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The History of the Organisation of Science

The History of Marx House

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"Select Bibliography of Working-Class History"

"Bibliography of Historical Writing in English in the light
of Marxism"

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F O R E W O R D

In the centenary year of Tom Mann's birth, 1956, Lawrence and Wishart published Tom Mann and his Times by Dona Torr; this was a first volume covering the years 1856-1890. Dona Torr died in the same year, 1956. She had collected material on Tom Mann for many years, and published a forty page pamphlet life for Tom's eightieth birthday celebration in 1936; this was reissued, in 1944, together with Harry Pollitt's tribute on Tom Mann's death in 1941. The manuscript material and notes which Dona Torr collected will be invaluable when some historian sets out to complete her work. That this will be done one day there can be no doubt, for if ever any single man bestrode the British world of labour between the 1880's and the 1930's like a Colossus, it was Tom Mann.

It seems foolish, however, to wait until a definitive biography can be written. The History Group published, in OUR HISTORY No.26-7, the drafts of the first two chapters of a second volume, covering the years 1890-92. In this issue of OUR HISTORY we reproduce all that exists, in publishable form, of Dona Torr's work on Tom Mann's years in Australasia. From time to time we hope to publish, either in OUR HISTORY or in appropriate journals, further studies based on Dona Torr's manuscript collection. As with OUR HISTORY, 26-7, we are grateful to Walter Holmes for permission to publish this further addition to Dona Torr's work.

T O M M A N N I N A U S T R A L A S I A 1 9 0 2 - 1 9 0 9

When Tom Mann's eightieth birthday was celebrated in 1936 tributes flowed in from all over the world; some of the most moving came from Australasia. Percy Laidler wrote from Melbourne "Tom Mann is a name the utterance of which brings an outburst of loud applause from Australian audiences, even now 25 years since he left these shores.

"Tom Mann in his eight years in this part of the world made a mark that time has not erased, and made a host of friends who still love him and delight in recalling those great and stirring times when he was among us,"

"There is no country in which he made a more lasting and deep impression than Australia," wrote William Orr, General Secretary of the Australasian Coal and Shale Employees Federation.

"Comrade Mann's work in Australia is best known in Victoria and in the Broken Hill Metal Mining District of New South Wales, where his work still lives in the memory of all who knew him and as a source of inspiration to the younger fighters of the movement."

/"Written on behalf of Executive./

The parliamentary Labour Party of Victoria sent its greetings and good wishes. John Cain who was elected its leader, in 19371 told an interviewer "It was when I heard Tom Mann in the Goulbum Valley that I knew what I wanted." The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Australia sent its congratulations: "Your work in Australia has not been in vain. The working-class is struggling forward, gaining ever new strength from the great truths you have taught - the truths of Socialism. We are confident of the success of your cause in Australia and the world over. The Secretary of the Bendigo Section of the Australian Workers' Union, writing officially on behalf of his union, added his own memory of "how you electrified the workers from their apathy."

These were not mere courtesies. The Red Flag flew over Melbourne Trade Hall on Tom Mann's eightieth birthday? the symbol of something he had brought, thirty-three years earlier, to Australia.

"When the century began," wrote Maurice Blackburn, Labour Member in the Federal Parliament, in 1936:

"Australian Labour, except in Queensland, made no profession of Socialist belief. Everywhere, in Australia, the Labour Movement was insular in outlook. Against British Imperialism it set nothing but the narrow idea of Australian nationalism. Mann, it was, who, above all, gave us a Socialist and International inspiration." (x)

And Australia also gave something to Tom Mann.

The full history of Tom Mann's work in Australia, of these years thronged with experience, has yet to be written. Something of the story was told by Tom himself in Chapters 12 to 16 of his Memoirs (1923)" Dona Torr began to write the history of this period, but all that she left, in anything like publishable form, was the chapter on New Zealand, which follows. A few minor changes in the text and some rearrangement of the order is all that has been attempted editorially.

