

## TO THE SINGERS.

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Proud boast is yours ! no gold on earth  
As your gold harp rings half so true ;  
No prince is placed so high by birth  
That ye for him must service do.  
If ye his dateless death decree,  
No marbles keep his memory long ;  
The richest crimson men can see  
Is blood that ye pour forth in song.

O rise to realms of purer air,  
Ye singers, like the soaring lark :  
More ample freedom find ye there  
Than in the palace or the park.  
The love that lives in lowly cot  
May everywhere full well be found ;  
And when ye tie your true-love knot,  
Let not your love in chains be bound.

To serve the People be your pride,  
And lead them on to glorious fight ;  
When they lie wounded, at their side  
Keep watch and ward the livelong night.  
And if fair Freedom's banners reel,  
And foes in triumph flood the plain,  
Then strongly grasp the sharpened steel,  
Though all your harps be snapt in twain.





Comrade **BEN TILLETT**

*Seddy Dockers Union, Second visit to Australia,  
LONDON.*

*MAY 1907*

BEN TILLETT & TOM MANN, DOMAIN, SUNDAY.

## BEN TILLETT: SOCIALIST.

BEN TILLETT (who with Tom Mann this week comes to aid us in the Coal Lumpers' great struggle against the attempt of the Employers' Combine to wreck their union) was born at Bristol, Eng., in 1860, and spent his boyhood there, working in brickyards and shoe-shops for several years, and eventually starting a sea-faring life at 14 years of age. For three years he was with the merchant men, and for two years he was in the navy; then at 19 he settled in London as a workman, following the boot trade, and becoming a member of the Boot-makers' Union.

In time he drifted into the occupation of tea cooper, and in 1887 he helped to form the Tea Coopers and General Laborers' Union.

During 1886-8 Ben was particularly active in agitating against the brutal conditions surrounding the dock and wharf-workers of London. In 1888 (says the Vic. "Socialist"), the girls of Bryant and May's match factories in East London struck work and won better conditions, stimulating other sections to organise. In 1889 exceptional activity stowed itself in all kinds of working-class organisations.

The Gas workers were organised, and in May struck work, and secured a reduction of working hours from 12 to 8, and an increase of pay amounting to more for the eight hours than they had previously received for 12, and bringing about the employment of 1,000 additional men.

Ben Tillett, Burns, Will. Thorne

(now M.P.), and Tom Mann were the first to take definite action in this direction.

During the whole of this period Ben was also actively helping the Dock and Wharf Workers; and in August, 1889, came the great upheaval which originated in the South West India Dock. Some members of the Union, of which Ben was secretary, were working discharging the cargo of a vessel named Lady Armstrong. A dispute arose in connection with the amount due to the men, and the Dock Superintendent refused to rectify an admitted error, neither would the authorities at the Dock House. Result, a strike, and in one week 30,000 men were idle. As the vessels could not leave the Docks or River, and other vessels came in at the rate of several hundreds a day, another 10,000 sailors and firemen were added to the total out of work.

Tom Mann, John Burns, H. H. Champion, and others went to help in encouraging the whole of the Waterside Workers to make common cause, and they did, and 40,000 left work, and every week it lasted it knocked off thousands more who were directly connected with port work.

At the end of the second week 200,000 people were dependent on the funds of the strike committee—whose work was herculean and whose administration was admirable. And this was the test-time which brought to the surface the magnificent energy and sterling capabilities of our visitor.

At the end of five weeks the men won, and they were helped to win by the wealth of financial aid which was poured into their funds from Australia.

(Concluded on Page 14.)



## Week by Week

By H.E.H.

### The Trickery of a Class-Conscious Combine.

A NUMBER of coal lumpers have secured work on the Queensland sugar plantations, and on Saturday evening last the first batch to depart were given an enthusiastic send-off by their fellow-unionists, Mr. P. McDermott leading the crowd with the well-known Socialist chorus—

"When leisure and pleasure shall be free,

And hardship and hunger shall go—

When the worker has his place at the top of the tree,  
And the loafer is somewhere down below."

The enthusiasm displayed, and the splendid solidarity demonstrated, didn't please the Employers' Combine at all; and on Tuesday evening, when a second batch of unionists was booked to leave by the Aramac, they perpetrated one of the meanest and most callous tricks that they have yet been guilty of. Many of the wives and children of the departing men were on the wharf waiting to bid them good-bye, as were also hundreds of their fellow-unionists. The men were instructed to answer the roll-call at the Sugar Company's office at Pymont, and were given to understand that the launch would convey them from there to the boat at the wharf. But, instead of that being done, they were kept at Pymont until the last minute, and one gang left the launch, but were induced to return on a promise being given that they would

proceed to the Aramac immediately. As soon as all were again on board, the launch put off from the wharf, and headed down stream to await the steamer, while the departing men cursed the employers, and women and children shed the bitter tears of a farewell that was denied them by the cunning, lying tactics of their class rulers.

It is safe to say that the same kind of thing will not be permitted to happen again.

In spite of their absence, short farewell speeches were delivered by Messrs. McDermott, Holland, Roach, and Macey, and ringing cheers were given for the men, and also for the wives and children they are leaving behind.

### "Doing Some Coal Lumping."

A matter that needs looking into closely is the following. Friday's "Star" reported:—

"At the Quarter Sessions yesterday William Henry Gray, Herbert Gray, and Lillian Jane Gray, charged with abduction, were called, and did not respond. Mr. Jas. W. Abigail was in court, and he said he believed the accused intended to answer to their bail. He could not understand why they were not in attendance. The matter, however, was referred to the police for investigation.

"The case was again mentioned this morning, and Mr. Harris [Crown Prosecutor] mentioned that the two male accused were doing some coal lumping, and had to remain on board the ship for safety. [Laughter.]

"His Honor: They don't know the case was coming on, then.

"Mr. Harris: Yes. We know where they are now. They told Senior-constable Moore they would appear on Monday next.

"His Honor: Very well."

The extraordinary part of the case is that the apology for the failure of the accused to surrender to their bail was made by the Crown Prosecutor, instead of by their counsel, and that there was absolutely no mention, so far as the newspaper report shows, of their bail being estreated. A still more extraordinary thing (because of the special nature of the circumstances surrounding the absence of the accused) is the announcement contained in Tuesday's papers that the case has been put back till next term. Of course, the statement made to the Crown Prosecutor that it was not safe for the accused to leave the ship where they are employed as blacklegs is an absolute falsehood.

If the accused had been members of the Coal Lumpers' Vigilance Committee, and had failed to put in an appearance because of the existing trouble, would they have found the machinery of Law regulated to suit their convenience, and the case set back for a term when the victory of the Unionists would have ended the lock-out?

Or would they have found that Capitalism has one method for the blackleg and another for the Unionist?

Socialism will abolish the Class rule of Capitalism in the law courts, and it will also abolish the working-class blackleg, who is the tool of the Capitalists, in the field of industry.

The trades unionist who fights industrially against the class rule of Capitalism, to be logical, must fight politically against the same class rule. At the ballot box we can vote out the Class State of Capitalism; and we can vote in the Social-Democratic Republic.

## THE EVOLUTION OF PROPERTY.

By PAUL LAFARGUE.

### FAMILY OR CONSANGUINE COLLECTIVISM.

(Continued.)

PRIOR to the institution of collective property, the barbarian looked upon all the property belonging to the tribe as his own, and disposed of it accordingly; the Lacedæmonian, we have seen, had the right to enter private dwellings without any formalities and to take the food he required. The Lacedæmonians were, it is true, a comparatively civilised people, but their essentially warlike existence had enabled them to preserve their ancient usages. The travellers who have fallen victims to this propensity of the barbarian to appropriate everything within his reach, have described him as a thief; as if theft were compatible with a state of society in which private property is not as yet constituted. But as soon as collective property was established, the natural habit of appropriating what a man sees and covets, became a crime when practised at the expense of the private property of the family, and, in order to set a restraint upon this inveterate habit, it was



conditions of the printing-house where the municipal printing is done, and the fact that the work is done by blackleg labor, has induced the Corporation to consider the erection of a printing establishment of their own.

The Hotel Servants' Trade Union have agreed to join the General Federation of German Trade Unions.

The report of the party organisations for Berlin and environs shows the number of members to be 64,918, as against 41,700 in the previous year, 36,513 in 1904, 33,000 in 1903, and 29,000 in 1902. The receipts amounted last year to 235,931.17 marks (£11,796 11s.2d.). There was a reserve balance of £1449 9s 10d, and the expenses were £10,347 1s 8d. The Federation arranged 747 lectures in Berlin in the year, and 262 for the province Brandenburg, also 135 lectures for trade unions meetings in Berlin, or altogether 1144 lectures. 960,000 copies were distributed of one leaflet against the Prussian three-class suffrage; of another, against the artificial scarcity of meat, 1,000,000 copies were given away. A large number of mass meetings to protest were held on various occasions.

The following figures show how, in the Prussian Landtag, the parties are represented, and the votes they obtained:—

	Votes obtained at last elections.	Deputies returned.
Conservatives	324,157	143
Free Conservatives	47,975	59
National Liberals	556,220	79
Radical People's Party	73,245	25
Radical Union	16,735	8
Centre	251,958	97
Social Democracy	414,149	—

Among the deputies were 19 Landracte [high administrative

officials in local government], 10 high officials of various kinds, 10 clergymen, 21 lawyers, 5 doctors, 111 landlords, 50 farmers, 12 merchants, 5 small traders, 12 authors and editors, and not a single worker.

#### FRANCE.

M. Clemenceau has definitely declared that the school teachers and other civil servants cannot be admitted to the Bourse du Travail, since they do not, like ordinary workmen, fall under the law of supply and demand. He specially appeals to the school teachers to say whether they do not think that loyalty requires them to resign their positions before becoming allied to "an organisation the object of which is the destruction of the existing order of things." Arrangements are being made to victimise leading trade union civil servants.

A gigantic bakery strike threatened at both Paris and Marseilles. It is suggested by the capitalist press that the bakery employees may checkmate any plan for replacing their services by remaining at work and producing uneatable bread.

A strike of seamen in support of a minimum pension of 600 francs for the inscrits maritimes is projected.

#### FINLAND.

As would be expected from the figures already given, the complete returns of the Finnish elections show a remarkable Socialist triumph, no less than 80 of our comrades having been successful. The other representatives elected include 58 Old Finns, 25 Young Finns, 24 members of the Swedish People's Party, 11 Agrarians, and two Christian Workmen. 19 women have been returned, of whom nine are Social Democrats.

of her own family. The quantity of land distributed was generally proportionate to the number of males in the family; the father, with a view to the procuring of servants to cultivate it, married his sons while still in infancy to adult women, who became his concubines. Haxthausen relates that in Russia one could see tall and robust young women carrying their little husbands in their arms.

The worn-out phrase "The family is the pillar of the state," which modern moralists and politicians reiterate ad nauseam since it has ceased to be exact, was at one time an adequate expression of the truth. Where collective property exists, every village is a petty state, the government whereof is constituted by the council elected in the assembly of the family-chiefs, co-equals in rights and privileges. In India, where the collective form of property was highly developed, the village had its public officers, who were artisans (wheelwrights, tailors, weavers, etc.), schoolmasters, priests, and dancing women for public ceremonies; they were paid by the village community, and owed their services to the members having ancestral shares in the land, but not to stranger settlers. In the Greek republics the state maintained public prostitutes for the use of the males of the patrician families. Sir G. Campbell states, among other curious facts, that the smith and the artisans generally, were more highly remunerated in the Indian villages than the priest.

The head man of the village, elected for his ability, his learning, and powers as a sorcerer, is the administrator of the property of the community; he alone is privileged to carry on commerce with the exterior, that is, to sell the

surplus of the crops and cattle, and to buy such objects as are not manufactured in the village. As Haxthausen observes: "Commerce is only carried on wholesale, which is of great advantage to the peasant, who, left to himself, is often under the necessity of selling his products below their real value, and at unfavourable moments. As commerce is in the hands of the chief, the latter is able from his connections with the chiefs of the neighbouring villages to wait for a rise in prices, and take advantage of all favourable circumstances before concluding a sale." All those who are familiar with the deceptions practised upon peasants by merchants will appreciate the justness of the observation of Haxthausen. The French bourgeois, who pounced upon Algiers and Tunis as on a prey, expressed great moral indignation at being prevented from entering into communication with the Arabs individually, and obliged to treat with the chiefs of the community; they loudly and pathetically bewailed the unhappy lot of the wretched Arabs bereft of the liberty of allowing themselves to be fleeced by the European merchants!

(To be continued.)

The International Socialist Club Liedertafel will hold its sixth anniversary on Friday evening, June 28, at the Manchester Unity Hall, Castlereagh Street. Concert 8 till 10, dancing 10 till 2. Tickets: Gent's, 1/6; Lady's, 1/-; Double, 2/-.

Economic freedom can result only from collective ownership.

A Sample Copy of this Magazine is an invitation to subscribe.



# South Sea Islands

## SOME IMPRESSIONS.

By H.I.J.

(Continued.)

The natives are a lazy, happy-go-lucky people. Why should they be industrious when Nature supplies all their wants and industry, instead of helping them on, only goes to swell the profits of the white settlers? They live on their breadfruit, taro, yams, pigs, fowls, wild pigs, and pigeons, and inhabit healthy open native houses which they keep scrupulously clean. Wild pigeons are caught with nets, like butterfly nets in shape, at Aopo in Savaii, the trappers planting themselves in the treetops, and cooing to attract the pigeons.

The natives make excellent sailors, but are not so fond of the sea as the Niueway men, Rarotongans, Tongans, and Fijians.

The native landlaws are bad from our point of view. They are similar to those of the Moaries of N.Z. All land is owned by families. Each member of a family is a shareholder in the family estate. If a European buys a piece of land from a native chief, under the delusion that the sellers is the real owners, about 100 relatives turn up and demand payment. The buyer has to square the lot before he is allowed to fence or cultivate. Hence, if land is to be alienated at all, and the advent of immigrants is to be encouraged, the Government ought to buy or resume certain tracts to open up for settlement, or abolish the native land laws and collective family ownership altogether. Juster still it would be for the Govern-

ment to refuse to recognise private and family ownership altogether, and for the Government to control all lands in the interests of the natives, and lease for terms of 10 or 50 years the unused lands to white planters to grow rubber and cocoa.

Family ownership amongst the Samoans extends even to personal property. As no man can benefit from his work the tendency to idleness is enhanced, and the natives spend extravagantly any money they earn, so as not to have to divide it with their relatives on returning home. The right of a man to his earnings should be established, whilst the evils of modern civilization, like wage-slavery and private ownership of land, should be avoided. But neither the Government nor the missionaries have the courage or energy to cope with evils in the native social system, so they devote themselves to the task of introducing among the natives ALL THE EVILS and as few of the advantages as possible of our system.

German administration is unpopular with all classes. The natives dislike the Germans for many reasons, amongst which one might mention:—1. The annual poll tax. 2. The passport tax on natives wishing to travel. 3. The introduction of Chinese, whom the natives cordially detest. 4. The meanness of the German settlers in matters of money.

The German planters dislike the Government, because of the deference shown by the Administration to native land laws. The land laws make it almost impossible to get the use of land; further, native labor is very unreliable, and the planters want more Chinese, and Hindoo Coolies, too, (the latter being more subservient

than Chinese). The Government's just apathy towards these demands is a cause of grievance to the planters. Again, the natives who break their contracts with the white settlers suffer no punishment.

The German Firm is dissatisfied because the Government tolerates other planters and traders wishing to explore the islands for their own exploitation. The independent traders and planters complain that too much favor is shown to the natives and the German Firm. The missionaries seem to be dissatisfied with everybody except themselves, and nobody else can be said to have any excessive admiration for the missionaries.

The missionaries, on the whole, do not form a happy family, as there are already at least half a dozen sects represented, e.g., London Missionary Society, Catholic, Church of England, Baptist, Wesleyan, Mormon, etc., etc., who stir up sectarian bigotry and strife. They bring religion into contempt with the more intelligent natives, who change from church to church all they find out which one robs them the least. But they like church, being fond of meeting together and singing. Churches exist in surprising numbers—three or four in each village, and villages in many parts of the coast are only half a mile apart. A missionary [of the London Missionary Society] said to me, "These natives are good people; you have only to create new needs, and they set to work to satisfy them." The missionaries, we see from this, set out to create needs, to make people dissatisfied and unhappy, to make them slave to satisfy vain or imaginary needs, and to impoverish themselves for the church. The native virtues of hospitality, gene-

rosity to friend and foe alike, friendship, etc., have sensibly diminished through the advent of missionarydom, whilst many new vices have been introduced, partly hidden under the cloak of the monster vice avvocatus, itself an imported article.

Always beware of employing a boy who can jabber a few words of English. He has been at the missionary school, and, in most cases, is a cheat, liar, and cunning rogue, who will take you down. The boys who know no language but Samoan are the best—usually good and reliable.

The Protestant Missions, in Samoa, teach the natives reading, writing, arithmetic, praying, and psalm singing. These acquirements, excepting the two last, are soon forgotten on leaving school, but a certain quota of hypocrisy and deceit is acquired by going to the schools and retained through life.

Worst of the abuses under the cloak of religion, is the robbery which is known as "May Offerings." The missionaries have a kind of auction or competition in giving. Somebody, say A, gives 10 dollars to the church to start with, B gives 12, C gives 15, and finally the poor devil who comes last may give 50 or 100 dollars, getting himself into debt for years to pay this amount. Most of the money thus collected leaves Samoa to support Melanesian Missions. The system is one of downright robbery, playing on the innocence and generosity of the people. The natives grumble at having to pay £1 per annum poll tax, and yet they will go and pay ten times as much to the missionary without a murmur.

