

THE RED DAWN.

FAR down forgotten ages
The link of life entwines—
The hope of saints and sages,
The lores of vanished lines,
And as we pause and ponder
Before the future's veil,
Lo, Freedom, dawning yonder,
Makes bright each down and dale!

Then Justice, newly risen,
Shall break, with warrior-might,
Each tyrant-built prison,
Each slave-encumbered site,
Where, foul with all uncleanness,
The lords of guile and gold
Insult the people's leanness,
The lives they own and hold.

Swift-winged and clothed with fire
The red dawn speedeth on—
The dawn of our desire—
Across Fate's rubicon.
Its flight shall flame before us,
Its sword-shine fill the sky;
And in our hearts a chorus
Whose notes shall never die.

Acclaiming Right ascended,
Proclaiming Wrong dis-crowned,
His reign of ruin ended,
His toiling slaves unbound.
And these the sword disparted—
No flag shall e'er unfold—
The courtier, callous-hearted:
The trader, sordid-souled!

—EMMER JONES, in London "Justice."

THE ARBITRATION FAILURE AND AFTER

By H. E. HOLLAND.

FIVE years ago and more the writer warned the workers of N.S.W. against being side-tracked from the logical "legalised eight-hours day and living minimum wage" demand by the cry for Compulsory Arbitration; but that warning went unheeded. To-day every protest then made stands justified, and every prophecy is fulfilled, by the experience of the past few years.

The wharf-workers of Sydney are told they must open the doors of their union to the professional blackleg and to all others—and rightly the Union replies that it will see the blackleg and the Court and the rest of them in Gehenna before it complies. The Registrar thereupon applies for cancellation of the Wharf-labourer Union as an Industrial Union of Employees. The Union makes it clear that it "doesn't care a continental" whether its registration is cancelled or not. Arbitration in its case has been a costly luxury; and, anyhow, what the Court refused to do for the wharf-workers, the employers have conceded under private agreements.

Newcastle coal-miners—the largest union in Australia, itself applying for cancellation, a majority of its members having expressed themselves by means of a referendum, in favour of that being done.

In New Zealand the slaughtermen are on strike in spite of the Act, in spite of the hysteria of the employers, in spite of the fact that the Minister for Labor is breathing out threatenings of fine and jail against the strikers.

In Melbourne, politically-appointed Judge O'Connor has declared the man of the Combine who suddenly sacked large bodies of men to all in an attempt to smash industrial unionism did no wrong thing whatsoever.

And, here in Sydney, in delivering judgment in the Cobar mining dispute, Judge Heydon made a speech full of notable points, the most remarkable of which are the declaration to the effect that any employer who resorts to the employment of "contract labor" may place himself beyond the jurisdiction of the Court, and the unmistakable hint conveyed to the workers to meet the no-jurisdiction objection with the strike.

Some of Judge Heydon's words are almost identical with the terms of our article in last issue on the Haberfield case.

"The real protection of the men against contracts being used to reduce their earnings," said the Judge, "was that it would not suit either the employers to attempt it, or the men to submit to it. . . . It was just the sort of thing about which strikes occurred."

And again: "Even when the devious and difficult course of raising a dispute had been safely traversed, and the parties found themselves before the Court, it was only to discover that the most important matters of their industrial life were outside its jurisdiction."

For these reasons, Judge Heydon says, the members of the Court are not surprised at a recrudescence of strikes. "The raising of a dispute was now like self-decapitation—a difficult, if not dangerous operation. It was a path beset with snares, and so nearly was the door of the Court shut, and so difficult was it for the industrial disputant to squeeze through, that it was not unusual now for the men when they made their demands to inform the employers that if difficulties were raised as to jurisdiction they would give up the Court and revert to the strike. Though illegal, it seemed fair, for men had, after all, a right to ask for better wages, and if they could not do it through the Court, they must do it some other way. The return to simple methods was often successful."

For the present unsatisfactory position Judge Heydon blames the "incautious use of the words 'employer and employee' in the Act"; but, as we have previously shown, the basic trouble is in the fundamental principle on which the Act is constructed. However the Act was worded, means of challenging its decisions in the higher Courts would have been devised.

While Judge Heydon's inferential "tip" to strike against the no-jurisdiction plea may have a good deal of force, it is significant of the utter failure of the Act that the presiding judge deems it advisable to suggest a resort to the strike in order to preserve some measure of jurisdiction to a Court that is alleged to exist to do away with the "barbarism of the strike."

Shortly the Arbitration Act will expire by effluxion of time, and an attempt will be made by the Carruthers Government to substitute a still more undesirable measure—a measure that will give to the capitalist far greater advantages than the present Act gives, that will take from the worker far more than the present Act takes from him, and that will bind industrial unionism with fetters infinitely more galling than the fetters imposed by the present Act.

For the immediate present, as was emphasized in our last issue, there is only one remedy—the Legalised Maximum Working Day and the Living Minimum Wage. No wages boards system, no tinkered substitute for the present Act should be accepted by the N.S.W. workers. The Arbitration Act should be permitted to die. In the meantime, self-cancellation of registration by all the unions and a general withdrawal of all matters awaiting adjudication, with a united demand for a maximum working week of 44 hours and a living minimum wage, and also a demand that Parliament which makes the law shall furnish whatever interpretation of it is required, is a proposal which the unions and labor bodies of Australia are recommended to seriously consider.

Whoever has come to a full consciousness of the nature of capitalist society and the foundation of modern socialism, knows also that a socialist movement that leaves the basis of the class struggle may be anything else, but it is not socialism.—W. Liebknecht.

Motto of the Debt Collector: Never put off till to-morrow what can be dunned to-day.

The Belgian Socialist Movement

THE roots of the Belgian Socialist Movement reach back into the years before the revolution of 1848. But the conscious Socialist movement begins only with the foundation of L'Internationale in 1864. The first meetings of L'Internationale were attended by the late Caesar de Paep, the great Belgian Socialist, who has since played such an important role in determining the principles of the international movement of the working classes. It was largely owing to him that, at the convention in Brussels in 1868, the Marxian ideas gained a decisive victory over the theories of Proudhon. It was he who was one of the first to declare, at the same convention, that strikes and the refusal of military service are direct means in the Socialist fight for a better order of things.

After the foundation of the first branches of L'Internationale, the Belgian movement grew rapidly. The economic organization became a reality and led many strikes to victory even after the defeat of the Commune in 1871.

L'Internationale, dissolved in 1872, laid down the guiding principles of the Socialist movement, determined the ways of its organization, and formulated its ultimate aims.

The life of the second L'Internationale, called into existence in 1889, is guaranteed on the basis of individually-developed common principles and we see the important work it is able to accomplish in its new form in uniting the various French Socialist parties into a single body.

The Belgian Socialists have not lost their enthusiasm since the death of the Commune and L'Internationale.

De Paep, with Louis Bertrand, in 1875, built on the ruins of the old branches a federation of the French-speaking working men in Brussels while in 1876 Van Beveren and Anseele reconstructed the ancient organisations of the weavers of Ghent, thus forming the nucleus of the present Dutch organisations.

The two foundations in Brussels and Ghent mark the beginning of a series of significant acts. In Brussels a Socialist newspaper was launched as soon as the federation got on its feet, and in 1880 the old union of the weavers of Ghent gave Van Beveren and Anseele the organization of the co-operative bakery, the Vooruit (Forward)!

Besides these Socialist workmen organizations, we find many mutual aid societies which came into existence before the Socialist movement was started. In 1885 the Socialist Party of Belgium, the Parti Ouvrier, was established, and was followed a year later by the important co-operative society of Brussels, the Maison du Peuple (the People's House).

The Socialist co-operative movement of Belgium, which began with the foundation of the Vooruit, is very different from the co-operative movements of other countries. It is a form of class organisation of the working men, created by Belgian social conditions.

In Ghent the organisation of the weavers, which form the majority of the industrial population of that city, encountered the greatest antagonism from the capitalists and their faithful ally, the State. Several big strikes of the weavers were suppressed, and many obstacles raised to the extension of the organisation.

The weavers had neither the solidarity nor the intelligence to organise into a body for resistance. It was necessary to interest these working men in a movement which could realise immediate advantages without at the same time asking great sacrifices from them. The organisation of the scattered groups into one class was first accomplished by grouping the workers around a co-operative bakery.

The condition of the working men all over the country was the same. Great ignorance and fearful economic conditions worked together to keep down the whole working class.

The examples of the weavers of Ghent was contagious. Co-operative factories were created all over the industrial districts. Their present number is 200, with 105,000 members, and the colossal number of 520,000 consumers. Their annual business is more than 34,000,000 francs. Their 17,000 employees, who get higher wages than those in the capitalist enterprises, represent an educated army of Socialist organisers.

The ten greatest co-operative institutions, among them the Maison du Peuple, of Brussels, with 20,000 members and 21 branch houses; the Vooruit, with 8,000 members; the Jolimont, with 17,000; and Roux, with 9,000 members, etc., have altogether 66,945 members. Their annual business amounts to £750,000, and their net profit was in 1905 nearly £60,000.

The co-operatives have their own bakeries, groceries, dry goods, and clothing departments, coal shops, butcher shops, coffee houses, pharmacies, etc. They bake the bread they sell in their own modern bakeries, and some co-operatives have other producing branches; for instance, in Ghent a woollen mill, in another town a cigar factory.

The profit of the co-operatives is used for the development of various institutions, which radically help the elevation of the working class. We see a large system of insurance features. Insurance against sickness, accident, unemployment, life insurance, and aid for women in childbirth. These are all creations of this great co-operative system. Some of them insure their members without extra charge, distribute bread in case of sickness, and pay a pension to members who have been regularly connected for 20 years.

Besides this direct economic work, the co-operative institutions create a great social activity. Their great buildings, with beautiful offices, large mass-meeting and concert halls, libraries and coffee houses, are the real home of the unions and Socialist political organisations and the gathering place of the working men's families. The political meetings, the popular lectures, the concerts arranged in these houses of the people are cultivating the people to a wonderful degree.

The Socialist co-operatives have reduced the price of bread almost 5 per cent., not only for their members, but have forced the capitalist bakeries all over the country to sell better and cheaper products than heretofore. The bread industry has been revolutionized.

This great co-operative movement changed the economic conditions of the working men by reducing the cost of living, by freeing the working man from the grasp of the little shopkeeper, by insuring his life and giving him a house where he can rest. This great economic uplifting has had its moral influence, and this is its greatest result.

The co-operatives have opposed the selling of alcoholic beverages in their coffee houses and stores, and support the anti-alcohol propaganda and by so doing have largely reduced the consumption of alcohol. This means much.

(Concluded in next issue.)

THE SOCIALIST PRESS.

TO CELEBRATE the publication of "The International Socialist Review" the Socialists of Sydney and their friends, to the number of between 500 and 600, accepted the International Socialist Club's invitation to a complimentary picnic at Athol Gardens on Sunday last; and, notwithstanding the rain which fell heavily during the greater part of the day, a very pleasant time was spent. There was a lull in the pleasure-making during the afternoon, while a couple of short addresses were delivered by Press Committeeman Hillier and the editor. Warmly-appreciated selections were rendered by the Liedertafel. The proceedings closed at 8 o'clock with the "Marseillaise." On the wharf, the waiting period was relieved by musically-gifted comrades, who sang Danish, Italian, and German Socialist songs, and the world-stirring "Marseillaise."

A paragraph going the rounds of N.S.W. country papers, to the effect that Mr. H. E. Holland will be a candidate for Bega at the forthcoming State election, is altogether incorrect. H.E.H. was repeatedly approached with offers of substantial financial and platform support if he would consent to nominate for Bega as a P.L.L. candidate, and his reply was that as a Socialist he could not consistently stand as the candidate of the Labor party, which denies the class struggle and is not a Socialist Party.

POINTED * * PARAGRAPHS.

THERE were 1,112 applicants, representing 15,000 applications, for 14 settlement blocks on Brooking Station, near Lockhart. And still the Carruthers Government is beseeching the British emigrant to hasten along out here and settle on the land.

Worth noting. The daily papers religiously suppress the names of Sydney business establishments where plague cases occur, especially if the said establishments are large advertisers; but they unfailingly print the names of the unfortunate victims, who generally belong to the working class, and who do not pay for large advt. spaces in the columns of the dailies.

All men are bound, by natural obligation, if they can, to feed the hungry. But it may be said that granting the obligation in the giver does not prove a right in the receiver. To which I answer that the obligation to feed the hungry springs from the natural right of every man to life. Necessity has no law, and a starving man has a natural right to his neighbor's bread.—Cardinal Manning.

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.—August Bebel.

What else does the history of

ideas prove than that intellectual production changes its character in proportion as material production is changed? The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class. When people speak of ideas that revolutionise society, they do but express the fact that within the old society the elements of a new one have been created, and that the dissolution of the old ideas keeps even pace with the dissolution of the old conditions of existence.—Communist Manifesto.

Corporations and trust officials may have hearts, but they don't use them in their business. Working men have brains, but they don't always seem to use them on election day.—"Socialist Review."

Some people are afflicted with what the doctors call "imaginitis." Public ownership with the capitalist class in control is a case in point.—"Common Sense."

"It is no longer possible for a man to succeed in politics merely by spending money." "No," answered Senator Sorghum, "the chances now are that the opposition will have as much as you can get together. The only chance is to show superior smartness in placing it."—"Washington Star."

In less than five years a capital of under £150,000 invested by the king of Belgium in his Congo companies has produced over £1,600,000 interest. A little over 200 per cent.

It is claimed that 45 per cent. of lithographers die of tuberculosis.

Discussion is the torch of discovery. Rub the most wooden heads together, and you will get fire in time.—Brisbane "Worker."

"The Jungle" is to appear as a serial in Sydney "Worker."

THE PROPRTIED AND THE PROPERTYLESS CLASSES

Translated from the German by H. DIERKS.

(Concluded from last week.)

THEREFORE, social life shows a many-colored picture of the most varying forms, whose functions in social life and also whose interests show abrupt contrasts and wide differences, and gradual transitions. Is this picture an absolute disproof of our assertion that in the social struggle there are only two opposing classes? And does not a glance at the various functions of the classes show at once that a differentiation of two groups according to their property is an unscientific, untenable proceeding, invented only for demagogic purposes?

No; this differentiation is founded in the innermost being of the order of Society. It arises from the particular role which money has taken since the development of capitalism. All money has the power to become capital—that is, if the owner buys with it means of production, hires workers, and sells the goods produced by them. The more so employed returns as more money, as larger capital, blessed with surplus value. The money-owner need not even do this work himself; others take from him with pleasure the cares and troubles of business and pay him for the use of the capital a part of the profit in interest. Money has, through capitalism, acquired the property of bringing interest to its owner. Therefore, whoever has money can acquire for himself a workless income. This income has its origin in surplus value formed in the process of production. The working-class by its labor produces an enormous amount of value, only a portion of which is returned to it in the form of wages. The remaining portion constitutes surplus value, and is divided among the different capitalists. Capitalist groups have nothing to do with us. The landlord demands his part, the merchants and middle-men, the directors and highly-paid superintendents, take their part; the money-capitalists receive their interest and their dividends. They fight among themselves over the partition of this surplus value, and this partition is decided partly by economic conditions and partly by political conditions of power. All who possess money have a claim to a part of this surplus value.