(x) Daily Worker, 15th April, 1936

TOM MANN IN NEW ZEALAND 1902 and 1908

Tom, accompanied by Elsie and their two elder children, sailed from London on December 5th 1901, in the first year of the reign of King Edward VII, glanced from afar at Capetown, where passengers were not allowed to land because there was a war on - with the Boers - and was entertained by the conversation of a discharged Australian soldier, who, now returning to his father's farm, was given to musing upon the ship's chart.

" 'What are you studying, Jem?' 'This beats me' (pointing to the British Isles); 'Here's this little dot of a country takes all our stuff from Australia', it gets all from New Zealand, and they tell me in Africa that it takes all theirs too. They must be a lot of hungry beggars in your country, eh?' "

Forty-eight hours after his arrival in New Zealand, on January 21st 1902, Tom found himself addressing the Wellington Trades Council: within the next three days he spoke to the local branch of his own union, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and to a crowded Sunday meeting in the Opera House. Although a trade union and labour official of ten years' standing, he deliberately neglected his lavish stock of introductions to the big shots of Australasia. Nor would he spend his time being officially conducted in and out of hotel smoking rooms; he had resolved

"not to use one of these introductions and to keep clear of, all officials, knowing something of the methods and results of investigations into social conditions in the company of a friendly official."

(x)

He would stay for a long time, and live under conditions as near as possible to those of "folk of my own standing at home." He kept these resolutions, (xx)

THE ARBITRATION ACT

The first shock came quickly. His union card had been transferred to the Wellington branch of the A.S.E. and at his first branch meeting he "saw and heard a number of unemployed members claiming donation or unemployed benefit." God had not as yet banished unemployment from his own country. Was trade bad? No, normal, but in all the engineering shops around Wellington dilution with boy labour was now

(x) From Single Tax to Syndicalism p.30

(xx) Referred to in his farewell speech to the Victorian Socialist Party (Feb. 1909) and later in his writings.

predominating: "In some shops, instead of the proper proportion of one boy to three men they have three boys to one man." "Cannot you get this rectified by the Arbitration Act?" "No, and this branch refuses to have anything to do with the Act." But Tom knew that his brothers of the A.S.E. were at times a trifle hard to move; they could say nothing good of the Act; he decided to 'keep an open mind'.

In the very same street was the office of Mr. Edward Tregear, Inspector of Factories and first Secretary of New Zealand's first Labour Department, a high-souled enthusiast later disappointed, who had readily supplied Tom with information and whose roseate account of labour legislation in New Zealand had just appeared in the Engineers' Monthly Journal, which circulated wherever the union had branches:

"And here I was in the branch and amongst the members of the Trade Union that owned that journal, and within three minutes of the headquarters of the Government Labour Department; yet these fellow members on the spot were not only not enjoying any exceptionally good conditions but refused to be brought under the Act supposed to be responsible for the alleged improvement." (x)

Travelling later in the South Island he found in Christchurch an engineers' branch which had used the Arbitration Court. What had they gained? Nothing much. They had "pulled up some of the low-paid non-union shops", thus slightly reducing the intensity of competition, but here too they had "more boys than men in the trade", boys who when they grew older could not earn a journeyman's wage and had to leave the trade or go to England and try to qualify as seagoing engineers. In the Arbitration Court the employers had opposed any adjustment, arguing that "the Union only spoke for a portion of the men in the trade; and with this the Court agreed and refused to make any stipulation."

(xx)

But the employers, when it suited them, adopted just the opposite tactics with 'representative' unions, as Tom found up north in the famous Waihi gold mining district of Auckland, where he stayed on his way to the Coromandel Peninsula. There was a strike on against the Act, for it has to be conceded that in the twelve years (1894-1906) of New Zealand's renown as "the country without strikes" a few minor episodes, unworthy of the dignity of history,, did occur, (xxx)

x From Single Tax to Syndicalism, 1913, p.34

xx .Ibid- p.35

xxx W. Pember Reeves, author of the Arbitration Act and Minister of Labour, admits "five or six" "small labour quarrels" during the classic 12 years. A "small and short-lived strike of unorganised gold miners" is, apparently, his reference to the Waihi strike of 1902.. (W. Pember Reeves: State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand. 1902 Vol.11 p.p. 139, 140.)

