

Strike Hard for Glorious Freedom.

'Tis now the eve of battle, of the clash 'twixt Might and Right;
 The Sweaters, Thug and Bigot united stand for Might;
 The Captains Bank and Landlord 'gainst Labor take their stand;
 The Generals Plute and Boodle with Lord Plunder in command.
 To fight in Might's fierce battle, every human Bird of Prey,
 Every enemy of the Toiler is marshalled in array.
 Their motto's "Down with Labor! Capital's flag raise high—
 The earth is ours; the people slaves!" This is their battle-cry:
 We own the earth by right of birth!
 What matter's Labor's fuss.
 We let them live and they must give
 The wealth of their brain and brawn to US!

Then up, ye Sons of Labor! and meet them man to man!
 Strike your blows for Freedom. This is our human plan—
 Right the Wrong of Ages! Smash down the power of Might!
 Oh, see the thrones of Plutus rock when your battle's won for Right!
 Your motto, Wide World's Freedom; your cause for Good alone;
 Your aim to win for Labor the wealth that's Labor's own.
 Your battle-song be "Justice"! The red flag's now unfurled—
 Strike hard for glorious Freedom, O workers of the world!
 Ye are workmen; ye'll be freemen!
 Let your blows fall swift and sure.
 "Rights of the Rich?" There 're few of them which
 Are not the blood-stained wrongs of the swindled poor.

Hark! the shout of Labor's soldiers, as to battle forth they go—
 All the fair lands we'll unlock! Land-loafing graspers, know
 Your reign of Land Grab's over! We'll teach you at the poll
 How we scorn your plunder system. Dribblers of the old-age pension dole,
 Widow-robbers, Virtus'-spoilers, Schemers all for Place and Power,
 At the Ballot-box we'll crush you in Right's victorious hour,
 When we raise the flag of Freedom in the bushland and the town,
 When our manhood is awakened, and we vote the Robbers down.
 Then we'll end our Slavery, end their Knavery,
 And Hope shall dawn with end of Care
 When every man and every woman
 Will live and breathe in Freedom's air.

Strike them at the Ballot-box, ye women folk who toil—
 Strike, men, the Robbers who'd steal the widow's cruise of oil.
 March with our Freedom's army, and, where the battle's thickest, fight
 To tear the Robber Standard down, to raise the blood-red flag of Right!
 To your own selves give the right to live.
 And lift your class from the Sweaters' Sin.
 Down with Might! Hail to the Right!
 Vote the Robber System out—vote Socialism in!

Carbarn (Queenbayan).

THE JISLER.

Wage Labor and Capital.

What are Wages and How They are Determined.

By KARL MARX.

IF we were to ask the laborers, "How much wages do you get?" one would reply, "I get a couple of shillings a day from my employer;" another, "I get half-a-crown," and so on. According to the different trades to which they belong they would name different sums of money which they receive from their particular employers, either for working for a certain length of time, or for performing a certain piece of work; for example, either for weaving an ell of cloth, or for setting up a certain amount of type. But in spite of this difference in their statements there is one point in which they would all agree; their wages are the amount of money which their employer pays them, either for working a certain length of time or for a certain amount of work done.

Thus their employer buys their work for money. For money they SELL their work to him. With the same sum for which the employer has bought their work, as for instance, with a couple of

shillings, he might have bought four pounds of sugar or a proportionate amount of any other wares. The two shillings with which he buys the four pounds of sugar are the price of four pounds of sugar. The two shillings with which he buys labor for twelve hours are the price of twelve hours' work. Work is therefore as much a commodity as sugar, neither more nor less, only they measure the former by the clock, the latter by the scales.

The laborers exchange their own commodity with their employers—work for money, and this exchange takes place according to a fixed proportion. So much money for so much work. For twelve hours' weaving, two shillings. And do not these two shillings represent two shillings worth of all other commodities? Thus the laborer has, in fact, exchanged his own commodity, work, with all other commodities, and that in a fixed proportion. His employer in giving him two shillings has given him so much meat, so much clothing, so much fuel, light, and so on, in exchange for his day's work. The two shillings, therefore, express the proportion in which his work is exchanged with other commodities—the exchange-

value of his work; and the exchange-value of any commodity expressed in money, is called its price. Wage is, therefore, only another name for the price of work—for the price of this peculiar piece of property which can have no local habitation at all except in human flesh and blood.

Take the case of any workman, a weaver for instance. The employer supplies him with thread and loom. The weaver sets to work, and the thread is turned into cloth. The employer takes possession of the cloth and sells it, say for twenty shillings. Does the weaver receive as wages a SHARE in the cloth—in the twenty shillings—in the product of his labor? By no means. The weaver receives his wages long before the product is sold. The employer does not, therefore, pay his wages with the money he will get for the cloth, but with money previously provided. Loom and thread are not the weaver's product, since they are supplied by the employer, and no more are the commodities which he receives in exchange for his own commodity, or in other words for his work. It is possible that the employer finds no purchaser for his cloth. It may be that by its sale he does not recover even

the wages he has paid. It may be that in comparison with the weaver's wages he made a great bargain by its sale. But all this has nothing whatever to do with the weaver. The employer purchases the weaver's labor with a part of his available property—of his capital—in exactly the same way as he has with another part of his property bought the raw material—the thread—and the instrument of labor—the loom. As soon as he has made these purchases—and he reckons among them the purchase of the labor necessary to the production of the cloth—he proceeds to produce it by means of the raw material and the instruments which belong to him. Among these last is, of course, reckoned our worthy weaver, who has as little share in the product, or in the price of the product as the loom itself.

(To be continued.)

The wealth of England is increasing at the rate of £200,000,000 per year. And the starving poor are increasing by many thousands each like period.

Property is to-day a lie for the majority of men, a robbery for the minority.—W. Liebknecht.

What "Revolution," Means.

REVOLUTION simply means that the evolution of society has reached the point where a complete transformation, both external and internal, has become immediately inevitable. No man and no body of men can make such a revolution before the time is ripe for it; though, as men become conscious instead of unconscious agents in the development of the society in which they live and of which they form a part they may themselves help to bring about this revolution. A successful revolution, whether effected in one way or the other, merely gives legal expression and sanction to the new forms which, for the most part unobserved or disregarded, have developed in the womb of the old society. Force may be used at the end of the period as during the incubative and full growth. It is true, as Marx said, that force is the mid-wife of progress delivering the old society pregnant with the new; but on the other hand, force is also the abortionist of reaction, doing its utmost to strangle the new society in the womb of the old. Force itself, on either side, is merely a detail in that inevitable growth which none

can very rapidly advance or seriously hinder.—H. M. Hyndman in "Economics of Socialism."

A Newcastle crimp has been fined £20 for inducing sailors to leave their vessels at Sydney in order to furnish crews for ships lying at Newcastle. The crimp's action seriously interfered with the interests of the owners. Hence the heavy fine. Where the operations of the crimp only injure the sailor, it's almost impossible to get the authorities to prosecute.

Socialist writers make all their attacks on capitalism in the open. No honest Socialist writer will ever level his attacks under cover of anonymity. That is the coward's game which the capitalists play in the columns of their press, and it marks the difference between the tactics of Capitalism and Socialism.

Victorian Socialists are running E. F. Russell as municipal candidate for Port Melbourne. We wish them luck. Russell is a straight-goer, and will ably represent our party when elected.

All Australian Socialists are enthusiastic about the Darling Harbor contest. From the bushland and the cities the Internationals are constantly receiving messages of encouragement and congratulation, with fervent wishes for a decisive victory for Revolutionary Socialism.

The S.F.A. is the fighting party of Revolutionary Socialism in Australia. It has come to stay until the Socialist Republic replaces the Capitalist State.

Goal of Socialism.

If we announce that we will remove the present class state, then in order to meet the objections of our opponents we must also say that the social democracy, while it contends against the class state through the removal of the present form of production, will destroy the class struggle itself. Let the means of production become the possession of the community; then the proletariat is no longer a class—as little as the bourgeois; then classes will cease; there will remain only society, a society of equals—true human society, mankind and humanity.

For that reason it has been stated in the plainest manner that we should not substitute one class rule for another. Only malice and thoughtlessness could incidentally put such a wrong construction on our meaning, for in order to rule, in order to be able to exercise rule, I must have possession in the means of production. My private property in the means of production is the preliminary condition for rule, and Socialism removes personal private property in the means of production. Rule and exploitation in every form must be done away with, man become free

and equal, not master and servant, but comrades, brothers and sisters.—Liebknecht.

THE VENGEANCE OF CAPITALISM.

WHEN attacks are to be made on either the Socialist movement or individual Socialists in the interests of Capitalism, the person chosen to do the unclean work always hastens to hide his identity. Sometimes he writes in the columns of the alleged working-class press, but mostly this sort of cowardice finds its expression in the official organs of capitalism.

In a recent issue of the "Barrier Miner" an attack is made on H. J. Hawkins, of the Barrier Socialist Group, and who also acted as representative at Broken Hill for the Sydney coal lumpers in the recent lock-out. The cheerful idiot who makes the attack (not over his own name) wails that the capitalists are the workers' best friends, that the capitalists provide Hawkins with his bread and butter, and that "but for the capitalists Broken Hill would be lying dormant to-day, and there would be no ten thousand men working along the line of lode drawing £42,000 in wages per fortnight." [What a magnificent opening there is at Broken Hill for a fool-killer.] Our pleader for the capitalists really can't understand how Mr. Hawkins could denounce them.

The "Miner" correspondent hinted that "some day he [Hawkins] will be forced to leave Broken Hill."

The "Miner's" letter was un-

doubtedly inspired (it might have been written in the "Miner" office). Anyhow, the suggestion has been acted upon, and from the "Flame" we learn that Hawkins has been dismissed from his employment at the mine, his place being filled by another man.

Capitalism has its own methods of dealing with those who threaten its robber interests, and—because of the educational work done during the lock-out, and because of the splendid success of the first Conference, the Socialist forces are more feared and more hated than ever.

The bitter and dishonest attacks made in certain papers against the S.F.A. and its representatives are made in the interests of Capitalism from which source they no doubt receive their substantial inspiration.

Such attacks, however, serve to emphasise the strength of our position.

But, in the country centres and the smaller inland cities, it is easy to strike at the livelihood of the man who stands for Socialism; and this is what appears to have happened in the case of our comrade Hawkins.

The incident furnishes just one more illustration of the vicious and brutal methods of class-conscious Capitalism.

At last Sydney Labor Council meeting a letter was read complaining of the manner in which certain employes of Farmer and Co. are being sweated.

Next issue: An article, "A proposito della recente Commemorazione di G. Garibaldi."

A N.Z. letter to Sydney Labor Council declares that a number of unions over there are without funds—result of Arb. Court expenditure

The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilization. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all the Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians to capitulate. It compels all nations on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In a word, it creates a world after its own image.—Marx and Engels, in the "Communist Manifesto."

William D. Haywood, secretary of the American Western Miners' Federation, has been acquitted of the murder charge faked against him by the Pinkerton Detective Agency, employed by the mine-owning capitalists. The charges against Moyer and Pettibone must also fail. If the conspiracy against Haywood had succeeded, America would have found herself in the throes of an insurrection for twenty million American workers had already declared that innocent men should not be brought to the gallows to suit capitalist interests.

Socialism and Property.

PROPERTY is to-day a lie for the majority of men, a robbery for the minority. Socialism would make property the possession of everyone. It would convert it into a truth, secure to the worker within society the full proceeds of his labor, and destroy the capitalistic system of plunder from its foundation.....Our end is: The free democracy, with equal economic and political rights; the free society, with associative labor. The welfare of all is for us the one end of the state and society.—W. Liebknecht.

Civilisation is a miserably crude experiment until it is possible for each member of society to command food and clothing and shelter and surplus and leisure enough to permit progressive and all-sided expansion of manhood.—"Study of Society."

Even the economists are beginning to see that "free competition" in business is a myth unless it be protected from the universal tendency of all competition in nature speedily and surely to end in monopoly.—Ward.

The Austrian Christian Socials, with the help of the other reactionaries, have been able to secure the presidency of the Chamber for their nominee. The Socialist candidate, Pernerstorfer, received 101 votes. The reactionaries have also obtained the two vice-presidencies, the Social-Democrats and the Ruthenes loudly protesting against the election of Dr. Starzynski, against whom four petitions are pending for electoral malpractices.

The Scottish Miners' Federation, with 80,000 members, are demanding a further increase of wages to the extent of sixpence a day.

On Monday last, the death occurred of Ivor Gronberg (53), a member of the Sydney Coal Lumpers' Union. A native of Germany, he was educated for the Lutheran Ministry, but for conscientious reasons abandoned the church, and adopted a sea-faring life. Coming to Australia, he settled in Sydney, and resorted to coal lumping to earn a living. On Tuesday, the funeral was attended by many members of the Coal Lumpers' Union. Four members of the Union were pallbearers. At the grave-side the burial service of the Lutheran Church was read by Rev. Mr. Schenck, and a short address was delivered by President Macey, of the S.C.L. Union. The chief mourners were the Macindoe family, with whom the deceased had resided for many years.

The Lock-out.

End of a 14 Weeks' Struggle.

By H. E. H.

AFTER a fourteen-weeks' record struggle, the lock-out of the Sydney Coal Lumpers has terminated with substantial gains for the workers. Had the basic principles of working-class organisation been fully understood and acted upon by the industrial unions and political organisations of this State, the terminal point might easily have been reached during the first month of the lock-out with even greater gains.

The struggle of the Lumpers is unique in our working-class history because, until the closing days of the strife, the men were left to fight, but for the assistance of the International Socialists, a lone hand. That they preserved their organisation intact, and succeeded in winning back to work with increased pay and overtime rates, and generally improved conditions is due to their own solidarity [in the whole course of the conflict only two men deserted], to the heroism and fortitude of their brave wives and daughters, and to the grit of their child-

ren. They are to be congratulated accordingly.

But the failure of the kindred unions to realise their responsibilities, the absolute refusal of alleged working-class politicians to fight with the workers, and the plea of the faker raised by "labor" men and even by some who wish to be regarded as Socialists that "we were not asked," were deplorable facts viewed from an honest working-class standpoint, indicating either treachery or lack of knowledge. Had the organised workers assumed a militant working-class attitude, how much anxiety and suffering might not the women and children have been saved.

Fortunately the struggle is ended—for the present, at any rate. And the union stands stronger to-day than ever. When the next battle eventuates, it will be better prepared for the fray; and, because of the educational work done and the lessons learned in this conflict, we are not likely to again behold the sorry spectacle of kindred unionists working alongside of blacklegs while an industrial war is raging.

Like all other industrial conflicts, this was character-

ised by gross administration of the law to the employers. The process of the criminal court was set back in the case of men charged with a serious offence, and the accused were permitted to work as blacklegs for the employers, under police protection during the whole of the lock-out. A man committed for trial for shooting another dead was released on a £500 bail, and was employed as a blackleg in the blackleg camp, we understand. A policeman sentenced to a number of months' imprisonment in a country jail, was released after serving about three weeks—and he, too, was immediately found work as a blackleg. (These facts show the dire straits the employers were in.) The employers

should have been executed as soon as they had committed their first breach of the law by locking the men out, but wild horses couldn't have got a move out of Mr. Wade in that direction. Instead, the police force was practically placed at the disposal of the law-breakers. It is asserted that members of the force not only worked on the coal, but also carried meals to the blacklegs.

And, although all these things were well known, no

protest was raised, no indictment levelled against the Government, by any of the politicians who claim to represent Labor.

However, in spite of the vicious maladministration of the law, in spite of the apathy and lack of consciousness on the part of other organisations and on the part of labor politicians, in spite of a thousand adverse circumstances, the Coal Lumpers have scored a win. Not only have they won on the industrial field; but, as brought along the political revolution of 1907, so out of this 1907 waterside war comes yet another revolution—fore-runner of the Social Revolution in Australia. Labor at the waterside has been a sleeping giant. Now he awakens, and the red flag of Socialism is his standard, and his war-cry is the world-wide "Workers of all countries, unite! You have nothing but your chains to lose; you have a world to gain!"

A great strike of carters and dock laborers has occurred at Belfast, Ireland. Blacklegs are being supplied from Liverpool, England, and a detachment of military, with a Maxim gun, has been ordered to proceed to Belfast.

Labor Council Gleanings.

AT last week's meeting of Sydney Labor Council a communication from R. Solly (Vic.), showed that the Tobacco Trust had married men working for 22s 6d, 25s, and 27s 6d per week. By means of organisation this had been raised considerably, but the unorganised female workers had been reduced by one-fourth. So the unorganised worker sweats for the gain of the organised! Illustrates admirably the futility of sectional organisation.

Another letter told how the cleaners were sweated at Farmer and Co.'s establishment. Fourteen hours a night, seven nights a week—98 hours a week—for 30s. Two weeks' work rolled into one for that magnificent wage. Works out at a fraction over 3½d per hour.

A Maoriland union sent a donation for the locked-out coal lumpers, but also explained that, like others, its funds had been depleted by Arbitration Court expenditure. This is one of the chief glories of arbitration—the lawyers rook the unions for their funds.

An Arncliffe correspondent wrote to the effect that he had been offered £1 10s per week of seven nights (12 hours per night) to work as fireman at the Royal Alexandra Hospital. He worked two nights, and then saw a public statement in the "Telegraph" to the effect that both firemen were getting £2 per week. He saw the super., and drew his attention to this published statement, but was told that he hadn't any hope of getting more than 30s; whereupon he vacated the somewhat overpaid position. And since then he had not succeeded in collecting his pay for the two nights worked, notwithstanding that the super. had promised to send him a cheque for the amount due—something under 9s! The writer believed that the day fireman was paid £2 a week, but for that in addition to his duties of fireman, he had to do the whole of the washing for the hospital!