Surplus value arises from the exploitation of the "lower" class whose work makes the surplus. All those classes which divide surplus value among themselves form together a great exploitation society, and every one who possesses money is by Mammon's grace a shareholder in this excellent corporation.

Here, then, is the reason why one may speak of a great class contrast

between the propertied and the propertyless. It means that the words are synonymous with exploiting and exploited classes. They who have nothing are forced, in order to live, to sell their labor-power to the owners of the means of production who are intermediate to the owners of capital. These give to the workers for long and arduous work a wage just sufficient to sustain life, and they pocket the rest of the value produced by the workers. Who has nothing must put up with being exploited; private ownership in the means of production cuts off for him every chance of escape. It is still the same when the worker has a little money, the interest from which makes a small addition to his wages. Although he may have money in the bank, he is not because of this an exploiter. By this interest he receives certainly a very small piece of the large amount of surplus value which is pressed out of the working-class; but this little bit is as nothing compared to the surplus value which he himself by his wage-labor has added to the total surplus value. He enlarges this total, and is exploited. He finds himself in the same position as his fellows. And as a rule he does not consider this money as capital, but as a saving fund to be drawn upon during unemployment or in case of sickness or accident. As soon, though, as the property increases beyond a certain point, it enables the owner to live by exploitation—humbly if he is a small rentier or entrepreneur, gorgeously if he belongs to the rich.

As many grades of class distinction as exist among these people, as much as they fulfil different active or passive functions, as much as they fight and quarrel among themselves about the partition of the prey, they have still a common interest, because they are all partners in the business of exploitation. In viewing the great social contrast between exploiters and exploited, the amount of property within the corporation is of no import.

We do not contend that Society only consists of these two large groups. There is a "shift" between them, of which it is difficult to say whether its members belong to one or other of these groups, as, for instance, the farmer who exploits the workers and is again exploited by either the land-owner or the money capitalist; or the official who receives a good salary. How these stand in the political fight can only be ascertained by a special inquiry into their class position. For the larger mass of human beings and classes it means that their various particular functions in the great political fight have to stand back before the fundamental question whether they belong to the propertied or propertyless, that is, to the exploiters or the exploited.

Some men are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon them by their press agents.—N.Y. "Worker."

The Evolution of Property

By PAUL LAPARGUE.

CHAPTER I.—FORMS OF CONTEMPORANEOUS PROPERTY.

(Continued.)

THE savage or barbarian transplanted into civilised society is a sorry figure: he loses his native good qualities, while he contracts the diseases and acquires the vices of civilised man; but the history of the Greeks and the Egyptians shows us how marvellous a degree of material intellectual development a barbarous people is capable of attaining when placed in the requisite conditions and evolving freely.

The civilised producer is reduced to the minimum of personal property necessary for the satisfaction of his most urgent wants merely because the capitalist possesses means and spare for the indulgence of his most extravagant fancies. The capitalist should have a hundred heads and a hundred feet like the Hecatouchiri of Greek mythology, if he would utilize the hats and boots that encumber his wardrobe. If the proletarians suffer from the want of personal property, the capitalists end by becoming the martyrs of a superfluity thereof. The ennui which oppresses them, and the maladies which prey on them, deteriorating and undermining the race, are the consequences of an excess of the means of enjoyment.

(b.) Private Property in the Instruments of Labor.

Man, according to Franklin's definition, is a tool-making animal. It is the manufacture of tools which distinguishes man from the brute, his ancestors. Monkeys make use of sticks and stones, man is the only animal that has wrought a siler for the manufacture of arms and tools, so that the discovery of a stone implement in a cavern or geological stratum is proof as positive of the presence of the human being as the human skeleton itself. The instrument of labor, the sickle, the knife of the savage, the plane of the carpenter, the bistouri of the surgeon, the microscope of the physiologist, or the plow of the peasant, is an addition to man's organs which furnishes the satisfaction of his wants.

So long as petty manual industry prevails, the free producer is the proprietor of his instrument of labor. In the middle ages the journeyman travelled with his bag of tools, which

never left him; the yeoman, even before the constitution of private property, temporarily possessed the patch of land which was allotted to him in the territorial partition; the mediæval serf was so closely connected with the soil he cultivated as to be inseparable therefrom.

There remain many vestiges of this private property in the instruments of labour, but they are fast disappearing. In all the industries which have been seized on by machinery, the individual implement has been torn out of the worker's hand and replaced by the machine tool—a collective instrument of labour which can no longer be the property of the producer. Capitalism divests man of his personal property, the tool; and the first perfect instruments he had manufactured for himself, his weapons of defence, were the first to be wrested from him. The savage is the proprietor of his bow and arrows, which constitute at one and the same time his arms and his tools, historically the most perfected. The soldier was the first proletarian who was stripped of his tools, i.e., his arms, which belong to the government that enrolls him.

Capitalistic society has reduced to a minimum the personal property of the proletarian. It was impossible to go further without causing the death of the producer—the capitalists' goose that lays the golden eggs. It tends to dispossess him altogether of his instruments of labour, a spoliation which is already an accomplished fact for the great bulk of workers.

(c.) Property Capital.

The capital form of property is the truly typical form of property in modern society. In no other society has it existed as a universal or dominant fact.

The essential condition of this form of property is the exploitation of the free producer, who is robbed hourly of a fraction of the value he creates; a fact which Marx has demonstrated beyond refutation. Capital is based on the production of commodities, on a form of production, that is, in which a man produces in view, not of the consumption of the labourer, or of that of his feudal lord or slave-owning master, but in view of the market. In those societies the labourer, slave, or serf, was exploited, it is true, but the proprietor had at least certain obligations towards him; e.g., the slaveholder was bound to feed his human beast of burden whether he worked or not. The capitalist has been released from all charges,

which now rest upon the free labourer. It roused the indignation of the good-natured Plutarch that Cato, the somer moralist, rid himself of slaves grown old and decrepit in his service. What would he have said of the modern capitalist who allows the workers that have enriched him to starve or to die in the workhouse? In emancipating the slave and bonding man, it was not the liberty of the producer that the capitalist sought to compass but the liberty of capital, which had to be discharged of all obligations towards the workman. It is only when the capital form of property is in force that the proprietor can exercise in all its stringency the right to use and abuse.

These are the extant forms of property in modern society. Even a superficial view thereof will convince us that these forms are themselves undergoing change; e.g., while communal property of ancient origin is being converted into private property, private capitalistic property is being turned into common property administered by the State; but before attaining this ultimate form, capital dispossesses the producer of his individual tool and creates the collective instrument of labour.

Now, having convinced ourselves that the existent forms of property are in a state of flux and evolution, we must be blind indeed if we refuse to admit that in the past also property was unstable, and that it has passed through different phases before arriving at the actual forms, which must in their turn resolve themselves and be replaced by other novel forms.

On Sunday, March 24, Sydney Socialists will commemorate the Past Commune by a picnic (promoted by the International Socialist Club) at Athol Gardens.

The Japanese Socialist paper, "Hikari," says:—"In spite of the Government's strenuous interference with newspapers to check the publishing of any articles dealing with strikes, they are taking place continuously in every city and town of Japan at present. This phenomenon fully attests that the Japanese laborers are becoming awakened."

The Swedish Government has introduced a measure for Universal Suffrage for the Second Chamber, as well as a measure of reform in communal elections.

For his work in endeavouring to enforce the State Gambling Law, the Socialist Mayor of Red Lodge, Montana, has been brutally assaulted and his face disfigured and ribs crushed.

Other Lands

GERMANY.

BEBEL has been threatened by an anonymous female in the Conservative "Post" that she may follow the example of Charlotte Corday. What would not be said if any cracked creature, in or out of our ranks, so openly threatened the life of any of our opponents and the "Vorwaerts" were to publish it?

FRANCE.

The Central Committee of the General Confederation of Labor has passed a vote of censure on M. Evrard, secretary of the Pas de Calais Miners' Union, for accepting the cross of the Legion of Honour.

The Government has granted an inquiry into the conditions of the boot and shoe industry at Fougères, and £4,000 has been sent to the relief of the men's families.

Clemenceau refused to permit the proposed demonstration fixed by the General Confederation of Labour for Sunday, January 20, which had for its object the more complete application of the weekly rest law. The police accordingly closed the Bourse du Travail, and called up mounted Republican Guards

to prevent the demonstration. Considerable hustling took place, and 150 arrests were made.

On January 21, Socialist Vaillant interpellated the Government on the matter in the Chamber, protesting against the closing of the exchange, and the suppression of the right of public demonstration. The Premier warmly defended the chief of police, said he had only closed the Bourse "temporarily," and denied that there was any right of public demonstration, though he thought there ought to be a tolerance of such demonstrations on certain conditions. Vaillant's motion to censure the Government was rejected by 444 to 59, and a vote of confidence carried, thus showing the other parties to have united against the Socialists.

DENMARK.

The year 1906 has been a very successful one for the Danish Socialists. In January the elections for municipal councillors were held, and they won 155 seats out of a total of 400; in 50 towns they were completely successful. This is the more remarkable because it was only in 1891 that the first Socialist municipal councillor was elected at a bye-election at Elsinore.

In 1894 ten were elected and in 1900 56.

In March at Copenhagen four Socialists and two Radicals were elected to the Copenhagen municipality.

In May the elections to the local parliament were held, and eight seats were won, there being now 24 Socialists in that Chamber. The number of votes cast for the party was 76,612 as compared with 57,578 in 1903. In the Upper Chamber in September the Socialists succeeded in electing four members.

The number of subscribers to the "Sozial-Demokraten" (a daily paper of Copenhagen) is now 52,000; and there are also nine local papers.

BULGARIA.

The Minister of Education has resigned because the Socialist students made a demonstration recently, and he fears the credit for that will be ascribed to his Liberal system.

JAPAN.

On November 28, the office of the Socialist paper, "Hikari," was seized, and the paper temporarily suppressed by the Government.

The "Hikari" has ceased to exist, being swallowed up by the new Socialist daily, the "Heimin Shimbun," which

made its first appearance on January 15.

The "Hikari" in its last number reports a considerable fermentation among the 16,000 workers in the Osaka Arsenal, and the suppression by armed police of the proposed strike, 40 of the leaders being arrested.

Socialism will bring out the talents of the individual; the best and most successful years of life will not be destroyed (as they are to-day) by the exasperating, convulsing, debasing struggle for daily bread. Socialism will, with the security of an existence worthy of human beings, give freedom for the development and cultivation of that physical and mental personality which nature in its ever-re-creating variations and constantly renovating power bestows on every one who enters this world.—ENRICO FERRI (Italian Socialist leader).

For our party and for our party tactics there is but one valid basis, the basis of the class struggle, out of which the Social-Democratic Party has sprung up, and out of which alone it can draw the necessary strength to bid defiance to every storm and to all its enemies.—W. Liebknecht.

Socialism without democracy is pseudo-Socialism.—Liebknecht.

THE SONOMA OUTRAGE.

LAST week several of the Sonoma crew were again sent to jail for a month—this time they were charged with being prohibited immigrants. This means, as we pointed out in last issue, that the ruling class which forcibly held these men here and unjustly jailed them to suit the American shipowners have again jailed them because they permitted themselves to be deported. We understand that the American Consul has refused to interfere on their behalf. Mr. Orlando Baker takes the employers' view that the men are deserters, and are in their present position as the result of their own folly. A number of the crew who are not in jail are now stranded in Sydney, and are sleeping in the Domain. Again we ask what are the trades unions going to do about it. Will they be satisfied that the Australian workers shall carry any share of the stigma of such an outrage perpetrated by the ruling class?

"The return to simple methods was often effective. In the case of the Sydney Slaughtermen, recently, employers successfully wielded the case of *ex parte* Brown with a powerful arm, smote the men with it, and drove them from the Court. Very well, said the men to the employers; we've tried to get to the Court, and you've stopped us; we will show you whether there is a dispute. Now, we won't work unless you give us an increase.' 'Oh, I say,' exclaimed the Master Butchers, 'don't do that—that is most illegal—we'll give you all you ask if you will keep on working, and then we can confer.' So they conferred, and the men demanded better conditions than they had asked the Court for, and they were now getting them.—Judge Heydon.

The worker is enslaved and exploited as long as the tools of labor are not the property of the worker; and these can only be the property of the worker when they are the property of the whole community. To work is the duty of the people. Every individual should work, and who can work and does not has no right to life. But, under the present system, the opposite to that principle is put into practice. The worker is condemned to slavery, and the idler holds the reins of power and lives in luxury. Shall that continue? Will the working community always bear the yoke of the

ideas? Will they? No! The workers cannot and will not part with their individual rights and individual honor and right of existence.—W. Liebknecht. (1873).

We may not do as other parties, because we are not like the others. We are—and this cannot be too often repeated—separated from all other parties by an insurmountable barrier—a barrier that any individual can surmount; but once on the other side of it, and he is no Social Democrat.—W. Liebknecht.

A pamphlet worth reading is Jaures' "Art and Socialism"—a flow of golden eloquence, the story of the close relationship of Art and Socialism told in language that will thrill you with the beauty of its construction and the truth of its assertions.

Our fortress can withstand every assault—it cannot be stormed, taken from us by seige; it can only fall when we ourselves open the doors to the enemy and take him into our ranks as a fellow-comrade.

On the ground of the class struggle we are invincible; if we leave it are lost, because we are no longer socialists. The strength and power of socialism rests in the fact that we are leading a class struggle; that the laboring class is exploited and oppressed by the capitalist class, and that within capitalist society effectual reforms, which will put an end to class government and class exploitation, are impossible.—W. Liebknecht.

The united Socialists of Hull have just had their first fight—for seat on the City Council. The Socialist candidate went within 16 votes of winning. Gaskell (Liberal), 443; Gaunt (Socialist), 427; Fuser (Tory), 329; was the voting result.

Whoever conceives of Socialism in the sense of a sentimental philanthropic striving after human equality, with no idea of the existence of capitalist society, is no Socialist in the sense of the class struggle without which modern Socialism is unthinkable.

Wilson Wilson, described as "the Australian Socialist orator," lecturing in England, and is working to secure engagements at S.D.P. branches.

A PAMPHLET YOU SHOULD READ:

Art and Socialism

By JEAN JAURES, the celebrated French Socialist.

Price: One Penny. Posted, 1½d.
Order from the Secretary, I.S. Club, 274 Pitt-street, Sydney.

The Survival of the Fittest.

In northern zones the raging bear
Protects himself with fat and hair;
Where snow is deep and ice is stark,
And half the year is cold and dark,
He still survives a clime like that
By growing fur, by growing fat.
These traits, O bear, which thou transmittest,
Prove the survival of the fittest.

To polar regions, waste and wan,
Comes the encroaching race of man;
A puny, feeble little lubber,
He had no fur, he had no blubber.
The scornful bear sat down at ease
To see the stranger starve and freeze;
But, lo! the stranger slew the bear,
And ate his fat and wore his hair!
These deeds, O man, which thou transmittest,
Prove the survival of the fittest.