This 1902 strike was a prototype of the great Waihi strike of 1912 whose 'tragic history' was written by Tom's friend and Melbourne collaborator, R.S. Ross. (x)

In 1902 as in 1912 the miners were defeated by the employers' device of forming a company union (under the New Zealand Act less than a dozen workers sufficed) which registered with the Arbitration Court and was then treated as 'representative' of the whole industry. /The Act had been carefully framed to admit of this._/ At Waihi the yellow unions were made up of a few colliery enginemmen and surface workers.

"I found the Waihi miners on strike against the Act. The men did not want it but the management did. The union was opposed to the men being brought under the Act, so the management easily got over the requirements of the law which provided that societies consisting of two or more employers or seven or more workers, might register and come under the jurisdiction of the Act. The employers had no difficulty about their own side of the case, and as the miners proper were not disposed to come under the Act; the owners encouraged the men engaged about the mine, other than miners, to form themselves into an organisation to meet the legal requirements. 3y this means a case was cited and an award granted." (Tom Mann's Memoirs, p.170.)

Tom, on this first nine months' visit in 1902, concluded that the only favourable results of the act were in the most sweated and feebly organised trades (chiefly bootmaking, clothing, furniture) where the functions of the later English Trade Boards were performed and a bare minimum living wage secured. Even in this respect, however, New Zealand was twelve years ahead of England. (xx) But the fact overlooked by enthusiasts overseas was the narrow sphere within which the net operated, affecting only the weakly organised workers in secondary industries including less than a quarter of the total employed population and excluding all the workers in the great primary agrarian industries where the masters were far more powerful. In 1908 the Court refused to allow the application of the Christchurch agricultural and Pastoral Labourers' Union? and later rulings confirmed this implicit limitation of the Act to the secondary industries. This was no doubt partly misunderstood in England because the dwarf size of these industries was not realised, nor the fact that the awards usually only applied to a single town or district. Mr. Reeves' list would seem imposing to those ignorant of the real conditions; bootmakers, seamen (very few), gold minors, coal miners, printers, tailors, millers, carpenters, plumbers, painters, moulders, drivers, saddlers, tailoresses, dressmakers, sawmillers, engineers, ironworkers, furniture-makers, bakers, confectioners, butchers, grocers' assistants. (W. Pember Reeves. State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand,, 1902. Vol.11 p.108.)

x The Tragic History of the Waihi Strike, by R.S. Ross. Wellington 1913
The great Waihi strike of 1912 was a turning point in New Zealand history. R.S. Ross edited the Melbourne Socialist for a while during Tom's absence in 1908.

xx The Trade Boards Act of 1908 was the first in England.

"STATE SOCIALISM"

The "state socialism" of New Zealand had been initiated by Conservative governments serving the interests of big squatters and wool kings during the period (1870-90) when the colony's primary source of wealth was her function as raw material purveyor to the Yorkshire woollen industry. After the early period of settlement, self-sufficient farming, and first wool exports (1840-51), a rapid growth of the internal market began under the pressure of successive gold rushes (Australia 1851-59, New Zealand 1861-69) which more than doubled the population, drove up exports and created manufacture; but the alluvial gold was soon exhausted, exports slumped and heavy debts arose from excess of imports, hasty railway construction and the cost of the twelve years' war of extermination (1860-72) waged in the North Island against the Maoris. No private accumulation of capital was available for the needful public utilities - roads, railways, etc. - and nobody wanted to let in other monopolists, (x) Hence the policy, begun in the '70's, of loans to finance public works and encourage immigration - loans supplied by Mother England, secured on the credit of the whole colony and administered by its Government. The country was 'opened up' amidst a racket of land and railway speculation; within ten years £20 million had been spent, the population almost doubled, the public debt more than trebled (xx) and God's own country securely tethered to the apron strings of the Old Lady of Threadneedle Street. When the first Liberal-Labour Government came to power in December 1890 the State was already:

"The largest landowner and receiver of rents and the largest employer of labour. It owned nearly all the railways and all the telegraphs and was establishing a state system of telephones. It entirely controlled and supported the hospitals and lunatic asylums ... controlled the whole charitable aid of the country ... was the largest trustee, managed the largest life insurance business and educated more than nine-tenths of the children."

