction of sex, will not mean distinctions of opportunity or freedom, but will mean a true appreciation of those who can and will make our lives worthy and pleasurable, and our children pure and true.

The path of Truth and Love is one that is open to us all, and, by a real desire to know and a real desire to do, that which is good and true towards others, so will we be making for that True Society that the brightest and best minds among men and women of all ages have dreamed of and aspired to, and which we in our time may bring a step nearer if we be but true to ourselves and to our fellows. We are acquiring new emotions, new passions, new thoughts; our age is not one of pettiness and lust, but replete with clearer and nobler ideas than the past, ideas that its sons will generate and its daughters bring to birth. Dangers and difficulties there are, misery, pain, and wrong-doing over and enough. But we of to-day see beyond them. The age is strong in knowledge, rich in ideas and they summon us to action, impulsive and free.

Communism seems to me then, to include and combine all that is best in every ism that has gone before; I do not claim that it means finality in the evolution of the race towards perfection, but I do claim that as far as human eye can see it is possible, as far as human mind can conceive it is desirable, and so it is that in writing this brochure I hope to have been instrumental in clearing away some of the prejudices and misconceptions that may have existed, and aroused a desire for a further enquiry into these ideas and principles which have inspired men and women of all nationalities and temperaments to make sacrifices and endure hardships and suffering, so that the world generally should be pleasanter to live in for all.

It is essential, aye urgent, that we make the attempt in some way or other to put these principles and ideas into practice; and wherever it can be shown that it is possible, there we can learn and teach the lessons of liberty as opposed to tyranny. To be free is to act free and we can never learn what freedom is except by practising it. But it is necessary that the people learn the ethics and philosophy of Freedom before it is possible for them to desire it. Once the desire and love of Freedom is acquired, the rest will come as a matter of course and of courage. In conclusion, "Let no one underrate his own power, or imagine that one more or less makes no difference. No one not even the weakest can be dispensed with for furthering the advance of humanity. A continual dropping hollows out the hardest stone. And many drops make the brook, and brooks make the stream, and streams the great river, whose majestic course can be stopped by no obstacle in nature. Precisely the same thing applies to the life of civilized humanity. Nature is everywhere our instructress, and if we abide by her teaching, the final victory must be ours.

This final victory will be all the more decisive, the greater the zeal and energy with which each individual pursues the path before him. No one has a right to consider whether he himself, after all his trouble and labour, will live to see a fairer epoch of civilization, and still less has he the right to

let such a consideration deter him from the course on which he has entered. Although we cannot predict the duration of the single phases of development, nor the form which they will assume, just as little as we can with any certainty foresee the length of our own lives; and in a century such as ours we have no cause to relinquish all hope of witnessing the victory. We struggle and strive onwards, unconcerned as to when or where the boundary posts of new and better times for humanity shall be erected. If we fall in the fight, the rearguard will take our place; we shall fall with the consciousness of having done our duty as men, and with the conviction that the goal will be reached, in spite of all opposition from the enemies of humanity and progress."



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