In modern times the millionaire
Protects himself as did the bear;
Where poverty and hunger are,
He counts his millions by the car;
Where thousands suffer still he thrives.
The wealth, O Cresus, thou transmittest,
Proves the survival of the fittest.

But, lo! some people odd and funny,
Some men without a cent of money,
The simple, common human race,
Chose to improve their dwelling place.
They had no use for millionaires;
They calmly said the world was theirs;
They were so strong, so wise, so many—
The millionaire?—There wasn't any!
These deeds, O man, which thou committest,
Prove the survival of the fittest.

—CHARLOTTE PERKINS STETSON.

"Vive la Commune"

By H. E. HOLLAND.

On high is raised the hireling blade, as on through blood the butchers wade,
And ghastly corpses soaked in blood are lying in the ruby flood:

Oh, bloody execution!

See! here and there the blood-red flags—with gore besmeared, mud-draggled rags—
Toss like a heaving, billowy sea, gripped in a mad obstinacy,
And bullets whizzing everywhere; shouts of rage, of death's despair,
Of "Vive la Commune!" loud are heard, and high o'er all the stern, fierce war—
"Stand for Liberty or Death!"

THE Nineteenth Century gave to Humanity a marvellous record of discovery and invention—a record which surpasses in the grandeur of its wealth the records of all the other centuries whose long-dead years are piled in the structure of a World's great history. Alfred Russell Wallace, gazing with scientific eyes on all the marvels of it, has named it "The Wonderful Century."

But the Nineteenth Century holds a far greater interest for the world's working class than that which centres on the discoveries and successes of scientific research. These discoveries and successes and their results become, under capitalism, further means of exploitation; but the heroic and determined revolt of the Parisian workers constitutes the greatest event in Nineteenth Century history. It made directly for Human Freedom and Working-Class Emancipation. March 18, 1871—just 36 years ago next Monday—saw the Commune of Paris established. It was the first working-class Government the world has ever known—a government the establishment of which, as Engels and Marx has written, "meant not the replacing of one class with another but the abolition of all class rule." For two months this working-class government administered the affairs of Paris as they had never been administered before. The working-men who were at the head of the various departments, even the enemies of the Commune admit, displayed remarkable ability. Crime became almost an unknown quantity.

But the Commune threatened the existing social order, and the bourgeois Government of France, with the cry of patriotism on its lips, called to its aid the Prussian invader in the work of crushing the Commune out of existence. The Nineteenth Century will live in the world's history because of the story it bequeathes to us, written in streams of human blood, of the stupendous crime of the capitalist class Government of 1871, at the head of which stood Thiers, villain among politicians, cut-throat among soldiers, and liar among historians.

Of the treachery of the bourgeois Government, who, while the Prussians marched on Paris, met the popular demand for resistance to the detest-

and no capitulation with fair words of assent, and secret resolvings to surrender the city, none have told the shameful story so well as the Communard historian Lissagaray, who declares "there is no more crying treason in history."

It is Lissagaray, too, who places on record that "the upper classes sell the nation for a few hours' rest; and the Liberals seek to feather their nests under the Empire. . . . Working-men unite, . . . affirm themselves a class, and stand forth as a revolutionary Socialist party."

On the 26th, October, 1869, they threaten to march on the Corps Legislatif; in November they insult the Tuileries by the election of Rochefort; in December they goad the Government by the "Marseillaise"; in January, 1870, they go 200,000 strong to the funeral of Victor Noir (murdered by the Napoleonic princeling), and, well-directed, would have swept away the throne."

In 1870 the Socialist working men's message to the workers of Germany reads: "Brothers we protest against the war, we who wish for peace, labor, and liberty. Brothers, do not listen to the hirelings who seek to deceive you as to the real wishes of France." And the Berlin workers make reply: "We, too, wish for peace, labor, and liberty. We know that on both sides of the Rhine there are brothers with whom we are ready to die for the Universal Republic." The internationalism and identity of working-class interests are affirmed and declared.

On January 6, 1871, Delescluze [who fought gallantly for the Commune, and died on the barricades, like the hero he was, when the Commune died], when the Prussians were thundering at the gates of Paris, sent forth his red placard, charging the Government with procrastination, indecision, inertia. "They have known neither how to administer nor how to fight," he declared. "The perpetuation of this regime means capitulation. The politics, the strategies, the administration of the Empire continued by the men of the 4th of September have been judged. Make way for the People! Make way for the Commune!"

On January 27, at midnight, Paris was surrendered to the Prussians, and on January 29, the German flag waved over the Parisian forts. Then follow in rapid succession all the stirring incidents which lead to the birth of the Commune: The brutal insults heaped on the aged Garibaldi in the Assembly, the presentation of arms by the National Guards and the cheering of Garibaldi by the crowd; the systematised flood of falsehood with which the country was inundated for the purpose of enraging the rurals against Paris; the rallying of the battalions and the roll of the war drums and the loud bugle calls, while Paris resolved to resist to the death the foe to whom base surrender had been made by the cowardly bourgeois Government; the red flag—the flag of equality—firmly fixed in the hand of the Statue of Liberty, and "amidst the

frantic cheering of the people, for the first time since 1848 overshadowing this spot, redder than its flag, by the blood of a thousand martyrs; the resolution that the Assembly shall sit at Versailles; the measures taken to disarm the National Guard; the attempted seizure of the guns on the Mount of Martyrs on March 18, and the frustration of that attempt, the soldiers throwing in their lot with the Guards and shooting General Le Comte, who ordered them to fire on the people; the escape of Thiers by a back stairway, and his precipitate flight from the dangers of Paris to the comparative safety of Versailles. All these things are matters of common history.

When the Central Committee of the National Guard assumed control of the affairs of Paris, the machinery of administration was completely out of order. The influence of the Thiers Government had worked to that end. The sanitary, lighting, markets, hospital, and telegraphic officials had abandoned their posts. As a matter of fact in a community of 1,600,000 inhabitants every service had to be extemporised. "Certain mayors had carried off the seals, the registers, and the cash of their mairies. Six thousand sick were in the hospitals and ambulances; and Thiers had endeavoured to disorganise even the management of the cemeteries. Three hundred thousand persons were without work and without resource. These things constituted a fraction of the stupendous task undertaken by the men of the Commune! At the gates of the city lay the Prussian foe; and at Versailles the traitorous, brutal Government of M. Thiers, thirsting for the blood of Paris.

And the "Journal Officiel," in the first of those articles where Moreau, Longuet, and Rogeard commented upon the new revolution, said:—"The proletarians of the capital, amidst the failures and treasons of the ruling classes, have understood that the hour has struck for them to save the situation by taking into their own hands the direction of public affairs. Hardly possessed of the Government, they have hastened to convoke the people of Paris to the ballot boxes. There is no example in history of a provisional Government so anxious to divest itself of its mandate. In the presence of conduct so disinterested, one may well ask how a press can be found unjust enough to pour out upon these citizens slander, contumely and insult? The working men, those who produce everything and enjoy nothing, are they for ever to be exposed to this outrage? The bourgeoisie, which has accomplished its emancipation, does it not understand that now the time for the emancipation of the proletariat is come? Why, then, does it persist in refusing to the proletariat its legitimate share?"

The Central Committee suspended the sale of objects pledged in pawnshops, prolonged the overdue bills for a month, forbade landlords to dismiss tenants until further notice.

On Sunday, March 26, the Communal elections took place, and the next day, in the presence of 200,000 people, the representatives were installed. The drums beat a salute, and "200,000 voices chimed in with the 'Marseillaise.' Rainier, in an interval of silence, cried out 'In the name of the People the Commune is proclaimed.' A thousand-fold echo answered, 'Vive la Commune.'"

Thiers' spies reported: "All Paris proclaimed the Commune." Therefore, it is the blood of all Paris that must flow.

The Communards make a sortie on April 3, and are repulsed. The Government troops take five prisoners—one a child of fifteen; they beat them unmercifully and then shoot them at the foot of Mont Valerien. Again, the sortie proves unsuccessful. Duval and his men fall into a trap. "Surrender and your lives shall be spared," General Pelle tells them. They surrender. General-in-chief Vinoy orders the officers to be shot. Duval and others are murdered, crying "Vive la Commune!" The army of "order" early started to massacre its prisoners. And in this the consistency of brutality was maintained.

In the meantime, for two months the Commune, elected by the people, was the supreme authority in Paris. Spies and dissentients harassed the Communards from within; the great black war-cloud threatened them from without; the bourgeois Government at Versailles plotted and schemed for their destruction. Yet, during those months Paris was better administered than ever before. Never before had the great city been so free from vice and crime; never since has it been so free. They found every public service disorganised and in confusion; and they gave to the world "an admirable example of what a working-class administration might accomplish," says an English Socialist writer. "Theisz, a workman, was placed in charge of the Post Office, which he organised most efficiently; the wages of the employees being raised and their hours of work shortened. Camelinat, a bronze worker, was in charge of the mint. The crucial reforms introduced by these two men into their several departments remain as evidence of their organising ability even to this day. Jourde, clerk and accountant, was at the head of the Commission of Finance, which he administered with a sagacity as great as his modesty was remarkable. The hospital system was entirely re-organised by other workmen. The heads of these departments received no more than their ordinary workmen's wages."

Every effort was made to come to an arrangement with the Assembly at Versailles, but unavailingly. The bourgeois Government was determined that blood should flow. On the 21st of May the Government troops forced an entry into Paris. The Communards, administering every other department with excellent organisation and capability,

were woefully deficient in the matter of military organisation. They were specialists in construction; their enemies, blunderers in every useful avenue of life, excelled in the art of destruction. And the Communards make the last heroic stand for the Commune. House by house, street by street, barricade by barricade, they consecrate with their blood the ground of their beloved Paris. The women fight, too, and fall wherever the battle rages; the children are not less brave. They are fighting for their homes, for their lives—and for more. They are fighting for the Commune.

Everywhere the Government troops are victorious. The Commune goes out in a perfect fury of flowing blood and raging fire. It is the triumph of Death and Hell. The brutality of the victors and the crimes they committed are anathematised by every historian. Forty-two men, three women and four children are summarily shot where Le Comte fell after ordering the troops to fire on the populace. A woman, with a child in her arms, refuses to kneel, and cries out to the others, "Show these butchers that you know how to die upright." The legend of the petroleuses is invented. The rumour is that furies are throwing burning petroleum into the cellars. Every woman badly dressed, or carrying milk can or pail or empty bottle, is pointed out as a petroleuse, her clothes are torn to tatters, and she is pushed against the nearest wall and killed with revolver shots. Prisoners of war are shot in troops.

When the fusillade proves insufficient, the mitrailleuse mowes them down. All are not killed at once, and in the night there arise from the bleeding heaps ghastly cries of agony. The Prussian invader is called to the work of slaughter. The story is one of horror and massacre. In two days nearly 2000 people are murdered. Blood flows in large pools in the gutters of all the prisons. At one spot, "the wall of the terrace is covered with brains, and the executioners wade through pools of blood." Large open vans remove the corpses, and empty them in the square or any open space in the neighbourhood. Women and children are shot with their husbands and fathers. These wholesale massacres are perpetrated to the middle of June. The century has not witnessed such murder and slaughtering after battle. The executions are only stayed because of the danger from the decaying bodies. The number of people so murdered totals over 30,000.

The Commune has proved to the world the superior administrative capability of the working-class; it has demonstrated the brutality and the class-hatred of the bourgeois. Let Lissagaray speak: "These smoking ramparts, these explosions of heroism, these women, these men of all professions united, all the working men of the earth applauding our combat, all the bourgeois coalesced against us, do they not speak loudly enough our common thought and that all of us are fighting for equality, the enfranchisement of labor, the advent of a Social society. As to that class, the purveyors of empires, that fancies it can govern by periodical butcheries, go and tell them in accents loud enough to drown their clamors. 'The blood of the people will enrich the revolutionary field. The idea of Paris will arise from her burning entrails and become an inexorable firebrand with the sons of the slaughtered.'"

POINTED * * PARAGRAPHS.

In the Ferry Employees' case last week, Judge Heydon remarked that "it was not in the interests of lads to get married on £1 a week." It didn't seem to strike the judge that this is one of the disadvantages Capitalism imposes on Society. It is certainly not in the interests of Society if men don't marry. Therefore, when capitalism imposes wages conditions which operate against young men marrying, it strikes at the foundation of the morals of society and smashes the fabric of the marriage system. Anti-Socialists, who stand for Capitalism and shout that Socialism will wreck the family life of the nation, might be asked to explain the effects of Capitalism on the same family life.

The Bank of Australasia has just declared an increased dividend at the rate of 14 per cent. per annum, while carrying large appropriations to the reserves and paying a bonus to the staff. This is regarded as a very gratifying evidence of our national prosperity. But what about the men who wear out their lives while earning the bank's profits on the mortgaged farms and pastoral holdings of the drought-cursed Central and Western districts? What do they get out of it?

Mr. William Beardmore is retiring from the Australian Mail-liners Syndicate because the Commonwealth "isn't giving the undertaking substantial support." The modern capitalist believes very firmly that the nation should indemnify him against all risk while he makes huge profits out of national necessities; but his indigna-

tion is very pronounced, and his sneer about the general lack of self-reliance very loud, when the workers demand socialisation of the means of life.

There is no difference in principle whether a slave is bought because he has the power to labor or a man is paid wages for his labor power; both are bought and sold for profit.—Vic. "Socialist."

Lady Shrewsbury recently sued her husband for one quarter's allowance—£950!

Class considerations rule in the law courts. When John Knox Malcolm, gent. one, steals £4 from some member of the working-class, he is only in danger of being struck off the rolls; but if Bill Smith steals a loaf of bread he gets jail without the option of a fine; if he steals a sheep (worth 10/) from some station property on which a bank or great mortgage co. holds a lien, he will be lucky if he escapes with less than "three years' hard."

While the growth of an enterprise forces the capitalist himself by the employment of lieutenants, it at the same time, through the increasing surplus it yields, makes the thing easy to him. The larger the surplus the more functions can the capitalist transfer to employees, until finally he relieves himself of all his functions and reserves only the care of how to invest profitably that portion of his profits that he does not need for personal consumption.—Karl Kautsky.

We have no desire to wreck or disrupt the Labour Party, but we wish to put it on right lines. We wish it to be a class-conscious working-class party, having for its object the emancipation of the working-class from wage-slavery.—London "Justice."

The Belgian Socialist Movement

(Concluded from last issue.)

THE Belgian Socialist co-operative movement cannot be compared in any respect to the co-operative movements of England, Germany, or any other country. In England the famous Rochdale propositions grew into merely a commercial enterprise, but in Belgium the co-operative movement is not the end of a movement, but a means of class organisation. The co-operative societies are "forms of a new association, original and marvellously adapted to the needs and tendencies of the working class," as Vandervelde has said. In the Belgian coal districts, with a predominating industrial population, 50 per cent. of the population is organized in the co-operatives.

The purely political groups are really of no consequence at all. The Socialist Party counts to-day 808 affiliated, dues-paying groups, with about 130,000 members. Of these, only 274 groups are purely political associations, and have an insignificant numerical membership. The great mass of the members are from the ranks of the mutual aid societies, the 169 unions and the co-operatives. The general assembly of the party and its annual congress is composed almost exclusively of delegates sent by the economic groups rather than by the political ones.