Nearly all land sales and leases "went through its Land Transfer Offices."

(xxx)

- x By concessions like that in Canada when the Canadian Pacific Railway was built.
- xx Population: (1870) 248,400: (1880) 484,864
 Public debt:(1870)£7,841,891:(1880) £28,583,231.
New Zealand in the Making, by J.B. Condliffe, 1930, p.33
 Many facts in this chapter have been learnt from Dr. Condliffe's valuable study, though he is not responsible for the use made of them. (In the second edition (1959) the debit figures are omitted.)
- xxx W. Pember Reeves. The Long White Cloud.

But by the end of the eighties, though the 'clearance' of the Maoris from the North Island had been largely achieved (56 million acres appropriated between 1863 and 1892); development was still mainly limited to the South Island; most of the best land was locked up by monopolist squatters or absentee corporations. As the crisis of falling prices deepened, land-hungry farmers and disappointed settlers combined with the struggling manufacturers and craft unionists of the towns, and were united in demanding tariffs to protect home manufacture and in hostility to the new sweated industries; they formed a majority against the monopolists. already split by the tariff question, the Conservatives were overthrown by this threefold union, in which the farmers were the strongest driving force and 'labour' the weakest; (x) the Liberal-Labour combine ruled from 1890 to 1900 and the Liberals until 1912.

Within the ten years preceding Tom's arrival, this alliance, led by 'Digger' Dick Seddon (a Lancashire lad who had emigrated at the age of 18) (xx) , had taxed and broken up the big undeveloped landholdings (without injuring the large-scale sheep farms), established loans and transport facilities for small farmers, some protective tariffs, State trading (to defeat shipping and coal rings), arbitration courts (1894); old age pensions (1898) and women's suffrage (1893). But this now reign of the small bourgeoisie allied to the craft unionists, who had overthrown the land monopolists and opened the way of democratic advance, coincided with a period of expanding prosperity not due to legislation alone. Most important was the new economic basis of the small man: wide areas of fresh lands now first available in the North Island after the Maori wars and ensuing deforestation; the new technique of refrigeration, (xxx) which gave the country a second primary industry, dairy farming and fat lamb production, suitable for small holdings and close settlement on the new lands. Then, also, the strength and high technical organisation of the older primary industries: scientific sheep breeding, maximum use of machinery and of highly specialised workers in the mass production of wool and moat; State planned transport facilities. Finally, from 1895 onwards, came the long period of prosperity due to rising prices.

x Of the twenty Labour M.P's in 1890 only six were workers.

xx One of the lucky gold-diggers of 1863. Started a business and entered politics. Liberal Prime Minister from 1893 until his death in 1906.

xxx The first successful experimental cargo was shipped in 1882 but the industry was little developed until small farmers were enabled to take it up under the Liberal-Labour Government in the nineties.

So 'Good Old Downy Dick' Seddon, who drove in Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee procession in 1897 and for ever afterwards enchanted Joseph Chamberlain by his model combination of Radicalism and imperialism, (x) was hailed with enthusiasm as he journeyed up and down among the sturdy independent New Zealanders; they

"liked to hear their own views, feelings and wishes - one would hardly say ideas - given back to them in language not too far removed from their own. They liked the comforting official statistics, the patriotic platitudes, the inevitable references to 'God's own Country'."

(xx)

Across the seas this cheerful world, the 'small man's' country, appeared in the mirage of Socialism; in New Zealand Socialism had nought to do with it. But who at that time considered the nature of colonial state capitalism? Or the laws of capitalist development in agrarian countries and their effect upon social classes? A few years before Tom arrived in New Zealand one young Russian Marxist had spent his time in jail analysing those laws and drawing from them extraordinary conclusions about revolutions (xxx); in 1901 he had been obstinately arguing about processes fundamentally akin to those which Tom Mann was observing thousands of miles away across the Pacific, in Taranaki. (xxxx)

x Seddon supported Imperial Federation when other colonial Premiers rejected it; at the Conference of 1902 he proposed preferential tariffs, an Imperial Reserve Force, a stronger Australian squadron, etc. although Mother gave no reciprocity Seddon introduced preference; by 1923 New Zealand was giving all round preference and Mother nothing.