The only churches which do not practise these abuses, and which



endeavour to better the Samoans in a sane way, are the Mormon and Catholic. They make no exactions, and endeavour to teach useful industries. The Roman Catholic Church has obtained land in various places. On each property they have established a church and a school and a plantation. The young people are taught reading and writing, planting, making copra, washing clothes and mat-making and many other arts useful in life. The more intellectual are taught mathematics, French, German, English, and, if girls, music. I met a catholic chief at Rabapatu who spoke English and French fluently, as well as a little German. He also had a fine copra-plantation of seven acres, which he tended himself. Everything was taught to him by the French Catholic priest, Father Menel.

At the outbreak of the volcano in Savaii, during one night in 1905, the natives from the whole district rushed to Matano to the mission stations. The protestant missionary got out of bed and prayed all night with the terrified gathering, and pointed out that the "fire" was a sign of God, and by this means he made the natives more afraid than they were before. The Catholic priest was similarly besieged, but behaved differently. First he consoled the multitude; next he organised a relief party, and in the dead of night, in spite of his weight of seventy years, through the roadless jungle, he made for the violently active volcano to rescue the natives living near. The Catholic priest I found one day teaching some big Samoan boys the scientific causes of volcanic eruptions, and the distribution of volcanoes in Samoa. The Protestant missionaries teach their boys hymns to

the purport that the "fire" (volcano) is a punishment of God for the sins of their parents.

I quote these facts and leave my readers to judge. As I am neither Protestant nor Catholic, but classed by my enemies as an Atheist, by my friends as an Agnostic, and by myself as an Esoteric Buddhist, I can claim to be an impartial judge of the South Sea missions.

Honesty and hospitality are the old national virtues of the Samoans, virtues which are still found extant in all the outlying places, but rapidly vanishing where the white man's civilization is dominant.

(To be continued.)

## Other Lands

### SWITZERLAND

Two workers in Canton Vaud achieved success with the general strike proclaimed in consequence of the hostile action of the Government, who called out the militia and shot the men on strike at a chocolate factory. The general strike induced the Government to reconsider their position, and they offered their services again, with the consequence that the men were freed of their demands.

### BELGIUM

Some big labor troubles are expected to happen soon. In several important industrial centres the workmen have struck. In Alost a great spinning factory closed on a general lock-out of its men, who had asked for increased wages, and some 2,000 workmen are now out. In Antwerp a general strike of numerous fine iron-works at Malines the joiners have struck. In the glass factories of the Hainaut an announced for May 1, and finally some partial strikes of colliers are also expected.

### GERMANY

In Franconia-in-Maine the arrest of the Socialists against the

found necessary to have recourse to moral and physical punishment; justice and our various criminal codes followed in the wake of collective property and are an outgrowth of it.

Collective property, if not the sole cause, was at all events, the pre-eminent cause of the overthrow of the matriarchate by the patriarchate. The fate of the patriarchal family is intimately bound up with the collective form of property: the latter becomes the essential condition of its maintenance, and, so soon as it begins to break up, the patriarchal family is like-wise disintegrated and superseded by the modern family; a sorry remnant, destined, ere long, to disappear.

Ancient society recognised the necessity of the integrity of collective property for the maintenance of the family. At Athens the State watched over its proper administration; anybody being entitled to demand the indictment of the head of a family who misadministered his goods. The collective property did not belong to the father, nor even to the individual members of the family, but to the family considered as a collective entity which is perpetual, and continues from generation to generation. The property belonged

to the family in the past, present, and future; to the ancestors who had their altars and their tombs in it; to the living members who were only usufructuaries, charged with continuing the family traditions, and with nursing the property in order to hand it down to their descendants.

The chief of the family, who might be the father, the eldest brother, the younger brother, or, on occasions, the mother, was the administrator of the estate; it was his duty to attend to the wants of the individuals who composed the collectivity; to see that the lands were properly cultivated and the house kept in order, so that he might transmit the patrimony to his successor in the same state of prosperity in which he had received it at the death of his predecessor. To enable him to fulfil his mission the head of the family was armed with despotic power; he was judge and executioner; he judged, condemned, and inflicted bodily punishment on the members of the family under his control; his authority stretched so far as to empower him to sell his children into slavery, and to inflict the pain of death on all his subordinates, including his wife, although she enjoyed the protection, sufficiently precarious, it is true,



# Empire Day!

By W. H. BARNETT.

Business Day was celebrated in Melbourne in a fitting way. It was celebrated by continuous profit-earning. There was no stopping of business. Uninterrupted business was the order of the day, but there were interesting things and banners were displayed all over the city. And it was all quite proper.

It was the business firms which put out the cheap enjoyment tags, which was very fitting. The firm which displayed the greater number of tags was the Metropolitan Railway Co. Every shop had got out several patriotic flags in it, fluttering throughout the day in the summer breeze. Very fitting! Very fitting, by reason of their activities. Very fitting, too, by reason of their treatment of their employees and also their treatment of the public. They ought indeed to fly flags; the liberties they are allowed are well worth it.

That so be it, too, with most of the business community. They have chosen to enjoy greatly at the wholesale markets which are kindly allowed them by the non-business members of the British Empire. There are large firms here in "mercantile Melbourne" which pay young women 6/- a week for ordinary work. And there is no hope of any greater pay for any of these "hairs" for when the pay becomes too small to attract their services, the particular attention becomes too small to hold them as well as the "new hands."

This magnificent pay is easily "passed on" by simple arith-

metic and resolved into a little less than 6/- for half a day. In which period of working time on the average I suppose I am perfectly safe in saying there is tucked out by the six-hour worker a hat which fetches anything from 2/- to 3/-? Please, please! Are worth it, eh?

Let it not be overlooked that those who have got their noses and heads and backs are being and made of 1907. And it makes no difference whether they are employed and in the annual struggle, or whether they are the privileged few—such as the "British Legion" the "Business Boys" or the "Imperial Boys" or even that variety the "Great American Export Boys"—and in addition, if they are heads of boys; and the national land are contributions to 1907.

Mr. Deakin says:—"At the present time we are suffering by distress from which the standard of business—the backbone of a civilisation—is being crushed. We are only now beginning to see it at the height of its own death—human, animal, and civilising!" How's that, human, for empire then?

About the fact of it, "empire" I think was done in South Africa. A very nice empire, too, and a fitting description of a civilisation, was there? "Human barbarism" something out and the same old game of "civilising" and of "humanising" and "humanising" and "humanising" and "civilising" in the abstract, with the abstractly available power of capital, and now occasionally "civilising" with the "civilising" and "humanising" and with "humanising" from Australia and then (the strength of it) and out of work too!

How human, too, and civilising, and civilising is the "civilising empire" under the very best of

conditions. In 1906 there were only 100,000 deaths of "death from starvation" in London, but in 1907 there were 42. I see by the paper that 800,000 school children in London were to salute the flag. I wonder if they included the 12,000 who go to school without breakfast and nearly without clothes?

Let us suppose that such a subject merely indicates an "improvement" on the contrary, the more "humanised" the unemployed masses and the more distress and hopeless the proletariat, the more certain is it that industrial development has turned the workers into detritus. Even during times and periods of depression the accumulation of wealth does not decrease, those countries which seem to suffer most from these disturbances show, from decade to decade, the greatest increase in wealth and material prosperity! (See "Financial Causes," pp. 1 and 2 and 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.)

What matters it, anyhow, who suffers many go under—who slaves and who is so long as the Empire is there as the "backbone" of the good things of this world—home industry and liberty and "Trade for the traders; industry by the industrious for themselves; and liberty also!" for the masses. Human! (Human! War, War!

Human supplies" wholesale capitalism, "human" implies the word, "Civilising" implies the word, "The best" implies the thing best. The serious question for the Socialist and the "civilising" is: What will "Empire" be the ordinary daily? or will it be "civilising" in the industry of

for any of the casually and permanently unemployed?

What does Mr. Deakin mean, anyhow by being there, and by and the bereaved by starvation, that the "emerging empire" is human, ethical, and civilising? It might as well tell us that the machine-made unemployed the harder and harder struggle for existence, the keener and keener cut-throat competition, the increasing number of suicides, the general imperial spirit of "devil take the hindmost," the business oligarchy, the Capitalistic juggernaut, and the stinking Melbourne Jail, are all "humanising" and "ethical" and "civilising!"

"British Empire! Noble, glorious, Empire!" What not? What "old, barbarous, despotic" and

## Capitalism's Cast-offs.

Under this heading, "Justice" organ of the British Socialists, refers to the English blacklegs recruited from Glasgow who, how they have done the dirty work for which they were engaged are cast off by those who employed them with the same contemptuous indifference with which one throws aside a worn-out shoe. Brought back from the scene of their shame, all exiles, those who had gone from London were cast forth in Grimby with no means of getting home except what was subscribed by charitable people who piled their nation's condition. It is a very old story; but its lesson never seems to be learnt. The capitalists have nothing but contempt and leaving for the heap of whom they make use as blacklegs to defile other workmen. They are never dirt to be swept aside when their dirty work is done!

...civilising in the industry of



## BEN TILLET, SOCIALIST.

(Continued from page 3.)

And Ben Tillet, as their trusted executive officer, comes to us to-day to pay back—with voice and influence, with class-conscious message and call for similar solidarity of action—a portion of the debt which he and his comrades reckon they owe to working-class Australia.

He comes to us with shattered health and physically wrecked, but he brings a record as one of the pioneer fighters in the political field for Revolutionary Socialism, and as a member of the great British Socialist movement, the Social-Democratic Federation.

And in the name of every honest International Revolutionary Socialist in Australia, the "Review" welcomes him to "Sunny" New South Wales, where the clouds of capitalistic brutality hang like a funeral pall over hundreds of working-class lives and homes.

And Ben's valiant comrade-in-arms, Tom Mann, we also heartily welcome.

May their coming call into volcanic activity the smouldering fires of the Social Revolution, and the law-protected criminality of the Waterside Combine and all the forces of Australian Capitalism be swept by the flames of its honesty like dead grass on the plain before an Australian bush fire.

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A minority is powerless while it conforms to the majority; it is not even a minority then, but it is irresistible when it clogs by its whole weight.—Thoreau.

A special article on "The Kelly Case" is crowded out of this issue. Next week.

First economic class in connection with the International Socialist Group will be held at 274 Pitt-street on Wednesday evening next, when Marx's "Wage Labor and Capital" will be studied.

Two classes stand face to face: the one class, without working, see riches accumulate in their hands, because they hold the means of production; the second can only eat, bring up their children, or live, in proportion as the others may have need of their work; and as the machine, ever supplanting muscle, enables women and children to do the work formerly done by men, you have become a witness to that crime of crimes which is the crowning mark of the nineteenth century and its pretended civilisation, where woman is dragged from her fireside, the mother torn from her child, and the wife from her husband, in order to become the tender of a machine.—Jules Guesde.

From the commercial as from the industrial point of view, we see the growth of class distinctions from the evolution of a capitalist society: on the one hand, large shops, the property of shareholders and limited liability companies; on the other hand, quite a world of men and women employed for a mouthful of bread, only when their arms or brains are needed.—Jules Guesde.

You have already a financial Collectivism, the Collectivism of a class; we ask you to substitute a social Collectivism, a property common to the whole of society, to all humanity.

## IN DAYS OF OLD.

INDIVIDUAL property is represented to us by the past as the guarantee of individual liberty and the most powerful stimulant to production, because the man who worked the field which belonged to him, he who wielded the tool which he owned, he who distributed commodities in his own shop, were all interested in making the best possible use of the instrument of production or distribution which they possessed and personally wielded. This state of things was for some centuries the protection of humanity, and gave men the maximum of liberty at that time possible; but are we responsible for its disappearance. No; the change is due to economic phenomena. On the day when the machine worked by steam supplanted the hand-tool wielded by its owner, private property was displaced by another form of

property with which, though the two forms are totally distinct, your economists habitually confound it. Capitalist property established itself upon the ruins of private property.

The private property of the hand-loom worker has been suppressed by capitalist property in mechanical weaving works; the private property of the hand-spinner has been replaced by capitalist property in steam spinning mills; the little forge of former days has given way to the great capitalist furnaces of present times. Wherein lies the distinction

between capitalist property and private property? The difference is here: that capitalist property does not belong to those who give it value, it is monopolised in a steadily-growing degree by the non-workers.—Jules Guesde.

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Biographical Sketch, Tom Mann, next issue.

Great Domain Demonstration, Sunday



TOM MANN.



## The Wage-Laborer

From Karl Marx's "Wage Labor and Capital."

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 an 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 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 pulley that he builds, nor the gold that he digs from out the mine. What he produces for himself is his wage; and silk, gold, and pulley are transformed for him into a certain quantity of means of existence—a cotton shirt,

some copper coins, and a hole in a cellar. And what of the laborer, who for twelve hours weaves, spins, hoes, farms, builds, shovels, breaks stones, carries loads, and so on? Does his twelve hours' weaving, spinning, hoeing, tanning, building, shoveling, and stone-breaking represent the active expression of his life? On the contrary, life begins for him exactly when his activity ceases—at his meals, on the public-house bench, in his bed. His twelve hours' work has no meaning for him as weaving, spinning, hoeing, 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.

Over a month ago Tom Mann was fined £2 for having told a constable (who held out an inducement to him to break the law) some wholesome truths. The fine has not been paid, and the authorities can't find anything in Melbourne belonging to Tom Mann to distress upon, so they have now summoned him to show cause why a warrant for his commitment should not issue.

## THERE SOUNDS A CALL

Tune—"Watch on the Rhine."

There sounds a call from land to land—  
Ye poor give one another hand!  
Then bid a halt to tyranny,  
And from your slavish yoke break free!

Chorus—

The battle cry low collect ye,  
The battle cry low collect ye,  
The banner red dash forth on high;  
So striving live, or fighting die.

We wish for freedom, peace, our right  
That no one share in other's might,  
That all mankind to work be bound,  
That bread for each be somewhere found.

You bring to others goods and gold,  
Yet naught for self can ever hold,  
Man scornful laughs you in the face,  
And seareth not the judgment place.

Then up, then up, courageous band,  
The storm breaks loose upon the land,  
A shout from thousand throats assis,  
And high to heaven are clenched our fists.



## The Lock-out.

Visit of Tom Mann and Ben Tillett.

Never in the history of the New South Wales working-class movement has an industrial fight evolved such a complete revolution in the thoughts and politics of the industrial workers as has been evolved by the lock-out of the coal lumpers. And this revolution has been wrought as a direct result of the educational work of the International Socialists, amplified by the splendid efforts of Tom Mann and Ben Tillett.

Never before has the case of the workers in an industrial conflict been so clearly stated from the viewpoint of the Socialist who recognises that all industrial fights are but phases of the great class war. Once only—when the great battle for the Tailresses was fought—was a similar fight previously put up. That fight, however, was made by individual Socialists. In the present struggle, the whole International Socialist movement is taking part—numerically the strongest Socialist body in N.S.W., and the only N.S.W. body affiliated with the International Socialist Bureau at Brussels. It is,

this, the World's Socialist movement that in this fight stands side by side with the locked-out coal lumpers, and it is fitting that this should be so, for the revolutionary Socialist alone understands the economic basis of Capitalist Society and the causes which generate the Class Struggle.

And the success which has followed hard upon the joint efforts of the Coal Lumpers and the Socialists has been magnificent—especially the success attending the campaign of Tom Mann and Ben Tillett.

When Tom Mann stepped from the Intamincka on Thursday of last week, a vast crowd greeted him with ringing cheers, not so much because he was Tom Mann, as that his coming brought yet another Socialist to fight on the side of right.

At the International Socialist Club, the visitor was warmly welcomed by the Coal Lumpers Executive, the Socialists, and others.

The Protestant Hall on Thursday night was packed from the floor to the ceiling. Hundreds stood. Hundreds went away—there wasn't room for them, and the meeting was the most perfectly enthusiastic

that has ever been held in Sydney under Socialist auspices.

President Macey of the Coal Lumpers' Union presided; and Tom Mann's speech—honest, fiery, vigorous, earnest, convincing—was something to be remembered. He spoke as only a class-conscious man can speak. And Tom Mann is more than class-conscious; his record of long years of unwavering fidelity to the workers in their struggle for freedom needs no recounting. The audience cheered and cheered and cheered again until the hall vibrated with the thunder of its acclaim.

Our fighting comrade received a great ovation as he sat down, and Arthur Rae (of the Australian Workers' Union) moved the principal resolution endorsing the action and methods of the Sydney Coal Lumpers' Union, and pledging them all possible financial and moral support. This was seconded by H. E. Holland, and carried unanimously, and a vote of thanks for the chairman, and hearty, ringing cheers for the coal lumpers, for their wives and children, and for Revolutionary Socialism, brought to a close one of the largest and most successful meetings ever held in Sydney. Of course, the daily papers printed limited and by-

ing reports as usual; we didn't expect they would do anything else.

On Friday Ben Tillett arrived by train. At the station he was met by the locked-out lumpers and many unionist and Socialists, and there was much hand-shaking and cheering. Outside the station the coal lumpers' president and the "Review" editor briefly welcomed Ben to Sydney on behalf of the unionists and socialists respectively. A procession from the railway to the International Socialist Club made Sydney wonder what had happened. The Club hall was packed to suffocation, and a brief but splendidly-enthusiastic welcome was held. Of course, Tom Mann was there too.