The locals of the unions always meet in the buildings of the co-operatives, to whom they pay rent. Thousands of francs are spent yearly by these mighty organisations on the political and economic propaganda and on strikes, etc. The papers of the party—six dailies with a circulation of over 150,000 copies, and several weekly and trade papers—are all supported and even launched with the financial assistance of the co-operatives. And many societies engaged in the intellectual education of the working men are subsidized by these mighty fortresses of social development.

The solidarity of economic interest has awakened the working classes and made them irresistible. The capitalist class has fully realised the menace of a social revolution which the co-operatives foreshadow, and try in every way to ruin the movement both commercially and politically. But in vain; it is too late. To-day the working men are conscious in their work, and they march irresistibly onward to their definite goal.

But the field of the co-operative movement is limited by its inherent character. Its business might be enlarged, but it is utopian to have faith in accomplishing very much. It certainly is suggestive as to the future economic and social organisation of society in that it represents organisms which correspond with the probable evolution of Socialist society. It might reduce to a minimum private initiative in distribut-

ing the products of industry, but the great national industries, with their colossal capitalization, can never be successfully supplanted by the co-operative establishments of the working class, and the Belgian Socialists do not need anyone to tell them that.

The significance of the co-operative movement lies in its capacity to build up the inner economic structure of the Socialist movement, which, with its far-reaching economic influence, can concentrate the working men in a solid body with conscious aims, and in the moral and intellectual transformation it has accomplished in the working man, thus preparing him for the great final struggle—the resistance of all men against the capitalist system and capitalistic exploitation, and the inauguration of the world-embracing Co-operative Commonwealth.—"Wilshire's Magazine."

Neither an Aspiration of Angels, nor a Plot of Devils.

SOCIALISM is neither an aspiration of angels, nor a plot of devils. Socialism moves with its feet firmly planted on the ground, and its head not lost in the clouds. It takes Science by the hand, asks her to lead, and goes whithersoever she points. It does not take Science by the hand, saying, "I shall follow you if the end of the road please me." No. It takes her by the hand and says: "Whithersoever thou leadest thither am I bound to go." The Socialists, therefore, move as intelligent men. We do not mutiny because, instead of having wings, we have arms, and cannot fly as we would wish.

We Socialists are not Reformers; we are Revolutionists. We do not propose to change forms. We care nothing for forms. We want a change of the inside mechanism of society; let the form take care of itself. We see in England a crowned monarch; we see in Germany a sceptered emperor; we see in America an uncrowned president; and we fail to see the essential difference between Germany, England, or America. That being the case, we are sceptics as to forms. We are like grown children, in the sense that we like to look at the inside of things and find out what is there.—Daniel de Leon.

The owners of the tools are the owners of the fools. When we are no longer fools they will no longer own the tools.—Q. "Worker."

A Socialist co-operative store is starting in Melbourne.

Melbourne employers are carrying their fight against the union label into the law courts.

The Evolution of Property

By PAUL LAFARQUE.

CHAPTER I.—FORMS OF CONTEMPORANEOUS PROPERTY.

(Continued.)

In this essay I propose to treat of the various forms of property anterior to its assumption of the capital form. Before entering on my subject I would premise a few particulars touching the method employed by me in this attempt at a partial reconstruction of history.

All men, without distinction of race or colour, from the cradle to the grave, pass through the same phases of development. They experience at ages, which vary within narrow limits, according to race, climate, and conditions of existence, the same crisis of growth, maturity, and decay. In like manner human societies traverse analogous social, religious, and political forms, with ideas which correspond thereto. To Vico, who has been styled "the father of philosophy of history," is due the honour of having been the first to apprehend the great law of historical development.

In his "Scienza Nuova" he speaks of "an ideal, eternal history, in accordance with which are successively developed the histories of all nations, from what state soever of savagery, ferocity, or barbarism men progress towards domestication."

If we could ascertain the history of a people from the state of savagery to that of civilization, we should have the typical history of each of the peoples that have inhabited the globe. It is out of our power to reconstruct that history, for it is impossible for us to reascend the successive stages travelled by a people in their course of progress. But if we cannot cut out this history, all of a piece, of the life of a nation or a race, we can, at any rate, reconstruct it by piecing together the scattered data which we possess respecting the different peoples of the globe. It is in this wise that humanity, as it grows older, learns to decipher the story of its infancy.

The manners and usages of the forefathers of civilized nations survive in those of the savage peoples whom civilization has not wholly exterminated. The investigations of the customs, social and political institutions, religious and mental conceptions of barbarians, made by men of learning and re-

search in both hemispheres, enable us to evoke a past which we had come to consider as irrecoverably lost. Among savage peoples, we can detect the beginnings of property: by glean- ing facts in all parts of the globe, and by co-ordinating them into a logical series, we may succeed in following the different phases of the evolution of property.

CHAPTER II.—PRIMITIVE COMMUNISM.

I.

If political economists so confidently refer capital to the child- hood of humanity, it is because they indulge themselves in a convenient ignorance of the customs of primitive peoples.

There are savages at present in existence who have no con- ception of landed property, whether private or collective, and who have barely arrived at a notion of individual ownership of the objects which they personally appropriate. Certain Australians possess, for all personal property, the objects attached to their persons, such as arms, ornaments inserted in their ears, lips, and noses; or skins of beasts for clothing; human fat, wherewith to cure their rheumatism; stones laid up in baskets, woven of bark, fastened to the body of the owner. Personally appropriated by them, so to say incor- porated with them, these objects are not taken away from them at their death, but are burned or buried with their corpses. Names are among the primary individual property we meet with. The savage never reveals his name to a stranger; it is a precious thing of which he will make a present to a friend: so completely is his name identified with his person, that after his death his tribe ceases to pronounce it. For an object to become individual property, it must be really or fictitiously incorporated with the person of the proprietor: when the savage desires to intimate that an object belongs to him, he will simulate the appropriation of it by licking it with his tongue; the Esquimaux after buying any article, if but a needle, immediately applies it to his mouth, or he will consecrate the object by a symbolical act, significa- tive of his intention to keep the same for his personal use: this is the origin of taboo.

Manufactured articles are, in like manner, owned only if they have been appropriated: thus, an Esquimaux cannot pos- sess more than two canoes; the third is at the disposal of the

clan : whatsoever the proprietor does not use is considered property without an owner. A savage never holds himself responsible for the loss of a canoe or any other borrowed implement for hunting or fishing, and never dreams of restoring it.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN GERMANY ON THE 25th OF JANUARY.

By K. KAUTSKY, in "Die Neue Zeit." Translated by H. DIERKS

IN the nearly forty-years'-old history of the Social-Democratic Party in Germany there has been no such surprise as the late election for the Reichstag. In 1887 we had relatively a greater loss of mandates than this time. But the relative increase was greater, and certainly our expectations were less twenty years ago than they were this time. Or, rather, not our expectations, but the expectations of the whole world.

But it is just these expectations which explain a part of our loss of seats—explain also the enormous number of those who went to the poll, the mobilisation of all Philisterdom.

The 1887 election took place under the apparition of the spectre of a war with France, this time the spectre was the danger of Socialism. Then the agitators of the anti-socialist parties bamboozled the people that the invasion of the French was pending, unless the demands of the government were conceded. This time the demands of the government are only second consideration. The few hundred Hottentots could not alarm anybody, and at the beginning of the campaign they were beaten. But the terror of Social-Democracy was all the more effective. The election of 1903 had shown the party as the largest political party of Germany, the October days of 1905 in Russia had proved that the times of political catastrophes are not yet past, nor yet the power the proletariat is capable of wielding. The 21st January, 1906, already showed the panic terror all this created in bourgeois circles. And now a day arrived which gave an opportunity for a new gigantic demonstration of the power of Social-Democracy. All forces had to be levied to oppose this. Another Socialist victory like the one of 1903 and we are lost, was the feeling of

whole mass of the propertied classes. The consciousness of this spurred them on to never-heard-of efforts ; it shook up the most mentally-lazy philistine, and drove him to the ballot-box. The campaign of the Imperial League showed not only low vulgarity, but despairing fear.

This fear is far greater than we have expected—this is the one cause of the surprises of January 25th.

On the other hand, it has shown us that we have underrated the extension of the idea of colonial expansion amongst bourgeois circles. The more unsatisfactory and chaotic conditions become at home, the more longingly all the bourgeois elements in all capitalistic States look for colonies. No party can exist without a programme for the future ; every party must show an aim, a goal, worthy of the sweat of the noble, if it wants to bring under its banner larger numbers of the people. The less the bourgeois parties can show such an aim in their own country, the more they must try to follow it in the colonies, which are also their own country, but new country into which immeasurable hopes may be carried.

Certainly the history of the German colonies is very unsatisfactory, but just in the nick of time, just before the elections, a new man stepped in—a man less known than our colonies, who may inspire still more immeasurable hopes into the breasts of everyone whose inclinations are more that way than the colonies themselves. Dernburg became the saving personality for the Government ; to him belongs the laurel of victory. Bulow and his elder ministers have all a past, they have been used up, and are too closely mixed up with the hitherto unsatisfactory colonial policy. Dernburg has no political past, only a future. No colonial scandal is attached to him ; he has had no opportunity to soil his white vest ; everything with him is future, and he is not idle to paint this future in the most glowing colors, and to convey to the hearer the conviction that the failure of colonisation lay in insufficient men and means only, and that from now the millennial colonial empire would begin and heal all the wounds which capitalism creates in Germany itself. The bourgeoisie only too eagerly believed his prophecies, as they appeared to them as the only possibility of salvation from Socialism.

The fascinating influence of the colonial future state on the whole bourgeois world, even on such circles as are not interested economically in the colonies, are narrowly connected with the rising fear of the future state of Socialism. In each case this is largely explained by the enormous voting, the growth of the bourgeois votes, the loss of many of our seats.

(Concluded in next issue.)

SOCIALISM in Australasia

Social-Democratic Federation

On Sunday afternoon, the domain meeting was devoted to securing support for the Sonoma seamen, most of whom were present. Comrade Ardley was chairman, and Comrade Morrish declared that the action of Sonoma strikers merited the support of the working class. It showed that the employing class were at all times prepared to force the workers into subjection, with the aid of the police and the jail. The action of the authorities in arresting the men for disobeying orders and in imprisoning them and then treating them as deserters, by withholding their money and personal effects, was a glaring instance of the grossest injustice and merited the strongest condemnation of the workers everywhere. Such a thing could only be tolerated by a people hopelessly steeped in slavish subjection. Consul Baker's gag of "no ice cream, no steam," was too childish for words, and showed the straits to which employers were put to find argument to meet the justice of the workers' claim.

A representative of the Sonoma strikers then spoke on behalf of the men, eulogising them for their splendid fight for unionist principles.

A collection was taken up by Mrs. Morrish and Mrs. McNamara, and resulted in a substantial sum being handed to the seamen.

The meeting at Park-street notwithstanding the weather was a great success.

The "International Socialist Review" and the Vic. "Socialist" are on sale at all S.D.F. meetings by Comrades Ardley and Mrs. Mor-

rish, who have proved themselves apt business agents.

D.A.G. (Tintenbar) writes: "I am becoming firmly convinced that political action by Australian Socialists at present is energy wasted. Australia must develop enormously on the capitalist plan before it is ripe for the Co-operative Commonwealth. Therefore, the best course of action for Socialists is to enlighten the worker as to his class position and the economic laws controlling the same, so that when the capitalist era has come to the end of its tether the educated worker will be ready to use his political power in an intelligent manner. Socialism can't take root in a community of small proprietors. Capitalism must first wipe out the small man; and Australia is mostly in the small man stage as yet."

Vic. "Socialist" heartily endorses "The International Socialist Review's" plea for Socialist unity but doesn't think there is any immediate need to hurry.

"The International Socialist Review" is making good headway with a rapidly-growing subscribers list. Press secretary H. Borax will be pleased to hear from persons willing to act as agents in the various centres. The best way to spread the principles of Socialism is to widen the scope of the Socialist press.

On Friday last, Val. Lolato attained his 61st birthday, and was serenaded at the Caprera Wine Cellars by the International Socialist Club Liedertafel. Forty years ago comrade Lolato was a soldier of Italy. For long years now he has been a soldier in the working-class army which marches to the complete overthrow of capitalism.

Other Lands

FRANCE.

The elementary school-masters at Marseilles wished to join the local trades union council and the Minister of Education has forbidden them to do so.

A great entertainment was recently held in Paris for the benefit of "L'Humanite," the French Socialist paper, edited by Jean Jaures, which netted 7,000 francs for the paper.

GERMANY.

Another of our German veterans has gone to rest. Gustav Jaeckh died in Leipzig on Jan. 4. He is most widely known as the historian of the International Workingmen's Association, but he also deserves to be remembered as a Socialist journalist, who did good work and often suffered imprisonment for it.

Frankfort has provided itself with a municipal fish market, and has begun operations in the temporary market hall. Sea fish will be sold at low prices controlled by the city. A book of fish cookery is being furnished free of charge, as is also an expert treatise relative to the importance of a fish diet. It is stated that this step has been taken as a consequence of the present meat famine.

SOUTH AFRICA.

The "Cape Socialist" for January contains an article on "Socialism and the Coloured Folk," in which it advocates a combination of all the workers in South Africa, whatever their colour. The "Cape Socialist" is the official organ of the Capetown S.D.F.

BRITAIN.

"Justice" announces the death of Miss Helen Taylor, who was, for many years, an active member of the Social-Democratic Federation, and one of the most earnest, devoted, disinterested and gifted champions the working class of this country have ever had. An eloquent and effective speaker, she could always command a large audience, and took an active part in the land nationalization agitation, and in the agitation against the Irish coercion policy of the Liberal Government of 1880-85. The step-daughter of John Stuart Mill, she was always an advocate of the political enfranchisement of the women, and on one occasion came forward as a candidate for Parliament."

BELGIUM.

The Government suffered a defeat recently on the Bill dealing with mining regulations—by 63 to 53 votes, the result being largely due to our Socialist comrades.

AMERICA.

The Social Democratic members of the Wisconsin Legislature have already introduced three important labor bills. A bill permitting unions to do picketing or any act which can lawfully be done by one person, and making unions not liable for damages for unauthorized acts of individual members. A bill providing for an eight-hour day on municipal and state buildings and making contractors liable for violations. A bill on contributory negligence, making employers responsible for their share of the neglect in case of injuries.

SOUTH AMERICA.

Last year Luis E. Recabarren, a

printer and a Socialist, was elected to represent Antofagasta in the Congress of Chili. "La Vanguardia," the Socialist paper of Buenos Ayres, Argentina, reports that he has been sentenced to 541 days of imprisonment for "contempt of authority."

RUSSIA.

Russian Socialists during the last week of December celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of the entrance of George Piekhanoff into the Socialist movement in Russia.

CANADA.

At the mayoral election at Toronto on New Year's Day, the following was the result of the poll:—Coatsworth (Conservative), 13,698; Lindala (Socialist), 8,286; Noble [Liberal], 1,309. This is a largely increased Socialist vote.

A PAMPHLET YOU SHOULD READ:

Art and Socialism

By JEAN JAURES, the celebrated French Socialist.