The hospital with the royal name would appear to be giving Farmer and Co. a close run for it.

In its charity, as in its commercialism, Capitalism is a relentless sweater.

Early in the evening the

coal lumpers' delegates took their seats, and were welcomed by the chairman. Later, Ben Tillett appeared, and briefly addressed the delegates, thanking the council for assistance rendered during the lock-out. Casually he referred to the donations made by the Cigar-Makers, and said that if all other unions had contributed in the same ratio, the coal lumpers would have received £40,000!

The Cigar Makers are mostly members of the International, and they contributed through the Club as well as through their Union; while the members working in the Hansa factory also sent cartloads of bread along. So the revolutionary Socialists, who are charged with all sorts of things, were really the most practical supporters of the locked-out workers in a financial as well as in a moral way.

In seconding a vote of thanks to Tillett, Delegate McDermott said that, although the papers had given a certain person credit for the settlement of the dispute, whatever they had gained they owed to the efforts of Tillett, Holland, and Mann, and to the Sydney Labor Council and the International Socialists, as well as to their own organised soli-

arity. This raised the ire of a delegate from Tom Bavis-ter's union, who viewed with apprehensive horror the prospect of an International Socialist winning Darling Harbor for the working-class. But the chairman turned an unsympathetically deaf ear to his pleadings.

Dr. Chapman's address on "Heredity" was an intellectual treat.

Socialists are opposed to the existing capitalist system of society, and therefore, are opposed to any action, political or otherwise, that directly or indirectly tends to perpetuate that system. Therefore, the Tory policy, with Free-trade thrown in, has no attractions for us. The Liberal policy, with Protection thrown in, is equally objectionable. A Labor policy that differs in no fundamental principle from either of the two described will never command our support. The true Labor policy, from the standpoint of the scientific Socialist, is the policy that favors every practicable method of terminating the Capitalist system in favor of a Co-operative system.—Tom Mann in Victorian "Socialist."

Campaign Notes.

Darling Harbor Election.

THE General Executive has decided to open a Fund for the purpose of helping to make the fight for Darling Harbor most effective in an educational direction. This is the most important single-constituency fight that has yet been made for Socialism in N.S.W., and the Executive desires to back the electorate with propagandist literature. Contributions should be forwarded to E. HILLIERS, secretary, International Socialist Group, 274 Pitt-street, Sydney. The following amounts are acknowledged.

	£	s	d
Previously acknowledged	1	5	0
J.H., Sydney	0	5	0
W. Layley, Sandford, Vic.	1	0	0

Total £2 10 0

On Friday evening last, in Trinity Church Schoolroom, the International Socialist candidate addressed a women's meeting. The hall was well filled, and the economic position of woman under Capitalism was explained at length, as well as the developments and conditions which generate class antagonism and force the class war. The keenest interest was evinced by the audience, and the speaker was enthusiastically applauded. On the motion of Mrs. Henderson, seconded by Mrs. Pooley, and supported by Mrs. Keene, secretary of the Tailresses Union, it was unanimously resolved that the meeting endorse the principles of Socialism and the candidature of Mr. Holland, and that all present form themselves into a committee to assist in the campaign.

On Monday evening, notwithstanding the bitterly cold weather, a well-attended public meeting was held at the corner of Kent and

Bathurst-streets, when the candidate spoke from the Belvedere balcony, kindly lent by Mrs. Wassberg. P. Peyton presided, and E. Hillier, Mrs. Henderson, and Mr. Keene also spoke. A motion affirming the principles of Socialism and approving the candidature of Mr. Holland was carried unanimously.

From Goulburn, Grenfell, Queanbeyan, and other country centres letters are to hand wishing the International Socialists success in the Darling Harbor contest. Some of the writers are prominent P.L.L. members.

Early next week a meeting of women will be held at the Darling Harbor end of the electorate.

The candidates for Darling Harbor are: H. E. Holland, International Socialist; W. M. Daley, P.L.L.; G. McIvor, Independent Labor; G. W. Whitmore, Liberal and Reform. Rumored that there is a probability of two others standing.

International Socialist Committee Room: 34 Gloucester-street.

The scientific achievements of the human intellect no longer occur sporadically: they follow one upon another, like the organised and systematic conquests of a scientific army. Each new discovery becomes at once a powerful implement in the hands of innumerable workers and each year wins over fresh regions from the unknown to the known.—John Fiske.

A PAMPHLET YOU SHOULD READ:

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by JEAN JACQUES, the celebrated French Socialist.

Price: One Penny. Posted, 1½d.

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Books for Socialists

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 W. Matthews's Christian Socialism, 2/6; posted, 3s 10d.
 Brooks' Social Forces, 1/6; posted, 1s 8d.
 Jack London's War of the Classes, 2/6; posted, 2s 10d.
 To arise—James' Studies in Socialism.

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"The Socialist" is also sold at all meetings of the International Socialist Group.

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

Six hundred policemen at Belfast, Ireland, have struck for higher wages and better conditions. The Sydney police should follow suit. The Internationals will help them to organise.

"E.M. Herald" is quite worried because a jury of its own class acquitted Haywood.

To be a Cane-cutter

A COAL-LUMPER who went to the Queensland canefields at the commencement of the lock-out writes to the "Review":

To be a cane-cutter one wants a huge forehead, massive jaws, teeth like a cross-cut saw to be able to chew anything he can catch; he wants to have a digestion like that of an emu, a neck as long as a crane, arms like trolley poles, and an iron grip; he wants to be as strong at least as two of Batty McMahon's best horses; wants to have a back of whalebone and shine like Bessemer steel; wants to wear hob-nailed socks and barbed wire boot laces, and wants to be able to lie down wherever he finishes work with his wet clothes and boots on so as not to waste time putting them on again in the morning; he will sleep contented, because he will be too tired to do anything else, and when the cook comes round in the morning and gives him a kick he will want to jump up as quickly as if he had sat on the business end of a tack; he wants to be able to cut cane all day—and "all day" means from an hour before daylight till an hour after dark—as fast as a chaff-cutter driven by a 1000 horse-power engine; wants to be able to go at the same rate of speed when loading, with about 5cwt. of cane on his shoulder, as a brakeless motor car would go from Marion-street to the Leichhardt canal, never getting anything decent to eat except when the cook catches a wallaby, or opossum, or alligator—always provided the alligator doesn't first catch the cook. Recently the cook gave us what he termed a "dry bash." Some of the

fellows said it was a bit too strong. "Well, she hums a bit," said the ganger, "but, gorbline, I'll dismember her with this sheep dip, and cheer her if I die for it."

The worker works for what he gets, and the capitalist works the worker for what he gets.—"Dallas Laborer."

Inspector Armitage has made the extraordinary announcement that there is no sweating in Goulburn. Writer knows that sweating is just as prevalent there as in Sydney. In one of the largest Goulburn firms married men are paid £1 and £1 5s a week. The hotel employees' remuneration is a reflection on a civilised community, while the female workers in the respectable rag shops are paid wages which, to be lower, would have to slip down dangerously near to vanishing point. As a matter of fact, there is not a town or city in N.S.W. that is not a sweating hell.

If the workers got all the wealth they produce the capitalists are sure they would degenerate, so they take the wealth and the risk of degeneration, which is every kind of them.—New York "Worker."

From the moment that private possession in the means of production arose, exploitation and the division of society into two hostile classes, standing opposed to each other through their interest, also began.—Liebknecht.

A prosperous community is one where the greatest number of dirty-handed workers are most actively employed in keeping the idlers' hands white.—Vic. "Socialist."

THE EVOLUTION OF PROPERTY.

By PAUL LAFARGUE.

CHAPTER IV. FEUDAL PROPERTY.

IV. (Continued.)

THE feudal burdens outlasted the feudal barons, who vanished when they had grown useless; these dues became the appanage of nobles, often of middle class origin, who did not render the services of which these dues had been the meed. Violently attacked by the bourgeois writers, and energetically defended by the feudists, they were definitely suppressed in France by the revolution of 1789. The earlier English revolution which established bourgeois authority, the House of Commons by the side of the House of Lords, has allowed a number of feudal privileges to subsist which are anachronisms at a time when the aristocratic or landed classes are simply a wing of the "great middle class" in every sense of the word.

The political economists and liberal bourgeois of this century, instead of investigating the origin of feudal obligations, exposing the transformations they have undergone, and explaining the necessity thereof, have fancied

that they were giving proofs of learning and liberality of spirit by a sweeping condemnation of everything in any way connected with the feudal system. Howbeit, it is imperative for the understanding of the social organisation of the Middle Ages to ascertain the signification of these obligations, which are the movable form of feudal property. It would be wearisome to pass in review all of the feudal obligations. I will confine myself to those which have more especially roused the ire of the bourgeois writers, and try to show that if they were maintained and aggravated by force, they had been, at the origin, freely consented to.

SOCAGE—We have seen that the feudal baron, when not a military chieftain installed by a conqueror, was, as a rule, a simple citizen, a member of the community distinguished by no special privileges from the rest of the villagers, his co-equals; like these he received his allotment in the partition of the lands, and if his acres were cultivated for him by the commoners this was done that he might devote himself exclusively to their defence. Haxthausen has observed that the Russian lord continued to receive a quarter or a third of the terri-

tory of the mir which was cultivated by the villagers. Latruffe-Montmeylian says that in France the proportion of the communal lands allotted to the lord varied according to the nature of the rights of the inhabitants. It amounted to two thirds when the peasants' rights of common extended to the demesne forests, and to a third only when the rights were confined to the communal forest. With the increase of the possessions of the barons and the monks, there followed a lack of serfs to cultivate their lands, wherefore they gave their arable en bordelage to peasant collectivities, "eating from the same pan and off the same loaf," to use the language of the period. But, whether freemen or serfs, the tenants owed a certain number of days of work to the feudal lord, to till his field or house his corn.

As, at this period, production of commodities and commerce did not as yet exist, the baron, no less than the peasant, was obliged to produce all that was requisite to supply his wants. In the feudal habitation there existed workshops of every description for the manufacture of arms, farming implements, stuffs, clothing, etc., in which the peasants and their wives were bound to

work for a certain number of days in the year. The feudal laborer was under the direct control of the lady of the manor herself, and the workshops for the same were termed *geniecia*. The monasteries likewise possessed workshops for the same. These workshops were rapidly turned into harems for the lords and their retainers, and even into dens of debauchery, in which the barons and the priests debauched their female serfs and vassals. The word *genicaria* (women working in the *genicia*) came synonymous with prostitution. Our modern brothers, as we see, have a religious and aristocratic origin.

(To be continued.)

Parliaments are in the control of the capitalist class, therefore legalise any robberies they commit. The mills, factories and mines are owned by the capitalist class, and the machinery that's in them, therefore the lives of the workers are in the hands of the capitalist class. We Socialists are determined to rebel against this system and boldly avow our determination to put a stop to it as speedily as possible.—Tom Mann, Victorian "Socialist."

Song of Labor.

Waken' fr the eye its glance may throw,
Where'er in earth's most pleasant places
The glories of the sunset glow,
Rich gifts lie strewn in Labor's traces.
'Tis Labor sows the seed and finds
The wealth of Autumn's golden treasure,
And shapes the whirling wheel that grinds
Our daily lord's abundant measure.

Then high aloft be borne her banner
Where through fierce foes she wins her way,
Where heaven's free breezes freely fan her,
'Tis Labor still that gains the day.

She delves the mine to forge her swords,
Though ne'er so deep the ore be lying;
Builds palaces for living lords,
And shapes their coffins for the dying.
The iron rails that link the lands,
The ships that o'er the wave are driven,
Are wrought by Labour's mighty hands;
To her be all the glory given.

Then high aloft be borne her banner,
Where through fierce foes she wins her way,
Where heaven's free breezes freely fan her,
'Tis Labour still that gains the day.

She works and weaves while others rest;
Has nought for roof but Heaven above her;
For others spins their silken nest,
With scarce a rag her limbs to cover;
Provides the robes that Pleasure wears,
With want and misery around her;
And, knowing not her strength she bears,
The chains wherein her lords have bound her.
Yet see! The dawn for day gives token;
The mists of night disperse and die;
Her chains at length are burst and broken,
And Labor's triumph lasts for aye!

ANDREAS SCHERF.

THE STIMULUS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY IDEA.

By H. J. HAWKINS.

THE moral effect, the elevating influence upon the whole life, of the revolutionary idea—adding resolution and firmness of purpose and dignity of character, is seldom understood. That is why so many who merely "kick against the pricks," jibbing at conditions which they personally feel oppressive, but lacking any deep and philosophical comprehension of the root causes of social evil, are mis-called revolutionists.

Many also who merely exploit the political potentialities of Labor are falsely accredited because of the lack of insight which fails to take into account the ethical effect of revolutionary thought.

The drunkard, the wife-beater, the sexual maniac, the habitual liar, thief, or cheat in private life, the opportunist who obscures the principles in order to catch votes in public affairs, these are not Socialists, for such conduct is generally reprobated, and its indulgence by the professed supporters of any cause damages that cause and hinders its progress, whilst the genuine revolutionist subordinates everything else to the su-

preme end, to which he devotes all his powers.

Personal ambitions and appetites, interests and passions are relegated to an inferior position, and adjudged harmful or the reverse as they aid or hinder the realisation of the grand object.

The revolutionary truths of Socialism stimulate the mental and moral force of the workers as nothing else can. What alcohol is to the drunkard, conversion to the victim of religious emotionalism, that is Socialism to the class-conscious wage-worker.

Competitive conditions of existence intensify the need and the desire for stimulation. Capitalism, the last stage of the fratricidal international struggle for existence of man against man, intensifies the nervous strain and exploits this unnatural excitation to the profit of brewers and rivalists, and the continued subjection of the workers' body and mind, to their exploiters. The coarse animal stimulus of alcoholism exhibits arts to be followed by depression, or steadies the nerves for the moment only to ultimately wreck the more sensitively organised or petrify the coarser-grained. Alcoholism, i.e., excess, not temperate use, is of course here referred to.

Now it must be evident that, if the excessive use of alcoholic liquor is thus capable of affecting the brain and snapping the moral fibre of its victims, the process may be reversed and a mental stimulus applied. The physical exhaustion of hypnotic mediums supplies a case in point.

This is the method of religion. By sheer force of insistence upon certain alleged relations of "otherworldliness" certain emotions are excited, the nerves are stimulated or strung-up and in a glow of exaltation the subject is rapt into a state of ecstasy called conversion.

Sometimes the result is wreck, and it is then termed "religious mania." More generally the emotions are as it were petrified—that is they become static—and the dynamic forces of the victim are directed to individual betterment in a problematical other world. The real sources of conduct are overlooked and life is sought to be directed in reference to the dictates of authority. Morality is made to depend, not upon the natural laws of man's own being and the requirements of social life and progress, but upon the arbitrary dictates of an outside power—that is upon the will of the medicine men,

conjurers, or preachers who interpret the "revelation" of that power, and ultimately of the ruling class as jaymasters. Thus, by the manipulation of this psychological anaesthetic, the workers are narcotised into submission.

Far other is the effect of Socialist thought and teaching. By its aid the worker rises from the weak submission of slavery, humbly relying upon some outside power for recompense in the far distant future, to the full status of vigorous manhood.

Socialism is thus seen to be, intrinsically, a moral movement. The interests of the working-class are so intimately bound together that any injury against one is, in very reality, an injury to all.

The fruitful cause of moral evil—the private ownership of the means of production—is attacked, and necessarily attacked, by the working-class; who, in abolishing economic exploitation cut at the root of the moral evils which overshadow the world.

The elevating ethical effect of Socialist thought is powerfully exemplified in the lives of revolutionary Socialists; the uncompromising abhorrence of falsehood, of political chicanery; the heart whole devotion to the cause; the stirring of many avenues of

many avenues of personal gain or success; the brave daring of gaol and gallows: can any deny that the movement, the world over is rich in examples of these things? Nor does this apply only, or even mainly, to the "leaders." The steady plodding persistence, the COLD ENTHUSIASM (if the paradox may be permitted), as bright, flashing, and dangerous as cold steel, of the rank and file, is the brightest and most glorious guarantee of our success.

Continued on Pa. 13.

CAPITALISM MUST NOT BE OVERTHROWN.

AUSTRALIAN Socialists are constantly being reminded by labor papers that the Labor Party is a Socialist party, with which the Socialists should unite their forces.

This notwithstanding that Labor Conferences have consistently repudiated Socialism.

Now we have the assurance of the "Labor Call," an official organ of the Labor Party, that "the Labor Party refuses to seriously consider any proposal to overthrow Capitalism."

PREVARICATIONS IN PINK.

WHEN the Waterside Combine made its determined effort to wreck the Coal Lumpers' Union, and when every "local Labor leader" stood aloof, heedless of the danger that threatened the coal lumpers' organization, heedless of the suffering the coal-lumpers'

wives might be called upon to undergo, heedless of the brutal weapon of starvation by the application of which to the coal lumpers' children the Combine hoped to break the hearts of the coal lumpers themselves, and force them back to work under reduced conditions with their hither splendidly solid organization wrecked; and when—AFTER the failure of the "local Labor leader" to render any assistance, the International Socialists came into the fight; every newspaper with the brass-collar of Capitalism about its servile neck, every self-proclaimed working-class sheet with the stain of journalistic blacklegism on its pages, started to rave because some of the Internationals were "fore givers."

Of course, no man and no writer with a correct knowledge of Socialist and working-class principles would ever employ the word "foreigner" in an attempt to discredit other workers. Such a term could only be employed by persons either direfully traitorous or stupendously ignorant.

When the "local Labor leaders" still held aloof, making various excuses, the Coal Lumpers' Union and the International Socialists forwarded a special request to Tom Mann that he and Ben Tillett would endeavor to come to Sydney to aid the lumpers in the defence they were putting up.