xx W. Pember Reeves: The Lone White Cloud. 3rd edition, 192A, p.303.

xxx The Agrarian Question and the Critics of Marx, 1901.
Later (1907) The Agrarian Programme of Social Democracy.
Lenin's policy (opposed by the Socialist Revolutionaries,
The Mensheviks and Trotsky) determined the present State
form in the U.S.S.R.

xxxx From Single Tax to Syndicalism, 1910.

THE SMALL MAN'S PARADISE

Both in 1902 and 1908 Tom stayed in the rural districts and viewed in detail the small man's Paradise. In 1902. in the famous new dairy-farming regions of Taranaki, he found the milking invariably done by the farmers' children, before and after their school hours; if the children did not milk the cows, he was told, the farmers must give up their farms; they could not afford to pay for labour. "Those conditions were not as I expected to find them (x);" ' remembering his own childhood, he listened with more sympathy to the schoolteachers' complaints than to assurances that "it did the children a lot of good". On his return, six years later), he noted that workers in the butter factories had a seven day week and there was "no improvement whatever in the conditions of the dairy farmers' children" (xx); at Inglewood, in the centre of the richest district? he noted "child labour to an extraordinary extent."

(xxx)

"Farms change hands rapidly and on the plains ... prices are very high - up to £40 an acre - for dairying land. A large percentage of the farms are mortgaged at 5 per cent and much stock is advanced at 10 and in some instances 12 per cent ... So ... in this choice dairying district the price of land is so high that the average dairy farmer is thrown back on the labour of his wife and children ... This puts a premium on large families in Taranaki."

(xxxx)

/**In New Zealand as a whole, however, the birth rate had fallen heavily._7

He could now see "much more clearly than before" that:

"Many of the farmers were simply running farms for a period until they were able to sell at an advantage ... they were more keen on making a deal of this sort and scoring financially than on establishing permanent homesteads. It was not encouraging to learn that those farms had already changed hands so frequently that, good as the land was, and excellent the yield, it took a farmer

x From Single Tax to Syndicalism, 1910

xx Ibid.

xxx Letter to the Melbourne Socialists May 15, 1908.

xxxx Socialist, May 15, 1908

and his family all their time and seven days a week at that, to pay the interest on the capital; and when, as is the case with many, they had to get farming implements on the hire system and pay 10 or 12 per cent on the amount advanced, a thoughtful person wonders why they still indulge in the taradiddle of calling New Zealand 'God's own country'".

(x)

Tom, as usual, had got his finger on the main point. The 'sturdy, independent' small farmers (to use the adjectives consecrated to small agrarian producers) might be as sturdy, independent and small as they pleased, but they were still producing not for themselves but for a market, and not for the home market but for their 'Mother' country, at world market competitive prices, in which big men and big Stock Exchanges had chief sway. In this agrarian dependency profits from rising prices, from Government assistance, from industry and commerce, all went to inflate land values. Tom noted in 1908 how town rents had soared; a commercial acquaintance of his paid 25/- a week in 1902 and £4 a week in 1908 for the same place of business in Wellington.

In 1904 the disillusioned Mr. Tregear complained to the Government in Henry Georgian language about the "non-producing ground landlord of the city and suburban property ... the chief devourer of the wages of the worker and of the profits of the employer ... a greedy rackrenting system which transfers gradually almost the whole of the earnings of the industrial and commercial classes into the pockets of the non-producer." (xx) By unseen ties the small man was fettered to the finance monopolists at 'home', whose loans had made his settlement, his marketing, his cheap transport facilities possible. He might have the state for his sole landlord, he might have no landlord at all, (xxx) but that only ensured freer play to the capitalist market, and whether to landlord or mortgagee he still had interest to pay. The twin processes of usury and class differentiation were pursuing their course.

x From Single Tax to Syndicalism, 1910, p.37

xx Government Memorandum quoted by Condliffe, (1930) p.339

xxx Although large areas of land in New Zealand are national 'Crown' property the bulk of the best land is privately owned; the newly 'cleared' lands (cleared of the Maoris) on which the new dairy farming industry was established in the '90's were held by the State and leased to the farmers, but by 1906-1912 the farmers were strong enough to begin breaking down this measure of nationalisation and after 1912 gained freehold tenures.