Price: One Penny. Posted, 1½d.

Order from the Secretary, I.S. Club, 274 Pitt-street, Sydney.

The Socialist

A Bright Exponent
of International
Socialism.....

Published Weekly.

Official Organ of the Victorian SOCIALIST PARTY.

Headquarters—Socialist Party Hall, 283 Elizabeth-street, Melbourne.

President—J. P. Jones.

Secretary—Tom Mann.

Agents for Sydney—A. S. Ardley, 24 Yarrong-street, Hyde Park; Mrs. W. H. McNamee, Castlereagh-street, City.

Books!

Jack London's War of the Classes, 3/6

Brooks' Social Unrest, 1/6.

Woodworth's Christian Socialism, 2/6

Spencer's Education, 3/

Upton Sinclair's The Jungle, 3/6

Postage Extra.

To arrive—Jaures' Studies in Socialism.

Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin.

O THE bowers of Babylon are rare,
And the tinkling fountains play,
Over gardens hung in the drowsy air,
Where the careless youth and maiden fair
Are dreaming the years away.

And the kings of Babylon are strong,
And their dungeons dark and deep,
And the Rich rejoice in the reign of wrong,
And the Priesthood joins the robbers' song,
While the Toilers work and weep.

And the walls of Babylon are high,
And their arches grim and low,
And the Birds of Commerce scream and fly,
While the proud Euphrates wanders by
In its dark, relentless flow.

But stern and still, like a group of Fates
Round the City's roar and din,
The avenging host of the Conqueror waits
In the midnight hush without the gates
While the feast goes on within.

For the river that rolls in Mammon's pride
Shall the People's servant be—
By God's right arm shall be turned aside,
And its channel surge with a greater tide
Than the pulse of the Persian Sea.

—From Morrison-Davidson's "The Son of Man."

The Danysz Horror: Its Economic Effect

By H. E. HOLLAND.

SHORTLY an attempt will be made to introduce the abominable, filthy disease, cultivated by Dr. Danysz, among rabbits on the Australian mainland. That the banks and mortgage companies and large landowners favor it, and likewise that there should be strenuous opposition to its introduction, especially from the Australian working class, goes without saying. That the rabbits constitute a destroying pest would be so foolish as to deny; but there is an economic reason, from a capitalist-class viewpoint, for the general favoring of the Danysz horror by the squatter class and the men who control the banks and other large mortgage institutions.

During the winter months, especially in the country districts adjoining railway lines, working men are able to earn far better money as trappers than they have ever received as station employees. This notwithstanding the disadvantages which belong to any business necessitating the employment of the Sydney agent and the local middleman. In scores of small country centres many thousands of pounds have been earned in this way every winter, while during the summer months numbers of men secure a fair income by trapping the skins only. The inevitable result of this has been to diminish the supply of station labor hitherto available, and to force upward the wages of the "station hands."

The station laborer generally works from starlight to starlight—and if his wages exceed fifteen shillings a week and rations he may regard himself as a more specially-favored individual than many of his fellows; for it is an astounding fact that the capitalist system of production makes our great primary industries the vilest sweating concerns. The man for whom the rabbit-pest provides employment secures a better remuneration than does he who, as a wage-worker, tills the land and harvests the crop in the great agricultural centres, or he who tends the flocks and herds and rides the long boundary miles on the stock-raising and wool-growing holdings. That the long hours, low pay and servile conditions

station life should be willingly abandoned for the much more highly remunerated and comparatively freer calling of the trapper is easily understandable. There is a dearth of station "hands" at the old sweated wage-rate, but the offer of a decent living wage with anything like human conditions would find a ready response. While the present system of land ownership prevails, with its inevitable mortgage thralldom, there never will be—there never can be—a decent living-wage system for the pastoral and agricultural industries of Australia.

The small landholders are generally opposed to the Danysz method because the small holders are mostly wage-workers as well. The large holders and the mortgagees who favor its adoption unanimously recognise that—even if the disease will not affect other forms of animal life (and there is no guarantee that it will not)—it cannot under any circumstances totally eradicate the rabbit pest, that it can at the very best only prove a means of partial destruction. But what they do most emphatically know is that, once the disease is introduced to the mainland, the vile nature of it will immediately remove the rabbit as an article of diet. The rabbit as a pest will remain; as a very large contributor towards the cost of his own destruction, as a raiser of wages and a finder of employment for the country workers in the bitter winter months, he will disappear. "Station hands" will flock back to their "starlight-to-starlight" occupations and servile conditions, and station wages will not rise above the "15/- a week and rations" which ruled previously.

This is the economic reason why the Australian capitalist class is feverishly anxious that the French doctor shall let his carefully-cultivated disease loose in all its filthiness among the rabbit life of Australia.

Closer settlement is suggested as a means of driving back the rabbit; and it is quite true that when Australia is a thickly-populated country, the pest will totally disappear. But we all know that it will be many long years before Australia can be thickly populated. Closer settlement is immediately possible along the coast-line and within the rain-belt area; but, under whatever system of Government, before

there can be anything like populous settlement in the Central and Western districts, an expenditure of millions of money and years of labor must be incurred in extensive works of water conversation and irrigation, and in the tapping of the great underground rivers in the artesian country. In the meantime, there is only one sane method of dealing with the rabbit as a pest; and that is the method which makes the rabbit pay for the cost of his own destruction.

The compulsory and costly wire-netting of holdings is limited in its efficacy as a rabbit-destroying method; its real tendency is to drive the small land-holder off the land and into the ranks of the proletarians, and thus to hasten the steady increase of the holdings of the representatives of the great mortgage institutions. The vast amounts spent yearly on poison carts and poisoning, and also on police court prosecutions, have a tendency in the same direction. And, after all, these things only demonstrate both the utter incapacity and the absolute unwillingness of the various capitalist Governments to deal seriously with a great destructive element capable of being transformed into a wealth-producing commodity.

A working-class administration faced with a problem like this would institute freezing-works in all the thickly-infested centres; would systematically organise the work of trapping and of carriage to the freezing-houses; and after supplying the home demand, would organise a great export trade. There would be no wasted expenditure on wire-netting fences at £40 a mile as there is to-day; no thousands of pounds spent on laying poison which destroys valuable bird life and many animals as well; no piles of rabbits decaying in the fields and thus menacing the public health; no men and women and children starving in the great cities. And there would be no suggestion of scattering broadcast the seeds of one of the filthiest, vilest diseases for the purpose of getting rid of a pest which is easily capable of being transformed into an article of use.

For the economic reasons—principally wage-reducing reasons—stated above, the voice of Australian capitalism has declared in favor of Dr. Danysz and his precious disease. The workers of Australia are the people most directly affected, and these should offer every possible opposition to the proposal, and their representatives should throw every available obstacle in the way of its infamy being carried into effect.

Ben Tillett.

Is a recent issue Sydney "Truth" reprints from Keir Hardie's "Labor Leader" a scathing attack on Ben Tillett. The following from London "Justice" is interesting, inasmuch as it indicates how Tillett is regarded by the class-conscious Socialists of Britain:—

A recent issue of the "South Wales Daily News" contained a graphically-written column of appreciation of our comrade Ben Tillett. The article is all the more interesting because it is contributed by Clem Edwards, M.P., who probably is justified in his claim that in his public life he has known him the longest. . . . The "genesis of the Dockers' Union" was the formation of the "Tea Coopers' and General Labourers' Association" in June, 1887. Says Clem Edwards:—

"How shall I describe the heroism of the next two years? Here was a fragile youth or little more, back from the very jaws of death, conscious of an almost mortal disease, stricken with a grinding load of hopeless, often foodless, poverty, fettered by a terrible impediment of speech, going forth to stir up the down-trodden docker of East London. It was, indeed, an act of madness—and of heroism. Mobbbed by the sweaters, jeered at by his fellow-toilers, scoffed at by his friends, morning after morning, in driving rain or dismal fog, weary week after weary week, month in and month out, there he was stuttering forth his message round the dock walls. Jeers from a bully, or ugly menace from a brutal sweater, for the rest blank open-eyed gazing of an impassive crowd. A few score and then a few hundred men

rolled into the union, and then out again. But still the dauntless little missionary went on stammering forth his message, and his god wife, in spite of their dire poverty, backed him, and suffered the pangs of hunger through it all."

"At last in August, 1889, came the psychological moment. A few men were struck on a ship at the West India Dock, some idle dockers outside joined in, and with band and banner processioned from point to point, and the Great Dock Strike" speedily developed. As Mr. Edwards says: "He (Tillett) played his part alongside Burns and Mann, Champion, Orbell, and poor Mc Carthy and others, and played it with conspicuous power. But long era the three first came upon that scene he was playing his part, and playing it with a pluck and a courage that have not been surpassed in the annals of public service."

Step by step as the working class has risen to higher intelligence it has come to discern that the conflict does not lie between nation and nation. The interests of the working class are everywhere the same. The struggle is of the working class of all nations against the master class of all nations. It is no longer confined to one country alone. It is of every country. It is as wide as the world. And it is the beginning of a mighty conflict that will never cease until the names of master and slave are banished from the earth.—F. H. Wentworth.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE. Full Particulars in Future Issues

May Day Great Socialist Demonstration!

In the HALL of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CLUB,
274 PITT STREET, SYDNEY.
International Songs by the Liedertafel. Socialist Speakers.

POINTED * * PARAGRAPHS.

Some Sydney tramway employees are underpaid to such an extent that their wives are compelled to take in home-work as tailoresses. The result of the administration of a great national industry on capitalistic lines.

Bellingen "Courier" records the case of a maintenance man whose landlord raised his rent 2/- a week because of the extra land tax under the Shire Act. Said extra tax means that the landlord has to pay £1 a year more than formerly. And the worker-tenant is bled accordingly, only a great deal more so. That little bit of landlordism reflects the basic principle of Capitalism.

Regulations for the Classes. The Railway Commissioners won't allow an employer's wife to engage in business in competition with the middle-class, but when she competes in wage-labor with working-class women it is regarded as a matter which doesn't concern the Commissioners at all.

The success of Crick in the case arising out of his suspension, and the non-success of the prosecution against James Brown, together with the parent-cries of the daily papers, all contain a single suggestion

idea—viz., that both the Government and the daily papers wish blind the people to the fact that attempt has been made, or is like to be made, to prosecute the wealthy land-owners who ne proved by the Lands Commission to have employed corrupt and fraudulent means to get possession of certain improvement leases.

The Adelaide daily paper, "The Register," makes "The International Socialist Review" so that the conscious Socialist vote the States is 5,000. The "Register" has misread our article. What said was that the conscious Socialist vote in N.S.W. would probably stand at 5,000.

A Sydney University man writes "The International Socialist Review" is a journal of the right kind and I wish it success. . . . Congratulate the Internationals on the high standard attained in the art numbers of the "Review" before and hope to see it maintained and improved.

Out-of-work articles are becoming frequent in Great Britain. Five separate cases occurred in London during these days in March. In the same week a woman was found starved to death in back entry of the richest city in earth, and the Duchess of Portland opened a new convalescent home for cats.

Political

We call a nettle but a nettle, and the faults of fools but folly.—Shakespeare.

Mr. Ashton, speaking of his projected retirement from politics, said there was a grave personal danger, as well as a public danger, in a man developing into a purely professional politician. And the Molong "Argus" asks, "But why not a professional politician, just as well as a professional lawyer?" Well, the professional politician as generally defined is the man who subordinate all principle to the attainment of power, to personal gain, or to party success. He is a danger and a curse in all communities. The Australian anti-Socialist party has a multiplicity of him in its make-up; and, with an awful example like that before it, the Molong "Argus" really ought not to call for any more of the commodity. Anyhow, who is going to argue that the professional lawyer is something to be greatly desired in a self-respecting community? The professional politician and the professional lawyer is each a necessary adjunct of Capitalist Society. Social-Democracy won't have any use for either of them.

The "Daily Telegraph" declared that the Victorian elections resulted in a smashing defeat for the "Labor Socialists." In the same column it exposed its own mendacity by announcing that the strength of the parties in the House remained practically as heretofore!

Mr. Waddell is so naive that the coalition between his party and the "Manufacturers" will be fixed up without sacrifice of principle on

either side! Quite so. Neither party has any principle left now to be sacrificed.

Ten candidates are out for the anti-Socialist selection for the Macquarie. It's much easier to find professional politicians in these 20th Century days than it was to locate righteous men when Sodom and Gomorrah flourished.

Mr. Joseph Cook—professional politician, local preacher, and political chameleon—perpetrates the Reidite effort to keep the sectarian lie circulating and the sectarian snake crawling. He says the Catholic women's vote and the liquor vote and the gambling vote and the "Labor-Socialist" vote were behind the Labor Party last election. In elegant language he declares that "the Labor-Socialists were scotched in the Federal elections and driven back into their own wretched holes." That anti-Socialist print, the Molong "Argus," must have had Mr. Cook in mind when it asserted: "You can't beat a renegade when it comes to keeping abuse on his former political or religious friends."

Vested interests are threatened by the operations of the alleged anti-Gambling Act, and Attorney-General Wade has given the promoters of country Shows the tip as to how the provisions of the Act may be evaded. Some have acted on this "tip," but the Bathurst Show people are not satisfied that they can dodge the law in the way indicated, and Mr. Wade is quite angry about it. He says, "Some people are obstinate, and delight to create obstacles and get show in their own way." This incident presages the mortality of capitalist politics in a nutshell.

Act and Socialism, by Jack Lawson. 1d. Portland, 1916.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN GERMANY ON THE 25th OF JANUARY.

By K. KAUTSKY, in "Die Neue Zeit." Translated by H. DIERKS.

(Continued.)

THIS, though, is one side of the medal. Why did not the bourgeoisie excitement provoke a corresponding counter-effect? Do we not live in times of wholesale dearness, official persecution of the growing industrialisation of Germany? How is it that the rising bourgeoisie flood did not encounter a proletarian flood rising at the same ratio?

As far as the colonial scandals are concerned, their point was broken by the timely fall of Podbielsky, the entrance into the colonial office of Dernburg, who had had no opportunity, to commit himself. Then, again, colonies are a matter which—as against the bourgeoisie—is treated coolly by the proletariat. While colonies are the highest aspiration of the bourgeoisie, for the proletariat they are of no consequence, they are not anything to trouble much about. The proletariat stands off the colonial policy; but the defensive does not create the same expelling force as the offensive.

But the dearness? Should it not have had the effect to awaken public feeling against the government, the parties of bread and meat-usury, and their abettors?

No doubt, the wholesale dearness is of uncommon moment, and no doubt it has largely contributed to rouse the large mass of non-voters.

The character of a party is determined by special class-interests, but no party finds its electors exclusively among its own class. Principally the middle-shifts between the propertied and propertyless classes are represented among the voters of every party, and it is just those who form the easily-moveable element, which by momentary air-currents is blown from one side to the other; which is never satisfied, but also is not capable of a persevering opposition; the same element which shows itself peculiarly in England, where for quite a long time Liberals and Conservatives have regularly relieved one another in the occupation of the Government benches.