They came—and no sooner were they here than, in addition to entering upon the work of solidifying the organization and perfecting the fortifications of the attacked union, they also took steps to open up negotiations for a settlement of

the dispute. They drew the Sydney Labor Council in as mediators, and to the efforts of the Council's secretary and several of its Executive was due the final settlement.

With these facts before all who are honest enough to take note of them, the "Bulletin"—once a paper with a claim to some healthy vigor; now a doddering, sickly thing without either veracity or life to be regarded as democratic, without sufficient straightforwardness to be written capitalistic, and with hardly enough "scab" courage to be labelled blackleg; with only just such characteristics as Providence saw in a certain crowd when he told them, "Because you're neither hot nor cold, I'll spew you out of my mouth"—prints this deliberately preconceived lie:

This coal-lumpers' strike in Sydney was from beginning to end an artificial trouble run by imported labor leaders for the purpose of advertising their ideas of "industrial war" and revolutionary trades-unionism. There was no real dispute between employers and employed. So soon as Hughes, M.P., got back from England with his common-sense, the whole trouble vanished.

In the first place, there never was a "strike."

That is "Bulletin's" Lie No. 1. There was a lock-out.

In the second place, the men had been locked out for six weeks when Mann and Tillett were asked to assist. Neither they nor the International Socialists had anything to do with bringing the lock-out about. The Internationals only came on the scene AFTER the struggle had commenced.

That the lock-out was "an artificial trouble," etc., is "Bulletin's" Lie No. 2.

That "there was no real dispute between employers and employed" is "Bulletin's" Lie No. 3.

And to all who know about the proffered agreement, and the black-leg bureau, and all the other demands, it only proves what a clumsily magnificent liar the "Bulletin" can be in the degenerate and declining days of its hopeless senility.

That, "so soon as Hughes, M.P., got back from England with his common-sense, the whole trouble vanished," is "Bulletin's" Lie No. 4.

It is a lie which, no doubt, Mr. Hughes will correct in next issue of the pink-covered prevarication.

The employers were fairly beaten; and, while they were loathe to knuckle under to Tillett, Mann, any other "agitator," or even to the Labor Council president, they saw in Hughes, M.P., a convenient bridge to carry them over an ugly gulf.

Which proves that even a professional politician can be made to serve a useful purpose sometimes.

But if Mr. Hughes had still been dining off roast turkey with the johnnies of British politics, the end of the struggle would have been reached with the same results—possibly with better results for the men.

It is only fair to Mr. Hughes to add that he recognises that this is so.

But, surely, the "Bulletin" must have forgotten that in the pages of its 1893-94 files it contains denunciations of Hughes, the agitator, as virulent and bitter and unfair as any that it has yet levelled at the imported persons.

VICTORIA'S JOURNAL OF THE TOMB.

THE "Labor Call" is Victoria's official labor paper. Its conception of politics and economics is the Capitalistic conception; its ethics are the ethics of Capitalism; its capacity to speak the truth concerning Socialism is the capacity of an ordinary Capitalist paper. These disabilities cling about its person like the cements of the tomb.

A resurrected tombstone, with the epitaph still displayed, could not make for "Labor" a more ominous milestone on the roadway of working-class journalism. That the "Labor Call" should occasionally feel annoyed with the "Review" is something to be anticipated. Likewise it is something to the credit of the "Review." In its last issue, the "Call" arises in wrath to defend "Labor Senator Guthrie" from a "jibe" in a recent "Review." Quite appropriately, our graveyard friend is only wrathful because we attacked Guthrie for having taken part in an organised "smooch" to Governor General Northcote—paid figure-head of Australian Capitalism.

Our reference to Guthrie's betrayal of the Sonoma men, and his failure "to find time to help in the Sydney waterside war when the Combine endeavored to wreck the Coal Lumpers' Union," is passed over in silence. Why?

Senator Russell, who is not a Socialist of the "Review" order, told Senator Guthrie some very straight things concerning his attitude towards the Coal Lumpers;

and, anyhow, the ill-informed person who edits the Victorian tombstone ought to have learned by this time that Socialists do not "think that no working-class representative should extend even ordinary courtesy to persons of another walk in life" (persons of another walk in life is particularly good), but they do think that when alleged working-class representatives can find time to attend big spees, worked up by the sweaters and swindlers of Capitalism, they should be expected to also find time to fight in the great industrial wars on the side of the workers. If they were "Labor's active representatives," the opportunity for comment on their failure to fight would not be given. Because Mr. Guthrie is an officer of a kindred union, the significance of his failure to fight for the Coal Lumpers is all the more marked. Furthermore, if "Labor's" representatives were loyal to Labor, they wouldn't get many opportunities to "feed" at the tables of the wealthy idlers.

In conclusion, the editor of the Vic. cemetery furniture is hereby counselled to make an effort to keep his sombre pronouncements to some little extent within range of solid fact. Even a dismal, death-like sheet in a bilious wrapper may with care be edited without so much hopeless deviation from the ways of truthfulness.

On Friday, Aug. 30, the Vic. Socialist Party will celebrate its second anniversary, and the opening of the Socialist Co-operative Store is also to take place.

A PAMPHLET YOU SHOULD READ: *Art and Socialism*

By JEAN JAURES, the celebrated French Socialist.

Price: One Penny. Posted, 1 1/2d.

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

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 "Labor Call"—the sorrowful and gloomy little paper that speaks officially for the Vic. Labor Party—prints this silly lie concerning the Australian Socialist movement:

Those who seek to usurp the title of Socialists are a motley crew, including few men who have been honorably identified with any one of the struggles between Labor and Capital, but a goodly number who, by their association with the Labor party, have made it repellent to thousands of people it should count in its ranks. They are broken into several little groups more hostile to one another than to the Labor Party.

The reputation of any number of any Australian Socialist organisation would bear a more than favorable comparison with the reputation of the edi-

tor of the "Labor Mail," whose lie to the effect that the Socialists are broken into several little hostile groups becomes a very naked lie when it is remembered that nearly all the Socialist organisations are now federated, and that there is practically only one Socialist body that evinces any antagonism towards other Socialists. But a paper that pleads for the politics of capitalism can hardly be expected to print the truth concerning Socialism.

England is sending black-legs to Ireland to aid in defeating the Belfast strikers.

THE EVOLUTION
OF PROPERTY.

By PAUL
LAFARGUE.

CHAPTER IV.
FEUDAL PROPERTY.

IV.

(Continued.)

In the beginning the number of days of work due to the baron by his vassal was insignificant; in some places it amounted to three days in the year. In France, the royal ordinances, in default of a contract or custom, prescribed the number of twelve days. Villein socage was harder; but the service was not to exceed three days a week, and the serf had, further, the enjoyment of a small field which the lord had ceded to him and from which he could not be expelled; he had also a share in the baron's harvest and a right of pasture in the forest and arable lands. Count Gasparin, who was Minister of Agriculture under Louis XVIII., in his treaty on Fermage, published in 1821, states his belief in the superiority, as regards the landed proprietor, of the system of metayage to that of socage. But in the decline of the feudal system the lords abused their power to aggravate socage. "They had usurped such authority," says Jean Chenu, a writer of the beginning of the seven-

teenth century, "that they exacted the labor of tillage, the gathering their grapes and a thousand other services, with no better title than the peasants' fear of being beaten or caten up by their men at arms." When, in the fourteenth century, peace was gradually established in the interior of Europe, every useful function had been taken away from the feudal baron; and the nobles who succeeded the barons became parasites and tyrants.

BANS DE MOISSON.—It has been supposed that the lord's right of prescribing the days on which to mow the fields, gather the grapes, reap the corn, etc., was a purely feudal one, whereas its origin is traceable to the period in which collective property obtained. We have seen above that in order to allow the arable lands to remain open to the cattle of the village, the elders fixed the days for the various harvests. This usage, established in the interests of the villagers, could only be diverted from its true ends when the lord began to traffic with his crops. He substituted his own authority for that of the council of the elders, or influenced their decisions so as to retard the proclamation of the **BAN DES MOISSONS** and be beforehand with his own crops, and able, con-

sequently, to sell them earlier and on better terms than the produce of the communal fields.

BANALITE. The term is feudal; but the custom which it designates is a communistic one. In the village collectivities, certain offices, as afore shown, were filled by individuals maintained at the expense of the commune; there was the village herdsman, who drove the cattle to pasture; there were common forges, mills, slaughter-houses, and animals to breed from, at the disposal of the community. Private families, instead of baking their own bread, sent it to be baked in the communal oven; a custom introduced from the economical consideration of reducing the consumption of fuel. The charge of watching over and attending to these ovens was entrusted to the council of elders; thereafter to the lord, who, whenever it was in his interest to do so, substituted his own authority for that of the men commissioned by the commune. A small tax was levied for this right of usage of the common objects; in an ordinance of 1223, of Guillaume Blancheman, Archbishop of Reims, it is said that "the prelate shall be the proprietor of the common oven and be entitled to the tribute of a loaf for every batch of thirty-two

loaves." Boucher d'Argis cites decrees of 1563 and 1673 fixing the right of grinding in the common mills at a 10th and a 13th; it is computed that, at present, the miller deducts more than a tenth.

This sort of institution could exist only in the absence of the production of commodities; they hampered commerce and stood in the way of private enterprise; the revolutionary bourgeois of France pronounced them tainted with feudalism, and abolished them in 1790.

The Church, which eventually became the exclusive property of the clergy, and is now closed to the public out of the hours of worship, was previously the joint property of the curate, the baron, and the peasants. The chancel and altar belonged to the lord and curate; they were bound to repair the woodwork, flooring, seats, etc., but the nave belonged to the peasants, who used it for their markets, communal assemblies, and dancing parties, or as a storehouse for their crops in case of need. M. Thorold Rogers says that in all cases the Church was the common hall of the parish, and a fortress in time of danger, occupying the site of the stockade which had been built when the first settlers occupied the ground. The church bells,

likewise, belonged to the peasants, who set them pealing to announce their assemblies, or to apprise the villagers of fires or hostile attacks. In the judicial archives of the French provinces of the 17th and 18th centuries, we find frequent mention of judgments rendered against the bells for having warned the peasants of the arrival of the collectors of the salt-tax; they were sentenced to be taken down and whipped by the hands of the executioner, "notwithstanding that they had been consecrated and blessed by a most solemn ceremony, in which the oil of St. Chrism and myrrh and incense had been used and many prayers recited." The Church was the house of God, elevated in the face of the feudal manor, and the feudal peasants gathered together under the shadow of it as around a strong and tender mother.

(To be continued.)

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Wage Labor and Capital.

What are Wages and How They are Determined.

By KARL MARX.

WAGES are not the worker's share of the commodities which he has produced. Wages are the share of commodities previously produced, with which the employer purchases a certain amount of productive labor.

Labor is, therefore, a commodity which its owner, the wage-worker, sells to capital. Why does he sell it? In order to live.

But labor is the peculiar expression of the energy of the laborer's life. And this energy he sells to another party, in order to secure for himself the means of living. For him, therefore, his energy is nothing but a means of insuring his own existence. He works to live. He does not count the work itself as a part of his life, rather is it a sacrifice of his life. It is a commodity which he has made over to another party. Neither is its product the aim of his activity. What he produces for himself is not the silk he weaves, nor the gold that he digs from out of the mine. What he pro-

duces for himself is his wage; and silk, gold, and palace are transformed for him into a certain quantity of means of existence—a cotton shirt, some copper coins, and a lodging in a cellar. And what of the laborer, who for twelve hours weaves, spins, bores, turns, builds, shovels, breaks stones, carries loads, and so on? Does his twelve hours' weaving, spinning, boring, turning, building, shoveling, and stone-breaking, represent the active expression of his life? On the contrary, life begins for him exactly where this activity of his ceases—at his meals, on the public-house bench, in his bed. His twelve hours' work has no meaning for him as weaving, spinning, boring, etc., but only as earnings whereby he may obtain his meals, his seat in the public-house, his bed. If the silkworm's object in spinning were to prolong its existence as a caterpillar, it would be a perfect example of a wage-worker.

Labor was not always a commodity. Labor was not always wage-work, that is, a marketable commodity. The slave does not sell his labor to the slave-owner. The slave, along with his labor, is sold once for all to his owner. He is a commodity which can pass from the hand of one owner to that of another. He himself is a

commodity, but his labor is not his commodity. The serf sells only a portion of his labor. He does not receive his wages from the owner of the soil; rather the owner of the soil receives a tribute from him. The serf belongs to the soil, and to the lord of the soil he brings its fruits. The free laborer, on the other hand, sells himself, and that by fractions. From day to day he sells by auction, eight, ten, twelve, fifteen hours of his life to the highest bidder—to the owner of the raw material, the instruments of work and the means of life; that is to the employer. The laborer himself belongs neither to an owner nor to the soil; but eight, ten, twelve, fifteen hours of his daily life belong to the man who buys them. The laborer leaves the employer to whom he has hired himself whenever he pleases; and the employer discharges him whenever he thinks fit; either as soon as he ceases to make a profit out of him, or fails to get so high a profit as he requires. But the laborer, whose only source of earning is the sale of his labor, cannot leave the whole class of its purchasers, that is, the capitalist class, without renouncing his own existence. He does not belong to this or that particular employer, but he

does belong to the employing class; and more than that, it is his business to find an employer; that is, among this employing class it is his business to discover his own particular purchaser.

Before going more closely into the relations between capital and wage-work, it will be well to give a brief survey of those general relations which are taken into consideration in determining the amount of wages.

As we have seen, wages are the price of a certain commodity—labor. Wages are thus determined by the same law which regulates the price of any other commodity.

Thereupon the question arises, how is the price of a commodity determined?

By what means is the price of a commodity determined?

By means of competition between buyers and sellers, and the relation between supply and demand—offer and desire. And this competition by which the price of an article is fixed is threefold.

The same commodity is offered in the market by various sellers. Whoever offers the greatest advantage to purchasers is certain to drive the other sellers off the field and secure for himself the greatest sale. The sellers, therefore, fight for the sale and the mar-

ket among themselves. Every one of them wants to sell, and does his best to sell much, and if possible to become the only seller. Therefore, each outbids the other in cheapness, and a competition takes place among the sellers which lowers the price of the goods they offer.

But a competition also goes on among the purchasers, which on their side raises the price of the goods offered.

Finally, there arises a competition between buyers and sellers; the one set want to buy as cheap as possible, the other to sell as dear as possible. The result of this competition between buyers and sellers will depend upon the relations of the two previous aspects of the competition; that is, upon whether the competition in the ranks of the buyers or that in those of the sellers is the keener. Business thus leads two opposing armies into the field, and each of them again presents the aspect of a battle in its own ranks between its own soldiers. That army whose troops are least mauled by one another carries off the victory over the opposing host.

(To be continued.)

I. S. Group next Wednesday evening.

THE REVOLUTIONARY IDEA

(Continued from page 4.)

It must not be objected here that the great principle that everything must be subordinated to the end is equivalent to the Jesuitical equivocate that "the end justifies the means." This latter is the base coin, the forged similitude of the truth. No good end can be attained by bad means. Truth is uncompromising; falsehood is unscrupulous. That is the difference between the methods of the revolutionary and the opportunist.

"To do a great right, do a little wrong," weakly pleads the latter.

And the answer comes back swiftly: "Principle must be translated into action or it is useless, or worse." Thorn-bushes will never produce figs, nor will grapes grow on brambles. To compromise with evil is to enable it to entrench itself, and to spread and bring other evils in its train.

It is often said that the working-class movement must be a "class-conscious" movement. Do we all freely comprehend what this means, and of what overwhelming importance this CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS IS?

Why do the bourgeois and the political trimmers amongst the workers always seek to

discredit such phrases as "the class war," and "class conscious?"

As far as the bourgeois is concerned, because of the moral strength and mental clearness of vision imparted to the workman who becomes deeply imbued with the revolutionary idea.

And the Labor and "Socialist" opportunist, why does he echo their objections to class-consciousness?

Because he is debased morally, and confused mentally as the natural effect of compromising with evil, admitting its right to continue, chaffering principle for "concessions," or votes, or other personal or sectional gain, real or imaginary.

The world to-day is owned and dominated by the ew. They govern because they own. But they will cease to own, and to govern, when the great working-class, scorning compromise, determine to end the system of exploitation upon which class-rule is established. The effort to mend the system is vain, and most pernicious because it either corrupts or uselessly dissipates the energies of those who attempt the foolish, sissy task. To tinker with effects and leave causes untouched is stupid.

and live is that in return for your work you shall receive sufficient to keep you alive so that you can go on working in the state to which you are accustomed, and that all over and above that shall belong to the capitalist class. Are you not, then, a slave?

From this condition of things there is no escape, while the whole of the people do not, either individually or collectively, own the means of production. Nothing but the abolition of the class ownership of the means of life, and the substitution of either the individual or collective ownership by the whole people will abolish this form of slavery.

Now Socialists recognize that we cannot go back to individual ownership; the idea of a man owning his own railway, his own shipping lines, and so on, is so absurd as to only need to be stated to show the impossibility of individual ownership by the whole people, as users, of the means of production. All these things to-day are owned collectively and used socially. But it is the collective ownership of a class, and not of the whole community, and the social use or working of these things does not extend to the appropriation of the product. The work of production is socialised. The working people work together in a socialised manner; the labor of thousands in some instances being devoted to the production of a single article. But, although the work of production is socialised, the things produced are not the property of those who produce them, but of the class which owns the means of production.