Friday night was set apart for a Trades-hall meeting for unionists only. The hall engaged couldn't hold the crowd—and an overflow meeting was held in the large social hall, which was packed until every available seat was occupied, and scores had to content themselves with standing room only. In each meeting the unionists enthusiastically proclaimed their unanimous approval of the actions and methods of the locked-out coal lumpers, and their determination to render all possible moral and financial assistance.



And, for the first time in the history of Sydney trades unionism, the Trades Hall rang with the shouting of trades unionists for "Revolutionary Socialism!"

At Newtown on Saturday night, the largest out-door meeting ever held in that suburb took place, the speakers occupying the Town Hall balcony. The resolution in favor of the Coal Lumpers was carried unanimously.

On Sunday morning it rained in torrents. By 1 o'clock, however, the rain had eased off, but the streets were wet and sloppy. The weather was against the coal lumpers. So was the Lord Mayor—and so was the Inspector-General of Police. These both decreed that the coal lumpers must not have a procession. Other processions on the same day were not objected to. The coal lumpers didn't have a procession. With friends and sympathisers, wives and children, Unionists and Socialists, they just "walked"—four to six deep, and 2,500 strong—to the Domain, via the Trades Hall and Liverpool and College streets. The "Daily Telegraph" couldn't help flinging yet another lie abroad concerning the procession. "Only 600, including men, women and children," said the editor.

In the Domain there was

no room for any other meeting. The crowd was there to hear to the Coal Lumpers' case stated, by our visiting comrades, and they made a crowd that must have counted up quite 10,000 people. Fully 2,000 people were present, announced the fraudulently religious, prearranging "S.M. Herald," proprietary.

The motion in favor of the Lumpers was moved by H. E. Holland, and seconded by E. Hillier.

Ben Tillet and Tom Mann were both in good form, and the lessons of the class war were lucidly and effectively dealt with.

The crowd continued to grow until the last word had been said.

The resolution was carried; there were cheers for the Lumpers, for the women and children, and for Socialism. Everywhere in the crowd the red badge of International Socialism was conspicuous, and over 500 copies of the "Review" were sold.

On Sunday night, the Institute at Millers Point was packed with an audience of 1,500 people. The speeches were very short. Tillet, Mann, Bamford, and Holland were the speakers, and there was a lengthy and creditable programme of musical items.

On Monday night a Concert

and Social was organised for the women and children, and the vast crowd that surged into the Institute rendered the carrying out of the programme a most difficult matter.

On Wednesday, a Redfern meeting unanimously endorsed the resolution carried at previous meetings in favor of the locked-out workers, and this was repeated in the Balmain Town Hall on Thursday evening.

This (Saturday) evening, a meeting is to be held at Leichhardt, and Sunday afternoon is to witness another huge demonstration in the Domain, and another Sunday night gathering at the Point.

A delegation, consisting of Beyton, Butler, and Holland, proceeds to Newcastle to-day to voice the Coal Lumpers' Case. They will address a big meeting in Hunter-street this evening, and on Sunday morning will meet union officials at the Trades Hall. In the afternoon they will have a monster meeting on Islington Reserve, and another at Wallsend at night.

On Monday our visitors will leave for Melbourne, and our delegates will follow them on Thursday next, to take part in the Inter-State Conference, from which is to spring the United Socialist Party of Australia, with healing in its wings

for the wealth-makers who sit in the shades of the curse that grows from Capitalism.

A somewhat startling instance of the share of the "prosperity" enjoyed by the wage slaves of this State was furnished in the Industrial Court last week. Starch makers, employed by the pious firm of Robert Harper & Co., in giving evidence before the above Court, stated that the average wages paid amounted to 80/- for a week of 54 hours! Wet feet and wringing wet clothes at one portion of the day's work, then a rush into an extremely hot portion of the factory to perform the work of "cutting-out," back again "in a lather of sweat" to work upon a wet floor impregnated with caustic soda! Such in brief appear to be the conditions under which these workers labor for a wage the smallness of which forbids the use of milk in their tea and the purchase of a daily paper! Prosperity! Of course there is prosperity—for those living off the labors of others!—"The Socialist."

One thousand one hundred and sixty-nine persons were killed and 7,104 injured on British railways last year.



# South Sea Islands

## SOME IMPRESSIONS.

By H. L.

THE Kingdom of Tonga is an Archipelago consisting of seven hundred islands, most of which are of coralline origin, but some are active or intermittently active volcanoes (like Popou, Nisou, Fytsavai, etc.) Earthquakes are frequent.

The people are allied in race and language to the Samoans, but are much finer in both physique and intellect. They are the finest navigators of the Pacific, and some centuries ago conquered both Fiji and Samoa, where they constructed roads which still exist to-day. They are fairly industrious and, unlike the Samoans, they cover the upper part of the body, instead of being satisfied with a loincloth. This is partly due to climatic circumstances, Tonga being much cooler than Samoa. The climate is very pleasant. The inhabited islands are mostly lowlying. The people live in houses which are rectangular in shape, like those of Fiji, not round like the Samoans. They have also closed mating walls to their dwellings instead of the open houses of Samoa.

The occupations of the peo-

ple are much the same as in Samoa, though the Tongans rank also as great boat builders, great horsebreeders and good sailors and fishermen. The foods eaten and the customs are much the same as in Samoa. There is no private ownership in anything. Personal property belongs to the family; the land is tribal property under the administration of the chief or a government official. Everyone who wishes to till the soil can get a plot to cultivate.

The Tongans welcome European settlers, but not other aliens. Even Europeans must pay a deposit to the government before being allowed to land.

Everybody seems thriving and contented in this little kingdom, white men and natives alike.

King George of Tonga is a partly native who is very fond of eating roast dog and drinking "kava." He has three nice palaces, one in each of the main towns of Nukunofu, Fonoa and Vavau. His Prime Minister, Home Secretary, Minister of Police, and other prominent officials are singularly capable natives. His Minister of Finance, Attorney-General and Post-Master General are British-Australians.

THE EDITOR.

# An Open Page.

## A Reply to Mr. Watson.

**SUMMARY**  
The Parliamentary system, caused by the death of our party, put by Molokachur as candidate for the constituency. Contrary Molokachur, who a year or two back was elected an extra member of the party executive in Berlin, is well known and very popular member of the party. He was editor-in-chief of our Hamburg party organ, one of the best edited and most widely circulated of our party press. When the election took place Molokachur won with a majority greater by 300 votes than that polled by Auer last elec-

tion. From Moss Vale, N. S. W. Hall writes in reply to Mr. James Watson's recent "Open Page" contribution on Socialist organization. Since pressure compels me to cut down my friend's letter, the main points of which are, however, presented below, and with which we cheerfully agree. Our correspondent complains of the lack of definiteness which characterizes Mr. Watson's letter, and says:— "However desirable the unity of the working class forces may be, the basis of that unity, if it is to accomplish that at which it must necessarily aim, must be on clear and distinct class conscious lines, and that can never be attained by the tolerate anything or anybody policy which Mr. Watson advocates. I believe that to teach the principles of revolutionary Socialism unadulterated with the petty co-operative schemes under Capitalism favored by Mr. Watson will do more in the way of solid education and preparation for the ultimate organization which must spring into existence in due time as the result of such Socialist propaganda. The work of the Socialist is not to tender of the so-called un-intelligent creations of the workers, which all political parties to-day eagerly are but to get underneath them, and sow the seed, which must without nature's assistance them by decreasing Socialism."

**CANADA**  
The Windsor coal miners at Cape West and Bow River Passes in Western Canada recently left work without the slightest warning, which, indeed, it appears, was not at all expected by the new British and Dominion governments. But it appears that no strike order was issued, and so the authorities are puzzled, unless they are becoming from the East the "Orange" thing, and really are. The Dominion Government are thinking that rights are being raised. The Wholesale Board of Trade wishes to reduce Chinese duties.

Recently the Cery cabinet went on strike owing to the blacking ordered by the police. The Ministry of the Exterior acceded to the majority of the men's demands. Two days later the carriers threatened to strike, and attacks were made on criminals by parties of rangers, and the Ministry again made concessions. The police of good behavior by the strikers. The British Canadian border marched out to overtake the new day.

The International Socialist Group funds for Revolutionary Socialism. There's room in its ranks for you.



## Ignaz Auer.

By H. DEERKS.

FROM Germany comes the news of the death of Ignaz Auer, Social-Democratic member of the Reichstag and Secretary of the Party for nearly 30 years.

Born on the 19th April, 1846, in a small city in Bavaria, he received his first education at the public schools of his country. He learned the trade of a saddler, and after completing his apprenticeship in 1868, travelled through Germany and Austria.

His activity in the Party started at an early age, for in 1866 we find him, at the age of 23, addressing large meetings during the first campaign. In 1872 he became chairman of the Federated Saddlers' Unions of Germany, a federation which was largely due to his efforts and ability of organisation. In 1874 he was called to Hamburg to take the Secretaryship of the Party, which position he held till 1877, when he took the joint-editorship with Johann Meier of the Berlin "Freie Presse." It was in this position that Auer went through the most trying times of the Party. The attentates on the old emperor William, which were hung on to the party, gave rise to the Anti-Socialist Law and were the cause of countless prosecutions. About 20 of his colleagues, who signed as responsible, were taken from his side and condemned to terms of imprisonment, but by his sagacity and tact, backed up by a keen knowledge of human nature and clever diplomacy, he steered the ship of the Party clear of all the rocks that were at that time threatening to wreck it. Bismarck and his minions had determined

to smash the Party, and Auer was exiled during the state of siege declared against Berlin and surrounding districts. He went to his wife's mother's place, where for four years he eked out a subsistence by doing repairs in a second-hand shop kept by her. When the state of siege was lifted, he was again called to his post as Secretary of the Party, which position he held to the time of his death on April 10, 1907. He was a member of the Reichstag for 22 years, and was recognised as one of its best debaters, appreciated by friend and foe for his fairness, backed by knowledge, a high intellect, and a keen sense of wit, almost satire, which he would let loose on friend and foe alike.

His position as Secretary of the Party was one where the limelight was not always on him, but the workers of Germany know what they have lost in him, and he was accorded the largest funeral that ever was accorded to any man in Berlin. All the German Unions, Socialist Organisations, the English and all other European Socialist Parties, sent delegations and wreaths or floral tributes, the whole of the latter amounting to over seven hundred. A procession, which took over four hours to pass a given point, followed our dead comrade to the grave. It was even a larger concourse than that which followed when we gave our old veteran, W. Liebknecht, to the grave, and it stands for a sign of the growth of the movement in Germany.

Great demonstration in Sydney Domain to-morrow (Sunday) afternoon.

## The Coming Conference.

By T.A.

It is only a few days hence when the different Socialist Groups of Australia will meet in conference in Melbourne.

A laborious, but also a thankless task is theirs—the creation of a united Socialist organisation for Australia.

It can hardly be expected that this unity, so vital to the interests of the working-class, will eventuate without a clashing of opinions. The existing contrasts, even if only of a purely tactical nature, between these individual groups, which have their starting point in the sectionarily limited form of organisation, will probably rebound against one another like to electrical forces. But we expect from the loyalty that springs from conviction, the insight and unselfishness of the delegates, that this though necessary war of opinion, will not overstep the limits of fact, and may find its successful conclusion in the realisation of the thought of unity.

The greatest part of the time at disposal of conference, and the greatest amount of consideration will have to be given to the deliberation on

the timely and most important tactics to be pursued; the centre of this deliberation, thought, will be most probably our position towards parliamentary action.

It would be most desirable, that in future, before any such conference the editors of the Socialist press (so far as they exist) should introduce a discussion on the most important questions to be dealt with at the conference, whereby members of the different organisations would be enabled to form on the basis of existent material an independent opinion.

This method, which would at the same time be a means of education, would raise considerably the interest of the members in these conferences, and would most favorably influence the question of delegation and the choice of delegates.

The delegate then becomes more the interpreter of the will of the whole, and will not appear as the know-all, and consequently the accentuator of purely personal views.

I here refer to the question of the consideration of a Socialist if he stands behind another than his own programme.

Even some of the most influential Socialists will give very ridiculous (reasonable grounds there are none) ex-



cuses for the above tactics. My intention is not to question whether any personal view springs from the "good faith in the cause" of these comrades. The deciding point for me is, in this case, whether the phase of tactics is of moment in the furtherance of Socialist ideas, whether it will educate the workers up to class-consciousness and here is where I doubt.

It is impossible to, at the one time, will the latter and defend the tactics referred to without getting into the most pronounced contradictions.

These comrades say for instance: "It is unreasonable to accuse the representatives of the Labor Party of inability, of lukewarmness, or even to expect of them serious work in the direction of the re-organisation of Society; this will only remain a pious wish as long as the workers do not recognise their most powerful weapon—the exercise of the ballot, and so obtain a majority in Parliament."

But, at the same time, it is childish to always twit the workers with their want of class-consciousness. Whining and crying will not do away with this evil, but a continual, never-ceasing propaganda, carrying with it the true spirit of Socialism will create a proletariat, conscious of its class

position, and it is only this proletariat that is able to fight its economic and political battles successfully.

But it is just here where our weakness lies—in building the foundation for our future.

There are far too many men anxious to secure for parliamentary positions, and far too few propagandists and agitators, willing to devote their whole life to our cause.

When, in view of these facts, in such places where the Socialist organisations are weak, and they can in consequence only command three or four speakers, when the Socialists shirk this first and most necessary work—that is the work of propagandism, in order to climb into Parliament, I always feel that they have either not enough courage or too little understanding for our cause.

A Parliament so constituted can and will never be a place of propaganda for Socialism; an enlightened and goal-conscious proletariat, though, would be the master of an incompetent Parliament.

Let us hope that the deliberations of the delegates to the conference will have the best success, that they will strive to find that which makes for unity, and keeps away discord, in order to advance our cause and scatter the forces of our oppo-

## ON LIBERTY.

THE individual man, his wholeness and liberty, are the unrivaled concern of the universe, and all that gives it any worth or meaning.

Nature and economic things have a value just to the extent that they are the materials by which the human soul may freely express itself.

All material things are intrinsically spiritual values; they are the coin of the spiritual realm.

The goal of history, if the universe is sincere and has a meaning, is the liberty of each soul to at last become a law unto itself; the liberty of each man to individualize nature and truth for himself, and to live an original life of his own.

If you examine closely enough just what it is that has made the centuries red with human struggle, you will find it to be just this struggle of the soul of man for emancipation from every form of coercion; this struggle of the individual life to freely and unfearingly choose for itself what it should be, to richly and fully be what it should choose, and to actually lay up its treasures beside its heart.

—G. D. Herron.

It is surely not too much to expect that, as a result of the Interstate Socialist Conference that is to held in Melbourne this month, we shall shortly have a united Socialist Party in Australia. A calm consideration of principles and tactics will accomplish much in the direction of abolishing that lack of cohesiveness so characteristic of the Socialistic movement existing in Australia at the present time. Ripe indeed is the time for the inauguration of a united working class organisation, based upon a recognition of the impossibility of harmonising the interests of the Robber and the Robbed. The more intelligent members of the exploited class are heartily sick of the palliatives that do not palliate, and demand a united Socialist Party that shall be basen upon principle rather than expediency!—"The Socialist."

The Bombay cotton spinners are to work only four days a week, and only 13 hours a day, from June 15. in order to reduce the large unsold stock of yarn in China.

Nature convicts our impoverishing civilising to its face; for profusion of life is nature's message.



## "BACK TO THE LAND."

London "Justice" characterises the cry of "Back to the Land" as a deliberate political swindle on the part of the capitalist parties. "Back to the land, indeed! Back to all the interminable toil, the monotonous drudgery, the sequestered life, the bootless thrift, and the never-ending anxiety of the small peasant owner who, in every country, is becoming more and more the slave of the railroads and the land brokers and distributors. . . . There is no hope for the people in any petty private ownership of this sort, divorced from all control over or interest in the great means of production."

Two young men charged with burglary at Marylebone pleaded starvation as an excuse. One said, "We must do something; we can't starve." Why not have tried the Stock Exchange?—thieving that way is perfectly legal.—"Justice."

A census of homeless persons on the streets of London was taken on the night of February 8, 1907. The medical officer reports that one in every 2,000 of the population is homeless.

## Other Lands

### AUSTRIA.

Austrian Socialists are doing their best to rouse the Austrian proletariat to a sense of the importance of the forthcoming elections for the Reichsrath, and to induce them to use the newly-won universal male suffrage to return a large number of Socialist deputies. Socialists have been put up in every constituency in Austria, partly to test the strength of the party in the Empire, and also partly because there is no better chance of putting our principles before every man and woman in the land.

The Vienna tailoresses have recently won a victory in their movement for better conditions. An agreement was signed which fixed a minimum wage of two crowns for those women workers who got hitherto from 60 to 70 kreuzer. A 15 per cent. rise will be granted to them up to a maximum of three crowns. Those who at present get three crowns to 3.50 crowns are to get 40 heller in addition. The minimum wage with workers who have learned their work is to be two crowns, for those who finished their apprenticeship more than three years ago and have since been working as tailoresses the minimum wage is to be 2.50 crowns. After six years three crowns. Even those who have not been apprenticed must get a minimum wage of two crowns.

### BRITAIN.

The Rev. Conrad Noel has become hon. organising secretary of the Church Socialist League, and is making arrangements with St. Mary's, Primrose Hill, N.W., which will enable him to devote the winter months to Socialist propaganda.

## The Kelly Trouble

By H. E. HOLLAND.