Even among the voters of our party, although it is more a class party than any other, elements from non-proletarian classes were not wanting; and the fight against the new tariff, which preceded the election of 1903, brought to us elements of this kind and swelled thereby the number of our votes. The fight against the tariff was carried on almost solely by our party, with a force and perseverance that made the deepest impression and excited the gladdest hopes. And it was not only prole-

tarian interests that the party stood for. It had principally been a fight against the grain duties. But by the increase in the price of grain not only all the small people—all in whose household expenses bread is a great item, not only wage-workers, but also small traders, artisans, the new middle class—which increases so largely to-day, state and civic officials, physicians, teachers, engineers, etc, were threatened to be hit; yes, even a number of farmers, who only cultivate a little grain, and therefore have to buy and would have to suffer, if bread and food for cattle should rise in price, were in the same category.

From all these circles we received in the fight against the hunger tariff the support of a large number of sympathisers.

It should be expected that the increase in the cost of living, which has since taken place, proving most conclusively the correctness of the stand we took against the tariff, would have brought more of these small people into our ranks. But the result of the election of January 25 proves that this was not so.

The fault cannot lie with the proletarian elements of our voting army. These suffer too much under the increased cost of living, and they could not be otherwise than exasperated, and they could not be deceived as to the originators. But with the middle-shifts it is otherwise.

There are the small farmers. They were excited about the grain duties. But now, for the greater preservation of the regime Bulow, a gracious dispensation made the last harvest an exceptionally good one, so that in spite of the high duties the price of grain has only risen very little. Milk and butter, poultry, and pork rise in price, while feed and bread is not much dearer, and they gain thereby. And this is the fact just now. Of course, it cannot remain so. The next smaller harvest will, thanks to the tariff, raise the cost of bread and feed to a considerable extent, so that the surplus from pork and milk will not be able to cover the deficit. But the farmer does not feel this yet; the new tariff has brought to him for the present a good gain, and it is this that cools his aversion to the grain duties.

Certainly, this new tariff regime, besides the increase in the price of meat, is responsible for a considerable increase in the price of other (principally industrial) products, which alone suffice to reduce the profit made by the small farmer through the high meat prices, but he does not recognise the connection of the increase with the new duties, owing to the fact that the introduction of the duties fell together with an era of enormous prosperity, which alone by its growing demand for products of all kinds forces prices, even in countries with freetrade, and even also of products which are not protected, as for instance coal. It cannot be so openly seen that by raising the prices are risen artificially, and that this succeeds best under the protection of the tariff, as can the fact that by the rising of prices the workers are forced to raise the price of THEIR ware—labor-power.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

The Evolution of Property

By PAUL LAFARGUE.

CHAPTER II.—PRIMITIVE COMMUNISM.

(Continued.)

If the savage is incapable of conceiving the idea of individual possession of objects not incorporated with his person it is because he has no conception of his individuality as distinct from the consanguine group in which he lives. The savage is environed by such perpetual material danger, and compassed round with such constant imaginary terrors that he cannot exist in a state of isolation; he cannot even form a notion of the possibility of such a thing. To expel a savage from his clan, his horde, is tantamount to condemning him to death; among the pre-historic Greeks, as among all barbarians, a murder intentional or by accident of one of the members of the clan was punished by exile. Orestos, after the assassination of his mother, was compelled to expatriate himself to appease the public indignation; in very advanced civilisations, like those of Greece and Italy in historic times, exile was considered the worst of penalties. "The exile," says the Greek poet Theognis, "has neither friends nor faithful comrades, the most doleful thing in exile." To be divided from his companions, to live alone, seemed a fearful thing to primitive man, accustomed to live in troops.

Savages, even though individually completer beings, seeing that they are self-sufficing, than are civilised persons, are so thoroughly identified with their hordes and clans that their individuality does not make itself felt either in the family or in property.

The clan was all in all; the clan was the family; it was the clan that married; it was the clan, again, that was the owner of property. In the clan all things are in common: the bushman of Africa who receives a present divides it among all the members of his horde; when he has captured an animal or found any object he shares his booty with his comrades, frequently reserving for himself the smallest portion. In times of famine, the young Fuegians explore the coast, and if they chance to light upon any Cetaceous animal (a favourite dainty they hasten, before touching it, to inform their comrades of their find. These at once hurry to the spot; wherupon the

oldest member of the party proceeds to portion out shares to all.

Hunting and fishing, those two primitive modes of production, are practised jointly and the produce is shared in common. According to Martius, the Botocudos, those dauntless tribes of Brazil, organise their hunt in concert and never abandon the spot on which an animal has been captured until they have devoured it. The same fact is reported of the Dacotas and the Australians. Even among those tribes in which the chase in common is in abeyance, this ancient mode of consuming the prey holds good; the successful hunter invites to a feast all the members of his clan, of his village, and occasionally of his tribe, to partake of his chase: they are, so to say, national feasts. At Svarietie, in the Caucasus, whenever a family slaughters an ox, a cow, or a dozen sheep, it is the occasion of a village feast; the villagers eat and drink together in memory of the relations that have died in the course of the year. The feasts of the dead are reminiscences of these common repasts.

Morgan, who has so minutely studied the primitive communist manners, in his last and important work describes the methods of hunting and fishing practised among the Redskins of North America:—"The tribes of the plain, who subsist almost exclusively upon animal food, show in their usages in hunt the same tendency to communism. The Blackfeet, during the buffalo hunt, follow the herd on horseback, in large parties, composed of men, women, and children.

When the active pursuit of the herd commences, the hunters leave the dead animal in the track of the chase, to be appropriated by the first persons who come up behind. This method of distribution is continued until all are supplied. . . . They cut up the beef into strings, and either dry it in the air or smoke it over a fire. Some make part of the capture into pemmican, which consists of dried and pulverised meat, mixed with melted buffalo fat, which is boiled in the hide of the animal. During the fishing season in the Columbia river, where fish is more abundant than in any other river on the earth, all the members of the tribe encamp together and make a common stock of the fish obtained. They are divided each day according to the number of women, giving to each an equal share. The fishes are split open, scarified and dried on scaffolds, after which

they are packed in baskets and removed to the villages." When the savage ceases to lead a nomadic existence, and when he settles and builds himself a dwelling-house, the house is not a private but a common one, even after the family has begun to assume a patriarchal form. The communal houses resemble those that La Perouse discovered in Polynesia; they are 16 feet high, 110 feet in length, and 10 in width, having the shape of an inverted pirogue; the entrance was by doors situated at both extremities, and they afforded shelter for a clan of upwards of 100 persons. The long houses of the Troquois, which, according to Morgan, disappeared before the commencement of the present century, were 100 feet long by 30 broad, and 20 feet in height; they were traversed by a longitudinal passage having an opening at both ends; into this passage, like the alveoles of a hive, opened a series of small rooms, 7 feet in width, in which dwelt the married women of the clan. Each habitation bore the totem of the clan, i.e., the animal supposed to be its ancestor. The houses of the Dyaks of Borneo are similar, with the difference that they are raised from 15 to 20 feet from the ground on posts of hard timber; they recall the lake cities, built upon piles, discovered in the Swiss lakes. Herodotus says that the Paeonians dwelt in houses of this description in Lake Prasias (V., sec. 16). The casas grandes of the Redskins of Mexico presented the appearance of an enormous stairway, with superimposed storeys, subdivided into cells for the married people; not improbably it is in such like communist dwellings that the prehistoric Greeks lived, as may be inferred from the palace brought to light in Argolis by the excavations of Dr. Schliemann. In these communist dwelling-houses the provisions are in common and the repasts are common.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

The working class have no interest in disorder. Their welfare and their happiness depend always upon the arts of peace protected by a well-ordered state. History records not a single rebellion of the producing classes under conditions which were in any way tolerable. If the working class ever turns to force of arms, it is for its own salvation; it is because force has been used against it.—Franklin H. Wentworth. "Critic," in "Truth," says: "The fashionable mother buys skim milk for her baby (if she has one), and cream for her dog."
Socialist Picnic at Athol Gardens next Sunday, to commemorate the Paris Commune. Steamers run from Neutral Bay wharf. Gents tickets are 1/6 and ladies' 6d.

The Serf and the Wage-Slave.

THE serf was never a chattel, the wage slave is a commodity. The serf had legal right and opportunity to labor for himself. The wage slave must hunt for a place to lay his head and be his own broker in the sale or rent of his own vital force. The serf was a man in direct communion with his lord, the wage slave is a thing or a number, who may never set eyes on him who profits by his labor. Relationship between serf and lord were human; between employer and worker, mechanical and metallic. The serf had an abiding home and secure hold on life, the wage slave is a wandering Ishmael with the pillar of possible poverty going ever before him.—"Western Clarion."

Publications Received.

"Book of Lords," by Morrison-Davidson; and "The Son of Man," by same author. From Geo. Robertson Proprietary, Ltd.

"Occident and Orient," from the publishers, Messrs. Hensold and Allman.

Reviewed in next issue.

It is in the longer exposure to the demoralising and dehumanising effects of commercialism that we find the chief reason for the greater servility of the Saxon. Cut off from the land three centuries ago, made a commodity by the modern trade spirit, duped and befooled with class politicians, no wonder we find him as he is, in many respects degenerate from his ancestors, looking for friends and patrons in the classes and content with the rations of a work animal. But he comes of a race that never consciously turns back, and when he gets his eye on the real knot that is strangling him, the opposition, be it His Majesty's or other, had better stand aside. Proletarian John Bull is awaking from his political and social stupor, he is stretching his limbs, and when he gets his correct bearings, the continentals will find in him one worthy of their comradeship.—Western Clarion.

The voice of Time cries to man, "Advance"! Time is for his advancement and improvement; for his greater happiness, his better life.—Charles Dickens.

"Do you think you will be able to convert the masses to your way of thinking?" "My friend," answered Senator Sorghum, "too many of us statesmen are giving our attention to converting the masses when we ought to be trying to keep from backsliding ourselves."—Washington "Star."

The Case against the State Clothing Factory.

IN the Arbitration Court on Tuesday a member of the Cutters and Trimmers' Union was fined 5s for having worked at the State Clothing Factory for wages below the Union minimum. Incidentally, the occasion was seized by the employers' representative, Mr. J. P. Wright, to do a little limelight posing. What we wish to draw attention to, however, is the trend that matters are taking in connection with employment at the State Factory in the direction of sweating. The Factory was brought into existence as the direct result of the efforts of the Tailoresses' Union and the exposures made by that body re the scandalous systematic sweating that prevailed in connection with the execution of Government contracts. It was started as one means of minimising the sweating evil. Now, we find that less than the Union rate of wages is being paid to some male employees, while the place is fast becoming a refuge for the non-unionist. Of course, it is quite in keeping with the tactics of the capitalist papers that they should shriek that this is "Socialism and Sweating." They know that the State Clothing Factory doesn't constitute Socialism—that it isn't more than State (the Capitalist State) Enterprise as against Private (Capitalist) Enterprise. We pointed this out clearly enough at the time of the State Clothing Factory Inquiry—when the efforts of the Tailoresses' Union went far towards saving the Factory from being abolished. The present unsatisfactory position is due to the fact that the Government has so arranged the conditions of employment as to open the way for a gradual return to the old sweating conditions. We fully recognise that the Factory manager is not responsible for this.

But the fact remains that while the workers forced the institution of the Factory, and while their strenuous efforts and money expended ensured its continuance, capitalist administration is gradually carrying it back towards the level of the old-time sweatshops—the getting in of non-unionists in large numbers is always the first step in that direction. The kindred trades concerned should arrange a conference to deal with this matter, and it should be dealt with in no faltering way. If there are still employees in the Factory getting less than the Union wages, demand should be made that the correct wages be paid; and, in the meantime, a final effort should be made to persuade all non-unionists in the Factory to become members of the unions of their respective trades. Failing success in either direction or in both, then the unions concerned should unitedly declare a strike, and call their members out. The present position is certainly intolerable, and it would be far better that the Factory should be entirely abolished than that class administration should make it an agency for defeating the unions and finally sink it to the level of a State sweat-shop.

TO COMMEMORATE

*The Commune
of Paris!*

**International Socialist Club
and LIEDERTAFEL.**

18th March Celebration.

Select PICNIC

AT ATHOL GARDENS
SUNDAY, MARCH 24th.

Steamers leave Neutral Bay Wharf at 9.5, 9.35, 10.5, 10.25, 11.10, 11.40, 11.45 a.m., 12.50, 2.5, 2.25, 3.5, 3.25, 4.10, 5.5, 5.45, 6.5, 6.45, 8.5 p.m.

Gents, 1s; Ladies, 6d.

ATHOL GARDENS FIRST STOP.

**SOCIALISM
in Australasia**

THE Vic. Socialist party has unanimously resolved:—"That this meeting is of opinion that having regard to the enormously improved powers of wealth production in all civilised countries, and the great accumulation of wealth this makes possible by the capitalists, and the imperative necessity for a substantial improvement in the social condition of the people, by getting a fairer share in the results of their own labor, declares emphatically in favor of a six-hour work day, or thirty-six hours per week. Further we undertake to persistently advocate the same by all reasonable means, and to help in organising the workers in such a manner as may be necessary to obtain the same, with or without Parliament; and declares such action to be in accord with economic evolution and political good sense; and that we send this resolution to each of the Socialist organisations throughout Australia, requesting them to consider and endorse the

same, and to join in the demand for the six hour day."

For the Socialist Party of Victoria, Tom Mann writes: "We congratulate you on 'The International Socialist Review,' and hope it may have a long career. We trust that ere long steps will be taken to unify the Socialist movement in Australia."

Sydney S.D.F., in spite of the inclemency of the weather, held a largely attended and successful meeting on Sunday afternoon, at which J. J. Morrish spoke. A large number of copies of the "Review" were sold.

Socialist unity in Australia is coming; and all Socialist organisations would do well to take the matter into consideration in a preliminary way, and so as to be ready for definite action when the psychological moment arrives. The near future will behold in Australia a national Socialist party organised on a scale hitherto undreamed of by the most enthusiastic Socialist.

H. Scott-Bennett, ex-M.L.A., one of Australia's best and clearest exponents of Socialism, has been delivering successful lectures for the Barrier Social-Democratic Club.

At Melbourne, the other day, Solicitor Beeby (of Sydney) appeared before the High Court in a grey suit, and Chief Justice Griffiths came very near having an apoplectic fit because of the outrage of it. That sort of fool business on the part of judges helps greatly to make our law courts a laughing stock and a byword; and if the solicitor had told Mr. Griffiths that his interference amounted to silly impertinence, it would have been a fitting reply.

The Socialist picnic at Athol Gardens on Sunday next promises

to be a great success. Selections by the Liedertafel, and an outdoor speech by H. E. Holland on the Commune, will form a part of a well-arranged programme.

The Press Committee will welcome contributions for publication in "The International Socialist Review." Short articles and paragraphs will be most acceptable.

You may not be able to do much; but you CAN help to widen the circulation of "The International Socialist Review"—which is the very best method of doing educational work for Socialism.

A PAMPHLET YOU SHOULD READ:

Art and Socialism

By JEAN JAURES, the celebrated French Socialist.

Price: One Penny. Posted, 1½d.

Order from the Secretary, I.S. Club, 274 Pitt-street, Sydney.