But this collectivisation of the means of production, although it be at present but collectivisation in the hands of a class, shows us the way we have to go, the line of the social development. This socialisation of production shows us that the next step must be in the direction of socialising the product—making it social common property. If the means of production, the land, the mines, the railways, the factories, can be collectively owned by a class, managed for that class and worked for its profit by agents, it is quite clear that they could be collectively owned by the whole people, managed in the interest of the whole people, and the work of production be carried on for the benefit of the whole people and not for the profit of any class and the enslavement of others. But this collective ownership must use the means of production by and for the whole people in socialism.

Don't you think, fellow workman, that your interest lies in the direction of Socialism; that you ought to be a Socialist and to help us in our efforts to achieve the realization of Socialism and the abolition of wage-slavery?

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The Toiler's Reward.

What the sun over corn-land and meadow is glowing,
Whence the shocks ready ripe for the harvesting stand,
Who is this like a sower gone forth to the sowing,
Or a reaper retreating, his sheaves in his hand?
Is it thou whose stout sinews win wealth for the nation?
Is it thou whose stout arms frighten famine away?
Is it thou whose strength the beleaguer'd may laugh at starvation,
The beleaguer'd of famine agape for her prey.

Is it nought that thy hands that ingathered the harvest
Should be shorn of their share of the bounty of bread?
Is it nought that when all men are feasting thou starvest,
That thou criest in vain to thy lords to be fed?
Thine is silence, no answer the toiler retumeth;
They have plundered him long, they may plunder him still;
Yes, slowly the slave for lost liberty leaveth
On woe's anvil to fashion the war-sword of will.

So turn we a page of his life and its story,
All the sweat-staining soots in the sand-glass of time
Shall the locks on his temples snow-sprinkled and hoary,
And his beard over-troated with sivey rime.
What covart at the last shall be welcome for wages
When the track of his life lies in lonely ways?
Shall he find consolation and rest as he ages?
Shall not comfort and peace be the crown of his days?

Nay, the walls of the workhouse shall close on his vision,
And his ears shall be distended with turmoil and din!
His gear-hair shall go down to the grave in decision,
Nor shall aught he can do make atonement for sin.
For the sin he has sinned is the crime of the toiler,
Who plots at the plough-tail that others may rest
Who surrenders his harvest a prey to the spoiler,
And contentedly starves at his master's behest.

Cheap White Slaves.

THE following is a complete reprint of the agreement made between the Sugar Capitalists and the men who are being duped into leaving England to work on the northern sugar plantations. It makes interesting reading, in view of the fact that there is an overplus of Australian Labor ready to do the work at standard wage rates:—

Agreement made the day of, 1907, between the Australian Estates and Mortgage Co., Ltd., of Kalamia, in the State of Queensland, Farmer, Employer, and the person whose signature is hereunto affixed and hereinafter dominated the Employee.

The conditions are—

1. The employee agrees to serve the employer as laborer (at Kalamia), in the Ayr district, in the State of Queensland, or at such other place in the said district as the employer may direct, until the 31st day of December, 1908, and during that period to obey all reasonable commands of the employer or his authorized agent.
2. The employer agrees to pay the employee, for cutting and harvesting cane, wages at the rate of thirty-five shillings per week [less a sum of ten shillings per week charged for board and lodging], and for other work thirty-two shillings and sixpence per week [less a sum of ten shillings per week

charged for board and lodging], the pay to commence from the date of arrival at the place of employment.

All wages shall be paid monthly in current money, but from such wages the employer shall be entitled to make a proportionate deduction for time lost through sickness, wet weather, any other unforeseen cause, such deduction not to affect the employee's right to board and lodging.

4. The employer shall supply the employee weekly with cooked rations, in three meals per day, on the following scale or the equivalent thereto:—

- 12 lb. of Meat.
- 12lb. of Bread or the equivalent amount in Flour.
- 3-lb. Tea
- 2½ lb. Sugar
- 1 lb. of Rice.
- 1 tin of Jam.
- 1 lb. of Currants or Raisins.
- 7 lb. of English or Sweet Potatoes, or equivalent of Rice (2lb.)
- 1 lb. of Peas.
- Necessary Salt, Curries, Soda, and Acid.

Provided that, if the parties agree, the employer shall pay to the employee the sum of ten shillings in place of supply such rations as aforesaid, in which case the employee shall supply himself with rations and cook the same.

5. The employer shall provide proper and sufficient accommodation.

6. The said employee shall have the sum of two pounds ten shillings per month deducted from his first two months' wages as a guarantee for the faithful performance of this agreement, the said sum to be deposited in the Queensland

Government Saving Bank to the credit of the Director of Labor as trustee.

The sum of five pounds so deducted shall be held by the Director of Labor on the following conditions.

(a) If at the expiration of six months from the commencement of work by the employee, the Director is satisfied that the Agreement is being satisfactorily carried out by the employee, he shall return to the employee the amount so deducted;

(b) If the Director is not satisfied, he may hold the said five pounds until the termination of the agreement;

(c) On the termination of the agreement the Director, if satisfied with the employee's performance of the Agreement, shall return the said sum to him, or, if not satisfied, may declare the said sum forfeited to the Government;

Provided that, in the event of forfeiture, the Director of Labor may, if satisfied with the employer's performance of his agreement, pay the said sum to the employer.

Twenty-five shillings a week and "tucker" for cane-cutting, or twenty-two shillings and sixpence and "tucker" for other work, on the sugar fields of Queensland, with deductions for wet weather and sickness, etc., with the employers' right to hold back £5 of the employee's wages, which £5 he may, with the consent of the Director, finally commandeer, isn't a very alluring prospect.

The iniquitous part of the

business is that the Australian Capitalists, who desire to make the largest possible profit out of their subsidised "white labor" sugar, are given the use of the public funds to pay the passage of the cheaper white slaves out from England.

The Australian worker finds the money for the public treasuries; then, when he has compelled the Sugar Capitalists to relinquish black slavery on the plantations, he places their representatives in possession of the governing powers, and permits them to use the money he has supplied to flood England with printed lies and misrepresentations for the alluring of cheap white labor to these shores, in order that a worse form of white slavery might be substituted for the abolished black slavery, and in order also that the standard of living of the Australian worker might be considerably lowered. And, in the doing of this, the Sugar Capitalists dodge the contract labor provisions of the Federal law by supplying the immigrant with copies of the agreement he is expected to sign on reaching his destination; and, in the meantime, the Government comes to the assistance of the Capitalists by collecting £1 from the immigrant, and falsely leading

him to believe that unless he signs the said contract his £1 will be forfeited, when—as a matter of fact—the immigrant can legally demand his money as soon as he lands in the State.

The marvel is that, in spite of the revelations and exposures that are constantly being made, scarcely a protest is heard in any legislature—State or Federal.

Dr. Arthur's fraudulent "Immigration League of Australia" continues its vile work, apparently with the approval of the N.S.W. Government. Printed statements are being circulated all over Britain to the effect that hundreds of miners are needed at the various collieries at wages ranging from 8s to 12s and 15s a day; that two thousand miners are required at Broken Hill, several hundreds at Cobar at from 11s to 22s a day, and that small mines all over the country are advertising for men; that continuous work can be guaranteed to other hundreds of men on private and Government railway construction works.

This sort of villainous misrepresentation will be calculated to lure many men to this country from Britain, and

when they reach here they will find that the Immigration League is simply a cheap labor recruiting agency for Australian Capitalism, and in place of the 8s, 12s, 15s, and 22s a day jobs they may get 22s 6d and tucker on the sugar plantations in a climate that might reasonably be suspected of standing right in the track of the hot breezes that are wafted from the back door of Gehenna, or they may get a chance of sweated jobs in the big cities at anything from 10s a week upward, or they may even be made use of as blacklegs in the event of an industrial war; but they are more than likely to miss even that kind of employment, and have to face hardship and want and misery greater even than under the brutalised conditions that prevail in the England of the Capitalists.

The men responsible for such criminal misrepresentation, and those who aid and abet them, ought really, in the interests of common humanity, to find their level within prison walls; but, while that is so, our politicians who object to their doings, do not seem to be able to get any further than making the villainy of their opponents an election cry and a reason for the people lifting a self-pro-

claimed "democratic" middle-class party down from the Treasury Benches in order that an allegedly more "democratic" middle-class party might be lifted up.

Socialism, which stands for a full measure of Justice, holds the solution of this trouble; and now that the organised Socialists of this continent are united in the Socialist Federation of Australasia, and now that the Australian workers are gradually deserting the opportunism and middle-class politics of pseudo-democracy for the revolutionary principles of International Socialism, the outlook is more hopeful than it has ever yet been. And it is more hopeful because the professional politicians and middle-class press of the pseudo-democracy cannot hide their alarm at the growth of Socialism. For many years they treated the Socialist movement with indifference and contempt—especially in N.S.W. Our parliamentary candidates were accorded a supercilious patronage and regarded as well-meaning, but certainly harmless. Now, there is a different tale to tell. With the successful termination of the Conference and the advent of the S.F.A., the danger to professionalism and opportunism

were revealed, and a storm of abusive bitterness at once rolled up the sky of Australian politics. Our candidatures—parliamentary and municipal—are now recognised as a threatening danger to Capitalist interests and also to the interest of the professional and bogus democratic politician. This serves to prove the strength of our position and the correctness of our attitude; and it will also serve to forward our movement and aid us to capture the Government powers in the name of the organised workers.

The S.F.A. is the force that stands for solid working-class principles in Australia today, and it is the business of every honest person who wishes to hasten along the final triumph of the working-class to get into the ranks without delay. Whether it be the immigration phase of Capitalism or any other phase that looms prominently for the time being, it is Capitalism itself that has to be met and overthrown; and the S.F.A. is the only Australian organisation that stands seriously for its overthrow. Therefore, get into the ranks. Therefore, hasten to your place in the firing line. For the war of the Social Revolution is here to-day.

THE EVOLUTION
OF PROPERTY.

By PAUL
LAFARGUE.

CHAPTER IV.

FEUDAL PROPERTY.

IV.

(Continued.)

The Tithe raised on the harvests of the peasants and nobles in favor of the Church, was in the beginning, optional; just as it is in Ireland at the present hour; it was paid alike to the priest and sorcerer. Agobard, an archbishop of the 9th century, complains that the ecclesiastical tithe is paid with far less regularity than that accorded to the *tempestarii*, men endowed with the power to lay storms and conjure up foul weather. But from being optional the tithes became compulsory in virtue of the feudal adage, "no land without its tithes and burdens"; they were converted into a seigniorial right, and accorded to lay lords and abbots, who re-sold them to other laymen. Discretionary at the outset, the tithes became obligatory; and in the sequel, constituted an oppressive impost that no performance of services, any longer authorized: even so is refined gold transmuted into vile copper!

v.

Just as the seigniorial obli-

gations, which became onerous and iniquitous, when the feudal barons had ceased to afford protection to their vassals, tenants, and serfs, had at one time been voluntarily acquiesced in; in like manner, the landed property of the nobles,—at first a military post, entrusted temporarily to a warrior, or, simply a right to a share in the agrarian divisions,—grew and expanded by dint of fraud and violence, and generally at the expense of the communal lands.

Marx, in his admirable 27th chapter of "Capital," "on the expropriation of the agricultural population from the land," to which I refer the reader, has described the prompt and brutal fashion in which the Scotch and English lords stole the possessions of the yeoman. "The great encroachers," as Harrison, the editor of "Holinshed's Chronicle," calls them, went to work expeditiously. In the 15th century the immense majority of the population consisted of peasant proprietors, whatever was the feudal title under which their sight of property was hidden. Macaulay calculates that "the number of proprietors was not less than 160,000, who with their families must have made up more than one-seventh of the whole

of the 18th century the last trace of the common land of the agricultural laborer. In the 19th century the very memory of the connection between the agricultural laborer and the communal property has, of course, vanished in England. The agricultural population has received not a farthing of compensation for the 3,511,770 acres of common land, which, between 1800 and 1831 were stolen from them by parliamentary devices presented to the landlords by the landlords.

The average income of these small landlords was estimated at between £60 and £70 a year." The chief period of eviction began with the 16th century. The great feudal lords drove the peasantry by force from the land, to which they had the same feudal rights as the lord himself, and seized upon the common lands. The rapid rise of the Flemish wool manufacture, and the corresponding rise in the price of wool in England, gave a direct impulse to these evictions. The sheep drove out the men. "The shepe that were wont to be so meke and tame," says Thomas More, "and so small eaters, now, as I heare say, be become so great devourers and so wylde, that they eate up and swallow downe the very men themselves."

In the last decade of the 17th century, the yeomanry, the class of independent peasants, were more numerous than the clan of farmers. They had formed the back-bone of Cromwell's strength, and, even according to the confession of Macaulay, stood in favorable contrast to the drunken squires and to their servants, the county clergy, who had to marry their masters' cast-off mistresses. About 1750 the yeomanry had disappeared, and so had in the last decade

of the 18th century the last trace of the common land of the agricultural laborer. In the 19th century the very memory of the connection between the agricultural laborer and the communal property has, of course, vanished in England. The agricultural population has received not a farthing of compensation for the 3,511,770 acres of common land, which, between 1800 and 1831 were stolen from them by parliamentary devices presented to the landlords by the landlords.

The last process of wholesale expropriation of the agricultural population from the soil is, finally, the so-called clearing of estates, i.e., the sweeping men off them. But what "clearing of estates" really and properly signifies we learn only in the promised land of modern romance, the Highlands of Scotland. There the process is distinguished by its systematic character, by the magnitude of the scale on which it is carried out at one blow (in Ireland, landlords have gone to the length of sweeping away several villages at once; in Scotland areas as large as German principalities are dealt with), finally by the peculiar form of property under which the embzzled lands were held.

(To be continued.)

The Immigration Crime.

WHEN the Ortona reached Circular Quay last week, a number of the duped immigrants on board were in such a plight that they hastened to sell their coats to second-hand clothes dealers.

Quite a number of the Ortona immigrants were offered work at the munificent remuneration of 12s a week and tucker. One man accepted. The others (who had read Dr. Arthur's letters in the English papers about 8s and 22s a day) swore long and loud.

Newly-arrived immigrants declare that in London alone there are 40,000 employed. One man—a shoemaker, who took part in the celebrated march from Northampton and London—told a "Review" representative that he need not have left England had he been willing to blackleg. Capitalist conditions, he says, are speedily converting the Britishers into a blackleg nation, and prediction that is wretchedly malodorous.

Scarcely an immigrant reaches these shores without protesting that he has been basely deceived as to Austrian conditions and wages.

The immigration movement is not more than a Capitalist movement to ensure a permanent supply of workless workers.

A proposito della recente Com.
memorazione di G. Garibaldi

Memento

(Dall'AVANTI di Roma.)

Amilcare Cipriani — a proposito del monumento che certi monarchici, mascherati da liberali e da repubblicani, pretendono erigere al nostro grande e venerato Garibaldi in Parigi—in un magnifico scatto contro la vergognosa mistificazione, fa un po' d'interessante storia retrospettiva.

Il 3 giugno 1834 Carlo Alberto faceva condannare alla fucilazione nella schiena Giuseppe Garibaldi, da Nizza.

Nel 1848 il generale Ricci, ministro del medesimo re, rispondeva a Garibaldi, che gli offriva la sua spada: "Con noi non c'è posto. Andate a Venezia. La potrete fare il corsaro."

Nel 1849, a Porto Vezere, al ritorno della gloriosa epopea della Repubblica Romana, egli fu arrestato e imprigionato dall'intendente Casilli, per ordine del re di Sardegna.

Nel 1860, Vittorio Emanuele II scriveva a Garibaldi: "Voi sapete che non ho approvato la vostra spedizione (quella dei Mille!) e credo che sarà prudente astenersi da altri tentativi contro il regno di Napoli."

Dopo il trionfo della spedizione dei Mille e l'entrata di Garibaldi in Napoli, Cavour scriveva a Costantino Nigra, ambasciatore a Parigi: "Non avendo potuto arrestare Garibaldi a Napoli, e indispensabile arrestarlo ad ogni costo negli Stati Romani. Garibaldi è un allucinato, ebbro del successo improvviso. Egli crede d'aver ricevuto una missione dalla provvidenza e di essere obbligato a soddisfarla, non importa come."

Noi siamo decisi a non sopportarlo più, ditelo chiaramente all'imperatore (Napoleone III.)....

Entro quindici giorni andremo a instabilire l'ordine a Napoli, dovessimo per riuscire portare in mare tutti i garibaldini...

La guardia nazionale di Torino marcerà contro di lui, se è necessario. I soldati di Fanti e di Cacciatori non domandano di meglio che sbarazzare il paese dalle camice rosse... Il re è deciso di finirlo e non ci metteremo alcuna esitazione.

Nel 1862, per ordine del re Vittorio Emanuele II, le camice rosse furono mitragliate ad Aspromonte dal colonnello Pallavicini, Garibaldi, ferito, fu fatto prigioniero. Questo colonnello assassino e poi morto aiutante in campo di re Umberto.

Nel 1867, le regie truppe al confine pontificio assiste vano a piedi armati al massacro Garibaldino di Mentana. Garibaldi, dopo Mentana, fu nuovamente imprigionato e rinchiuso nella fortezza d'Alessandria.

I garibaldini autentici, quelli che non si sono venduti e che non si sono fatti i poliziotti e i mazzettieri dei loro fratelli, furono perseguitati, cacciati dall'Italia o rinchiusi in galera.

I ricordi—opportunamente evocati dal nostro eroico compagno—

rivendicano alla rivoluzione il nome di colui che fu odiato e temuto da tutti i potenti e sarà adorato nei secoli da tutti gli uomini che lavorano e maturano i giorni delle grandi vendette e delle grandi giustizie.

[Riprodotta per cura del corrispondente Australiano dell'Avanti, e di altri socialisti, colla speranza che l'elemento popolare della colonia Italiana di Sydney voglia ridestarsi, e contrastare al partito dominante il diritto di travisare la storia e di sfruttare davantaggio gli eroi e Martiri della Rivoluzione.]