In the columns of the "Waterside Workers' Gazette," a little monthly print, E. A. Kelly has broken forth into a prolonged wail—a wail we do not propose to traverse at length—which betrays the sore spots in the Kelly case. It will suffice for the present to nail down the more brassy of the lies contained in the remarkable epistle penned for Mr. Kelly. These we have reduced to four; we regret that the space available in one issue of this magazine is altogether too limited to permit of the whole of the perversities wept into print for Mr. Kelly being dealt with in detail; furthermore, as an individual Mr. Kelly is altogether too insignificant, and his history in the Labor movement too cloudy to carry any significant weight into his asseverations.

Here are the main items:

Lie No. 1.—He directly charges that the Socialists have "always denounced Trades Unionism." As a matter of fact, every International Socialist eligible for membership in a Union is a Unionist. They recognize the Trade Union as the organized expression of the industrial workers' recognition of the class war. They have, however, denounced the traitorism of certain trade union "leaders" whose actions make for the interests of the employing class—and this is the fly in Mr. Kelly's ointment. There are wharf laborers in the Socialist movement who recognize how Mr. Kelly's attitude suits the owners, and who are now unemployed, because they feel that to go to work would be to blackleg the Coal Lumpers.

Lie No. 2.—He declares that H. E. Holland has never troubled about Trades Unionism in his own business of printer. A lie which Mr. Kelly knew to be a lie when he allowed it to be written for him.

Lie No. 3.—He asserts that no division was demanded at the Wharf Labourers' meeting, held on May 1; and we have the word of Mr. Hillier (ex-President of the Wharf Labourers' Union), who moved the resolution, that when he demanded it, after the vote on the voices, Mr. Kelly refused to take a vote by show of hands; and we prefer to believe Mr. Hillier.

Lie No. 4, is wrapped up in a lengthy and pitiable attempt to crawl away from a d blanket over the shameful treachery of working-class interests which he and others were guilty of in connection with the Sonoma scandal. The attempt to get a crew of Unionists to act like blacklegs and man a vessel from which a Union crew had been sent to jail for standing firm for unionism, may be something for one of the Kelly type of unionists to deem praiseworthy and capable of being explained away, but there isn't a single trade union in Sydney that would not call this conduct in that case by its proper ugly name.

In this sorrowful write-up of Mr. Kelly's misery, there are, as we have already indicated, a multitudinous array of minor lies. But these can wait.

In the meantime let Mr. Kelly say what blacklegging really is, if he is a member of the Coal Lumpers' Union. Is not blacklegging on the coal lumpers when as a wharf laborer he helps to load or unload cargo on boats coated with blackleg labor.



## THE EVOLUTION OF PROPERTY.

By PAUL LAFARGUE.

## FAMILY OR CONSANGUINE COLLECTIVISM.

(Continued.)

Perry societies, organised on the basis of collective property, are endowed with a vitality and power of resistance possessed by no other social form in an equal degree.

"The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything that they want within themselves and almost independent of any foreign relations," says Lord Metcalfe. "They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down, revolution succeeds to revolution; Hindu, Pagan, Mosal, Mahatta, Sikh, English are all masters in turn, but the village communities remain the same. In time of any trouble they arm and fortify themselves; a hostile army passes through the country, the village communities collect their cattle within their walls and let the enemy pass unmolested. If plunder and devastation be directed against themselves and the force employed be irresistible, they flee to friendly villages at a distance; but

when the storm has passed over they return and resume their occupations. If a country remains for a series of years the scene of continued pillage and massacre, so that the village cannot be inhabited, the scattered villagers nevertheless return whenever the power of peaceable possession revives. A generation may pass away, but the succeeding generation will return. The sons will take the places of their fathers, the same site for the village, the same positions for their houses; the same lands will be reoccupied by the descendants. It is not a trifling matter that will turn them out, for they will often maintain their posts throughout times of disturbance and convulsions and acquire a strength sufficient to resist pillage and oppression with success." Further on he adds: "The village constitution which can survive all outward shock as I suspect, easily subverted with the aid of our regulations and Courts of Justice by any internal disturbance; the latter above all things, I should think would tend to destroy it."

Bourgeois exploitation cannot tolerate, alongside of the collective form of property which it destroys and replaces by private property, the adequate form of bourgeois

property. What has taken place in India and Algeria has occurred in France. The village collectivities that had lasted throughout the entire feudal period, and survived till 1789, were disorganised by the despoiling action of the bourgeois revolution. The great revolutionary jurist, Merlin Dupier (so called because he had been the prosecutor of the sanguinary *lot and sizeris*) did more to excite the bourgeoisie about the destruction and confiscation of the communal lands of the village collectivities than the feudal lords had done in the course of centuries.

Over and above the reasons of a political character which brought monarchical government to patronise the family organisation based on collective property, there exist yet others, equally important, of an administrative character. In the collectivist village there is a number of administrative units represented by the head who directs it and preside in its name; the government makes the latter responsible for the levying of the taxes and the recruiting of the militia, and charges him with additional functions which are not remunerated. The despotic imperial government leads its weight to the

decisions of the communal council, incorporating into the army, and even despatching to Siberia, all those whose conduct is not approved of by the elders. In France, the monarchy anterior to 1789 exerted itself to uphold these peasant collectivist organisations, assailed on the one hand by the feudal lords, who brutally despoiled them of their communal possessions and privileges, and on the other by the bourgeois, who seized upon their lands by every means.

(To be continued.)

German Socialists have recently exposed very nicely one or two police spies—for instance, one in Berlin and one in Breslau. Both pretended to be active comrades, and both, while thinking that they were unrecognised as spies, were being very carefully watched till the time should be ripe to expose them. The one in Breslau had latterly taken to the *Adelshaus*, though he does not seem to have had any great success even there. Both *Spionagen* have been photo-graphed and as their shadows have been articulated in the windows of the socialist press their activity on these lines will be continued in future. The *German Socialists* Yare in Alexanderplatz, Berlin, will have no further use for them.

Last week we pointed out that in this issue we would print a well-known sketch of Tom Mann. This is it as translated by Tom Mann: "He was born something over 30 years ago, and here dead yet."



## NO AGITATORS WANTED.

On Sunday evening last, in the Mechanics' Institute at Miller's Point, Sydney, the following letter—addressed to Bamford, M.H.B.—was read to the Coal Lumpers:—

"I know you read the 'Sunday Times,' but whether you are fool enough to pay for it, of course, I cannot say. There is a short par in this morning's issue, however, to which I would like to draw your attention. It reads as follows:—

"This country can do without Ben Tillet and Tom Mann. There is no necessity to import elements of discord."

"Now, you know that I have a somewhat remarkable collection of old manuscripts, etc., gathered up in the most various and out-of-the-way places. In looking over some of these, I came across the following gem, which goes a long way to prove that history does repeat itself, and is a remarkable commentary upon the above paragraph. I give you a rough, but accurate, translation. It is taken from a copy of the 'Morning Star,' published at Jerusalem. The date, which is, of course, Hebrew, corresponds with about the middle of A.D. 33, and the article says as follows:—

"For some time past there has been considerable friction between the management and the hands employed in the brickyards of Nathaniel and Co. Trade has been dull for some time past, but owing to the recent boom in the building trade, caused by the late fire, business has improved very considerably during the past two months. Taking advantage of this, the men have demanded higher wages and shorter hours. The management has declined to

accede to either request, and, in consequence, the men have struck work. Our representative waited upon the general manager, Mr. Moses Cohen, who states that the demands of the men are quite unreasonable. The wages now paid are more than the industry can afford, and the hours, 12 per day, are no longer than have been worked in the industry for many years past. Mr. Cohen, however, states that the men are ill-prepared for a strike, as they are all very poor, and would very shortly be starved into submission. In fact, the strike was really about to terminate when one, Jesus, an agitator of the worst class, put in an appearance, and has incited the men to stand up for what the calls their rights. This Jesus, it appears, is very eloquent, and seems to be very popular with, and have great influence over the lower orders, and has been instrumental in getting other workers to send in contributions in money and kind. This means that the strike may be indefinitely prolonged. We understand this man, Jesus, has come here from Nazareth. Now, let us say right here, we don't want any one from Nazareth, or from anywhere else coming here and sowing the seeds of discord between masters and men, and we ask, in no subdued voice, either, what are the authorities doing to allow people of this nomadic type to wander about the country endeavouring to make trouble? We trust this hint will be sufficient, and that the powers that be, will see to it that agitators of this class are, to put it mildly, attended to!"

A Sample Copy of this Magazine is an invitation to subscribe.

## THROUGH ALL THE LONG, DARK NIGHTS.

Through all the long, dark night of years

The people's cry ascendeth,  
And earth is wet with blood and tears,

But our weak suff'rance endeth,  
The few shall not for ever sway,

The many toil in sorrow;  
The pow'rs of hell are strong to-day,  
Our kingdom comes to-morrow.

Tho' hearts brood o'er the past, our eyes

With smiling futures glisten;  
For lo! our day bursts up the skies,

Lean out your souls and listen;  
The world is rolling Freedom's way,

And rip'ning with her sorrow;  
Take heart, who bear the cross to-day  
Shall wear the crown to-morrow.

Oh, youth! flame earnest, still aspire,

With energies immortal;  
To many a heaven of desire

Our yearning opes a portal.  
And tho' age wearies by the way,

And hearts break in the furrow,  
Youth sows the golden grain to-day,

The harvest comes to-morrow.

—GERALD MASSEY.



## DARKNESS AND DAWN.

From an article by B. M. HYNDMAN, in London "Justice."

We here in Great Britain have enjoyed the fruits of competitive capitalism for fully four generations. From the latter part of the eighteenth century until now, the capitalists, with their economic dependents the landlords, have had practically everything their own way. No continuous attempt has been made to regulate their slave-driving system, which, devoid of all personal relations or social morality, and guided solely by greed of gain, regards the proletariat engendered by its own development as mere food for profit, whose claim to live is grounded solely upon its usefulness to provide wealth for others on a low standard of subsistence for itself. The wonder is not that things are so bad, but that they are not worse. No record of brutality to women and children, in any part of the world, at any period of history, equals what was done by the capitalist class in Great Britain at the expense of this most defenceless part of the population in the fifty years preceding the enactment of the first effective Factory Acts. Though partially restricted from following their natural bent by legislation, enforced against their most furious opposition, the successors of these persons inherit most of the bestial qualities of their forbears. They have succeeded in preventing public opinion, as represented by men not directly interested in the sweating methods they champion, from further inhibiting their right to enslave, and have even succeeded in enlisting a portion of their victims on their side in favour of the continuance of their power to

squeeze profit out of children of tender years.

Apart, however, from the long sway of industrial capitalism, with its crushing out of all individuality and artistic sense in the factory and the workshop, and its army of the unemployed threatening the labour market with hunger-driven competition and keeping the workers in subjection by its presence; apart, too, from the degrading sham-individualist fetishism of Anglicanism and Nonconformity—with their personal rewards in a future life specially used to chloroform those who are discontented with wretchedness and uncertainty in this; apart from the curse of charity and beneficence which tend to make the poor more servile and the rich more arrogant—apart from these ever-present causes of depression, there is the continuous effect of emigration, which, taking away from Great Britain the more vigorous of the skilled and unskilled labourers, has left, for two whole generations, only the less capable of the masses to perpetuate the race. It is difficult to overestimate the deteriorating influence of such a constant drain of the best blood of the country oversea, which has been going on ever since 1847 and still continues. The Social-Democratic Party in Great Britain has protested against this cowardly and ruinous policy for more than a quarter of a century; but the capitalist class has been able to buy over more than one of the "champions of labour" to advocate the active pursuance of the systematic transportation of the unemployed, even in this year of prosperity, 1907. The men of God, from Booth to Davidson, naturally bless and aid

this expatriation as helping to safeguard their subsidisers and paymasters, the capitalists at home, from insubordination and attack.

As a consequence of these conditions, and of the relentless class war continuously waged under them, the materialist theory that Socialism would first attain its ripest development in the most advanced economic country has scarcely been borne out by events. This was quite true of Great Britain up to the Chartist movement. To-day it is not true any longer. In Europe, so far as the conception of what Socialism means is concerned, we are, as a nation, behind not only Germany, but France, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, and Denmark; while even in uneducated Russia the newly-created proletariat shows more vigour and sense of class antagonism than our own people, whose one idea of progress seems to be to accept the snippets of concession which their masters accord to them in order to keep them quiet; and whose most advanced view as to political progress is that they should endeavour to "catch the tone" of the capitalist House of Commons, so as to show that they are far above any such moral obliquity as hatred of their enemies.

Under these circumstances the propaganda of palliatives by themselves becomes even more difficult than we English Social-Democrats have always considered it to be. And we are specially entitled to say this; because every single palliative of importance, now coming into the field of political discussion, was formulated by our party and pushed to the front long before any other

Socialist organisation in Great Britain was heard of. Valuable as palliatives of our existing industrial anarchy undoubtedly will be, there is no palliative, not even the State Maintenance of Children, nor the social organisation of the Labour of the Unemployed, which would relieve the mass of the people from the capitalist yoke; though both of these would admittedly weaken the power of the dominant class. So long as wages are paid, so long will there be wage-slaves to receive them. It is essential, therefore, that, while we agitate vigorously for our stepping-stones, we should keep our ultimate goal ever clearly before us lest, by restricting the work of social education to the mere improvement of existing conditions, we stunt the imagination, limit the scope of our great movement, alienate the support of the higher-minded "intellectuals," and shut ourselves out, to some extent, from the glorious field of international comity and international Social Revolution.

That Social Revolution, which means so much more to us Social-Democrats all over the world than a comfortable phrase or a beautiful but unrealisable ideal, cannot be brought about, as none know better than we, until the economic and social forms are ready for its full completion. No class is ever emancipated until circumstances, the outcome of centuries of growth, have brought it to the point where its enfranchisement becomes an unavoidable necessity. The revolution now coming, which will involve the abolition of classes and the consequent emancipation of mankind from every form of economic oppression, is infinitely the greatest transformation which human



society has ever undergone, and is clearly subject to this immutable law of progress. But there are also two sides to this development: the unconscious and, as matters stand, the well-nigh uncontrollable growth of industrial and social forces; secondly, the comprehension of these forces and the conscious power to handle and use them, arising from the intellectual action of mind upon its material surroundings. As in the individual, the intellectual processes, though engendered by, and existing as functions of, matter, react upon and, within narrow limits, control and co-ordinate the material conditions in which they have their origin, so in society the social appreciation of the facts and developments, highest sense, enables men and women, or shortly will enable them, to make use of those vast social forces arising out of the ever-increasing power of human beings over nature, which now, in the main, make use of them. That capitalism is no more permanent than was feudalism or chattel slavery; that production for profit and money domination of distribution could be dispensed with by a thoroughly enlightened commonwealth of capable citizens; that, as we look on, the existing forms of industrial and commercial relations are themselves preparing by their own development of huge combinations and gigantic trusts for the next period in the history of mankind—these are truths admitted in private by thousands, even in backward England, whose personal, pecuniary positions do not, as they think, permit them to come out on the side of collective ownership and democratic Socialism.

But this transition period, in

which the divorce between the conceptions of the past and the present and the unavoidable needs of the immediate future is becoming daily more palpable, cannot last. The crisis is approaching, whether we like to believe it or not. Economically, socially, historically, ethically the new period is at hand. The bourgeoisie in all its manifestations is finally bankrupt. Its usefulness in the upward and onward progress of humanity, usefulness accompanied by almost inconceivable brutality and horror, is at hand. Attempts to bolster it up and to change its essence while maintaining its form are failing all round us. Municipal Capitalism, Five-per-Cent. Philanthropy, Millionaire Beneficence, Hospital Charity, and the rest of the squalid hypocrisy of our worn-out system are shown conclusively to be merely an organised fraud got up to keep the profitmongers in control. They cannot even manage continuously their own methods of production; as we see in repeated crises which only stringent restriction of wealth-making, war, or great natural disasters can stave off for a time by curtailing, wasting, or destroying the unabsorbable accumulation of commodities.

It is this very succession of gluts due to the vastly increased power of production and the terrible phenomena of unemployment and misery which accompany them that will ere long bring about the great transformation in spite of all the agreements and profit-sharing arrangements of the Trusts.

There is, therefore, no longer any difficulty whatever arising from insufficiency of the supply

for all the needs of humanity: the nonsense about over-population has long since been exposed. If more than a hundred years ago the great Robert Owen could truly say, "Wealth may be made as plentiful as water," this is at least ten times more true to-day, when it is the excessive power to make wealth with constantly lessening labour that is the cause of so much social trouble. The problem of production is solved: the problem of distribution awaits its solution.

And thus by induction we work our way to the absolute necessity for hypothesis—to that hypothesis whose verification must and can come about in only one way. Social forces will be controlled and harmonised by social effort. The antagonisms of the past and the present then fade away before us and we go confidently forward to the conquest of the future—the day before us and the night behind. It is said that we of the National and International Social-Democratic Party devote our attention first and foremost and continuously to the material side of human existence. So we do. And rightly. For it is upon the full cultivation and thorough development of the physical capacity of children and women and men that high moral consciousness and powerful intellectual faculty must be based. But when, from their earliest infancy, children born of healthy and vigorous parents, with plenty all round them, are brought up and trained manually and educated mentally as the most valuable portion of the community; when the ablest brains and most delicate natures will regard the bringing up of these trustees of the coming generation as the

noblest duty they can perform; when it has at last been borne in upon mankind that there is ample provision for all members of human society of everything that goes to make up the sum of rational enjoyment, limited only by the conditions of terrestrial existence, and this at each and every stage of growth; when it has become finally apparent that the completest development and happiness possible for each member of the community means the greater advantage and greater enjoyment for the whole; when assuredly will be seen infinitely the highest individual capacity in every department of culture that has ever been attained. Then, too, relieved from the degrading influence of competition and pecuniary necessities, art and science will go forward to the level of such achievement for public and private beauty and knowledge as was never reached in the most palmy days of Greece or Rome or Italy.