S O C I A L I S M

Ton's painstaking and acute observations, his meditations upon the conundrums of God's own country, were so paramount an interest that in his various writings he scarcely mentions his own activities in New Zealand; we only discover from other sources that, on both his visits, he spoke all over the two islands and left an enduring impression:

"The old New Zealand Socialist Party give splendid accounts of his work here," wrote E.J.3. Allen (x) from Auckland on Tom's 80th birthday. "Like the great Lenin, Tom was never too big to meet and discuss matters with comrades young in the movement and with little experience."

The New Zealand Labour Party was born in 1900; the first Socialist Party, a child of the S.D.F., was about six months old when Tom stayed with two of its founders, Robert F. Way and Percy Andrew. R.F. Way recalled this when in 1936 he sent birthday greetings on behalf of "all the old Socialists in New Zealand":

"On August 8, 1901, we had started the organised New Zealand Socialist Party. Percy Andrew (a Clarionette) and myself were living at Hillsboro' nine miles out of Auckland, and Tom was our guest in 1902.

"The Socialist Party was composed of Clarionettes, Australians and one or two New Zealanders. Tom lectured and debated in Auckland and the mining fields of the Auckland province, and visited Wellington and the South Island."

"Six years later Tom Mann again visited New Zealand, and at that time there was a defined Socialist organisation in all the main centres of the two New Zealand islands."

(xx)

In 1906 the Party thus described its aims. "We conceive it to be our immediate duty to teach the New Zealand worker the true economic basis of Socialism, the reality of the Class Struggle, and the ineffectiveness of all palliative legislation to emancipate our people from the grinding heel of Capitalism. We have but one aim in view: The complete overthrow of present competitive industrialism and the inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth." (Melbourne Socialist Oct. 13, 1906)

x E.J.3. Allen who had joined the S.D.F. in the '90's, later wrote a pamphlet on "Revolutionary Unionism" which brought him into touch with Tom in 1910. He settled in New Zealand after Tom had returned home.

xx Daily Worker April 15, 1936.

At the annual Conference in 1908 Tom found 33 delegates representing "about 2,800" members:

"Various members opposed palliative methods in toto ... to entertain the idea of seeking Parliamentary positions would be disastrous to the real growth of the Socialist movement."

This Conference affiliated the Party to the Australasian Socialist Federation and to the International Socialist Bureau and agreed to "increased economic organisation and no political action for the present." /"Report by Tom Mann in the Melbourne Socialist May 8, 1908._j7

During Tom's visit in 1908 we read in the Melbourne Socialist:

"A number of papers reach us reporting his speeches at open air meetings in Wellington during the bakers' strike^ from the 'Star' (Christchurch) reporting his carrying the war into the Premier's cuntry and not leaving him a leg to stand on; another report in 'The Dominion' of his activities among the bakers ...These papers are to be seen at the Socialist Hall." (x)

From Wellington in 1908 he informed his friends:

"I was interviewed by each of the three daily papers here on arrival ... there seemed to be a notion I was intending to stand as a candidate? but that is allayed now."

(May 1, 1908)

In the coal mining district of the west coast (South Island) he visited Greymouth, Westport, Blackspoint, Denniston, etc. and in 1902 rode on' horseback throe miles up the rough track which was then the only moans of communication with Coalbrookdale and Ironbridge, two mines, named by 'proud Salopians', on a hill top:

"I certainly had a good meeting; practically all the mining township was there ... The fact is, the people wanted some diversion ... I was told that some of the miners' wives present at the mooting had been brought there twenty years before, and had never been off that hill top ... if they walked down the bridle track there was nothing worth seeing, just a railway station - and then there was the trouble of getting back ... their knowledge of the world was confined to a stony plateau leading nowhither."