Ben Tillet and H. E. Holland will speak at Newcastle this (Saturday) on "Industrial Unionism." Peter Bowling (C.G.F. president) will preside.

Algernon Lee, editor of New York "Worker," and A. M. Simon, editor of Chicago "Daily Socialist" and "International Socialist Review" (America) are the American Socialist Party's delegates to the Stuttgart Congress.

Received: "Common Sense," weekly journal of the Los Angeles branch of the Socialist Party of America.

The class struggle will continue until the producer is recognised as the sole master of his product.

The working-class alone can and must achieve its own emancipation.



GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI.

Block kindly lent by the Editor of the World's News.

Socialism in Holland.

ANOTHER MARKED SUCCESS.

The second ballot of the elections held in Holland on June 21, 24, and 25 resulted in an unexpected gain for the Socialist Party of an additional 18 seats, making their total number, with six seats secured at the main election, 19 seats. Not only was this gain of 18 State seats a remarkable expression of the power of the Social-Democratic Party, but also because several of these were won in spite of support given by the Clerical parties to Liberal candidates, as for instance in Amsterdam and Eindhoven, while in other elections the Liberals only partly followed the call of their organisations to support the Social-Democratic candidates.

As in the case of the Austrian and Bavarian successes, the news of the Dutch Socialist victory was suppressed by the Australian capitalist press

Holland is governed on the bicameral system. The two houses together are called the States-General. The States-General is divided into a first and second Chamber. The second Chamber consists of

100 members, and the First Chamber of 50, the former being elected by direct suffrage, and the latter by the Provincial Councils from amongst the highest-taxed citizens in the State, or those that hold or have held important public posts. The members of the second Chamber are elected for four years. Only males, thirty years of age and in full possession of their civic rights, are eligible to vote. The second Chamber alone has the right of amendment and of initiating legislation.

England's Liberal Government—which includes Labor member John Burns—is writing in blood on the pages of Irish history. In Belfast the Riot Act has been read, and the military ordered to fire on the people. Several were killed—some of them being children, and hundreds more or less seriously wounded. It is significant that the first voice raised against the murder policy of the British Government was that of the newly-elected Socialist, Victor Grayson.

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Wage Labor and Capital.

What are Wages and How They are Determined.

By KARL MARX.

Let us suppose that there are a hundred bales of cotton in the market, and at the same time buyers in want of a thousand bales. In this case the demand is greater than the supply. The competition between the buyers will therefore be intense; each of them will do his best to get hold of all the hundred bales of cotton. The example is no arbitrary supposition. In the history of the trade we have experienced periods of failure of the cotton plant, when particular companies of capitalists have endeavored to purchase, not only a hundred bales of cotton, but the whole stock of cotton in the world. Therefore in the case supposed each buyer will try to beat the others out of the field by offering a proportionately higher price for the cotton. The cotton-sellers perceiving the troops of the hostile host in violent combat with one another, and being perfectly secure as to the sale of all their hundred bales, will take very good care not to begin squabbling among themselves in order to depress the price at the very moment when their adversaries are emulating each other in the process of screwing it higher up. Peace is, therefore, suddenly proclaimed in the army of the sellers. They present a united front to the purchaser, and fold their arms in philosophic content; and their claims would be absolutely boundless if it were not that the offers of even the most pressing

and eager of the buyers must always have some definite limit.

Thus if the supply of a commodity is not so great as the demand for it, the competition between the buyers waxes. Result: A more or less important rise in the price of goods.

As a rule the converse case is of common occurrence, producing an opposite result. Large excess of supply over demand; desperate competition among the sellers; dearth of purchasers; forced sale of goods dirt cheap.

But what is the meaning of the rise and fall in prices? What is the meaning of higher price or lower price? A grain of sand is high when examined through a microscope, and a tower is low compared with a mountain. And if price is determined by the relation between supply and demand, how is the relation between supply and demand itself determined?

Let us turn to the first worthy citizen we meet. He will not take an instant to consider, but like a second Alexander the Great will cut the metaphysical knot by the help of his multiplication table. "If the production of the goods which I sell," he will tell us, "has cost me £100, and I get £110 by their sale—within the year, you understand—that's what I call a sound, honest, reasonable profit. But if I make £120 or £130 by the sale that is a higher profit; and if I were to get a good £200, that would be an exceptional, an enormous profit." What is it then that serves our citizen as the measure of his profit? The cost of the production of his goods. If he receives an amount whose production has cost more, he has gained. And he reckons the rise and fall of his profit by the number of degrees

at which it stands with reference to his zero—the cost of production.

We have now seen how the changing proportion between supply and demand produces the rise and fall of price, making them at one time high and another low. If through failure in the supply, or exceptional increase in the demand, an important rise in the price of a commodity takes place, then the price of another commodity must fall; for, of course, the price of a commodity only expresses in money the proportion in which other commodities can be exchanged with it. For instance, if the price of a yard of silk rises from five to six shillings, the price of silver has fallen in comparison with silk; and in the same way the price of all other commodities which remain at their old prices has fallen if compared with silk. We have to give a larger quantity of them in exchange in order to obtain the same quantity of silk. And what is the result of a rise in the price of a commodity? A mass of capital is thrown into that flourishing branch of business, and this immigration of capital into the province of the privileged business will last until the ordinary level of profits is attained; or rather until

the price of the products sinks through overproduction.

Conversely, if the price of a commodity falls below the cost of its production, capital will be withdrawn from the production of this commodity. Except in the case of a branch of industry which has become obsolete, and is therefore doomed to disappear, the result of this flight of capital will be that the production of this commodity, and therefore its supply, will continually dwindle until it corresponds to the demand; and thus its price rises again to the level of the cost of its production; or, rather, until the supply has fallen below the demand; that is, until its price has again risen above its cost of production; for the price of any commodity is always either above or below its cost of production.

We see, then, how it is that capital is always emigrating and immigrating and emigrating from the province of one industry into that of another. It is high prices that bring about an excessive immigration, and low prices an excess of emigration.

(To be Continued.)

This week, H. Scott Bennett, ex-M.L.A., leaves Melbourne to assist in the fight for Darling Harbor.

International Socialist Group

274 PITT STREET, SYDNEY.

[Affiliated with the Socialist Federation of Australasia.]

Meets every Wednesday evening at I.S.C. Rooms.
Member's Subscription—9d per month. Each financial member receives free supply of "I. S. Review," and is entitled to use of Library.
Propaganda Meetings every Sunday at noon in Sydney Domain.
Interested Members resident in country or city are invited to communicate with the Secretary.

E. HILLYER, Hon. Secretary.

THE Socialist Federation OF AUSTRALASIA,

HEADQUARTERS:

274 Pitt Street, Sydney, N.S.W.,

GENERAL EXECUTIVE—H. J. Hawkins, Broken Hill; Victoria,
E. Raps, Sydney; A. Borax, General Treasurer; H. E. Holland,
General Secretary.

PUBLICATIONS—"The Flame," Broken Hill; "The Socialist," Melbourne;
"The International Socialist Review for Australasia," Sydney.

Objective,

The Socialisation of the Means of Production, Distribution and Exchange

Statement of Principles,

The present form of society rests on ownership of the land and the machinery (tools) of production.

The owners of most of the land and the machinery of production constitute what are economically known as the Capitalist Class. Hence the use of the term—"The Capitalist Form of Society."

This form of ownership divides society in all countries into two distinct and opposing classes—the Capitalist Class and the Working Class.

The Working Class produce all the wealth that sustains society, while they are held in complete economic and industrial subjection to the Capitalist Class, who live on the wealth produced by the Working Class.

The statistics of all countries show that a the Working Class receive a continuously decreasing share of the wealth they produce, the present proportion being about one-third of the total. Thus, although the workers constitute approximately 86 per cent. of the population, 16 per cent. who do no useful work, confiscate the remaining two-thirds. This inevitably causes an irreconcilable conflict between the interests of the Capitalist Class and the Working Class.

The interest of the Capitalist Class is to secure an ever-increasing proportion of the wealth produced by the Working Class. The interest of the Working Class is to get the full value of the product of their labor. Hence there is a struggle, which is called the

CLASS STRUGGLE, between these two classes.

To win economic freedom, the non-owning Working Class must organize on the lines of the Industrial Workers of the World, and they must force the struggle into the political field, and use their political power, the ballot, in conjunction with their industrial organization, to abolish Capitalist Class ownership, set up the Socialist Republic, and their constitution is, in the interests of the Working Class, the entire structure of industrial society.

Political power is only useful to the workers for the purpose of overthrowing Capitalism, Parliaments being essentially capitalist machines designed to enable that class to perpetuate class domination.

The workers of Australia must, without delay, take up their position along with the organized class-conscious workers of all other countries. There is no escape from the baneful effects of Capitalism short of its complete overthrow, and this can only be achieved by the class-conscious industrial and political strength of the Working Class.

The Socialist Federation of Australasia, therefore, CALLS UPON ALL WORKERS TO FORTHWITH IDENTIFY THEMSELVES WITH THE FAITHFUL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATIONS IN THEIR RESPECTIVE STATES, and to work incessantly for the complete overthrow of the Capitalist system, and for the emancipation of their class from wage-slavery.

Other Lands

BRITAIN

Across all the strick about Victor Grayson's determination to abolish Home Rule, it is interesting to learn from British exchanges that one of the British exchange supporters was Mr. W. Graham, of the Church of England, while another was Mr. Pickup, a dissenting minister. The Liberal peer that Grayson was not endorsed by the Labour Representation Committee was announced by the chairman of a big meeting at Colcar: "Victor Grayson is not endorsed by the L.R.C. The workers of Colcar Valley didn't want them to endorse him. We were determined to run a man as a Socialist. The L.R.C. offered us a candidate, and we wouldn't have him. We would only have a Socialist." And the Socialist won.

A. V. Wells, a young Socialist speaker, was thrown from his bicycle and killed while riding home after speaking at Chelmsford for the Essex Socialist Society on a recent Saturday night.

AUSTRIA

Some scenes were witnessed in the Reichsrath during the discussion of a proposal to prosecute the state officials in Galicia who issued their positions and perpetrated irregularities in the recent elections. The bourgeois corruptors and reactionaries, whose stronghold is Galicia, were able to press any inquiry into the methods by which they exercised their power in that province.

DENMARK

The people of Iceland are agitat-

ing for Home Rule. The Danish ruling classes are trying to pacify them by appointing a special Minister who understands their language. The Danish Socialist Party laughs at the Government proposals, and stands with the Icelanders for Home Rule.

GERMANY

The Socialist Party School for the training of speakers and writers in the principles of Socialism has closed its first term. The students in this case are elected by the party organization in various parts of Germany, and are paid by the Executive for the time they spend in Berlin. Each student attends for one term, which lasts nine months. The lectures are in History, National Economy, Philosophy of History, Law and the theory of Trade Unionism, Co-operation, and Municipal Government.

Clara Zetkin, who has for many years been the only woman representative on the German party, on July 5 attained her fiftieth birthday. German by birth she was married to a Russian Socialist, Otto Zetkin, with whom, under the anti-Socialist law, she shared all the hardships of life, often in the direst poverty. In 1890 she founded the "Gleichheit" [Equality] as an organ of the proletarian women, basing its principles on the fact that working women can only attain their aim by working with the men of their own class against the common exploiter of them both. The "Gleichheit" has now a circulation of between 40,000 and 50,000.

HOLLAND

A great Socialist victory is reported from Holland.

Campaign Notes.

Darling Harbor Election.

The General Executive has decided to open a Fund for the purpose of helping to make the fight for Darling Harbor most effective in an educational direction. This is the most important single constituency fight that has yet been made for Socialism in N.S.W., and the Executive desires to flood the electorate with propagandist literature. Contributions should be forwarded to F. HILLIAR, secretary, International Socialist Group, 274 Pitt-street, Sydney. The following amounts are acknowledged.

	£	s	d
Previously acknowledged	6	8	0
A.T.	0	2	0
Collected by C. Brown—			
D. McEvoy 2s 6d, T. Holley 2s, Patrick Gorry 2s 6d	0	7	0
Collected by P. Peyton—			
Miss A. Seitz 2s, F. Johnston 1s, C. Stewart 1s, J. McBride 1s 6d, Walter Read 1s, Mrs. J. Gallagher 2s 6d, J. Sykes 5s, O. Anderson 2s 6d, B. Gray 1s 6d, C. Brudgen 2s 6d, J. Edwards 6d, J. McGinley 1s, J. Kelly 1s, L. Blake 1s, Romer 6d, John Campbell 1s, E. Sykes 1s, J. Olson 1s, W.C. Creighton 1s, J. Shannon 1s, J. Hanson 1s, C. Boston 1s, T. Brady 1s, Frank Michel 1s, Aug. Nordstrom 6d, T. Lee 1s, J. Alison 1s, J. Ryan 1s, J. McGrady 6d, Niel Swanson 1s, Perkins 6d, E. Olfic 1s, W. Miller 1s, J. Matterson 2s, H. Johnson 1s, C. Leader 1s, Hin-			

berg 1s, J. Rouch 1s, M. Carlson 1s, T. Hughes 6d, W. Nolan 1s, A. W. Moore 1s, Beneckie 6d, A. Nelson 1s, W. Johnson 1s, W. Dorritt 6d, J. Thomson 1s, T. Springfield 1s, R. Baker 1s, Ward 1s, Victor 1s, Beatty 1s, Patric 6d, Smith 6d, J. Gahan 1s, P. Peyton 2s 6d.	3	3	6
Collected at Hanza Cigar Factory	1	0	0
From the Girls	2	0	0
Collected by Walter Johns—			
Scotforth	0	13	8
Collected by Mrs. Nordstrom	1	4	0
	£15	5	24

A new Socialist paper in Hungarian has been launched in Hungarian under the title of "Igazsag."

Out of 2,660 deaths reported to the coroner of Allegheny County, Pittsburg, says the New York "Worker," 919 were the results of preventable accidents in mines and mills and on railroads.

At the Camberwell, Eng. Workhouse, one nurse is left to look after 185 patients in the dinner hour, and one doctor has supervision over 900 people.

Over 1000 women at Birmingham canu 2s to 4s 2d a week "carding" hooks and eyes by working 10 hours a day.

NOW!

The dreamer dreams in his easy chair of deeds he may live to do;

When he has an hour or two to spare, ah, he will see them through;

But for you and me in the cause of right,
Now is the time to do and to strive.

The poet sings of a time to be, a day that has yet to dawn,
The birth of a happy liberty on some far distant morn,
But for you and me in the cause sublime,
The day of freedom is in our time.

The preacher tells of a world above, a home that we all may win,

For there he looks for the life of love, the soul that is freed from sin;

But for you and me is a duty clear—
To build up heaven and build it here.

The dreamer dreams of a deed undone, the poet of days to be,

The preacher tells of a haven won beyond earth's misery;

But for you and me in the midst of wrong,
Now is the time to live and be strong.

Now is the time for the manly heart, the time for the noble deed,

Now is the time for the hero's part, and now is the time to succeed;

And for you and me in the strife, somehow,
The only time that there is, is now.

—GUS ANDERSON.

The Hague Peace Conference.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU

TO THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

WHEN Nicholas II. took the first step to call the first Peace Conference, his policy in Eastern Asia assumed a tendency to make the war with Japan inevitable.

At the same moment, that he received the homages of the second Hague Conference, he ordered the dissolution of the second Duma.

This double coincidence best illustrated the comedy which is being enacted at the Hague and at St. Petersburg. The irony will be complete when the third Conference will sit in the palace built by the man who, as one of the first in the United States of America, used armed police against the working class and gave to the world his conception of social peace by having the workers of the factories [the creators of his immense fortune] shot.

For a long time now the proletariat has exposed the traditional policy of the Russian Government, the main support of all reaction. External peace, as the Russian Government understands it, is not the abolition of war, it is the weakening of opponents and the hegemony of Czarism. Internal peace, of which it dreams, is the crushed people, the eternalised autocracy.

After the last Hague Conference, Nicholas II. allowed Manchuria to

be desolated and at the horrors of Blagowetschensk to be committed. He broke the oath, given to the Finnish people, and bathed himself in the blood of all Russia. At Riga he reinstated the tortures of the middle ages; he allowed the massacre of the poor peasants of Georgia by his soldiers to go unpunished; he permitted the stings of the prison at Akutoni to attack and kill the political prisoners. During the revolt in Moscow he let the sanitary departments be barbarised, and long after the fight the guards of His Majesty killed the railway officials who were doing their work without any process.

The Czar has raved against his own subjects in a way he would be ashamed to do against hostile soldiers. And this head of capitalistic and colonial piracy appears before the world as the symbol and the personification of right which precedes might; the contented, which takes the place of bloody combat; the eternal peace treaty, which supplants the fratricidal war. And, even if one admits that he is sincere, he can not realise his intentions for peace, because militarism is nothing else than the armament organised by the State—to keep the working class under the economic and political yoke of the bourgeois class, because in the capitalist order of society wars between States are generally only the consequences of their rivalry in the world's market; because every power not only endeavours to maintain those markets it already holds, but also to conquer new ones, and this often by enjoinement of foreign people and the confiscation of their lands.

The diplomats sitting at the Hague should look round. They will there find the masters of

West Africa on the side of the rulers of India, the conquerors of Madagascar alongside the exploiters of the Congo Territory, and the victors of Manchuria alongside of their unfortunate opponents. The wars, which also favor the prejudices that are fostered and maintained systematically by the ruling classes for the purpose of inveigling the peoples against one another, appear to the proletariat as the being of capitalism itself, and they will disappear only with capitalistic exploitation itself. The working-class, though, are the natural enemy of war, because they are the chief victims—they have to pay the goods and blood taxes—and because wars are contrary to the aims of Socialism, which is the creation of a new order, based on the solidarity of those who work, on the fraternisation of the nations, the liberty of the peoples.