But this, it may be said, is mere utopianism again. Socialism is once more all in the air. Not at all. The economic work is practically done for us. We need but to rise up from worship of the money fetish and look round. The great industrial engines and their supply of raw material have already reached the socialised and collectivist stage in nearly every direction. From the great companies and State organisations to Socialist management is an easy transition, when once the notion that profit-making cannot be dispensed with, and that bourgeois domination and that bourgeois domination cannot be overthrown, has been put aside. In like manner, transportation is to-day an essentially public function: in many countries



railways are State property, and shipping is subsidised out of public funds. Here, again, what is needed is not so much a change of form as a comprehension of facts, and a determination to use the public services as public services run by public servants and not by competitive wage-slaves. But it is in distribution that the advance is specially noteworthy. There are distributive centres and storehouses throughout the towns in every civilised country, organised on the largest scale, which could be transformed into communal agencies for the people's use without any difficulty whatever. Here in England, it is true, the land question is far more complicated than elsewhere, the people having been swept clean from the country into the towns by economic and social causes. But even so, a system of co-operative agriculture in connection with co-operative manufacture and co-operative work generally is not by any means a problem which must fail to be solved by intelligent human effort.

Whether the shifting of social forces will be effected peacefully or forcibly depends entirely, now as ever in a revolutionary period, upon the action of the obstructive social strata above. At present, the dominant minority uses un-employed members of the subjugated majority to keep the rest in subservience, by paying them as soldiers, as militia, as police. Social-Democrats claim the arming of all citizens to prevent any such dangerous powers from being handled to check the natural growth, which cannot possibly be headed back for long if these exist counterbalancing powers on the side of progress. The fact that the passive well-to-do and the direct exploiters them-

selves would be benefited by the coming of Socialism will certainly not deter them from endeavouring forcibly to maintain their isolated supremacy, if the people furnish them the power to do so.

The most important point for us, however, is that, all over the world, in Asia now as in Europe, our great and growing and enthusiastic Social - Democratic Party knows perfectly well that the immediate future belongs to us. We have outgrown the wages, betterments of Trade Unionism and the well-meaning but ineffective compromises of Labourism, and we go to our International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart in August with the fullest confidence in the approaching success of our noble historic mission and inspired from one end of the world to the other by the dignity and splendour of our cause. That oughtly international in our ultimate ideals as in our immediate aims, we rejoice that, at length, the English-speaking peoples on at least three continents are beginning to take their share in the encouraging development of revolutionary Social - Democratic Ritherto Great Britain herself has stood in the way of the consolidation of the International forces. Her conservatism and the inertia of her people have acted as an obstacle to world-wide emancipation. But at any moment a shock from without or a crisis within may entirely alter the situation, and we may find ourselves compelled to take the position to which our economic and social development entitle us in the forefront of the battle for a Co-operative Commonwealth. For that moment it is the special business of the Social-Democratic Party steadily and continuously to prepare.

## Other Lands

### ENGLAND.

The action of our comrade A. H. Lee, at Swindon, in passing a night in the casual ward after being elected a guardian, has attracted a good deal of attention, and is likely to attract still more. He has received an intimation that he has forfeited his seat. He does not intend to quietly submit to any such decision, and the Swindon Branch have decided to back him in whatever action is taken against him. Technically it may be correct to say he has become disqualified, as the law says that if anyone has received relief twelve months before election, or since election, such person is disqualified. But Lee was not an ordinary applicant for relief. He obtained admission to the casual ward so as to learn by actual experience what were the conditions of food, and so forth, for this unfortunate class of individuals.

### GERMANY.

After an exceptionally short and bitter fight to fill the vacancy caused by the death of our late comrade Auer—comrade Moltenbühr has been elected by an increased majority, whereby our party increased their vote by 490, and the united bourgeois vote decreased by 744 votes. The result is most satisfactory. The Imperial Anti-Socialist Association did its very worst and has been defeated. The tactics of our opponents were, it may be added, to try to provoke our comrades into acts of violence which they would then be able to report all over Germany as an illustration of the terrorism exer-

cised by the Socialist party and their intolerant brutality towards opponents. Of that a good example was afforded by a certain Herr Müller. He and a number of his friends visited a meeting held by our comrade Stuchlen. Hardly had the meeting begun when he demanded to be asked to speak, which from an avowed opponent was impertinent; he did this at the top of his voice and when told to sit down commenced with his friends to yell at the top of their voices. The police thereupon dissolved the meeting. Upon which, Herr Müller, smilingly looked at the crowd of workers, and, taking out a cigar from his pocket, proceeded to light up and smoke. He had avowedly achieved his purpose. He felt the laugh was on his side. The bitterness of the workers knew no bounds, and it was all that the party organisers headed by comrade Stuchlen could do to prevent their giving vent to their feelings on these placards. As it was the bourgeois press published a notice to the effect that the Social-Democrats had refused to allow an opponent to speak in their meetings.

Dr. Karl Liebknecht has inspired the German military authorities with such panic by his book on Anti-Militarism that they have not only had all copies seized which are exposed for sale, but have ransacked private dwellings for copies. Comrade Liebknecht himself was the subject of a police visit on this account. After much trouble, they succeeded in getting one copy—so that probably our comrade is without a copy of his own book. Presumably the authorities are satisfied with their work. Do they hope to stamp out anti-militarism in this manner?



**THE EVOLUTION  
OF PROPERTY,**

By PAUL  
LAFARQUE.

**FAMILY OR CONSANGUINE  
COLLECTIVISM.**

(Continued)

The feudal lords encouraged the organization of the peasants into family collectivities. Daloz mentions a contract of the 17th century which a lord causes his lands to be cultivated by metayers, on condition that the peasants shall have "in common, fire and food and live in perpetual community." A legend of the 18th century, Dumod, furnishes us with the reason which led to the community of the cultivators: "It is that the seigniorial domains are better cultivated, and the subjects better able to pay the tributes due to the lord, when living in common than when forming separate households."

Collective property, which destroyed the primitive tribal communism, established the family communism which secured all its members against want. "The proletariat is not known in Russia," wrote Max Haxthausen, "and so long as this institution (the MIR) survives, it can never be found here. A man may become impoverished here and squander his substance, but the faults or misfortunes of the father can

never affect his children," for these holding their rights of the commune, and not of the family, do not inherit their father's poverty."

It is precisely this security against want afforded by collective property which is offensive to the capitalist, whose whole fortune reposes on the misery of the working class.

Collective property is remarkable not only for the tenacity and indestructibility of the small peasant collectivities which it maintained, and the well-being which it afforded to the cultivators of the soil, but also for the grandeur of its achievements. In illustration whereof let me cite the marvellous works of irrigation in India and the terrace-culture of the mountain slopes of Java, covering Wallace informs us, hundreds of square miles; "these terraces are increased year by year, as the population increases, by the inhabitants of each village working in concert under the direction of their chiefs, and it is, perhaps, by this system of village culture alone that such extensive terracing and irrigation has been rendered possible."

The collective form of property, traces of which have been met with wherever no sciences have been instituted,

has survived for shorter or longer periods, according to the industrial and commercial development of the country in which it obtained. This form, created by the splitting up of the common property of the tribe, was bound to disappear in return, with the disintegration of the patriarchal family, in order to constitute the individual property of the several members of the dissolved family.

Private property, which was to succeed collective property, grew out of it. The house and garden enclosed by walls and palisades were the private property, absolute and inalienable, of the family; no public authority had the right to touch on it. In the interior of the house the different members, not omitting the slaves, possessed a peculium, some private property independent of that of the family; this individual property, acquired by the personal toil of its owner, was often considerable; it consisted of slaves, cattle, and movables of various kinds. The right to a peculium was acquired slowly; no one member of the family could possess eight, in severity, all that he acquired remained to the community. The arable and pasture lands of which the family had but

the usufruct became ultimately their private property, and when the family was broken up, i.e., when every male upon marrying quitted the collective dwelling for a house of his own, landed property shared the fate of personal property; it was divided amongst the children and was held in severalty.

The evolution of property, passing from the collective to the private form, has been extremely slow, so slow, indeed, that in many a country collective property, but for an external impulse, might possibly have endured for centuries without suffering a change. Villages founded on collective property form economic units; intellectual and material wants of their inhabitants, and that contrariwise, they comprise few elements capable of determining change; here all things are accomplished in accordance with traditions prescribed by the elders, and handed down like precious heirlooms. In effect, once a village has arrived at such a degree of industrial and agricultural development as to be capable of satisfying the natural and simple wants of the villagers, it would seem that it no longer finds within itself any cause for change; an impulse from without is required to set it in motion.







## The Lockout.

THE position in connection with the lockout remains unchanged, except that public sympathy with the workers is growing.

On Saturday night an open air meeting was held at Leichhardt, and on Sunday another huge meeting (preceded by a procession) was held in the Sydney Domain, where more than 10,000 people re-affirmed the justice of the Lumpers' case; while on Sunday night the Institute at Miller's Point was again packed.

On Saturday evening a Newcastle meeting was addressed by Peyton, Butler, and Holland.

On Sunday morning the same delegates met the Newcastle Trades and Labor Councillors, with most gratifying results. On Sunday afternoon a very successful meeting was held at Islington Reserve, and another at Wallsend at night.

On Monday night, at the Club, a farewell was tendered to Tom Mann, who left by boat on Tuesday. He was escorted from the Club to the boat by a procession of unionists and Socialists, including many women. On the wharf, President Macey, on behalf of the Union and the Interna-

tional Socialist Club, presented Tom Mann and Ben Tillett each with a fac simile of the Coal Lumpers' Union medal. We hope to see Tom back again if the lockout lasts.

In the meantime, the locked-out men, and often the women, daily parade the city streets in procession, and the streets are made to ring with the Songs of the Social Revolution, while scores and scores of uniformed and plain-clothes policemen form a protecting bodyguard that guarantees absolute immunity from attack by either the stevedores or the blacklegs. It is most considerate of the Government to send the police to protect the locked-out men in this way.

An attempt by the Sydney Labor Council, at the instance of Ben Tillett and Tom Mann, to bring the parties together in conference has been met by the employers with an absolute refusal to confer.

This phase of the lock-out was dealt with at a monster meeting held at the Protestant Hall on Wednesday night, when a resolution condemning the brutality of the employers, their breaking of the Arbitration Court award and boycotting of union men, and their determination to starve the workers into subjection and smash their union, as evidenced by their refusal to

meet the men in conference, was moved by H. E. Holland seconded by Miles Kelly (Tramway Union), and carried unanimously and with great enthusiasm.

Address in support were delivered by Ben Tillett and J. Matthews, M.H.R., each of whom emphasized the need for united action on behalf of the lumpers.

"Every man who does any kind of work whatever on vessels coaled by blackleg labor is making a blackleg of himself," said Matthews.

The meeting was most enthusiastic. Cheers for the women and children, cheers for the locked-out men, and hearty, ringing cheers for Revolutionary Socialism were given, followed by the singing of the Songs of the Revolution.

Prior to the meeting there was a great procession of the locked-out workers, including a strong contingent of women, from Miller's Point to the hall.

The International Socialist Club Liedertafel will hold its sixth anniversary on Friday evening June 28, at the Manchester Unity Hall, Castlereagh Street. Concert 8 till 10, dancing 10 till 2. Tickets, Gent's, 1/6; Lady's, 1/-; Double 2/.

## GARIBALDI AND AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRATION.

By F. SCEUSA.

GENERAL RICCIOTHI GARIBALDI, the son of the Liberator of Italy, the helper of Republican France invaded by Imperial Germany and of poor Greece oppressed by the unspeakable Turks—the man who after winning two battles in the Franco-Prussian War earned his living as a coal-lumper and a school inspector in the neighbouring State of Victoria—poses now as an amateur emigration agent and a friend of the Australian capitalist.

How different from his father!

In a letter to the Rome "Tribuna" he congratulates his "dear old Australian friends for the decision arrived at to open their vast virgin continent to European emigration," and advises the Italian proletarians to seek for bread and work in this country, rather than in America. In his letter, he describes Australia as a veritable Eden, and an ideal immigration field. Our rivers—the Yarra above all—overflow with milk and honey; our "climate is solubrious, bracing, and perfect everywhere, even in the tropical regions"—the pestilential cane country of North Queens-



workers into a political party having this end in view. This is the position of the Socialists, and has now been accepted by millions of workers scattered through every nation on the globe and forming to-day the largest political party the world has ever known, and one that is marching on to certain victory.

But although Socialism has thus come to be looked upon as the gospel of a better day to the wage-labourer, few claimed that it carried any message to the farmer. Indeed, its enemies always offered as their strongest argument against it the claim that it could not meet the problem of agriculture. It was argued that farming would never form a great concentrated industry, and hence that it must always be conducted by a multitude of small, individual farm owners. Many were the wordy battles indulged in over the question as to whether farms were increasing or decreasing in size, and as to whether the large or the small farms were the best organized method of conducting agriculture. When the great "bonanza farms" of the West began to be broken up, some of the Socialists seem to think that the battle was lost, and that a special solution would have to be found for the troubles of the farmer.

Now it just begins to be seen that they were all looking in the wrong direction, and a closer examination shows that at the bottom the same laws prevail on the farm as in the factory, and that consequently the same problems are appearing and the same remedy must be applied. If this position is to be understood, it will be necessary to recall briefly the main features of the great change that has taken place in industry during the last century.

The first thing that strikes us is the fact that the tools of production have become very much larger and more complex, so that the resulting product has been immensely increased, while the share of the labourer has remained at about the same point. The size of the market reached by each factory has grown continually larger with the cheapening of production and improvement of communication. This has caused a concentration of ownership until to-day almost the entire productive power of the world has been concentrated in the hands of a few for whose benefit the many must work.

Now, the only question is, has a similar process taken place in agriculture? And at first appearance there is a tendency to answer no, and if this concentration is to be sought in land ownership, it would be hard to deny the position. But let us for a moment consider farming as what it really is—simply a means of producing certain goods—grain, cattle, fruit, etc. Now, it has been pointed out that production of any commodity consists simply in taking some portion of the earth and changing it into a FORM desired by man, and then taking it to some PLACE where it can be used at a TIME when it is wanted. No matter how these different processes may be disguised or intermingled, they are all present and are all necessary in any form of production, and no article is produced until it has gone through all these processes and has the proper FORM at the proper TIME and in the proper PLACE to be used.

*(To be continued.)*

A Sample Copy of this Magazine is an invitation to subscribe.

## THE BOTTOM DOG.

I know that the world, the great big world,  
From the peasant up to the king,  
Has a different tale from the tale I tell,  
And a different song to sing,  
But for me I care not a single fig  
If they say I am wrong or I'm right—  
I shall always go for the weaker dog,  
The under dog in the fight.

I know not the world; that the great big world,  
Will never a moment stop  
To see which dog may be in fault,  
But will shout for the dog on top.  
But for me I shall never pause to ask,  
Which dog may be in the fight;  
For my heart will beat, while it beats at all,  
For the under dog in the fight.







ship, set up the Socialist Republic, and thus revolutionize, in the interest 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 the capitalist class to perpetuate class domination. The workers of Australia must without delay take up their position along with the organised, 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 & political strength of the working class."

"The Socialist Federation of Australasia, therefore, calls upon all workers to forthwith identify themselves with the existing Socialist organisations in their respective States, and to work unceasingly for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system and for the emancipation of our class wage-slavery."

The preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World was unanimously adopted.

H. E. Holland (International Socialist Club) moved—"That no member of the Socialist Federation of Aus-

tralasia shall seek election as a candidate of the Australian Labour Party or any other non-socialist party, for either Parliamentary or municipal positions."

This was opposed by R. S. Ross (Broken Hill) and W. Marsh (Sydney S. D. F.). Every other delegate spoke in support; and the resolution was carried by 8 votes to 3.

The Australian Socialist League delegates announced that they would withdraw from the conference; but, after a short retirement, returned and expressed their intention of remaining, and reserving the right to refrain from taking part in certain discussions.

H. E. Holland moved—"That this conference of all Australian socialist organisations sends fraternal greetings to the socialists of America, and expresses its deepest sympathy with them in the attempt now being made by the organised capitalists to effect the judicial murder of Comrades Moyer, Heywood, and Pettibone, officers of the Western Miners' Federation; and, furthermore, urges the organised workers of America to employ every method—peaceable and forceful—to prevent the success of the murderous crime attempted to be perpetrated by capitalists."

This was seconded by H. J. Hawkins, supported by Tom Mann, and carried unanimously.

It was also resolved to cable the foregoing resolution to the I. W. W. in America, and to intimate that the conference had decided to organise on the lines of the I. W. W.

The cable was sent by Tom Mann during the afternoon.

R. S. Ross moved—"That this conference affirms its pronounced and mature conviction that compulsory arbitration in New South Wales, and West Australia, has not proved advantageous to the working class, and, inter alia, has weakened trades-unionism in spirit and achievement. Therefore this conference warns the workers of Australia, and particularly the section not yet under the jurisdiction of compulsory arbitration, that the acceptance and endorsement of such arbitration under present conditions will prove detrimental to their industrial welfare and class emancipation."

Seconded by H. J. Hawkins, supported by J. O. Moroney, H. E. Holland, and others, and carried unanimously.

Tom Mann moved—"That we most heartily congratulate our revolutionary and socialist comrades of Russia on the magnificent fight they are waging against a most ruthless and vicious form of despotism engineered by the capitalist class. We congratulate them upon their splendid display of courage and the efficiency of their fight. We hope to see them particularly triumphant as part of the world's proletariat; we protest against the despotic tyranny again showing itself by the autocratic, forcible breaking-up of the Duma and propose them the best support it is in our power to give them."