(xx)

x Melbourne Socialist July 17, 1908

xx Memoirs pp. 172-3 °

Travelling around he often met old comrades from Britain carrying on "the grand old cause". Clay, whom he had known years ago in Leicester, William Jamieson of Brechin, Ecroyd of Lancashire and others.

He was a good tourist: he watched Maori women cooking their food in the hot springs of Roto Rua, saw geysers spouting near Lake Rotomahama, gazed at the Blue and Green Lakes, and in Taranaki in 1908 set gaily off to view "the beauties of the world" from the top of Mt. Egmont (8360 feet) after a night in the Mountain House (3200 feet) where the company was discussing Upton Sinclair's Jungle. Starting at 6.0 am, he and his friend Comrade Jackson thought they would be at the top in three hours, but after toiling upwards through the usual sequence of grilling heat, sliding scree, frozen snow and icy winds, they had to stop a little way short, at about 7,800 feet, as Tom had to get back to a meeting.

"Did my meeting alright at night, and now am off to New Plymouth."

How many mountaineers aged 52 could say the same? He never forgot the huge ancient tree trunks below the foothills, the thousand varieties of delicate mosses and ferns, and then the view from high above white masses of clouds and "the sea for a time quite clear." (x)

He also, in 1908, satisfied a long desire to see "Pelorus Jack", the pilot fish (xx) "which always came to meet any vessel and accompany it in Pelorus Sound (between Picton and Nelson) to and from the French Pass" (by D'Urville Island, near Nelson). About 16 to 20 feet long, "almost white and quite unlike any other species ... it swam always at the bows of the boat, rapidly crossing from side to side and then darting for a time immediately in front as though guiding and encouraging the boat; then it disappeared." Tom's eagerness not to miss 'Jack', as he had done once before, was such that as the proper place approached he even stopped his hour's talk on Socialism with the skipper. Jack appeared all right, as he had been doing, according to all accounts, for thirty years, stayed about seven minutes, occasionally rising and giving a snort, and then as usual disappeared.

"How I wanted to talk to that fish! ... That I had a real affection for it I am perfectly sure, that I could all but talk to it I also felt sure ... Why he gives himself this - task ... how it is he has no mate, and where are his playmates ... I would dearly have loved a chat with him ... and I never took my eyes off him till ... he suddenly dropped down, apparently end on. Quietly I said, 'Goodbye Jack, old fellow. I'm real glad to have seen you'." (xxx)

x Letter to the Melbourne Socialist May 15, 1908.

xx Tom learnt later that it was a mammal of the dugong genus.

xxx - Christchurch June 1.9.08. Letter to Melbourne Socialist June 26, 1908. This was the "Big Fish" which interested brother George. ' -

CLASS STRUGGLE

When Tom revisited New Zealand in 1908 his mind had greatly changed. The new epoch, in which he was soon to become the standard bearer of revolutionary trade unionism in Britain, had begun. A great wave of revolt, spreading across the continents, had brought into being in America and Australasia a new organisation, the "Industrial Workers of the World" (1905). New Zealand was no longer 'the country without strikes'. The Liberal-Labour alliance, already divided in 1902, was now, like Digger Dick Seddon himself, dead. A few days before his death Dick Seddon had told Tom Mann in Melbourne that New Zealand had the cure for unemployment - public works - Tom had remained courteous but sceptical. (x)

The new class of dairy farmers, despite internal divisions, were united in antagonism to the town; to the growing strength of the workers whose unions, wage claims, and State social services were accused of driving up costs; to the manufacturers whose tariffs increased prices. In 1912 a new Conservative Party (the Reform Party) based on the small farmers, would put an end to 22 years of Liberal Rule. The main plank in their policy was freehold tenure. Mr. Massey was Premier 1912-1925. A huge increase in loans for settlement and public works and in the national debt (war debt) took place.

As for the arbitration courts, the struggle between capital and labour went on alike inside them and outside them. The long period of rising prices since 1895 had meant prosperity for the primary industries but lower real wages for the workers, arbitration awards held good for three years and strikes against them were forbidden; but the workers struck all the same.