The Socialist

A Bright Exponent
of International
Socialism.

Published Weekly.

Official Organ of the Victorian SOCIALIST PARTY.

Headquarters—Socialist Party H.C., 233 Elizabeth-street, Melbourne.

President—J. P. Jones.

Secretary—Tom Mann.

Agents for Sydney—A. S. Ardley, 24 Yurong-street, Hyde Park; Mrs. W. H. McNamee, Castlereagh-street, City.

Books for Socialists

Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, 3/6; posted, 4/

Spencer's *Education*, 3/; posted, 3s 4d.

Woodworth's *Christian Socialism*, 2/6; posted, 3s 10d.

Brooks' *Social Unrest*, 1/6; posted, 1s 9d.

Jack London's *War of the Classes*, 2/6; posted, 2s 10d.

To arrive—Jaures' *Studies in Socialism*.

ORDER FROM

The International Socialist Club,

274 Pitt-street, Sydney.

THE MARCH OF THE WORKERS.

Air—"John Brown."

What is this, the sound and rumor? What is this that all men hear
Like the wind in hollow valleys when the storm is drawing near,
Like the rolling on of ocean in the eventide of fear?

'Tis the people marching on.

Whither go they, and whence come they? What are these of whom ye
tell?

In what country are they dwelling 'twixt the gates of heaven and hell?
Are they mine or thine for money? Will they serve a master well?

Still the rumour's marching on.

Chorus—Hark, the rolling of the thunder,
Lo, the sun! and lo thereunder
Riseth wrath and hope and wonder,
And the host comes marching on.

North they come from grief and torment; on they wend towards health
and mirth.

All the wide world is their dwelling, every corner of the earth,
Buy them, sell them for thy service! Try the bargain what 'tis worth,
For the days are marching on.

These are they who build thy houses, weave thy raiment, win thy
wheat,

Smoother the rugged, fill the barren, turn the bitter into sweet,

All for thee, this day—and ever. What reward for them is meet,

Till the host comes marching on!

Many a hundred years passed over have they labored, deaf and blind;
Never tidings reached their sorrow, never hope their toil might find.

Now at last they've heard and hear it, and the cry comes down the wind,
And their feet are marching on.

O ye rich men, hear and tremble! for with words the sound is rife:

"Once for you and death we labored; changed henceforward is the
strife—

We are men, and we shall battle for the world of men and life,

And our host is marching on."

—WILLIAM MORRIS.

In Commemoration of the Commune.

THE picnic at Athol Gardens on Sunday last—when Sydney Socialists commemorated the Commune of Paris—was a great success. The picnic was organised by the International Socialist Club, and there were between 500 and 600 persons present. A most enjoyable day was spent. Mr. A. Morris' band played excellent music, and vocal selections were rendered by the Liedertafel. At 3 o'clock the company assembled in the open-air, Secretary O'Meara presiding, and H. E. Holland spoke on the stirring history of the Commune, and the lessons to be learned therefrom by the working-class. At the conclusion of the meeting, the Liedertafel sang the German Socialist Hymn.

Socialist meetings will be held at Newtown Bridge on Saturday night, 7.30; and Millers' Point, Sunday night, 6.30. Speakers—Hillier, Holland, and others.

Meetings, Sunday, domain at 3, Park-street 7. Speakers—J. J. Morrish and others.

In Queen's Hall, Pitt-street, Sydney, on Sunday night, W. H. Emmett (of the Socialist Party of Victoria) will lecture. A musical programme is being arranged.

An up-country Socialist recently broke his leg while riding over the hurdles at a St. Patrick's Day gathering. We are now waiting for some "Reform" paper to arise and point to the fact as further proof of an unholy alliance between the Church and the Socialists.

The Barrier Social-Democratic Club's anniversary function was a great success.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE. Full Particulars in Future Issues.

May Day Great Socialist Demonstration!

In the HALL of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CLUB,

274 PITT STREET, SYDNEY.

International Songs by the Liedertafel.

Socialist Speakers.

A Point for the Postmaster-General.

SPEAKING at a private picnic party the other day, Mr. Austin Chapman, Postmaster-General, said it "was idle to form parties, or to set Capital against Labor, or Labor against Capital." "The International Socialist Review" would remind the Postmaster-General that present-day economic conditions have already set Capital against Labor, and Labor against Capital. It is true enough that capital can only exist while labor exists, but that argument has no application to labor. Capital represents only a certain portion of wealth—that portion which is employed in production for profit-making purposes. Labor creates wealth, and cannot do without it; but Labor CAN do without Capital. And since Capital stands only for exploitation—the exploitation of the class that does all the work and creates all the wealth by the class that does no useful work, that fact alone creates class antagonisms. The fact that the capitalist class if it is to remain a capitalist class must appropriate the major portion of the earnings of the working-class, can only result in setting capital against labor and labor against capital. To warn the people against creating class antagonisms—a thing which the inevitabilities of human history have already created—isn't any more logical than it would be to warn the policeman on his beat against the undesirability of stirring up class antagonisms between the burglar and the people he designs to rob. The antagonism is already there. The very fact that one man is out to rob, and that the other knows that HE is the party to be robbed, creates it and develops it. And that's just how it is with the capitalist class and the working class. The capitalist class must exploit, and the working-class must be exploited. The capitalist class has long been conscious of the position it occupies; the working-class is gradually awaking to a similar consciousness. Class antagonisms are born of the conflict of interests; and they will exist as long as the causes of conflict remain—as long as capitalism exists. Socialism stands for the abolition of the system which creates classes and generates class antagonisms and hatreds. The capitalists desire that their position as a separate and

distinct class, shall be maintained economically and socially but in the industrial and political field they want the workers to forget that class divisions exist; because the recognition by the workers of the class struggle involves the overthrow of Capitalism—its dethronement industrially and politically, and the tearing away of the drones' legal right to live on the surplus wealth created by the working class. The workers' recognition of the economic causes which generate the class struggle, and their determination to stand forth politically as a class-conscious party, will mean death to Capitalism; but to the Working Class it will mean life and liberty and progress towards the highest pinnacle of human freedom.

International Socialism: The Hope of the Workers!

In proposing "International Socialism" at the Barrier Social-Democratic Club's anniversary, H. J. Hawkins said he scouted as petty, provincial, and mere twaddle the idea that the cause of the Australian worker was in any way different to that of the world's workers. Capitalism was international, and it followed that the working-class movement must also be international. . . . Let those present not forget that their future emancipation was bound up with the workers' struggle the world over. International Socialism was the workers' hope.

H. Scott Bennett in responding, said he stood before them that night as a straight-out revolutionary Socialist. Reference had been made to his throwing up Parliamentary life. He was not a martyr, and did not wish to pose as one. A certain position presented itself to him as a Socialist, and he took it with the determination that never again would he enter the Parliamentary halls except as the direct representative of a revolutionary Socialist party. Until that were possible he was prepared to take his place among the rank and file, and to consistently wage an unceasing warfare against the capitalistic system.

A Swiss township of 1200 inhabitants has perhaps the most peculiar newspaper in the world. This paper has a convenient way of expounding in the same issue the policies of both Socialists and anti-Socialists. On certain pages the Socialists pelt the anti-Socialists, and on other pages the anti-Socialists return the compliment. The paper is privately owned.

Other Lands

RUSSIA.

The cablegrams indicate that the "constitutional democrats" in the Duma are lining up alongside the Government in order to defeat the Social-Democrats.

JAPAN.

The first number of the new Japanese Socialist daily, "Heimin Shinbun" contains special articles on "Studies in Lives of Japanese Millionaires," a short history of the movement in Japan, translations of Shaw, Kropotkin and Gorky, an excellent cartoon, and a photo of the printing office of the paper. Every fifth day a column is to appear in English, French or Esperanto. Thirty thousand copies of the first number were sold out.

UNITED STATES.

A. M. Simons is giving in the "Appeal to Reason" a series of articles on "American History for the Workers."

Robert Hunter, the millionaire settlement worker of New York, and author of the valuable sociological work, "Poverty," has recently joined the Socialist party. He has been contributing some very interesting articles to the "International Socialist Review" (Chicago), on personal impressions of the Continental movement.

The first Socialist Sunday School has just been formed in New York under the plan proposed by the Socialist Sunday School Association. Children of ten and upwards are admitted.

GERMANY.

The enemies of Social-Democracy are circulating gross libels

concerning Bebel and Singer. The lie was started by the organisers of the Imperial Association, and as one of the libellers has been elected to the Reichstag, Bebel says he will force the matter before the House. Public meetings can be arranged for themselves by these gentlemen so that awkward questions can be avoided, and a large section of the public hear only their side of the case; but in the Reichstag that ceases.

The trade union journal, the "Metallarbeiter Zeitung," organ of the metal-workers, has a circulation of 325,000 copies.

FRANCE.

Two hundred and ten French sailors employed in repairing warships at Toulon refused to work on the afternoon of Shrove Tuesday and left the dockyard. Two of them have been sentenced to sixty days' imprisonment, and 104 others to three days' confinement to their quarters.

The Senate is trying to shelve the question of Old Age Pensions. The committee to which the Bill passed by the Chamber was referred has now issued forms to be filled up by trades unions, benefit societies, employers, etc., notwithstanding that for over ten years the question has been discussed over and over again.

Millions of Hindoos live, marry, and rear families on an income which rarely exceeds a couple of shillings a week. They never eat meat, and need little clothing.

Jack London is writing a new novel called "The Iron Heel," which pictures the triumph of capitalism and its organisation into a political and industrial oligarchy more terrible and despotic than any form of oppression the world has yet known.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN GERMANY ON THE 25th OF JANUARY.

By K. KAUTSKY, in "Die Neue Zeit." Translated by H. DIEZEL.
(Continued).

The rings do their cupping of the public by secret conspiracies—of whom "nobody knows nothing." The workers have to combine openly to effect a pressure, and must carry on severe and bitter fights if they want to see their wages increased. To be able to find out the workings of the rings, one must study individually. Strikes for higher wages, though, are a striking phenomena, and their continual increase in the latter years principally since 1903, are seen by the dullest philistine. He sees the strikers, he feels the increased cost of the necessaries of life. But he blames those for this? That the boot fits on the other foot, that the increase of wages does not precede the increase of the price of commodities but hobbles after it slowly and insufficiently, that without wage-fights the working-class would have experienced an enormous shortening of their proper wage within the latter years, that the raising of prices does not depend on a rise of wages, that a general rise in wages is quite possible with prices of commodities, remaining at the same level—that is, at the cost of profit—all this is incomprehensible to the philistine. Theoretical deepness is not his forte. He only sees the surface. In America, though, where there is the same economic situation as here, he sees plainly the connection between the entrepreneur organisations and the general dearness. There Socialism is weak, and, therefore, entrepreneurship is so impudent and insolent, that it can carry on its exploitation practices unabashed. In Germany, though, we have a powerful Social-Democracy. This not only causes the entrepreneur organisations to carry on their price-hickling as quietly as possible; it also induces them to blame on the hated mighty opponent, whose actions concentrate upon himself all eyes. Social-Democracy does not take a direct part in the wage-fights; but the bourgeoisie is right if it makes no distinction in this matter between Social-Democracy and Trades-Unions. They are the same flesh-and-blood fighting organisations of the same class, imbued with the same spirit, strongly clinging to one another for mutual support.

So the blame for the dearness is put on the wage-fight, and then charged to the account of Social-Democracy.

This is the reason why this increased cost of living has caused among many of these classes who declared for us in 1903 vexation against our party. They voted for us then because the Social-Democratic-Party was in their eyes the advocate for low prices of means of livelihood and low

materials. They rise against us now because they believe that the doctrine of the Class Struggle generated the wage-fights and thereby increased the prices of commodities.

This is the case with the small farmers, who in 1903 came to our side, as also with the intellectuals who suffer by the dearness, and who do not understand the wage-fights; but in a higher degree is it the case with small master-artisans. These are exasperated against Social-Democracy not only by the enhancement of the prices of their raw-materials, their tools, their dwellings and workshops, for which they blame the wage-demands of the workers in other callings, but more so by the wage-demands of their own workmen. They do not reflect how justified these demands are in view of the high prices of necessaries of life and rent; they only feel the stress, having to pay higher wages in addition to higher prices for all elements of their production, and they are enraged against the workers—therefore, also, against the workers' party.

On the other hand, not a few small traders are against us by reason of the growth of the co-operative societies. The higher the cost of living the greater the necessity of the workers to somewhat lessen prices by doing away with the middlemen; but this process is at the cost of just those small traders who before lived on the custom of the workers and sympathised with them.

All these are naturally necessary consequences of the pointed class-antagonisms created by price-increasing new duties. These have not only increased the opposition between capitalists and workers, and the bitterness between them; they have also affected the middle-shifts, who till now saw their best representation in the Social-Democratic party, a party which opposed most energetically militarism and all taxes pressing on the lower people, and who by this policy saw their contrast against the wage-workers overbridged.

If this conception is correct—and many signs point this way—then our adherents have gone through an important inner transformation. Our party has ever been almost exclusively a proletarian one, not only according to its conceptions and aims, but, also according to its composition.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

Since the coalition in New South Wales the progress of politics in that State may be summed up as something between Waddle and a Wade.—Q. "Worker"

Socialism means "production for use." Capitalism is production for some other fellow's use.—Q. "Worker"

Quite a number of Australian papers clip from the "International Socialist Review."

The Voice of Friend and Foe.

THE newspaper notices of "The International Socialist Review" are many and varied. A few extracts from some of them are specially interesting:—

"Burrangong Argus" (Young) is generous in its criticism. The editor says: "We congratulate the proprietors upon the birth of this journal and wish it that success which will mean healthy life. There are a large number of people, we know, who will marvel that we should express such a wish concerning a journal devoted to spreading the seed of what they regard as a pernicious doctrine. The fact that they should do so is evidence that they misunderstand the ideals of a great economic question which has demanded the study of the philosophers and other great minds of this age and the preceding ones, and therefore they supply proof of the necessity for a publication in Australia which truly sets out the goal which the Socialists are striving to reach. We assume the primary cause of the launching of the "Review" is to reach the minds of those who understand not Socialism, and as we have a great deal to learn on the subject and our experience has taught us that there are a large number who have a great deal more to learn about it—this is egotism we admit, but we can't help it—we say again that we welcome the birth of the journal for our sakes and for that of others who have no objection to reaping knowledge. We are not adverse to being educated on a subject which has received the deepest thought from the greatest political economists. . . . Those who want to learn something of the true and full aims of Socialism should turn their attention from the speeches of Mr. G. H. Reid to the "Review," which can be obtained for a whole year upon the expenditure of five shillings."

Sydney "Stock and Station Journal" says: "Sydney has done itself the honour of producing a new socialistic paper. . . . Those of us who are not socialists ought to welcome this paper, for it will tell us what socialism is, in Australia. The objective of this paper is very clear. It is plainly printed on the cover, as follows:—'Objective: Socialisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange, to be controlled by a democratic State in the interests of the whole community, and the complete emancipation of labor from the domination of capitalism and landlordism, with the establishment of social and economic equality between the sexes.' That does not mince matters. We are to abolish capital and landlords, and be controlled by a 'democratic State.' Any man who objects to the democratic control can now speak clearly on the subject. Any one reading this little paper can get a clear view of the socialist objective, and understand that if we become socialists in the middle of a capitalistic world, we will soon find ourselves in trouble."