It was decided that until next

conference the seat of Executive should be in Sydney; the Executive to consist of one delegate from each of the affiliated bodies, and general treasurer and general secretary; the Administrative Committee to consist of the general secretary, general treasurer, and the Executive committeemen resident in the district which is for the time being the seat of the Executive.

H. E. Holland, and A. Borax were unanimously chosen as General Secretary and General Treasurer respectively.

It was resolved to endorse the credentials of Victor Kroemer, who goes to Stuttgart conference as delegate for the Vic. Socialist Party.

Resolved that affiliated organisations pay a sustentation fee of 3d per financial member.

Resolved—"That the Executive be instructed to notify the Italian Socialist Party that the Socialists of Australia are opposed to the immigration schemes of the capitalists.

The conference closed with the singing of "The Red Flag" and "The Marseillaise," and hearty cheers for the Social Revolution.

The death is announced of Comrade Schmeichel, one of the oldest members of the German Social Democracy. He participated in the revolutionary epoch of '48, and never deserted the principles of his youth.

Conference delegates Hil-lyer and Holland wish to sincerely thank Vic. comrades for having made their stay in Melbourne so very enjoyable.



## An Italian Socialist

By TOM MANN, in "The Socialist."

BEING in Sydney, I availed myself of the opportunity to visit Comrade Scusa, the grand old battler for the Socialist cause. Accompanied by P. J. O'Meara, the sec. of the International Socialist Club, I went to St. Peter's and found Comrade Scusa busy with his pen, although looking very ill, and only being able to walk across the room with difficulty. Our comrade showed great pleasure at seeing me, and, after greetings, entertained me with many interesting items of information about the movement in Italy, and of his own experiences.

In early manhood, Friend Scusa was an organiser of the International in Sicily, and, as the result of his activities in this connection, he had to leave his country, and 28 years ago he made an attempt to form a Socialist Club in Sydney, with the aid of some French Communists. He was one of the founders of the present International Socialist Club, and was, still earlier, secretary of a Socialist organisation in Sydney.

For 25 years he was in the Civil Service of N.S.W. In 1893, he represented Australia at the International Socialist

Congress at Zurich. From 1875-7 he was editor of a Socialist paper in Trapani, Sicily, and in 1884-5 he edited the "Italo-Australiano" in Sydney. This was quite a different production from the plutocratic paper now appearing in that name.

Our comrade, Scusa, is full of intensely interesting information, and, if his health permits, he promises to write an occasional article for "The Socialist." Should any of our Sydney comrades wish to visit him, or those at a greater distance write him, our comrade's address is 134 Church-street, St. Peters, Sydney.

If it were possible to create a breach in this bulwark, in this citadel of the Social Democracy, then the Social Democracy is conquered, and the proletariat thrown back under the dominion of capitalist society. However small such a breach may be in the beginning, the enemy has the power to widen it and the certainty of final victory.

And the enemy is most dangerous when he comes as a friend to the fortress, when he slinks in under the cover of friendship, and is recognized as a friend and comrade.—W. Liebknecht.

## To the Conference—and Back.

Concluded from Page 13.

The 1907 Conference is destined to stand as a revolutionary event in Australian history. Soon the reports will be in the hands of the organisations, soon the complete record of the proceedings will be available; and then the real work of solid detailed organising must commence. New South Wales must show Victoria that there'll be no lagging behind—and all the other states must be galvanized into speedy activity. Agitate! Educate! Organise! Do it on lines that are International, on lines that are Revolutionary, on lines that are class-conscious. No longer here and there a lonely voice crying in the wilderness, but a thunder-voiced people demanding justice. No longer the plea of the professional politician for "one step at a time," but the march of a mighty army, every man's battle-cry "Death to Capitalism." Every man's call to his fellow-men: "Workers of the world, unite!"

The Socialist Federation of Australasia has come to stay, not for a day, not for a month, not for a year; but until the Social Revolution smashes down class Governments and Parliaments, and the Capitalist State is no more, and the

red flag of International Socialism floats from the towers of the Socialist Republic of Australia.

Owing to the editor's absence at the Melbourne conference, a number of typographical errors appear in this number of the "Review." The issue of the publication is also a day late.

Victor Kroemer, of the Victorian Socialist Party, who goes to represent that party, as well as Federated Australia, at the Stuttgart Congress, is now on the water. He sailed on the Norddeutscher-Lloyd steamer, The Kleist, on Tuesday last. Although the day was 'wet, a very large number of comrades were on the Port Melbourne Pier to say farewell. Victor's mother was the principal figure in the leaving. Cheers were given by our comrades as the great boat slowly steamed out of the harbor a little before four o'clock. The Kleist is due to arrive at Bremen on the 2nd August.

"The Socialist" this week contains a photo group of the delegates to Melbourne conference. The same group will be printed in next "Review."



## THE EVOLUTION OF PROPERTY.

By PAUL  
LAFARQUE.

### FAMILY OR CONSANGUINE COLLECTIVISM.

In the villages in which collective property obtains all the chiefs of families are equals; they all possess an equal right to a share in the allotment of the lands, because all originally belonged to the same clan; the strangers who have come to reside there as artificers, fugitives, or prisoners of war, are entitled, after having obtained the freedom of the city, which corresponds to the antique adoption by the clan, to share in the territorial partition equally with the original inhabitants. This admission of strangers was feasible only so long as the villages grew slowly and as the land to be disposed of remained abundant: the populous villages were forced to disseminate, to send forth colonies and to clear the neighbouring forests. Every family was free, indeed, to make clearances outside a given limit and during a stated period, and was held to have a possessory right in the lands which it had brought under culture. But this abundance of uncultivated land began to fail in the villages situated near the sea shore or by the

riverside, which, owing to their more favoured position, attracted a larger number of strangers. Into these villages, which grew into small towns, it became difficult to gain admission, and for a right of sojourn certain fees were levied.

The new-comers were excluded from the territorial partitions, from the right of common of pasture, and from the administration of the towns; these rights were strictly limited to the primitive families, who constituted a privileged body, a sort of communal aristocracy, to wit, the municipal aristocracy, opposed alike to the feudal or warlike aristocracy and to the alien artificers. The latter, in order to resist the continual aggressions of the communal aristocracy, formed trade corporations. This division of the members of the city was throughout the Middle Ages a constant source of intestine warfare.

A degree of inequality crept into the primitive families: it would happen that to one family fell an undue share of allotments; that others, in order to discharge their debts, were compelled to relinquish the enjoyment of their lots, and so forth. This engrossing of the land profoundly wounded the senti-

ments of equality which had not ceased to animate the members of the collectivist villages. Everywhere the monopolisers of land have been loaded with maledictions; in Russia they are called the community-eaters; in Java it is forbidden to claim more than one inheritance. Isaiah exclaims: "Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth."

But among the causes that operated most powerfully in bringing misery and disorganisation into the village collectivities were the fiscal charges, as witness Anglo-India.

At the outset the taxes were paid in kind and proportionally to the nature of the harvest; but this mode of payment no longer answers the claims of a government which becomes centralised: it exacts money payment of the taxes in advance, taking no account of the state of the crops. The villagers, as a consequence, are constrained to apply to the usurers, those pests of the village; this vile brood, who are countenanced by the government, rob the peasant shamelessly; they transform him into a nominal proprietor, who tills his fields with no other object than to

pay off his debts, which increases in proportion as he discharges them. The contempt and hatred inspired by the usurers is widespread and intense; if the anti-Semitic campaign in Russia has given rise to such sanguinary scenes in the villages, it is because the peasant made no distinction between the Jew and usurer; many an orthodox Christian who needed not to be circumcised in order to strip the cultivators as clean as ever the purest descendant of Abraham could have done, was robbed and massacred during the height of the fever of the anti-Semitic movement. These various causes co-operated with the development of industry and commerce to accelerate the monopolising of the land, vested more and more in private families, and to precipitate the dissolution of the patriarchal family.

### CHAPTER IV. FEUDAL PROPERTY.

#### I.

FEUDAL property presents itself under two forms; immovable property, called corporeal by the French feudists, consisting of a castle or manor with its appurtenances and surrounding lands, "as far as a capon can fly," and moveable or incorporeal property, consisting of military service,



aids, reliefs, fines, tithes, etc. Feudal property, of which ecclesiastical property is but a variety, springs up in the midst of village communities based on collective property, and evolves at their expense; after a long series of transformations it is resolved into bourgeois or capitalist property, the adequate form of private property.

Feudal property, and the social organisation which corresponds thereto, serve as a bridge from family, or, more correctly, consanguine collectivism to bourgeois individualism.

Under the feudal system the landlord has obligations and is far from enjoying the liberty of the capitalist—the right to use and abuse. The land is not marketable; it is burdened with conditions, and is transmitted according to traditional customs which the proprietor dares not infringe; he is bound to discharge certain defined duties towards his hierarchical superiors and inferiors.

The system, in its essence, is a compact of reciprocal services; the feudal lord, only holds his land and possesses a claim on the labour and harvests of his tenants and vassals on condition of doing suit and service to his superiors and lending aid to his de-

pendants. On accepting the oath of fealty and homage the lord engaged to protect his vassal against all and sundry by all the means at his command; in return for which support the vassal was bound to render military, and personal service and make certain payments to his lord. The latter, in his turn, for the sake of protection, commended himself to a more puissant feudal lord, who himself stood in the relation of vassalage to a suzerain, to the king or emperor.

All the members of the feudal hierarchy, from the serf upwards to the king or emperor, were bound by the ties of reciprocal duties. A sense of duty was the spirit of feudal society, just as the lust of lucre is the soul of our own. All things were made to contribute to the impressing of it upon the minds of great and small alike. Popular poetry, that primeval and all-powerful instrument of education, exalted duty into a religion. Roland, the epic hero of feudalism, assailed and overwhelmed by the Saracens at Roncevaux, upbraids his companion-in-arms, Oliver, who complains of Charlemagne's desertion of them, in this wise:

Consanguine collectivism had but created the communal unit; feudalism called forth provincial and national life by knitting together the independent and insulated groups of a province or a nation by a reciprocity of duties and services. Viewed in this light feudalism is a federation of baronies.

The duties which the lord owed his serfs, tenants, and vassals were manifold and onerous, but with the decay of feudalism he shook off these duties, while, at the same time, he continued to exact and even aggravated, the dues and obligations which, originally, had been but the recompense of services he had rendered. Not content with neglecting his feudal duties, he raised a claim to the lands of his vassals, as also to the communal domains and forests. The feudists, justly stigmatised as "feudal pens," maintained that the woodlands, forests, and meadows had immemorably belonged to the lord, who had merely resigned the usufruct thereof to the serfs and vassals. The English feudists made shorter work of it. They truncated history and declared that at some period "sometimes vaguely associated with the feudalisation of Europe, sometimes more precisely with the Norman Conquest—the entire soil of England was confiscated; that the whole of each manor became the lord's demesne; that the lord divided certain parts of it among his retainers, but kept a part in

his own hands to be tilled by his vassals; that all which was not required for this distribution was left as the lord's waste; and that all customs which cannot be traced to feudal principles grew up insensibly through the subsequent tolerance of the feudal chief."

The bourgeois historians and Merlin, the terrible jurist of the convention and destroyer of the communal lands, solicitous to trace the private form of property to the feudal period, adopted the interested thesis of the aristocrats. The history of the genesis and evolution of feudal property will prove the unsoundness of the feudists' theory and show that seigniorial property was built up by fraud and violence.

## II.

The feudal system appears as the hierarchical organisation of authority, notwithstanding that it was the outgrowth of a society of equals; but equality could never have brought forth despotism but for the co-operation, during centuries, of events which, for the understanding of that genesis, must be kept in mind.

The International Socialist Club Liedertafel will hold its sixth anniversary on Friday evening June 28, at the Manchester Unity Hall, Castlereagh Street. Concert 8 till 10, dancing 10 till 2. Tickets, Gent's, 1/6; Lady's, 1/-; Double 2/.



TO THE CONFERENCE—AND  
BACK.

By H. E. H.

The Special excursion trip to Melbourne is certainly a cheap run, but the Railway Department, in strict conformity with all the traditions of state capitalism—gets home on the "cheap" traveller every time. After we had shaken hands with those who stayed behind, after the echoes of their hearty cheers had died away as the train moved out of Sydney station, and after we had waved them a final farewell as we swept round the curve out of sight—then we had time to find out things. And we did. It might have been a horse-box they had given us to travel in; and it rained, and the rain was wet, and the weather was cold—and the only redeeming feature was the fact that the train ran fast through the night. Through Moss Vale, where the Governor lives—sometimes; through Goulburn, where the sweater thrives and the fellow who grinds the faces of the "poor flourishes like a green bay-tree; through Yass, Harden, Cootamundra; through Wagga, where live the farmers whose votes Pat McGarry (ex-wharf-labourer) is fearful he'd lose if he fought for the locked-out lumpers; through Albury, where the vineyards flourish and the good red wine is pressed, and the professional politician roars like a bull on the mountains of Bashan; then over the Murray, and through Wodonga and Benalla and Euroa and Wangaratta, where the Kelly gang wrote blood red on the pages of Australian history the record of their reckless, daring, robber careers; and in the distance the ranges whose fastnesses gave them strongholds, from whence they

swooped down on the settled country; and there by the roadside, little Glenrowan, where the lives were shot out of them and the flames licked to ashes the flimsy structure that stood them for a fort, and from where their leader was given over to the gallows.

To-day the gang that does the robbing in Victoria doesn't go about revolver in hand and life in jeopardy; it sits securely in directors' rooms at the banks and in the upholstered offices of the combines, and there are none who can threaten it, because its robbing is made legal by the machinery of the law, whose bearings are oiled and whose levers are operated by the robbers themselves. The robber of to-day is more cowardly robber than any Kelly ever was.

The Bent Gov., like that of N.S.W., reckon horse-boxes good enough for excursionists—that's because the excursionists are mostly working-class travellers. Only the Bent train was a little more so in the horse-box line. And so, from the Pacific to the Murray, from the Murray to the Sea, we were jolted and dragged and whirled along the permanent way of two States in carriages that no decent four-legged animal ought to have to travel in. But—

When we stepped from the train at Spencer-street, Scott-Bennett and Ross and Hawkins were waiting for us. We hadn't met any of them before, but one of them carried the "International Socialist Review" in his hand, and its vivid red—as the Sydney D.T. would say—was easily conspicuous.

How we were taken in hand, and catered for, and cared for, and entertained during our stay by the comrades of the Vic. Socialist Party—that is a story which can never be properly told.

And the magnificent success of the conference—the first International conference of Australian socialists—the record of that will be found in the pages of the Official Record shortly to be published by the National Executive of the Socialist Federation of Australasia.

We of the Internationals who went expecting to find much opposition to our revolutionary proposals, found instead a degree of splendid unanimity. The dignified conduct of the conference, the tactful and business-like methods of the chairman, the total absence of recrimination and personal attack, the solid attitude taken up, the affirmation of the principles of International Revolutionary Socialism, and finally the formation of the Socialist Federation of Australasia—these all mark the greatest epoch in the working-class history of Australasia. Previously, the socialist fight has been fought on the lines of guerrilla warfare by isolated sections. Now, we shall fight as an army—disciplined, class-conscious, revolutionary, and the earth shall tremble under the marching feet of our united battalions, and the thrones and systems that stand for capitalism shall be made to rock and crash, and justice shall be done—'tho' the heavens fall!

We have learned lessons, too.

The magnificent organisation of the Vic. Socialist Party; their sound business lines; their systematized teaching of the young in their Sunday-school; their speakers' classes; their splendidly organised system of open-air propaganda; their great Yarra Bank meetings on Sunday afternoons, always overshadowing and often overwhelming all other meetings,

their enormous attendances at the Guild Hall on Sunday nights, with their orchestra of from 12 to 20 instruments; their choir of trained voices, and the Songs of the Revolution they sing in a way that makes the blood leap through your veins—the songs that would make the coward fight; and the vocal contributions of Mrs. Mann, whose glorious voice holds captive the thousands who hear her; the great gifts which belong to Tom Mann as a platform speaker; and, more than anything else, the grandly binding and unifying spirit of camaraderie which spreads over the whole movement and makes for its greater and more certain triumph—it was worth going to Victoria to see and hear and learn in this direction alone.

And on the top of that, the solid earnestness and enthusiasm and loyalty of the delegates from Broken Hill—the place of ramshackle tenements and low wages and laborious toil for the workers, and huge dividends and palatial residences (not at Broken Hill, though—they know too much for that) for the Robbers of To-day—the non-workers. And the almost entire unanimity of the delegates as a whole.

Continued on Page 7.



## SOCIALISM AND FARMERS.

Now, we have seen that the trouble with the wage-labourer is that the instruments with which he makes these changes are not his property, but belong to another class, who through that ownership compel the labourers to sell themselves day by day for a bare existence. Note this one fact as the key to the whole situation. It is not necessary for the capitalist class to own ALL the instruments of production concerned in the making of any article in order to have possession of the product. It is only necessary to own the essentially dominant one. Because the machinist in a great shop happens to own the monkey wrench with which he works, it does not mean that he is an independent workman who can live without his boss.

Just so with the farmer. He may own the land and grow his wheat and raise his stock, but while these are still on the farm they are not at any place or time where they can be used, hence are not yet "produced." When he tries to finish his process of production and add these two essential qualities of place and time he finds that the instruments for this—the railroads, telegraphs, elevators, stock-yards, etc., belong to someone else, who appropriates all that the farmer has produced, save the same share that the labourer has always received—a bare living. So well has this FACT become recognised that it is a common thing to say that "there is no money in farming" and that "all the farmer gets is wages."