When in the year 1871 Germany annexed Alsace-Lorraine, the representatives of the Socialist proletariat, Bebel and Liebknecht protested against the war and the annexation.

When in the year 1904 the states Russia and Japan sacrificed thousands of young lives, the representatives of the proletariat of Russia and Japan met at Amsterdam in fraternal embrace.

In 1870, when the cannons roared at the frontiers, the German workers wrote to the French workers:

"We shall never forget that the workers of all countries are our friends, and the despots of all countries are our enemies."

And the French workers replied to the German:

"Workers of France!
Workers of Germany!
Workers of Spain!

Let us unite our voices in a cry of protest against the war!"

This was the language of the first Workers' Internationale; and this is still to-day the language of the new Workers' Internationale! Its leaders have, in spite of calumny and persecution, stood for the ideal of peace between the nations, consistently rejecting all demands for militarism. They know that on the day when the workers become masters of the armies war will be dead. Therefore, they demand without delay the disarmament of the bourgeoisie and the armament of the working-class by the universal armament of the people. Every time that a threatening cloud has appeared on the political horizon the working-class have by their representatives in the Parliaments and by demonstrations intervened, and on the day of danger it is resolved to go the farthest extreme to obviate and prevent war. Its policy will show no contradictions, and as the English workers stood against their Government in the Transvaal war, so two sections of the International Proletariat will not be seen in opposing camps.

The Workers' Internationale has ever stood for the basic truth that a Government cannot threaten the independence of a foreign nation without an attack on its own nation, its working-class, and the international working-class. Therefore, the idea of universal peace can only be materialised and made victorious by the progress and the realisation of the Socialist idea. War, on the other hand, finds its best soil in the strengthening of absolutism. The dissolution of the Duma from this viewpoint means a danger to the whole of Europe. No one has been surprised by it. Everyone is used to Czarism not

keeping its obligations, and on the day when it possesses the power, it will act against other peoples, as it has acted against the Russian people.

Nicholas II in the day of danger, promised liberty to the people. But when the danger seemed not quite so threatening, he sent home the first Duma, which did not seem to him willing enough to learn. He wanted a parliament of lacqueys. The Russian government adopted of parliamentarism only the word, not the being. According to the wishes of the camarilla and his lord, Stolypin had coercion laws proclaimed, the electoral rolls falsified, his opponents imprisoned, and chivalrously the great minister allowed the black bands to massacre women and children. The events destroyed his ministerial calculations. In spite of the oppression and the outrages of the authorities, the second Duma was more radical than the first. It contained 100 deputies, who declared for Socialism. On the day after the elections it was apparent that the hours of the second Duma were numbered. But Stolypin wanted to be a good fellow, and was kind enough to permit the continuance of the Duma, but only on the con-

dition that it would be willing to do all that the Government wished it to do.

The cadets were weak enough, and only too often gave way to these influencing whisperings. They voted against the amnesty, they refused to brand the official murders, and they even did not venture to throw out a budget the control of which was refused them. They begged distractedly of the extreme left to save Stolypin from every unkind word, and let themselves be knouted and persecuted with a smile on their lips. The chief of the Cabinet had from this out an easy play; he ordered house searchings in the deputies homes. He had telegrams fabricated, which in the name of the people demanded the dissolution of the Duma. He demanded the prohibition of the publicity of those sitings given to the examinations of the Army Budget. He put before the Duma declarations of sympathy with the police, he indulged in the luxury of "discovering" conspiracies against the Czar and the security of the State. He demanded persecutions en bloc without examination and at once. The representatives of the bourgeoisie had not the courage themselves to give the reply which it deserved to

this impudence, and the dissolution was proclaimed, ere the cadets were happy enough to have taken up a manly attitude.

The organised proletariat of Russia has accepted the lack of giving the answer. The struggle against autocracy will be continued without armistice, and it will be the duty of the workers of all countries to come to the assistance of our Russian comrades in their struggle. The Socialist Deputies in the Austrian Reichsrath have already announced the intention to interpellate the Government on the consequences of a dissolution, the complications of which can be seen already beforehand, and from which the interests of foreign nations are endangered. The Socialists of France will not omit to recall to their Government the solemn obligations it has undertaken with respect to loan question. The socialists of Great Britain, the land of parliamentary tradition, will on the 14th July, the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille, demonstrate against the consequences of coup d'etat, which the originators have only tried to justify by hypocrisies and lies. The proletarians of other nations will assist this movement, and recall to the memory of their

members, that Socialism alone is Peace and that our watchword is ever:

DOWN WITH AUTOCRACY!
VIVE THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION!

The Executive Committee of the International Socialist Bureau, Belgium.

The London County Council has decided to refuse the use of the public schools for the Socialist Sunday Schools, chiefly on the ground that Socialism is a political theory and not an ethical one. In the debate, the Socialist side of which was led by Sidney Webb, the opponents of Socialism had to admit that the ethics taught by Socialists were beyond reproach, but the Moderates had determined to exclude the Socialists, and this was done. The question aroused great interest in London, and will not be without its benefit to Socialism.

On Tuesday night at Little Hay and Harbor-streets the largest meeting that has yet attended a political meeting in that locality greeted the Socialist candidate for Darling Harbor. On the balcony were Scott-Bennett, Price, Davis, and others. P. Peyton presided. Holland had spoken about fifteen minutes, and the meeting was speedily growing in numbers and interest, when a southerly happened along, bringing soaking rain in its wake. The crowd sought shelter under the adjoining verandahs and balconies, but as the rain continued to fall it was decided to adjourn. What promised to be one of the most successful meetings of the campaign was thus cut short by the weather.

Campaign Notes.

Darling Harbor Election.

The General Executive has decided to open a Fund for the purpose of helping to make the fight for Darling Harbor most effective in an educational direction. This is the most important single-constituency fight that has yet been made for Socialism in N.S.W., and the Executive desires to flood the electorate with propagandist literature. Contributions should be forwarded to E. HILLYER, secretary, International Socialist Group, 274 Pitt-street, Sydney. The following amounts are acknowledged.

	£	s	d
Previously acknowledged	15	5	2½
Collected by W. Bennett	0	7	0
Collected by M. Thorbjørson	0	17	0
J. Bruchert	1	0	0
P. Sprenger	0	2	6
A. Gross	0	2	0
Collected at H. Cigar Factory	1	0	0
J. Williams	0	10	0
Collected by Mrs. Nordstrom—P. Calton 1s			
D. Reed 2s, Friend 1s, J. Whyte 2s, J. Basnell 1s, F. Seeforth 1s, P. Grant 1s 6d, Conway 1d, A. Young 3d, Williams 1s, Charlie 2d			
O. Woods 1d, J. Cameron 1d, Ping 1d, Friend ½d, Erickson 3d, Friend 1s, G. Nordstrom 2s 6d	0	15	0½
Mr. McGraw	0	1	0
Total	19	19	9

The Darling Harbor Election will cost the International Socialist Party something like £60. This sum will be spent on propagandist literature, hall rents, and advertis-

ing; and the Election Committee and General Executive appeal to all friends of the Socialist movement to lend whatever assistance they can towards raising the amount.

On Friday evening last, the Socialist candidate addressed one of the largest outdoor meetings ever held at Miller's Pt. from the Captain Cook Hotel balcony. P. Peyton presided, and Price and J. Davis also spoke, a magnificent vote being recorded in favor of the principles of Socialism and the Socialist candidate.

On Monday, H. Scott-Bennett (of Vic. Socialist Party) arrived by boat to give a helping hand in the campaign. At night he was informally entertained at the Club rooms, but unfortunately owing to some confusion as to the date of his arrival it was impossible to call the whole Club and Group members to the reception. Scott-Bennett is a valiant fighter for Socialism, and will have ample opportunities to make use of his splendid speaking abilities and clear knowledge of the working-class position.

During the last week of the campaign President Bowling (of the Colliery Employers' Federation, will visit Sydney to assist in winning Darling Harbor for Socialism.

Similar Cases.

THERE was once a little animal
No bigger than a fox,
And on five toes he scampered
Over tertiary rocks;
His name was Eohippus,
And they called him very small,
And they thought him of no value—
When they thought of him at all.
For the lumpy-h. Dimoceras,
And Coryphodon so slow,
Were the heavy aristocracy,
In days of long ago.
Said the little Eohippus:
"I am going to be a horse!
And on my middle finger nail,
To run my earthly course!
I'm going to have a flowing tail!
I'm going to have a mane!
I'm going to stand fourteen hands high,
On the psychozoic plain!"
The Coryphodon was horrified,
The Dimoceras shocked;
And they chased young Eohippus,
But he skipped away and mocked.
Then they laughed enormous laughter,
And they groaned prodigious groans,
And they bade young Eohippus
Go and rive his father's bones.
Said they: "Thou always wert so small
And mean as now we see,
And therefore it is evident
That thou art always going to be!"
"What! Be a great, tall, handsome beast,
With hoofs to gallop on!
Why, you'd have to change your nature!"
Said the Loxolophodon.
They considered him disposed of
And retired with gait serene—
That was the way they argued
In "the early eocene."
There was once an Anthropoidal Ape,
Far smarter than the rest,
And everything his mates could do,
He could do the best;
So they naturally disliked him,
And gave him shoulders cool,
And when they had to mention him
They said he was a fool.
Cried this pretentious Ape one day:
"I'm going to be a man!
And stand upright and hunt and fight,
And conquer all I can!
I'm going to cut down forest trees,
To make my houses higher!
I'm going to kill the mastodon!
I'm going to make a fire!"
Loud screamed the Anthropoidal Apes
With laughter wild and gay;
Then they tried to catch that boastful one,
But he always got away.

So they yelled at him in chorus
Which he minded not a whit;
And they pelted him with coconuts
Which didn't seem to hit.
And then they gave him reasons,
When they thought of great avail,
To prove how his preposterous
Attempt was sure to fail.
Said the sages: "In the first place
The thing cannot be done!
And, second, if it could be,
It would not be any fun!"
"And third, and most conclusive,
And admitting no reply,
You would have to change your nature,
We should like to see you try."
They chuckled then triumphantly,
Those lean and hairy shapes,
For these things passed as arguments,
With the Anthropoidal Apes.
There was once a Neolithic Man,
An enterprising Wight,
Who made his chopping implements
Unusually bright.
Unusually clever he,
Unusually brave,
And he drew delightful mammoths,
On the borders of his cave.
To his neolithic neighbors,
Who were startled and surprised,
Said he: "My friends, in course of time
We shall be civilised!
We are going to live in cities!
We are going to fight in wars!
We are going to eat three times a day,
Without the natural cause!
We are going to turn life upside down
About a thing called gold;
We are going to claim the earth and take
As much as we can hold!
We are going to wear great piles of stuff
Outside our proper skins!
We are going to have diseases!
And accomplishments! and sins!!"
Then they all rose up in fury
Against their boastful friend,
For prehistoric patience
Came quickly to an end.
Said one: "This is chimerical!
Utopian! Absurd!"
Said another: "What a stupid life!
Too dull, upon my word!"
Cried all: "Before such things can come,
You idiotic child,
You must alter human nature!"
Then they all sat back and smiled.
Thought they: "An answer to that last
It will be hard to find!"
It was a clinching argument
To the Neolithic mind!

CHARLOTTE P. STETSON

Los Angeles, California.

Wage Labor and Capital.

What are Wages and How They are Determined.

By KARL MARX.

We might show from another point of view how not only the supply, but also the demand, is determined by the cost of production; but this would lead us too far from our present subject.

We have seen how the fluctuations of supply and demand always reduce the price of a commodity to its cost of production. It is true that the precise price of a commodity is always either above or below its cost of production; but the rise and fall reciprocally balance each other, so within a certain period, if the ebb and flow of business are reckoned up together, commodities are exchanged with one another in accordance with their cost of production; and thus their cost of production determines their price.

The determination of price by cost of production is not to be understood in the sense of the economists. The economists declare that the average price of commodities is equal to the cost of production; this, according to them, is a law. The anarchi-

cal movements in which the rise is compensated by the fall, and the fall by the rise, they ascribe to chance. But if we look closely, we see that it is precisely these fluctuations, although they bring the most terrible desolation in their train, and shake the fabric of bourgeois society like earthquakes, it is precisely these fluctuations which in their course determine price by cost of production. In the totality of this disorderly movement is to be found its order. Throughout these alternating movements in the course of this industrial anarchy, competition, as it were, cancels one excess by means of another.

We gather, therefore, that the price of a commodity is determined by its cost of production, in such manner that the periods in which the price of this commodity rises above its cost of production are compensated by the periods in which it sinks below their cost, and conversely. Of course this does not hold good for one single particular product of an industry, but only for that entire branch of industry. So also it does not hold good for a particular manufacturer, but only for the entire industrial class.

The determination of price by cost of production is the

same thing as its determination by the duration of the labor which is required for the manufacture of a commodity; for cost of production may be divided into (1) raw material and implements, that is, products of industry whose manufacture has cost a certain number of days' work, and which therefore represents a certain duration of labor, and (2) actual labor, which is measured by its duration.

Now the same general laws, which universally regulate the price of commodities, regulate, of course, wages, the price of labor.

Wages will rise and fall in accordance with the proportion between demand and supply, that is, in accordance with the conditions of the competition between capitalist as buyers and laborers as sellers of labor. The fluctuations of wages correspond in general with the fluctuations in the price of commodities. Within these fluctuations the price of labor is regulated by its cost of production, that is, by the duration of labor which is required in order to produce this commodity, labor.

Now what is the cost of production of labor itself?

It is the cost required for production of a laborer and for his maintenance as a laborer.

The shorter the time requisite for instruction in any labor, the less is the laborer's cost of production, and the lower are his wages, the price of his work. In those branches of industry which scarcely require any period of apprenticeship, and where the mere bodily existence of the laborer is sufficient the requisite cost of his production and maintenance are almost limited to the cost of the commodities which are requisite to keep him alive. The price of his labor is therefore determined by the price of the bare necessities of his existence.

Here, however, another consideration comes in. The manufacturer, who reckons up his expenses of production and determines accordingly the price of the product, takes into account the wear and tear of the machinery. If a machine costs him £200 and wears itself out in ten years, he adds a £100 a year to the price of his goods in order to replace the worn-out machine by a new one when the ten years are up. In the same way we must reckon in the cost of production of simple labor the cost of its propagation; so that the race of laborers may be put in a position to multiply and to replace the worn-out workers

by new ones. Thus the wear and tear of the laborer must be taken into account just as much as the wear and tear of the machine.

Thus the cost of production of simple labor amounts to the cost of the laborer's subsistence and propagation, and the price of this cost determines his wages. When we speak of wages we mean the minimum of wages. This minimum of wages holds good, just as does the determination by the cost of production of the price of commodities in general, not for the particular individual, but for the species. Individual laborers, indeed millions of them, do not receive enough to enable them to subsist and propagate; but the wages of the whole working class with all their fluctuations are nicely adjusted to this minimum.

(To be Continued.)

The Socialist

A bright exponent of International Socialism.

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of Victoria.

Published Weekly. Price, 1d. Sydney Agency:

The International Socialist Club,
274 Pitt-street, Sydney.

"The Socialist" is also sold at all meetings of the International Socialist Group.

Industrial Workers

ON Saturday, Tillett and Holland journeyed to Newcastle at the invitation of Peter Bowling (C.E.F. President) to speak on Industrial Unionism. The addresses were delivered from the balcony of McCartney's Australian Hotel, and the crowd was immense. Peter Bowling presided, and J. Paterson and A. Lewis spoke briefly, followed by Tillett, who was in good form. Holland was suffering with throat troubles, and he had some difficulty in making himself heard. D. Rees briefly moved a vote of thanks to the speakers.

Great interest is being awakened in the Newcastle district in the I.W.W. movement—the principles of which were adopted by the recent Socialist Conference. A motion to adopt the I.W.W. preamble has been carried triumphantly in the Maitland end of the northern coal-mining district, and will be generally adopted by the C.E.F. We hope to be in a position to publish a special article from Newcastle on the subject shortly.

C.E.F. President Bowling has been actively connected

Professional Idlers

with the Socialist movement for the past 15 or 16 years, and his election to the presidency of such a great organization (it has more than 7000 members) is an evidence of the solid growth of socialist principles in the ranks of the miners, as well as an appreciation of his own individual worth. He is an A.S.L. member, and like every other Newcastle Socialist, is anxious that the Socialist movement shall be consolidated. To his efforts and those of his comrades the triumph of the I.W.W. movement is due. The "Review" wishes them all luck in their efforts.

At Newcastle, after many years, the writer met Joe Coking—a sterling Socialist warrior of a decade back, as well as many Socialist and Labor League celebrities; and one and all of them heartily wished the Internationals success in the Darling Harbor contest.

When the mine-owners insisted their paid for advertisements in an endeavor to libel the I.W.W. movement and to discredit Peter Bowling, they had no appreciation of either the humorous or the tragical, or they would never have permitted their silly re-print to go out with the signature of "Kant" attached to it.

Another group of persons who have no calling is formed at the upper fringe of society. I mean the professional idlers who live on their interest and absolve themselves of the duty of having a calling. Looked at from the outside their manner of life differs from that of the other class; seen from the within, however, it shows many points of resemblance. Besides, these two classes come into personal contact with each other; they meet in the demi monde and among the gambling fraternity. Both congregate in large cities, both have perfectly perverse notions of honor, both, above all, are restless disposition and unsettled in their movements. Just as a ship without a cargo is aimlessly tossed about by the wind and the waves, so the life of the rich idler is the plaything of every mood that happens to strike him.—Paulson, "A System of Ethics."