Queensland "Worker" says: "It is a publication full of instructive reading, and one that should do much good."

The Evolution of Property

By PAUL LAFARGUE.

CHAPTER II.—PRIMITIVE COMMUNISM.

(Continued.)

WE must turn to Morgan for a description of the life of the inhabitants of these communal houses. His researches were confined, it is true, to the American Redskins, and principally the Iroquois, amongst whom he had lived; but as he says, "when any usage is found among the Iroquois in a definite or positive form, it renders probable the existence of the same usage in other tribes in the same condition, because their necessities were the same."

"The Iroquois who formed a household, cultivated gardens, gathered harvest, and stored it in their dwellings as a common store. There was more or less of individual ownership of these products and of their possession by different families. For example, the corn, after stripping back the husk, was braided by the husk in bunches and hung up in the different apartments; but when one family had exhausted its supply, their wants were supplied by other families so long as any remained; each hunting or fishing party made a common stock of the capture, of which the surplus on their return was divided among the several families of each household, and, having been cured, were kept for winter use." In these Indian villages we note the singular phenomenon of individual ownership combined with common usage. "There is nothing in the Indian house and family without its particular owner," remarks Heckewelder, in treating of the Delawares and the Munsees; "every individual knows what belongs to him, from the horse or cow to the dog, cat, or kitten and little chicken. . . . For a litter of kittens or a brood of chickens there are often as many owners as there are individual animals. In purchasing a hen with her brood one frequently has to deal for it with several children. Thus while the principle of community of goods prevails in the state, the rights of property are acknowledged among the members of the family."

The Indians of Laguna village (New Mexico) had common stores. "Their women, generally, have the control of the granary," wrote the Rev. Sam. Gorman to Morgan in 1869,

"and they are more provident than their Spanish neighbours about the future; they try to have a year's provision on hand. It is only when two years of scarcity succeed each other that Pueblos, as a community, suffer hunger."

Among the Maya Indians food is prepared in a hut, and every family sends for a portion. Stephen saw a procession of women and children, each carrying an earthen bowl containing a quantity of smoking hot broth, all coming down the same road and disappearing among the different houses.

But among the Iroquois each household prepared the food of its members. A matron made the division from the kettle to each family according to their needs; it was served warm to each person in earthen or wooden bowls. They had neither tables, chairs, nor plates, in our sense, nor any room in the nature of a kitchen or a dining-room, but ate each by himself, sitting or standing where was most convenient to the person, the men eating first and by themselves, and the women and children afterwards and by themselves. That which remained was reserved for any member of the household when hungry. Towards evening the women cooked hominy, the maize having been pounded into bits the size of a grain of rice, which was boiled and put aside to be used cold as a lunch in the morning and evening and for entertainment of visitors; they had neither formal breakfast nor supper; each person, when hungry, ate whatever food the house contained. They were moderate eaters. This, adds Morgan, is a fair picture of Indian life in general in America, when discovered.

Similar manners obtained in pre-historic Greece, and the *syssities* (common repasts) of historic times were but a reminiscence of the primitive communist repasts. Heraclides of Pontus, the disciple of Plato, has preserved for us a description of the communistic repasts of Creta, where the primitive manners prevailed during a long period of time. At the *andreies* (repasts of men) every adult citizen received an equal share, except the Archon, member of the council of the ancients (*geronia*), who received a fourfold portion—one in his quality of simple citizen, another in that of president of the table, and two additional portions for the care of the hall and furniture. All the tables were under the supervision of a matriarch, who distributed the food and ostensibly set aside the choicest bits for the men who had distinguished themselves

in the council or on the battlefield. Strangers were served first, even before the archon. A vessel with wine and water was handed round from guest to guest; at the end of the repast it was replenished. Heraclides mentions common repasts of the men only, but Hoeck assumes that in the Dorian cities there were also repasts of women and children. Our knowledge of the constant separation of the sexes among savages and barbarians renders probable the assumption of the learned historian of Creta.

According to Aristotle the provisions for these repasts were furnished by the harvests, the flocks and herds, and the tributes of the serfs belonging to the community; hence we may infer that men, women, and children, in Creta, were maintained at the expense of the state. He asserts that these repasts may be traced back to a very remote antiquity; that it was Minos who established them in Creta and Italus among the Oenotrians, whom he taught agriculture; and as Aristotle finds these common repasts still prevalent in Italy, he concludes that they originated there, ignoring the fact that they occur among all primitive peoples.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

Books for Socialists

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Militarism and Madness.

(Translated from "Avanti" by V. LOLATO.)

A FEW days ago the European journals gave us the news that many cases of insanity had occurred in the Russian army, mostly among the soldiers who had returned from Manchuria and the extreme east, adding a list of episodes happening amongst the different garrisons. This sort of thing will not come as a surprise to those familiar with science and statistics which go to show the terrible increase of lunacy in the European armies.

It will be well to remember a study of the French Doctor Pactet. Doctor Pactet's is a book of great utility and interest, and likely to irritate many who are so obstinate in defining the life of a soldier as a school in which all the energies of spirit and of the body are tempered and fortified. Doctor Pactet occupies himself with insanity in the French army. He says that one of its characteristics is to render the one that is afflicted impervious to the life of the place that gives him hospitality. Now, can this being accept the regime of passive obedience and at the same time become a silent automaton full of zeal, of activity, of agility, which are the essential qualities of every soldier? Certainly not. Such life cannot be inflicted on him without causing him to draw on himself (with all its infringements of regulations) the bestial hatred of his superiors. In the disciplinary regiments, in the prisons, in the penitentiaries, will be found later on these poor unfortunates, who should have been excluded from military service. In Grandioux's statistics it is shown that the African battalions provide more cases of aberration than the whole remainder of the French army, and that there are four times as many of these in penitentiaries and prisons than from the rest of the army, and eight and a half times more in the disciplinary regiments. The statistics of military sentences give us a little more information of great social interest. During the year 1885, of 299,380 called under arms, 2,205 were sentenced—that is, 1 in 177. In the same year, of 59,473 volunteers, 1,222 were sentenced—1 in 45. So that the criminality of the volunteers will show the mental state of these young fellows. Having given way to impulse in a moment of delirium or of temper, they stupidly sacrificed their liberty; and of this too late they repent, and a great many desert. Jourdain has noted that among the French deserters the volunteer represents the triple in comparison with the soldier of conscription, often being sent to the barracks as to a house of correction by his family—which is a vain hope because the rigid and inhuman military discipline does not tend to cure any one. Of a total of 431 men sent to a disciplinary regiment during three years, it was shown that 216 were volunteers and 215 conscripts—an exact proportion of volunteers when their numbers in a are compared with

the numbers of the conscripts. The psychology of the volunteers is important in accounting for the mental aberration of the army, and a psychological examination of every volunteer should constitute an item of first necessity as it is with the lungs, the heart, the sight, and the hearing. Doctor Pactet concludes by giving the following statistics on nervous and mental affections contracted after recruiting:

Year.	Mental Aberration.	Imbecility.	Year.	Epilepsy.	Hysteria.
1891	164	181	1898	340	107
1902	154	127	1899	372	134
1903	166	194	1900	292	171
1904	181	158	1901	347	144
			1902	374	171
			1903	415	293
			1904	376	272

Naturally we suppose that in the French army, as in every other army of the world, many cases of mental affliction remain unknown to the military doctors, who are not always in contact with their soldiers, and who, so as to be faithful to their well-worn traditions, come to the conclusion that the sick only want a spell or desire to get out of certain services. But they observe the least threatening jest or careless action and convict them of insubordination under Council of War.

In the Military Reclusion of Orleansville, out of 25 prisoners Doctor Pactet found seven whose intellectual level was not elevated above imbecility.

And all of this throws light on some of the most irreparable judiciary errors through the penalty of death. In France though, the Council of War Tribunal is about to be abolished; but in Italy, where the statistics are not more encouraging, the Military Tribunals judge and sentence without mercy. Science has not progressed enough in military Italy to reveal a madman in one they thought worthy of death and infamy. Here still reigns with all its absurdities the inexorable, the ferocious discipline of militarism, ugly and cruel as it was understood by the old corporals of Austria and the Bourbons.

A PAMPHLET YOU SHOULD READ:

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The Reviewer

"The Son of Man."

EVERY book that comes from the pen of Morrison-Davidson—being, at-law, journalist, and Communist-Anarchist—is worth reading, and there are few Socialists to whom his works are unfamiliar. "The Son of Man, Standard-bearer of Humanity," is the title of a later work written while yet the shadow of the great South African crime lay heavily over the British nation. "The Son of Man" is, of course, Jesus of Nazareth, whose life story the author finds shrouded in mystery. Approvingly he quotes Proudhon:

"It is not known to this day who He was, whence He came, or what suggested to Him His ideas. He went about proclaiming everywhere that the end of existing society was at hand; that the world was about to experience a new birth; that the priests were vipers, the lawyers ignoramuses, and the philosophers hypocrites and liars; that masters and slaves were equal; that every and everything alike to it was robbery; that proprietors and idlers would one day burn, while the poor and pure in heart would find a haven of peace. . . . Therefore Jesus had existed only for the masters; it then commenced to exist for the slaves."

That, the author contends, is the real secret of Christianity. Of the revolutionary Jesus of Nazareth was the most revolutionary—the most searching and profound. Whether you accept or reject his records—"miracles," it is an astounding miracle that a reputed unlettered Galilean should arise, in an obscure corner of the earth, to examine its political institutions, and confidently pronounce their foundations hollow, their justice a mockery, their religious hypocrisy, and their glory a object of shame and contempt.

In Jesus, Morrison-Davidson beholds the Great Communist. His immediate followers "had all things in common," and He "strictly" indicted both the use of money and the sale and purchase of land, commodities and services, as the root-evil of that age and every other.

Emphatically the author says the religion of Christ is not a failure. "It does not follow that because the Christ of the churches is unfaithful, dead, the Christ of the Commune is not alive.

"No oak (military or civil); no soldier; no judge; no cleric; no navy; no exclusive property—such were the unmistakable precepts of Christ. . . . He was the World-Revolutionist par excellence," and it is a marvel is not that the Classes killed him, but that they allowed him to live so long.

Passing antiquarian reference is made to the "glorious roll of His

complete—fearless Democrats every one of them"—who were the agitators of the "old dispensation"; and unhesitatingly the law is applied to the anti-Christian professors of Christianity, especially those who, the anti-Christian African villainy, travestied Christianity by preaching the South African villainy, travestied Christianity by preaching the war and praying that the British troops might be successful in killing their South African brothers. "The pulpit is the Coward's Castle," says the author, and away with a lively recollection of the events of last year the Christian cleric will heartily endorse J.M.D. on this point.

"In Christ's time even the elements of economic truth were hidden from the wise and prudent. Hence the extreme difficulty His unlettered disciples had in comprehending the drift of His glad tidings to the poor. But in those latter days much that was dark to His wonderful beings has become resplendently luminous in the investigations and writings of such men as St. Simon, Proudhon, Rodbertus, Marx, Kropotkin, and many other devoted servants of Humanity." We are only just beginning to understand Christianity, and are learning that the Incarnate Master was very much of a Secularist; that he considered himself mostly with the life here; "that his followers were to be exempt from Rent as the birds of the air and the lilies of the field. He abolished all Private Property, and with it the State which exists to uphold it. He abolished all distinctions of race, rank, sex, and wealth. He made the first last, and the last first; acknowledged only one level service as true greatness; the only law, the Law of Love."

Christ was anti-sac. "Put up the sword; they that take the sword shall perish by the sword."

Behold this was his last command,
Yet ye dare cry to Christ in power,
With red and roaring sword in hand,
Ye dare to do as devils dare!
Ye liars—liars great and small,
Ye cowards—cowards, cowards all!

The "Christian soldier" is a human imposition, and relentlessly the author scourges for their hypocrisy the Rev. J. R. Campbell and other clerical abettors of England's blood-guiltiness. The "Great Lying Church of England" is a phrase strong enough and (who shall say?) well deserved.

Most writers on Biblical matters have wrestled with the problem of the "Beast." How could J.M.D. pass it by? He presents a new solution of the problem—a new interpretation of the mystic number of the alleged "Beast"—666. Mohammed, the first Bonaparte, the Pope of Rome, Nero—all have been "fitted" at some time or other with the magic of the "Beast's" number. When John told to the world the tale of his awful nightmare, "Greek was the 'lingua franca' of the hellish world, and the letters of the Greek alphabet did service as conventional symbols." The number of the "Beast"—666—spells

Euporia (Capital) and spells nothing else. There are 3,126 substantives in the New Testament, and each and all make other numbers than 666. Euporia is a word that occurs but once in the Bible. When Paul preached at Ephesus, a silversmith—a capitalist who made shrines for Diana—was his chief opponent. Demetrius (that was his name) called the workmen together, and told them, "Sirs, ye know that by this business we have our Euporia" [capital]. And Euporia works out like this:

E U P O R I A
5 400 80 70 100 10 1 = 666.

And, therefore, Capitalism is the Beast!

If Christ came back to-day, the author concludes, instead of talking about Mammon and the Kingdom of Heaven, he would speak of Capital and the Co-operative Commonwealth.

There is much in the book that Socialists will disagree with; but for all that "The Son of Man" is well worth reading. Our copy is from Geo. Robertson Proprietary, Ltd., Castlereagh-street, Sydney. Paper covers, 1/ net; cloth bound, 2/ net.

"Occident and Orient."

The above is the title of a new monthly magazine, "devoted to original studies of the Race Problem: its oneness, diversity, and potential factors in evolution, as affected by morals, religion, science, and philosophy."

Special articles on Indian learning and history are from the pen of Dr. Hensoldt; while Mr. F. Allman, under the heading of "Political and Prophetic," predicts a cleavage in the Liberal-Labor ranks, when a section of labour representatives will make common cause with the Liberal-Conservatives, "while the remainder [doubtless reverting to extreme Socialism] will become a source of danger to the commonwealth. Thus will we see a clear-cut issue between Liberal-Conservatives and revolutionary Socialists, or, in other words, the inevitable final struggle through the ballot between Capital and Labor."

"Orient and Occident" is published by Dr. Hensoldt and F. Allman at Royal Chambers, Hunter-street, Sydney. The price is 6d.

The Executive Committee of the Organisation of the Socialist Youth [Italy] has published a manifesto which calls on the recruits not to let themselves be entered in the second category of soldiers, which is a privileged order, and for which lots are drawn. This is intended to show the strength of the Socialist protest against militarism. The Socialists responsible for the manifesto have since been continually shadowed by detectives.

WOMAN'S PART.

WHEN, from the savage, primal man
Evolved a little higher,
By accident he wrought a plan
Of generating fire;
And when communal food to find
The men in groups would go,
They left their women-folk behind
To keep the fires aglow.

And this, through all time's age-long flight,
Has been the woman's part—
To keep the fires of hope alight
Within the human heart;
And she shall feed the holy flame
Of discontent until
The workers of the world proclaim
The triumph of their WILL.

—New York "Worker."