It seems strange that this analysis of agricultural production should have ever been overlooked, for it is exactly the same pro-

cess that has taken place in all lines of industry. Everywhere the land has been forced to a subordinate position in relation to the tools of production, and these have constantly grown more complex and been concentrated into fewer hands.

No farmer who has paused from his toil long enough to think at all can fail to have seen that a multitude of changes have taken place in his work in the last half-century. The most noticeable of these is, of course, the change from the cheap and simple tool of earlier days to the expensive and intricate machinery of to-day. Almost every tool that our fathers used has had its work divided and specialised until to-day it requires a dozen complex machines to perform the same task.

The old "A" drag that in earlier days bounded from stump to stone, and occasionally made a short scratch in the ground, has given way to a whole list of "spring-tooths, disks, pulverisers, sod-cutters, steel smoothing-harrows," etc., each of which is adapted to some special work, and all of which must be used by the farmer who would profitably produce crops at present prices. The scythe, pitchfork, and handrake that made up the outfit of the haymakers of but a few decades ago, have now given place to the six-foot cut mower, sulky tedder, and hayrake, with the mechanical loader and horse-fork. The same change is seen everywhere. The windmill has replaced the "old oaken bucket," and the great steam thrasher, with automatic feeder and "blow stacker," does in an hour the work that once kept the flail sounding upon the barn floor through almost the whole winter.

(To be continued.)

## THE LAW AGAINST THEM.

On Tuesday last four coal lumpers were fined at a Sydney Court for singing: "And the loafers are somewhere down below." The loafers they sang about are the wealthy loafers—and it's a serious thing to sing reflectively concerning wealthy persons, especially when you have to take your chances before a magistrate who (if the "Evening News" report is correct) lets his class feelings get ahead of him sufficiently to tell the charged men, "you are the loafers, going about the streets doing nothing but singing and creating disturbances." Perhaps the "Evening News" does not report Mr. Wilshire correctly; but, if it does, he certainly should be given a chance to look for another job—for that which has arisen, and the united voice of organised labor proclaims that the trial is not a fair one, and denounces the whole affair as a put-up job and a low-down murderous attack of unscrupulous Capitalists against the workers.

If the union officials are sentenced to death, a great revolt is likely to take place.

George V. Debs, who stands at the head of the American Socialist movement, recently declared that, if Moyer and Heywood and Pettibone were hung, the capitalists who administer the law would have to hang him too.

## CONSPIRACY TO MURDER.

The attempt of the American capitalist crowd to bring about the judicial murder of Moyer, Heywood, and Pettibone, officers of the Western Miner's Federation of the United States, is certainly a reprehensible

dous indignation on the Western Continent. The case is now before the courts, the cables announce that Harry Orchard (the pimp employed by the capitalists to swear away the lives of the unionists) has confessed to having committed numerous other crimes. He is a notorious criminal and murderer, and his employment recalls the criminality of the capitalists whose servant he is. Even the capitalist press recognises the gravity of the situation.

## A FEW FACTS.

Under the present system of property industry is carried on for the sole purpose of bringing profit to the owners of the means of production.

Profit is merely the getting of something for nothing.

In order that one person may get something for nothing another person or persons must give something for nothing.

This is self-evident.

The profits accruing to the masters of wealth production are measured in the material things produced by those whose labor carries on the industrial process.

Into these material things is coined the very lives of the laborers.

They produce the wealth; their masters, the capitalists, take it.

That is how the latter obtain their sacred profits from which they wax sleek and fat in appearance and great in pomposity and power.

What the capitalist gets cost him nothing; the laborer pays the bill.

A similar happy arrangement once existed betwixt the chattel slave and his master.

Later on it was the same between feudal lord and serf.

Now it is the capitalist and the



wage-slave.

The capitalist is master; the worker a slave.

The modern slave gets his wages, which are equivalent to the expense of his "keep" while he works.

When he has no job, i.e., master, he gets nothing.

His wages are paid out of the product of his own labor, therefore he pays his own wages.

This is in turn equivalent to working for nothing and "keeping" himself.

The profits of the master also come from the product of the slaves labor.

This represents the price the slave pays for the privilege of working for nothing and "keeping" himself.

The masters are few; the slaves many.

The former could not retain their soft snap without the latter's consent.

Periodically the slaves have an opportunity to withdraw their consent.

This is termed an election of public officials.

Most of the slaves refuse at these times to withdraw their consent.

They are quite satisfied to work for nothing "keep" themselves and pay through the nose for the privilege.

The masters are equally willing they should.

This shows the identity of interest between master and slave.

The willing slave is just merely an ass who has hind legs only.

As the four-legged ass is not altogether willing to pack his load certain apologies are due him.

He is hereby assured that no interest is intended.

It requires something more than his own unsufferable ignorance to hold him to his task.

All of which is greatly to his credit  
But the ass with hind legs only—  
(font run out).  
"Western Clarion."

A Hindoo owed an account to an English merchant, and came in one day to pay. After doing so he wanted a receipt. In vain the merchant told him a receipt was unnecessary. "Me must have to show me owe you nothing," said the Indian. "Me go to heaven and the Lord ask Injun if he pay debts. Injun say yes, Lord ask Injun where is receipt. What Injun do? Can't go all over hell to look for you. He got the receipt.

### SLAVES.

They are slaves who fear to speak  
For the fallen and the weak;  
They are slaves who will not choose  
Hatred, scoffing, and abuse.  
Rather than in silence shrink  
From the truth they needs must  
think.

They are slaves who dare not be  
In the right with two or three.  
—LOWELL.

The Scottish Union of Range, Stove and Ornamental Workers, numbering 988 members in three branches at Glasgow, Falkirk, and Cumbernauld, has two Socialists on its Executive Council.

The membership of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants at the end of the last financial year was 70,130, an increase of 12,638 on the previous period, and the funds went up from £330,567 to £362,732.

## FORWARD WITH THE RED BATTALION.

### The Socialist Federation of Australasia—an Appreciation.

FORWARD with the Red Battalion! Onward with the Red Brigade!  
For beneath their sacred banners Hope and Justice are arrayed;  
For they're fighting, ever, ever, as the aeons pass away,  
Age by age, for Right and Freedom—fighting, striving, night and day:  
For the toilers ever striving; bled by rapine, scourged by Might,  
Till, anon, the Red Battalion, God forfending, in the fight,  
Shall against the Thugs and Sweaters, 'gainst the Tyrants of the land,  
Be proclaimed by Demos, Victor—winning Justice—God's right hand  
For 'spite of Judges, Traitors, Armies—all that buttress Plunder's reign  
We shall battle till the People, law-oppressed, are free again.

'Ware the Traitors; landsmen, seamen: 'ware the Traitors—they alike  
Wed to Sect's atrocious mongers, or the "blackleg" in the strike—  
For of Labor's myriad foemen e'er the cruellest of the clan  
Are they—are THEY—the trait'rous brothers of their fellow workingman:  
But, my comrades, stand United; build against the traitor's hate,  
Build against the callous Cæsars of the Senate and the State,  
Build the Fort supreme of Union! Know the blood-red track behind  
Shows the pathway of estrangement of the People passion-blind  
Leads to Warfields fratricidal, where the ancient Feudal laws,  
Framed to bind the People's freedom, first foreshadowed "Boodle's"  
cause.

So Forward, with the Red Battalion—tho' their path is e'er so hard,  
Though their hands are black and grimy; and their faces battle-scarred;  
Tho' their lives are kin to sorrow; bruised and baited tho' they be  
By all the soulless tribes of Plutus, God accursed from sea to sea,  
Bully for the Red Battalion—vanguard of the rising sun,  
When the slave-days shall have vanished and the Peoples are as one—  
When the Truth shall shine untrammelled, and decrepit Hate and Caste  
Like the night's forgotten phantoms, vanish in the shadowed past:  
When amid disbanded armies end shall come to Plunder's reign,  
And (acclaim the Red Battalion) Right shall rule the earth again.

Goulburn, June, 1907.

GEO. McALISTER.



# Shall Moyer and Haywood Die?

By E. E. HUNTER in London "Justice."

AN historic event in the history of the working class has commenced in Boise, Ada County, U.S.A. Charles H. Moyer, William D. Haywood, and George A. Pettibone, have been led forth to stand their trial on the charge of murdering ex-Governor Steunenberg. Seldom has the great American Continent been so roused as it is to-day. A press campaign of almost unexampled ferocity has been waged against these men. Republican has vied with Democrat in violently attacking them while their lips were sealed within the prison walls. From the executive power of the State down to the dirtiest yellow rag, they have been denounced as "common murderers." Indeed, that is the trump card of the prosecution: "This is a common murder case." Attorney Richardson, the counsel for the defence, has well replied: "If this is a common murder case, why has yonder jail become a hallowed spot to the working class of the nation, and this court room an inspiration to the novelist and historian?"

What are the facts of the case? On February 16, 1906,

in the dead of night, the prisoners were arrested in the State of Colorado by officials of the State of Idaho—a proceeding contrary to all American law—and removed beyond the jurisdiction of their own State, on a trumped-up charge of murder. Since then they have for fourteen months been kept in prison, being refused either trial or bail.

The murder in which they are charged with being implicated took place at Caldwell, Idaho, on December 30, 1905. Previous to the murder, Moyer had not been in Idaho for five years, Haywood for over a year, and Pettibone for three months. Ever since their arrest, the authorities have been outraging every law and statute to prevent the men being brought to trial; while, led by President Roosevelt, they have been making frantic efforts to doom the men by prejudicing public opinion before the trial.

The State of Idaho papers applying for the extradition of the men state distinctly, and under oath, that they were all three at Caldwell on the day of the murder. Despite the fact that hundreds of the citizens of Denver could testify to the accused being in that city on the day of the murder, it is only now fourteen months after the arrest that the pri-

soners are given the opportunity to prove their innocence.

What evidence there is consists of the transparently worked-up fairy tales, or, in this case, devils' tales of Pinkerton's Detective Staff. A man named Orchard is the chief witness, and he professes to be the actual assassin, working under the directions of Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone. The reliability of his story can be gauged by the following extract from Wanhope's article on the outrage in "Walshire's Magazine":—"On the night of the assassination he (Orchard) stood just around the corner of the Steunenberg residence, and pulled the string of the infernal machine as his victim entered the gate. Two minutes later he was in his lodgings at the Saratoga Hotel, three miles away—a rather remarkable feat of pedestrianism. Forty minutes later Governor Gooding and one D. D. Campbell were searching his room (No. 19, which is locally known as the "Orchard room") for explosives—another peculiar coincidence... Two days later Orchard was arrested; seemingly made no effort to get away, and confessed the crime almost immediately. He seemed to be staying around waiting for the detectives. The "States-

man" reporter said that Orchard, the self-confessed murderer, "was seemingly a free man." Meanwhile, Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, as Walshire says, were "lying shackled in solitary confinement."

If the whole business is proved to be a deep-laid conspiracy on the part of the mineowners to smash the Western Federation of Miners, nobody who is well posted on the class conflict in Colorado will be surprised. For years now a bitter struggle has been waged by the mineowners against the Union. Men have been massacred, bludgeoned and imprisoned, but, indomitable and true to the cause, the Union—one of the finest fighting organisations in the world—has never once hoisted the white flag of surrender.

The mine-owners have either by brute force or trickery seized the whole of the political machinery of the State, and time after time have called out the militia to fire on the stalwarts of the Western Federation of Miners. In 1904, just prior to the imprisonment of the miners in the infamous Bull Pen, the mine-owners were not satisfied with the State officials, who had shown ordinary fairness to the men. Sheriff Robertson was thereupon marched down



the street to the hall, and was compelled to resign by the assembled mine-owners, under threats of instant execution—a rope being produced for the purpose. Immediately upon his enforced resignation, they illegally elected their own nominee, who at once proceeded to put into operation the Bull Pen plans. In this Bull Pen the members of the Federation, without shelter, and practically without food, were huddled together under revolting conditions for days, until they had signed documents dissociating themselves from the Union. Over and over again they have arrested Moyer and Haywood. The mineowners are sick of it all, and they realise that if they don't settle the Western Federation of Miners soon, the Federation will settle them.

What will be the outcome of the trial at this early stage it is difficult to say. The mine-owners are moving heaven and earth to bring these three splendid types of the American working class to the electric chair. Already £20,000 of the State money has been spent by the prosecution, and how much more is spent will be only governed by necessity. One thing, however, is certain, the American workers are aroused throughout the length and breadth of the

country. In Colorado itself, Haywood, as candidate for the Governorship, polled 16,938 votes, an increase of 294 per cent., while throughout America tremendous meetings and processions are everywhere being held. On a recent Sunday a procession of 50,000 marched through New York.

The capitalist class of America had better be careful; it may well be if they judicially murder our comrades, that they will light such a conflagration in America that will never be put out. We, by the very nature of things, are compelled to play the thankless part of onlooker in this life and death struggle. All our thoughts and hopes are with our comrades to-day. As they file into the dock, the Social-Democracy of the world gives a mighty cheer, a cheer of menace and meaning that tells the corrupt plutocracy of America that it will fare ill with them in the days that are soon to come, if they cruelly do to death the comrade-heroes who have so nobly fought the battle of Socialism in the far-off wilds of Colorado.

Capitalism has no chivalry for women. Woman's wages are always lower than men's even for the same work.—Barrier "Truth."

## Socialism and the Farmers.

Still other changes bring the farm into closer connection with the factory system. Many things that were once a part of farming are now great capitalist industries. The creamery and the cheese factory are the first of these that occur to the mind, and beet sugar is an example of an almost new industry that has been grafted upon farming and that is but a portion of the great factory system. The farm products connected with these industries are absorbed by the owners of the plants, and the farmer who grows the beets or furnishes the milk and cream receives simply wages for his share of the labor performed upon the finished product, and not infrequently those are even lower than those paid the employes within the walls of the plant itself. Here at least there can be no doubt but that the interests of the wage-worker and the farmer are the same.

There is the same tendency toward specialization of industry upon the farm that in a more developed form has worked such wonders in the factory. To be sure it is not yet possible to find examples of such wondrous division as that in the shoe trade, where each man makes but the hundredth part of a shoe. The process has taken a somewhat different turn upon the farm. It has shown itself in the gradual transference of many industries from the farm to the factory. Fifty years ago nearly all the cloth used upon the farm was woven at home; stockings were always knitted there. Nearly every farmer was his own black-

smith, carpenter and butcher, and in fact was compelled to be a "jack of all trades." The change from this state of affairs to that of the present day is so evident that it needs only to be called to mind to be at once recognized.

The effect upon the farmer has been the same as that of the analogous development upon the laborer. It has increased the productive power of the individual, but has rendered him less independent of his fellow workers. It has been frequently pointed out that with every day that passes the factory worker is becoming more dependent upon the actions of his fellow workers. It made little difference to the old-fashioned cobbler whether anyone else worked at the same time that he did. His work was wholly independent of theirs. But the employe in a great shoe factory making but the hundredth part of a shoe is helpless without the other ninety-nine. Just so the farmer who a generation ago made everything he needed upon his own farm cared little or nothing for what the rest of the world might do. If he could not sell his products he could eat or wear them, and had little need for intercourse with the remainder of the world. Not so the farmer of to-day, whose butter is made at the creamery and cheese at the factory and who never saw a suit of home-made clothes. He sells his grain and fruit in the markets of the world, and the rains of India or the floods of Russia may prove as destructive or as helpful to him as similar occurrences in his own fields. In other words, he, like the wage-worker, has become a part, and only a part, of the world's great productive system, and is subject to all its vicissitudes, be they helpful or harmful.

(To be Continued.)



## Other Lands

### BRITAIN.

In the Lurgan district (Ireland) a case was reported of a one-room house containing three separate families—in all 14 persons.

A moneylender at Lambeth County Court, in a case where it was sought to set aside the conditions of a bill of sale, said the usual rate of interest was 60 per cent.

A Preston butcher, received three months' imprisonment, without the option of a fine, for exposing for sale decomposed meat from a cow which had suffered from tuberculosis and dropsy. The shop was in a poor district.

A correspondent, writing to a daily paper from Wootton Bassett, Wilts, tells of an old labourer in a Somersetshire village receiving 11s. per week wages, another 15s. and paying 28s. 3d. rent, and another 15s. from which 3s. 6d. is deducted by his employer for rent.

### JAPAN.

The latest number of the "Heimin Shimbun" was issued on April 14, owing to several prosecutions by the Government, who have also proclaimed the Socialist Party.

### FRANCE.

A vigorous attack has been

made by the Socialist Party on the Government for its anti-trade union action. Vaillant, Allemane and others have joined in the attack, and Jaures delivered a speech (in two sections) of seven hours' length.

Paris is very much amused because the parish priests have formed a trade union.

### BELGIUM.

According to a manifesto issued by the Socialists of Charleroi, there are, out of 500,000 miners in Belgium, no less than 110,000 who work more than 11 hours a day. A new law has just passed reducing the hours to 10. The Socialists were defeated, in a strong attempt to secure the eight-hour day.

### GERMANY.

A big dispute has broken out in the Berlin building trade and the employers are locking out 50,000 to 60,000 men. The men want shorter hours of work and the employers think, or seem to think, that the occasion is a favourable one to smash the union.

A man recently sent a sausage to a brother who was serving his time in the army, done up it appeared in a Socialist newspaper; as this latter was found among the soldier's things he was punished with imprisonment. On

afterwards telling his brother of the occurrence the latter wrote a complaint to the commanding officer, whereupon his brother was again punished for libelling his captain. Under arrest the unhappy man fell ill, and then committed suicide.