The day of the capitalist has come, and he has made full use of it. Tomorrow will be the day of the laborer, provided he has the strength and the wisdom to use his opportunities.—Gibbins, "Industry in England."

Three Penny Pamphlets

The Class War.

Trade Unions and Political Action.

What is a Scab?

To be issued by next week the S.F.A., 274 Pitt-street, Sydney.

Order now.

Per doz., 9d.

Evolution of Property

The Highland Celts were organised in clans, each of which was the owner of the land on which it was settled. The representative of the clan, its chief or "great man," was only the titular owner of this property, just as the Queen of England is the titular owner of all the national soil. When the English Government succeeded in suppressing the intestine wars of these "great men," and their constant incursions into the lowland plains, the chiefs of the clans by no means gave up their time-honoured trade as robbers; they only changed its form. On their own authority they transformed their nominal right into a right of private property, and as this brought them into collision with their clansmen, they resolved to drive them out by open force. "A king of England might as well claim to drive his subjects into the sea," says Professor Newman. This revolution, which began in Scotland after the last rising of the followers of the Pretender, can be followed through its first phases in the writings of Sir James Stuart and James Anderson. As an example of the method obtaining in the 19th century, the "clearing" made by the Duchess of Sutherland will suffice here. This person, well instructed in economy, resolved, on entering upon her government, to effect a radical cure, and to turn the whole country, whose population had already been, by earlier processes of a like kind, reduced to 15,000, into a sheep walk. From 1814 to 1820 these 15,000 inhabitants, about 3000 families, were systematically hunted and rooted out. All their villages were destroyed and burnt, all their fields turned into pasturage. British soldiers enforced the eviction, and came to blows with the inhabitants. One old woman was burnt to death in the flames of the hut which she refused to leave. Thus this fine lady appropriated 704,000 acres of land that had from time immemorial belonged to the clan. She assigned to the expelled inhabitants about 6000 acres on the sea shore—two acres per family. The 6000 acres had until this time lain waste, and brought in no income to their owners. The duchess, in the nobility of her heart, actually went so far as to let these at an average rent of 2s. 6d. per acre to the clansmen who for centuries had shed their blood for her family. The whole of the stolen clan-land she divided into 20 great sheep farms, each inhabited by a single family,

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for the most part imported English farm servants. In the year 1835 the 15,000 Gaels were already replaced by 121,000 sheep. The remnant of the aborigines flung on the sea shore tried to live by catching fish. They became amphibious and lived, as an English author says, half on land and half on water, and withal only half on both.

The plunder of the State lands on a large scale began with William of Orange. "These estates were given away, sold at a ridiculous figure, or even annexed to private estates by direct seizure. All this happened without the slightest observation of legal etiquette. The crown lands thus fraudulently appropriated, together with the robbery of the Church estates, as far as these had not been lost again during the Republican Revolution, form the basis of the to-day princely domains of the English oligarchy. The bourgeois capitalists favoured the operation with the view, among others, to promoting free trade in land, extending the domain of modern agriculture on the large farm system, and to increasing their supply of the free agricultural proletarians ready to hand."

After the restoration of the Stuarts the landed proprietors had carried by legal means an act of usurpation, effected everywhere on the Continent without any legal formality. In 1660 a House of Commons, in which the landlords were supreme, relieved their estates of all feudal dues, then amounting to about one half of the entire revenues of the State. Military service, purevance, aids, reliefs, premier seisin, wardship, alienation, escheat, all disappeared in a day. In their place were substituted excise duties. By 12 Charles II., c. 23, the great bulk of taxation was for the first time transferred from the land to the people, who have borne it ever since.

Landed property monopolised by the lords was exempted from all dues towards the State, as the lord had been discharged from all obligations towards his vassals and tenants: feudal property had been changed into capitalist property.

This transformation was accomplished in Great Britain in the midst of the most awful misery of the peasant class; the cultivators were expelled from the land by wholesale and made beggars. Their numbers became a social danger against which the most barbarous measures were taken. Legislation treated them as "voluntary" criminals, and assumed that it depended on their own will to go on working under the old conditions that no

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The Class War.

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longer existed. In England this legislation began under Henry VII.

Henry VIII., 1530:—"Beggars old and unable to work receive a beggar's license. On the other hand, whipping and imprisonment for sturdy vagabonds. They are to be tied to a cart tail and whipped until the blood streams from their bodies, then to swear on oath to go back to their birth place, or to where they have lived the last three years, and to put themselves to labour." What grim irony! In 27 Henry VIII. the former statute is repeated, but strengthened with new clauses. For the second arrest for vagabondage the whipping is to be repeated and half the ear sliced off, but for the third relapse the offender is to be executed as a hardened criminal and enemy of the commonwealth."

Elizabeth, 1572:—"Unlicensed beggars above 14 years of age are to be severely flogged and branded on the left ear unless someone will take them into service for two years; in case of a repetition of the offence, if they are over 18 they are to be executed, unless someone will take them into service for two years; but for the third offence they are to be executed without mercy as felons. Similar statutes, 18 Elizabeth, c. 13, and another of 1597, James I.—"Anyone wandering about and begging is declared a rogue and a vagabond. Justices of the Peace at petty sessions are authorised to have them publicly whipped, and for the first offence to imprison them for six months, for the second two years. Whilst in prison they are to be whipped as much and as often as the Justices of the Peace think fit. Incorrigible and dangerous rogues are to be branded with an "R" on the left shoulder and set to hard labour, and, if they are caught begging again, to be executed without mercy.—These statutes, let us see, were only repealed by 12 Ann, c. 23.

Albeit not a single nation in Europe can boast of having raised an aristocracy that accomplished its work of monopolising the land with anything like the rapacity and ferociousness of Scotch and English landlords, nevertheless in all countries the peasant class has been in great part despoiled of its territorial possessions; and no means have been left untried to bring about that most laudable and lucrative consummation. Let me enumerate a few of the devices that were resorted to in France.

(To be continued.)

Stuttgart Congress

The International Socialist Congress has commenced its sittings at Stuttgart (Germany). Nine hundred delegates are present.

The United States sent 21 delegates, Germany 300, Great Britain 130, including 59 representatives from the Social Democratic Federation, and 38 from the Independent Labor Party, 16 from the Fabian Society, six from trades-unions, and two from the Labor Party. South Africa and Australia were also represented. The Australian delegate is Victor Kroemer, of Vic. Socialist Party.

Herr Bebel, leader of the Socialists in the German Reichstag, on rising to address the inaugural meeting in the Leiber-halle, which was draped with red, was received with splendid enthusiasm.

In the course of his address, Herr Bebel reviewed the progress of the movement, claiming that much progress had been made in France, Finland, Austria, Holland, and Switzerland. He complimented the English proletariat on their recent brilliant victories in returning Socialist candidates to Parliament. Though a clever bourgeois Government had

taken Mr. John Burns into the British Cabinet, Herr Bebel continued, they had not succeeded in changing the fighting tactics of the workmen's party.

The speaker added that, though the number of the Socialist seats in the Reichstag had been reduced, the Socialist Party had gained a quarter of a million more votes at the last election. So the Royalty failed to ride down Social Democracy.

Herr Bebel rejoiced in the acquittal at Idahc of William Haywood, secretary of the Western Miners' Federation (U.S.A.), from the scandalous prosecution by the capitalist classes. He hoped that the Socialist Conference would do better than the Hague International Peace Convention, which was destined to bring forth "a most ridiculous still-born mouse."

Herr Singer was elected president of the Conference.

A mass meeting was held in the fields of Cannstatt, a suburb of Stuttgart, and was attended by 100,000 persons. Speeches delivered by Herr Bebel, Herr Singer, M. Jaures, Socialist leader in the French Chamber of Deputies, and Signor Enrico Ferri, Italian Socialist leader, inspired immense enthusiasm.



H. E. HOLLAND.

International Socialist Candidate for Darling Harbor.

A PRAYER.

BREATHE, O God, the breath of tempests through this still-
ness of the grave,
Sound a deep Dead March for Freedom, no mere idyll of the
slave;
Warm with throbbing blood the pulses of this poor old chilly
world;
Rouse to battle her avenger, though his banners now be
furled.

But alas! for Freedom's storm has passed us by and left us
slaves;
Lo, the golden ship of hope that like a cradle o'er the waves
Steered with sound of song to usward, and such ample trea-
sures bore,
Rots a wreck black-stoled and shrouded, like a coffin on the
shore.

Must the people still surround this rotten wreck with useless
cries?
Shall the force of all their fury fade away in empty sighs?
Sounds there never through their sorrow resolution's thunder-
tone—
Not so long do tyrants loiter ere they cross their Rubicon.

But and if the men be cowards, earthward bending still their
brows,
Hear our voice at least, ye women; wreath a sword in myrtle
boughs;
Hide a sword in myrtle branches; since, meseemeth it, if ye
Fail to fight with us for Freedom, never will the world be free.

The International Socialist Party

To THE
Electors of Darling Harbor.

The International Socialists, in carrying upon the Darling Harbor Campaign, base their claim to the suffrages of the Electors on a clear recognition of the Class Struggle, and the causes out of which it grows, and which are herein briefly set forth.

The working-class produces all the wealth that sustains society, but, because of the ownership of Land and Machinery by the Master Class, they receive but a fraction of the wealth they produce. The Capitalist Class seeks to appropriate an ever-increasing share of the wealth created, while the interest of the Working Class is to secure the full value of their labor's product. This conflict of the interests of the Capitalist Class and the Working Class gives birth to inevitable Class Antagonisms, and out of these spring what is known as the Class Struggle—the existence of which is abundantly revealed in the strikes and lock-outs which are so recurrently characteristic of modern capitalised industry.

The statistics of all countries show that the workers receive a continuously decreasing share of the wealth they produce, their present proportion being about one-third of the total. This, notwithstanding that they (the hand and brain workers) constitute approximately 80 per cent. of the population. **THAT 15 PER CENT. WHO DO NO USEFUL WORK CONFISCATE TWO-THIRDS** of the

Wealth produced by the other 80 per cent. (the workers); and the 85 per cent. producing, the whole get **ONE-THIRD ONLY** as their share. The confiscated **TWO-THIRDS** is economically termed **SURPLUS VALUE**. Out of this surplus economically stolen our Masters build their palaces at Potts Point and Gieba Point and elsewhere, but the workers—the wealth-creator—live in the suburban hovels and the city slums; out of it, they build their Palace Emporiums and Sky-scraping Warehouses and Factories, where the workers are driven like sweating slaves; out of it they pay for their motor cars and motor yachts, their stately carriages and well-bred horses, but the workers often tramp the city streets and the suburban highways soiled and weary because, although they create all the wealth they don't get sufficient of it to enable them to ride in even the tram cars which they are opposed to own; out of this stolen surplus wealth, the "Masters" deck their wives and their daughters in rustling silks and load them with glittering jewels, but the wives of the workers and their daughters often go ill-clad—often carry a life-burden of misery through the years of their motherhood; out of this stolen surplus the children of the Exploiters are environed in luxury and trained at Colleges and Universities, and "sent abroad," but the children of the Workers are often cradled in

poverty, in the midst of the plenty produced by the labor of their class, they know hardship and hunger, want and shame.

The Capitalist Class not only has assumed possession of the means of production, but it also controls the machinery of Government, and the laws it makes are made in the interests of its own class, and its act of administration are likewise done for the benefit of its own class and against the interests of the Working Class. This has been fully demonstrated in every industrial war between Capital and Labor, and particularly in the recent waterside war within the confines of this Constituency.

The International Socialists declare that this Class Struggle will continue while Capitalism rules; and they call on all voters who base their politics on sound working-class principles to join with the Socialist Party—the only Party capable of intelligibly voicing the demands of Labor—in capturing Darling Harbor in the name of the organized and conscious Working Class for Revolutionary Socialism, and in thus making the first great victorious move for the defeat of Capitalism in this State and the triumph of straight-out and uncompromising Working-class principles.

The International Socialists, while fully recognising the futility of palliative legislation by Capitalist Parliaments, will shape their attitude towards all palliative proposals strictly in accordance with Scientific Working Class Principles. They will uncompromisingly fight against the re-enactment of the **COMPULSORY ARBITRATION ACT**. In its place they will demand a **Maximum Working Day**

of Eight Hours (or less), with a provision that the Rate of Wages fixed by the Trade Unions concerned shall be the legalised Wage Rates. This would give to the organized workers the right to determine the selling price of their own laboring power—instead of having it determined by two members of the Capitalist Class, as under the present Arbitration Act.

They will also demand **INDUSTRIAL PENSIONS**, insuring to the Aged Workers, the Maimed, the Physically Incapable and Widowed Mothers of Families, a decent standard of living; a **DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM** of **LOCAL GOVERNMENT** on an Adult Qualification, to replace the present Local Government Act, which is based on a Plural-voting, Property Qualification; **FREE EDUCATION**, from the Primary School to the University, school requisites to be supplied by the State; **PROGRESSIVE LAND AND INCOME TAXES**, **MORE DRASTIC FACTORY LEGISLATION**, etc.

The International Socialist Candidate is

H. E. HOLLAND.

Because he stands for Straight-Working-class Principles, and recognizes that the Emancipation of Labor must be the work of Labor itself, the International Socialists urge you to record your votes for him on September 10, and to make the Darling Harbor battleground the scene of Labor's first great victory for Socialism in Australia.

Wage Labor and Capital.

What are Wages and How They are Determined.

By KARL MARX.

Now that we are acquainted with these general laws which govern wages just as much as the price of any other commodity, we can examine our subject more exactly.

"Capital consists of raw material, implements of labor, and all kinds of means of subsistence, which are used for the production of new implements and new means of subsistence. All these factors of capital are created by labor, are products of labor, are stored-up labor. Stored-up labor which settles as the means of new production is capital."

So say the economists.

What is a negro slave? A human creature of the black race. The one definition is just as valuable as the other.

A negro is a negro. In certain conditions he is transformed into a slave. A spinning-jenny is a machine for spinning cotton. Only in certain conditions is it transformed into capital. When torn away from these condi-

tions it is just as little capital as gold is money in the abstract, or sugar is the price of sugar. In the work of production men do not stand in relation to nature separately. They only produce when they work together in a certain way and mutually exchange their different kinds of energy. In order to produce they mutually enter upon certain relations and conditions, and it is only by means of these relations and conditions that their relation to nature is defined, and production becomes possible.

These social relations upon which the producers mutually enter, the terms upon which they exchange their energies and take their share in the collective act of production, will, of course, differ according to the character of the means of production. With the invention of firearms as implements of warfare the whole organization of the army was of necessity altered; and with the alteration in the relations through which individuals form an army, and are enabled to work together as an army, there was a simultaneous alteration in the relations of armies to one another.

Thus with the change in the social relations by means

which individuals produce, there is the social relations of production, and with the alteration and development of the material means of production the powers of production are also transformed. The relations of production collect only from these social relations which we call a society, and a society with definite features of material development is a society with an appropriate distinctive character. Ancient society, feudal society, bourgeois society, the members of this collective act of production, each of which represents an important step in the material development of mankind.

Now capital is a social relation of production. It is a bourgeois condition of production, a condition of production of a bourgeois society. Has not the means of subsistence, the implements of labor, and the raw material, of which capital consists, the means of definite social relations, were they not produced and stored up under certain conditions? Will they not be used for further production under certain social conditions? And is it not the bourgeois society characterized which transforms into capital that product which is used for further production?

Capital does not consist of means of subsistence, implements of labor, and raw material alone, nor only of material products; it consists just as much of exchange values. All the products of which it consists are commodities. Thus capital is not merely the sum of material products; it is a sum of commodities, of exchange values, of social quantities.

Capital remains unchanged if we substitute cotton for wool, rice for corn, the steamers for railway; provided only that the cotton, the rice, the steamers—the bodily form of capital—have the same exchange value, the same price as the wool, the corn, the railways; in which it formerly embodied itself. The bodily form of capital may change continually, while the capital itself undergoes not the slightest alteration.

But though all capital is a sum of commodities, that is, of exchange values, it is not every sum of commodities, of exchange values, that is capital.

Every sum of exchange values is an exchange value. For instance, a house worth a thousand pounds is an exchange value of a thousand pounds. A penny-worth of paper is the sum of the exchange values of a hundred-

hundredths of a penny. Products which may be mutually exchanged are commodities. The definite proportions in which they are exchangeable form their exchange value, or expressed in money, their price. The amount of these products can do nothing to alter their definition as being commodities, or as representing an exchange value, or as having a certain price. Whether a tree is large or small, it remains a tree. Whether we exchange iron for other wares in ounces or in hundredweights, that makes no difference in its character as a commodity possessing commercial value. According to its amount it is a commodity of more or less worth, with a higher or lower price.

Madrid Socialists have bought for themselves for £12,000 the palace of the Duke of Bejar, for the purpose of a People's House. The plan is to provide a home for the General Federation of Trade Unions and affiliated trade unions, for the Socialist schools and the Madrid Socialist Co-operative Society. There will also be a theatre to hold 4,000 people.

AUSTRIA.

It has recently been declared illegal that workers who had obtained temporary relief from public funds should have been disqualified to vote at the Parliamentary elections. Temporary relief for a man out of work does not, it was held, disqualify him from voting.

The Darling Harbor Fight

THE Darling Harbor campaign is becoming quite interesting.

The sitting member, Mr. Daley, sits in the shadow of a great dread. His middle-class politics have failed to stand the light of exposure, and the mask of Laborism having been torn from his political countenance, he stands aghast at the revolt of his constituency. The "S.M. Herald" credits him with having advised the electors that if they can't support him their votes should go to Mr. Whatmore—the Liberal and Reform candidate. If this is so, it adds further proof to the contention that Mr. Daley's interests are identical with those of the Master Class, and that he is as much the foe of the working-class movement as any of the others.