In regard to the confiscation of Dr. Liebknecht's book, it is rendered all the more arbitrary by the fact that the book has never been condemned by any court, and it is quite possible, in fact, often happens, that a book seized by the police, and which they have (as in this case) broken into private houses to search for, has been proclaimed free by the courts. It gives an idea of what police rule in Germany means.

It is certainly amusing to hear that Sir Francis Drake—the daring sea-robber and discoverer, a founder of England's Colonial Empire—should be celebrated in one German town, and that an old-world town far away from the sea, in Baden—the town of Offenburg—and there as the peaceful discoverer of the potato. There stands Drake with a potato plant in his hand, as if he had never done anything else all his life. It was perhaps, after all, his best title to the gratitude of humanity.

With the death of Robert Schweichel the party loses one of its oldest and truest members as well as one whose writings have found an echo as those of few others in the hearts of the German proletariat.

### BRITISH COLUMBIA.

A bill introduced into the Legislature by our comrade Parker Williams in favour of making employers pay wages at least once a fortnight, has passed a second reading.

### UNITED STATES.

Over four thousand longshoremen are on strike at New York for an increase of one-third in their wages.

Parades of sympathisers with the persecuted Western Miners' officials took place at Brooklyn and Manhattan on May 1. Moyer and Haywood have issued a statement accusing Roosevelt and the Governor of Colorado of conspiracy with the most powerful interests of the country to compass their death. The capitalist press predict that the miscreant Orchard will be assassinated in the witness chair.

On a recent Saturday 20,000 paraded in New York and 10,000 in Brooklyn, and meetings held at which a resolution pledging those present to secure justice for Moyer and Haywood was passed.



THE EVOLUTION  
OF PROPERTY.By PAUL  
LAFARGUE.

## CHAPTER IV.

## FEUDAL PROPERTY.

## I.

(Continued.)

THE Teutonic tribes who had invaded Western Europe were a nomad population, in a state of barbarism nearly akin to that of the Iroquois tribes at the time of the discovery of America. Strabo tells us that the barbarians established in Belgium and in the North-East of France were ignorant of agriculture, and lived exclusively on milk and flesh; principally on pork, fresh or salt; that they possessed herds of swine—savage and dangerous as wolves—roaming at large in the immense forests which covered the country, and so abundant as to supply them with food and the means of buying the few articles they stood in need of. Strabo adds that the Gauls had simillar manners, and that to know them it required but to contemplate the Germans of his time. When Cæsar landed in England he found that the Britons inhabiting Kent possessed much the same manners and customs as the Gauls; they did not till the land; they subsisted on a milk diet and on flesh, and were clad in skins. They

painted their bodies blue in order to strike terror into their enemies, and had their wives in common by groups of ten or twelve, including brothers, fathers and sons. In Europe and elsewhere the point of departure is the same.

The widest equality reigned among these barbarians, who were all warriors and hunters, and whose manners and usages tended to preserve this heroic equality. When they settled and began to practice a rude kind of agriculture, they undertook warlike expeditions for the purpose of keeping up the exercise of fighting. A war chief of renown needed but to announce that he was starting on a campaign to see warriors flock to him, eager for spoils and glory. During the expedition they owed him obedience, as did the Greek warriors to Agamemnon, but they ate at the same table and banqueted with him without distinction of persons, and the booty was divided equally and by lot. Back again in their villages, they recovered their independence and equality, and the war chief lost his authority.

It is in this free and equal fashion that the Scandinavians, and in fact all barbarians, organised their expeditions. These piratical manners prevailed during the whole of the middle ages;

when William the Conqueror and Pope Innocent III. wanted to levy an army against the English and Albigenses, it was only necessary for them to promise a division of the spoils taken from the vanquished. Before the battle of Hastings, just as the troops were about to engage in fight, William, with a loud voice called out to his soldiers: "Fight bravely and put all to death; if we win, we shall all be rich; what I get, you shall get; if I conquer, you will conquer; if I obtain the land, you will obtain it." His Holiness the Pope used similar language on the 10th of March, in the year 1208, on stirring up the faithful to fight the heretic Albigenses: "Up now, soldiers of Christ; root out impiety by every means that God may have revealed to you (the means that the Lord had revealed were fire, rapine, and murder), drive out of their castles the Earl of Toulouse and his vassals, and seize upon their lands, that the orthodox Catholics may be established in the dominions of the heretics." The Crusades which launched the warriors of Europe, on the East were similarly organised, having the delivery of the Holy Sepulchre for pretence and plunder for object.

When the barbarians, in quest of territory, had con-

quered a country, they either put the inhabitants to death (as the Hebrews did, by Divine order), or contented themselves with ransacking the towns; they settled in the country, which they set about cultivating in their own way, and allowed the vanquished to live alongside of them according to their own customs and usages. But when they became sedentary and cultivators of the land, they little by little lost their warlike habits, although some of them remained invincibly attached to the primitive manners. The Germans observed by Tacitus had already lost some of their savage fierceness; they had established themselves and become addicted to agriculture; the tribe of the Catti, however, were dedicated to war. Always in the forefront of battle, they occupied the most dangerous posts; they possessed neither houses nor lands, nor had they cares of any sort. Wherever they presented themselves they were entertained. These warriors formed a kind of standing army, charged with defending those of their countrymen who were engaged in agricultural pursuits.

But no sooner had the invading barbarians established themselves and lost their native vigour than other barbarians pounced upon them as



on an easy prey, and treated them like a conquered people. During many centuries compact masses of barbarians overran Europe; in the east, the Goths, Germans, and Huns; in the north and west, the Scandinavians; in the south, the Arabians; desolating the towns and country in their passage. And when from east and north and south this human flood had ceased to pour down into Europe, and when the barbarians had lost their nomadic habits and resumed the work of civilisation which they had arrested and frustrated, there was unloosed another scourge; bands of armed men overspread the country, plundering and ransacking and levying contributions on every side; the battle over, the soldiers of the hostile armies fraternised and started on an expedition on their own account.

During many centuries people lived in continual fear of robbery, kidnapping and murder. The invasions of the barbarians that ruined and disorganised the country did not prevent the tribes already settled from quarrelling among themselves. These constant internecine quarrels render barbarian nations powerless in the face of strangers; they are unable to stifle their clan hatreds and

their village feuds in front of a common enemy. Tacitus, intent solely on the supremacy of the Romans, adjured the gods to foment this disastrous discord; for, said he, "fortune can bestow no higher benefit on Rome than the dissensions of her enemies."

The inhabitants of the towns and provinces were constrained, for safety's sake, to live in fortified places. The charters of Auvergne of the 11th and 12th centuries designate such villages by the term of castra (camp). In the towns and boroughs houses were constructed in view of the necessity of sustaining a siege.

The village collectivities which, at the outset, were composed almost exclusively of individuals belonging to the same clan, and consequently equals, elected chieftains charged with their defence, who eventually came to gather into their hands the several rights of jurisdiction, of settling differences, of interpreting the customs, and maintaining order. The Franks in their barbarous Latin called such a chieftain *graffio*, from *graf*, the German for count. The elected chief of the village collectivities are the feudal barons in embryo.

In the beginning they

were simply public officers subjected to the authority of the council of the elders and the popular assemblies, and with the execution of whose decisions they were charged; they were severely punished for every neglect of duty. The *graffio* of the Frankish tribes who omitted to expel a stranger whose expulsion had been voted by the assembly was amerced in a fine of 200 gold *solidi*. (*Lex Salica*.) This was exactly the sum assessed as composition for murder. (*Weregild*).

The powers which were at a later date to become the appanage of the feudal lords, belonged to the community met in full assembly. (*Folkmoote*.) All of the inhabitants were bound to attend in arms, under penalty of a fine; certain village collectivities possessed serfs, as, later on, did the lords.

The laws of Wales, collected in 940, by order of King Hoel-Du, and published in 1841 by A. Owen, indicate the mode of election and the qualities and the functions of these village chiefs which do not substantially differ from those of the barbarian war-chief. The chief of the clan was chosen by all the heads of families having wives and legitimate offspring, and he held his office for life; among certain peoples his functions

were temporary and revocable. It was imperative "that he should speak on behalf of his kin and be listened to; that he should fight on behalf of his kin and be feared; that he should be security on behalf of kin and be accepted."

(To be continued.)

## Austrian Elections

### Great Socialist Successes.

ON the 17th May—for the first time under the new law, giving increased manhood suffrage—the Austrian elections took place.

There are 516 electoral districts, and so far the results of 240 of these are to hand. 143 candidates were elected, and 97 have to go to the second ballot. Of those elected, 43 are Social-Democrats; the other 100 seats are divided among 17 different national and political parties of capitalistic tendencies.

In 60 electorates the Social-Democrats are up for the second ballot.

This is another triumph for International Social-Democracy, the only movement, which stands for equal rights for all nationalities.

The new electoral law in Austria, gives the right to every male citizen 24 years of age, with a residence qualifi-



cation of one year in his particular electorate.

Austria has 19 different nationalities, each claiming the right of language, national schools, and each sending representatives of the middle-class, by whom these questions are fostered, to cause dissent among the working-classes—into the Reichsrath.

Under the banner of Social-Democracy—where no difference of nationalities is recognised, Czechs, Germans, Slovenians, Italians, Roumanians, Poles, Dalmatians, Ruthenians, Croatians, Servians, Galicians, and the others by whatever name they are called—will fight together for the emancipation of the working-class.

The advantage of the new law for Social-Democracy may be gathered from the fact that 90 per cent. of the electors went to the poll.

Our comrades expect to gain 60 seats as against 13 formerly held. Here's an example for Australia to follow.

Just as we go to press, our international exchanges are to hand with still later returns, showing that the Social-Democrats had won 60 seats, while 119 of their candidates were in the second ballot. Between four and five million votes had been polled, and of these more

than a million were cast for the Social-Democrats—515,000 for the German wing, 400,000 for the Bohemian or Czech wing, 35,000 for the Italian wing. The numbers cast for the Polish, Ruthenish, and Slovenic wings are not in yet.

It is significant that the Australian capitalist press, which so jubilantly proclaimed our German party's loss of seats, has maintained an absolute silence concerning this sweeping victory scored by the Socialists of Austria.

The political economists deny the class struggle and would make of the labor movement only a part of the bourgeois party movements, and the Social Democracy only a division of the bourgeois demotacy.

Barrier "Truth" reports: "Tom Lauder, ex-editor of Barrier 'Truth,' has taken the post of sub-editor of the capitalistic Barrier 'Miner.' Laborites of the Barrier are not saying much about it. They are busy thinking hard." Seems to the "Review" that our friend Tom has at last found his level by dropping down to where he rightly belongs.

## *The Coal Lumpers' Lock-out.*

The past week has witnessed a great improvement in the prospects of the Coal Lumpers. The numerous promises of support from other States as well as New South Wales, and the actual remittances and gifts in kind have removed any fear as to the children being short of food.

Delegates Peyton and Neilsen have done extremely well, the Melbourne Unionists have responded well, and the Broken Hill members of the A. M. A. did not wait for a visit from the delegate. Knowing the case, they decided to levy themselves one shilling per man per fortnight as long as the dispute lasts.

We thank them for this prompt response and assure them it is properly appreciated. We thank the Port Adelaide men for their additional help and promise of continuance. We thank the Melbourne Trades Hall Council for their assistance, and the Victorian Unionists generally.

Our mass meeting on Tuesday last at the Protestant Hall, was one that will long be remembered. Although it had been raining nearly all day, and was still raining heavily between seven and seven-thirty, the large Hall was packed, the lumpers' wives were in evidence in large numbers, and members of the Tailoresses Union, Wharf Labourers, and Waterside Workers generally, were there. The singing of "The Red Flag," and "When the Revolution Comes" added to the warmth and enthusiasm of the vast gathering, and the speeches were of the right order too.

W. Macey presided, and pithily gave the hard facts of the case. J. M'Neil, of the A.W.U., moved the resolution in a non-compromising style. Peter Bowling, president of the Colliery Employees' Federation, strongly condemned the Arbitration Act, declared emphatically in favour of Revolutionary Unionism, involving the elimination of all sectionalism. Arthur Rae supported, followed by H. E. Holland, president of the Tailoresses Union, who dealt with Arbitration and its known effects on the Unions that had resorted to it. Mr. Rogers, of the Newcastle Wharf Labourers, spoke warmly in support of the Lumpers, and promised hearty and substantial assistance from Newcastle.

Tom Mann, in a fine effort, dealt with the various forms of Trades Unionism, describing what is meant by Revolutionary Unionism, and showing that it is to Unionism the workers must look for the great changes it is absolutely necessary to make, international organisation on the front of all sections, each trade, grade, and calling properly inter-related, so that for fighting purposes there shall be but one organisation, the object of which will be to take possession of the means of wealth production, and entirely control the same in the common interest. Only the workers organised industrially will ever be able to get and exercise the necessary power; this power they already possess, but have not as yet the necessary intelligence to use it to overthrow the capitalist system. So soon as intelligence on these lines characterises the workers, the time for definite action will have arrived. Meanwhile extend revolutionary principles, and obtain political power, the latter not for what can be done on the



lines of social reconstruction, but to prevent the exploiters from using the legislative machinery to entrench their monopoly power. The fight of the Lumpers was one of the battles in the great class war, that war that was already co-existent with modern civilisation, and which would continue until the evolutionary forces caused the disappearance of capitalism, which nature herself had decreed must go, as no longer serviceable to mankind.

The resolution was carried unanimously, cheers were given for the 'Social Revolution, and for success to the Lumpers, and as proceedings terminated there was reluctance on the part of many to leave the Hall.

On Wednesday afternoon, Mr. W. J. Cole, of the Hippodrome, gave a benefit performance, and produced 'Buffalo Bill,' the proceeds, after expenses, to go to the relief of those connected with the Lumpers lock-out. The Australian Vaudeville Association sent £5. Mr. E. W. O'Sullivan announced this, and Mr. Cole made a neat little speech, and cheers were given by the audience for the kindness of Mr. Cole and company.

At the time of writing, steps are being taken to meet in conference. It is singular that nearly twelve weeks have

transpired, and not until now has it been possible to bring about a direct conference between the owners and the lumpers. This is now coming off, and we hope that a settlement will be arrived at.

With this issue we present a photo group of delegates to the first Australian Socialist Conference. Reading from left to right, the delegates are:—Back row: W. Marsh, H. Scott-Bennett, H. H. Champion, J. Thom, Victor E. Kroemer, D. A. Gray. Front row: H. J. Hawkins, R. S. Ross, J. P. Jones (chairman), Tom Mann, H. E. Holland, E. H. Hillier. The absentees are T. Batho and J. Moroney.

Evidence for the defence in the Moyer-Haywood case shows that the informer and self-confessed murderer, Harry Orchard, had declared that the ex-Governor Steunenberg was responsible for his poverty, and that he would get even with him. Orchard also told other witnesses that he was employed by the Mine-owners' Association, and that the Western Federation of Miners was about to be crushed, also that something would happen within a month that would startle the world. This was five weeks before the assassination of Steunenberg.

## India's Troubles.

Recently at Chandos Hall, London, H. M. Hyndman dealt with the subject of the present agitation in India. In opening his address he moved the following resolution:

"This meeting of citizens of London expresses its deep sympathy and admiration for Rai Patel Rai, Ajit Singh, and the other Sikh leaders at Rawal Pindi, Eg Am, Amritsar and Lahore, now undergoing unjust imprisonment without trial at the command of Mr. John Morley and the Liberal Government; and sends its cordial greetings to the agitators all over India who are doing their utmost to awaken their countrymen of every race and creed to the ruinous effect of our rule which, by draining away £35,000,000 worth of produce yearly from India without return, has manufactured poverty upon a scale unprecedented in history, and is causing the greatest Empire the world has ever seen into a vast pauper warren and human plague-belt. This meeting further renews its fervent hope that this infamous British system, which crushes all economic, social and political life out of 250,000,000 of people, will ere long be peaceably or forcibly swept away for ever."

After dealing with the attitude of Tory and Liberal statesmen in the later seventies toward India, Hyndman said that since the 1880 Government of Lord Hartington and Mr. Gladstone, India had been "bled, bled, and bled." Lord Salisbury had stated that India must be bled, and he was quite right. In order to uphold the present system of Government, India must be bled. After telling a story

illustrating the impertinent ignorance and incompetence of Lord Curzon, Hyndman said that it must be borne in mind that no analogy whatever exists between such a country as the United States and India. The excess of exports from the United States may be, and as a matter of fact are, represented by the unseen import of bonded and other indebtedness redeemed from abroad, or by investments in foreign countries, which, also, would not in that case appear in the trade returns. It is certain that India's are not being repaid, but being added to, and it is equally certain that she has made and is making no investments abroad. Consequently, the actual net surplus of exports from India over imports into India, the exports and imports of treasure being duly taken account of, represent the total amount of the actual drain of produce from India without commercial return. Now the total excess of exports for the last three years, as given in the corrected official returns are: for 1902-3, £18,570,811; for 1903-4, £24,961,773; and for 1904-5, £20,144,132; or an average of £21,500,000. But this is far from being the amount of the drain. In order to arrive at the true figures, and in order to balance correctly, we have, as the estimate of value is made at the Indian ports, to add at least 15 per cent. to the total of the exports in order to make up for a similar amount for profit, insurance and freight charged on the imports at the points of debarkation. If this is done in regard to the three years named, it will be found that upwards of £14,000,000 on the average should be added to the £21,000,000 of excess exports. Thus the real drain of wealth from India