With the regrettable death of Ald. McIvor, a new feature is introduced into the campaign by the advent of Mr. John Norton as a candidate. Although claiming to have signed the Labor pledge (after having declaimed against it for many years), and although promising to do much to reconstruct the caucus, Mr. Nor-

ton is a much a man without a party as is Mr. Evan Jones or any other "independent," and—after long years in political life, with nothing more to show for it than any ordinary middle-class politician, Mr. Norton makes a rather late claim for working-class votes. He must tell the electors, just as Mr. Daley must tell them, what is there in his past Parliamentary record, or in the records of the various parties with which he has been associated, or with which he desires to be associated, to justify his appeal. His championship of Socialist principles made almost in the same breath with his inferential assertion that there is no hope of working-class emancipation from the thralldom of Capitalism and that the Socialists are a long way ahead of their time, suggests the Yes-No-isms of a "Reid the Wriggler," and lifts before the eye of a wearied constituency a Mosaic snake of mocking brassiness without any healing attributes in its composition whatever.

Mr. Whatmore—notwithstanding Mr. Daley's pleadings—is a hopeless quantity, because he stands as the mouthpiece of a Government that has brutally maladministered the laws of N.S.W. for its own class interests, and

that easily takes first place in the matter of bitter hatred towards the working-class. Indeed, Mr. Whatmore seems to base his claim for election more on the fact that he once rode a high-wheeled, cushion-tired bicycle from Adelaide to Port Darwin in 19 days; and the Darling Harbor electors are eminently satisfied that a person who would take on a job like that, apart even from the class nature of his politics, ought not really to have the responsibility of a high public position forced upon him.

Mr. Evan Jones was the Liberal and Reform candidate last election. This time he is running as "independent." Like Mr. Norton he has no party—he is a cloud without water; like Mr. Norton he is a wandering aspiring star to whom is reserved the blackness of (political) darkness for ever.

Let the Darling Harbor workers remember the failures and disappointments of the past. Let them remember that the emancipation of Labor must be the work of Labor itself—Labor, educated and class-conscious, organized on the uncompromising and scientific lines of Revolutionary Socialism. And, thus remembering, they will go solidly to the poll on September

10, and solidly they will record their votes for the candidate of International Socialism—the candidate of the only party that stands for the workers on both the industrial and the political field. A vote given for any of the other candidates—whether Mr. Norton or Mr. Daley, Mr. Jones or Whatmore—is a vote given for the perpetuation of Government by Capitalism—a vote for the further enslavement and debasement of the workers themselves.

Therefore, vote for Socialism! Vote down Capitalist Class corruption and maladministration! Vote down the candidates of political professionalism! Vote out the rule of Capitalism; vote in the Working Class, and hasten the birth of the Socialist Commonwealth.

The Compositors trade unions of the various countries [except England and U.S.A.] are to hold an International Congress in Paris. This takes place every three years, and the first took place in Paris in 1889. The countries affiliated are Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Hungary, Croatia, Servia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Italy, France, Luxembourg, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland.

The working class of all countries should rise against military oppression on the same grounds that they revolt against exploitation generally.

SOCIALISM & WAR

Nation to-day is set against nation in the interests of the capitalist class; but for the people national and class interests must disappear when the people recognise what is for the common good of the people.

When the capitalists of one country find it necessary for their interests they work up a "war," and appeal to patriotism and humanitarianism.

But so long as we have class interests we shall have national interests under our present conditions.

And the national differences will disappear when the workers meet on the common ground of Socialism.

The capitalist mode of production, with its war of all against all, its forcible oppression of the working class, is the real cause of war, and therefore under our conditions all appeals to humanity, to Governments, all our cries "Arms down," however honest, however kindly in intention, must be vain.

It is not by appeals to humanity but by obtaining political power that the working class can effectually protest against the horrors of war.

We denounce standing ar-

mies as a standing menace; these armies suck our blood.

They are an encouragement to all kinds of filibusterers, and therefore we will have none of them.

But to get rid of the great standing armies of to-day we must have an armed citizen force; we must demand arbitration, but—we are only in a transition stage—to make such arbitration possible, the workers must organise and obtain political power.

At the back of all national wars to-day is fear of the great class war, and to force back this class war the capitalist classes are arming to the teeth.

To end both the class war and the hideous wars that Governments threaten in order to stave off the final reckoning, we, the workers, must unite.

Our aims, our interests, are one; we must gain the political power now in the hands of our opponents, and having that power in their hands the workers will—as they alone can—make an end of the hideousness of war.

Socialism is the Workers' Hope. That is why the Capitalist Class hate and fear it. Vote for Socialism and down Capitalism.

H. Quelch (editor of London "Justice"), who was a delegate to the Socialist Conference at Stuttgart, was expelled from Germany for describing the Hague "Peace" Conference as a thieves' supper. On his return to London, he was met at the railway station by an immense crowd of people, who sang the "Red Flag."

Vote for Socialism and Working-class Principles.

We are compelled to hold over "Reminiscences," by F. Scusa; a translation from the Italian, by Val. Lolato; report of S.F.A. Executive meeting; and other matter.

On Thursday evening, the Socialist candidate for Darling Harbor addressed a large and enthusiastic meeting from the Alameda balcony. S. Sloane presided, and H. Scott-Bennett and B. J. Riordan also spoke. A number of other meetings have been held since last issue of the "Review," all of them being eminently satisfactory.

The "Review" regrets having to record the death of Ald. Geo. McIvor—one of the candidates for the Darling Harbor seat. He was suddenly taken ill on Sunday before last, and died on Saturday. Thousands of people attended the funeral on Sunday. Among the wreaths were one from the International Socialists and one from the Socialist candidate. At the election committee meeting a motion of sympathy with Mrs. McIvor was carried unanimously.

Campaign Notes.

Darling Harbor Election.

The General Executive has decided to open a Fund for the purpose of helping to make the fight for Darling Harbor most effective in an educational direction. This is the most important single-constituency fight that has yet been made for Socialism in N.S.W., and the Executive desires to flood the electorate with propagandist literature. Contributions should be forwarded to E. HILLYER, secretary, International Socialist Group, 274 Pitt-street, Sydney. The following amounts are acknowledged.

	£	s	d
Previously acknowledged	19	19	9
Collected by E. Boehm—E. Boehm 2/6, Harry Colbert 2/, Fisher Henry 1/, James Preston 1/, J. Jagers 1/, C. Dyer 1/, Con Clifford 1/, Mrs. Boehm 6d.		0	10 0
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	£26	6	1

Interested parties have circulated a statement to the effect that the Socialist candidate will retire from Darling Harbor in favor of a certain aspirant. Our answer is that there isn't enough money in Australia to induce the Socialist party to withdraw from any contest it enters upon; and Darling Harbor is going to be a fight to a finish—a fight on straight-out revolutionary working-class principles—against as many opponents as care to take the field.

Other Lands

RUSSIA.

The Executive of the Russian Social-Democratic Party have decided by a large majority to take part in the new elections for the Duma, despite the fact that the new suffrage law is most unfavorable to their chances. On the other hand, the Polish Socialist Party (Revolutionary Section) have determined on a strict boycott of these elections. Of course, it must be borne in mind that Poland and the non-Russian parts are put under special disadvantages, and obtain a representation which is of set purpose made much smaller than that accorded to Russian provinces—but the same may be said of the proletariat—they are practically excluded from representation.

UNITED STATES.

According to a note in the Milwaukee "Social-Democratic Herald," another daily Socialist paper will be launched in New York, where about half-a-dozen are now printed. The Russian Socialists recently held a conference and decided to establish a daily, as it is felt that the increasing immigration from Russia makes such a paper in that language absolutely indispensable.

BRITAIN.

A great victory for Socialism. That is how everybody, friend and foe alike, has regarded the result of the bye-election in the Colne Valley. And they are right. Victor Grayson fought for Socialism, straight, pure, uncompromising, revolutionary Socialism, without ambiguity, and without equivocation—and he won! That is the significant fact which has startled Liberals and Tories alike into terrified recognition of the growth of the Socialist movement, and of the further fact that the old party shibboleths are losing their hold on the people and that the working class are organising to use their political power for their complete class emancipation.

At every meeting Grayson addressed in the constituency, both before and during the contest, he boldly, almost defiantly, declared himself a uncompromising Socialist. The most active of his supporters were equally zealous in their efforts to make it clear that Grayson was not prepared to sacrifice the least particle of principle for the sake of expediency. To a man, his supporters were prepared with them to lose the election rather than lower the flag, or trim their sails to catch the breeze of half-hearted "Labor"

electors. Their unflinching policy was justified by the result.—"Justice."

JAPAN.

After the Socialist daily "Helmin Shimbun" was suppressed the Japanese Socialists had no press organ for about two months, but now a weekly paper with the title of "Shanghai Shimbun" appeared in Tokio, edited by comrades Katayama and Nisikawa, and another socialist paper is a semi-monthly with the title of "Osaka Helmin Shimbun," appeared in Osaka, edited by comrade Monichika. A great fire brand has been broken into two smaller pieces.

A few days ago a violent strike broke out at Bessi Coppermire in the western district of this country. The demand for an increase of wages being refused, the miners, numbering two or three thousand, suddenly revolted. They soon attacked the headquarters, and blew up many buildings with dynamite. The police were utterly powerless before the enraged workers.

SWITZERLAND.

Comrade Robert Seidel was elected President of the Municipal Council of Zurich. Seidel is well-known as a Socialist poet and an authority on education. He is a teacher by profession.

GERMANY.

"Vorwaerts" acknowledges the receipt of £6,350 on behalf of the party chest in June alone.

In Halle our comrades have almost completed a most gorgeous building in the midst of a fine park as a home for the Socialist and Labor organisations of Halle. The biggest hall in Halle, holding 3,000 people, will now belong to Socialists.

A new Landtag suffrage is announced for Saxony. Instead of the present three class suffrage (established in 1896) there is to be a new one by which half the members are to be elected by the municipal councils and half by manhood suffrage modified by a double vote for men with either more than £80 income or who have passed certain educational tests. The municipal elections are divided up in the most complicated manner; for instance, the five principal towns are to elect ten representatives in a common sitting. In the smaller districts it will be apparently carried out in the district council for the district. Highly instructive is the fact that the suffrage introduced not ten years ago for the express purpose of banishing the Socialists from the Chamber, and which has achieved that pur-

pose with great success, has now been abandoned by its very authors. To avoid the Socialists the bourgeoisie fell under the heel of the agrarians and these brought the State practically to bankruptcy, since on the one hand they demanded subsidies out of the public funds, on the other hand freedom from taxation. That became too much after a certain time. The present Bill attempts to modify the situation to the benefit of the bourgeoisie without making any real concessions to the workers, who are made to remain permanently in the minority. Naturally our friends are not going to accept such a half-and-half measure, and the Government will find that the same forces which have compelled them to offer this small instalment will force them the whole way.

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Evolution of Property.

The feudal obligations, aids, and fines became so excessive that the peasants commuted for them by ceding to the lords a portion of the common lands. These cessions of territory, greedily hunted after by the feudal lords, would appear, well-nigh all of them, to have been obtained by the aid of artifice; the nobles corrupted a certain number of villagers who managed to constitute in their own persons the general assembly of the commune that voted the cessions; hence we come across royal ordinances in France which specify that for a cession of territory to be valid it must be voted in an assembly of all the inhabitants of the Commune.

The robbers of the communal lands did not invariably employ Jesuitical means; they often plundered with open brutality. In the 16th century, a period when the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie were rapidly developing, the communal lands were coveted at one and the same time by the nobles and by the bourgeois speculators. The towns were enlarged to meet the new requirements, and agriculture increased its yield. The development of agriculture was the great object of the speculators; under the pretext of giving increased extension to the arable lands, they induced the King to grant them, by royal edict, the right of bringing under culture the waste lands; they hastened to include in the category of waste lands the communal territories, and proceeded to wrest them from the peasants, who took up arms in their defence, and to vanquish whos' resistance the speculators were compelled to appeal for aid to the armed force of the State.

The nobles had recourse to chicanery in order to win possession of the village territories; they pretended that the lands owned by the peasants did not correspond with their title deeds, which was perfectly true; they insisted on the verification of their claims, and confiscated what was held by imperfect titles for their own benefit. Upon occasion they proceeded after a revolutionary fashion; they destroyed the title deeds which they had got hold of, and so disabled the peasants from establishing their rights to the fields now left without an owner; whereupon in virtue of the feudal adage, "pas de terre sans seigneur," the nobles seized upon the peasants' territory. The "autos da fe" of pro-

proprietary titles, held by the peasants during the revolution of 1789, were in retaliation of the oppression of the peasant titles perpetrated by the nobility of the 16th century.

The forests were grabbed up more brutally: eschewing all legal formalities, the lords adjudged to themselves the ownership of the woods and underwood; they enclosed the forests and forbade hunting, and abolished the right of estovers; the right of taking wood for fuel and for the repairs of houses, fences, implements, etc. These encroachments of the nobles on the forest-lands, which were the common property of the village, gave rise to terrible revolts of the peasants. The "jacqueries" which broke out in the middle of the 14th century in the provinces of the North and the centre of France, were, in fact, occasioned by the pretensions of the nobles to forbid hunting and to interfere with the rights of common in the forests, and the enjoyment of the rivers. Similar conflicts arose in Germany, such as the famous revolt of the Saxons against the Emperor Henry II., and that of the Suabian peasants, who, in the time of Luther, took up arms against the lords who debarred them from the enjoyment of the forests. These peasant insurrections compelled the lords on several occasions to respect the ancient rights of common which consisted in the right—limited only by the peasant's wants—to take wood and brushwood for hedging, firing, and repairing his implements (hedge-bote, fire-bote, and plough-bote); and in the right of common pasture, or the right to send his cows, horses, swine, and in some cases his goats, to graze on the commons throughout the year, the month of May alone excepted. So firmly rooted were these rights that Lapoix de Fremenville declared, in 1760, that even in the event of their abuse by the peasants they could not be taken away from them: "for the right of usage is perpetual, and being so, it is accorded alike to the actual inhabitants and to those who may come after them; one cannot strip of an acquired right even those who are as yet unborn." But the revolutionary bourgeoisie of 1789 felt none of the feudal legis's respect for the peasants' rights, and abolished them for the benefit of the landed proprietor.

If the lords did, as a matter of fact, occasionally bow to the peasants' rights of common, they nevertheless constantly declared that these were enjoyed on sufferance only; for they looked upon

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The Class War.

themselves as the proprietors of the forests; just as in later times they came to pretend to the ownership of the vassals' lands. In the Middle Ages, when a free man, an allodial proprietor, "commended" himself to a lord, sought the protection, that is to say, of a powerful person, he presented him with a clod of turf, and vowed fealty and homage to him; yet he remained the master of his field. But in a number of provinces, e.g., in Brittany, the lord considered himself as the owner of the subsoil, while he recognised the peasants' rights to the "superficies," i.e., the crops, trees, buildings, etc. It is in virtue of such legal fictions that during the bourgeois period the nobles expropriated the peasants, descendants from the vassals, their ancestors. In Scotland, the robbery of the peasant property was perpetrated with such undisguised brutality as to arouse the public indignation. Karl Marx, in "Capital," has related how the pious Duchess of Sutherland dispossessed the peasants whose fathers had built up the glory and the grandeur of her house.

Until the bourgeois revolution of 1789 had established private property in land, the landed estates in France, including those of the nobility, were subjected to rights of common, which periodically binding until the beginning of the 18th century took from them the character of private property. Once the harvest was secured, the forests and arable land appropriated by the nobility became common property again, and the peasants were free to turn their cattle on them. The vines were liable to a similar usage. Francois de Neufchateau, in his "Agronomical Voyage," 1806, cites a Memoire, published in 1763, by the Societe d'Economie Rurale en Berne, in which it is complained that "after the vintage the vineyards are laid open to the sheen: who grass there as on common land." But not only were the landlords bound to permit the pasturing on their lands of the village cattle; they were moreover forbidden to cultivate the soil according to their own methods; they were constrained to conform to the council of the elders, and required permission for the planting of their vines. A permission of this kind was refused a few years before the French Revolution to Montesquieu, greatly to the scandal of the political economists. The proprietor was not allowed to leave his lands uncultivated; for a royal ordinance of Louis XIV., enacted in 1693, and which but consecrated an ancient usage, authorises,—in the

of the owner and cultivating the land himself, "any person to sow the same and to gather the fruits."

Landed property, under the feudal system, was anything but free; and only was it burdened with obligations, but it belonged to the family collectively; the owner could not dispose of it at pleasure; he was only the usufructuary possessor whose task was to transmit the estates to his descendants. The Church estates, likewise, bore this character; they were the property of the Church, the great Catholic family; the abbots, monks, and priests who occupied the lands were merely the administrators—the very faithless administrators—of them. In order to claim immunity from impost taxes, the French clergy, down to the time of the revolution, pretended that ecclesiastical possessions ought not to be considered as ordinary property; that it was nobody's property (*res nullius*), because it was sacred, religious property (*res sacrae, res religiosae*). The revolutionary bourgeoisie took them at their word; they declared that the clergy were not the proprietors of the ecclesiastical estates, which belonged to the Church. Now, the French word "ecclesia" whence is derived "église" (church), signifies the assembly, the reunion of all the faithful, which is the nation at large; whereas the estates of the Church are indeed property. By the help of such subtleties did the revolutionary bourgeoisie, like Henry VIII. of England, lay hands upon the Church property and distribute amongst themselves the estates which belonged to the poor.

It is these obligations of feudal property which the political economists and labor historians attack with special violence; obligations which were designs of the propertied (bourgeois) that secured a subsistence of subsistence to the peasants, and which they regarded as such as private property had an excluded feudal property.

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