In Wellington Tom saw the aftermath of the great slaughtermen's strike of 1907: the Court had penalised the workers with fines which most of them refused to pay; to send so many to jail would injure a key industry, so factory inspectors were instructed to hunt down the strikers individually on pay days and try to extract the fines by instalments. Tom discovered one of his old fellow members of the A.S.E. engaged in this dirty work.

The new revolt came not from the craft unions and their ancient strongholds, the Trades and Labour Councils, but from the younger organisations of waterside workers, seamen, slaughtermen and, first and foremost, miners. In 1902 the miners had started their struggle for an eight-hour day; in 1908 Tom was an eyewitness at one of the turning points of New Zealand's history, the Blackball coal miners' strike.

Though tied by a Court award, the miners had struck against working conditions. The Court inflicted a fine on the union; the union declared itself without funds; the Court imposed individual fines on the men; the men unanimously refused payment; the sheriff was told

to levy distraint. Ton was breakfasting in the local hotel together with this worthy when the order came; in the evening he heard his complaints;

"His plan was to saunter about the township and watch his opportunity; when a house door was open, to step inside quickly, cast his eyes around and see if there was anything in the shape of a bicycle or sewing machine that he could if so, he would march off with this."

But when he tried to sell the goods nobody would buy, so he had to depart. "The official auction ... gave the minors an excellent opportunity of ridiculing the Court and the Government ... the total proceeds were 12s.6d." The Government, with a general election at hand, dared not imprison the strikers, but once safely re-elected they added to the Act the clause empowering employers to deduct from wages the amount of any fine imposed on men in their employ.

But out of the Blackball strike came the Miners' Federation of Labour (1908) which, refusing any contact with the Arbitration Courts, expanded into the New Zealand Federation of Labour, the "Red Federation" explicitly based on the theories of class struggle and industrial unionism. In 1912 it adopted the I.W.W. preamble as a part of its constitution.

S O C I A L I S T T H E O R Y

Tom Mann's work in Australia falls into three parts. From September 1902 until September 1906 he was organiser for the Victorian Labour Party. He travelled and lectured also in Queensland, New South Wales, South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania. In April 1906 he founded the Socialist Party of Victoria. Tom now became editor of the Party's paper, the Socialists and Party Secretary. By September 1906 the party had 1,500 members. Until his return to New Zealand, in 1908. Tom Mann's activities were centred on developing Socialist understanding: "We avowed ourselves straight out International Revolutionary Socialists". From 1908 until he left Australia early in 1909; Tom Mann became increasingly concerned with revolutionary trade unionism. It was in this period that he led the great struggle of the miners at Broken Hill

Because Tom Mann tends to be thought of as a great Labour leader, agitator, propagandist, organiser, rather than as a thinker, it may be worth reproducing some of his ideas about Socialism, from the mid-period of his Australian visit.

"With others I have often urged the necessity for transforming as much of the battling for better conditions as possible from the sphere of the factory and workshop to the ballot-box of the citizen, the sphere of political activity affording a much wider scope for action than the union area, and the State political machinery being by far the most effective and practically all-powerful for certain work. All this and more on the same lines I will adhere to, but find such an indifference to Trade Unionism in various quarters that I wish to do what I can to call attention to the vital necessity of making the institution of trade unionism more perfect than ever. I am strongly of the opinion that to slacken our hands in the matter of voluntary organisation will prove to be a most serious mistake. With or without Wages boards, with or without Compulsory Industrial Arbitration, I maintain that highly organised Trade Unions are now, and will be in the future, vitally necessary for attaining and maintaining the standard of efficiency and well-being ... The Unions are still more effective than any other machinery the workers possess."

The Tocsin - Dec. 8, 1904

"Socialism does not seek to destroy but to build up, to build fine cities, in which shall be the most magnificent edifices the mind of man can conceive, where every building whether for public or private use shall be architecturally beautiful. Socialism does not aim at making any the slaves of others, but to gradually and surely get rid of all governments other than the self-government of free and intelligent citizens."

"Socialism does not aim at robbing the rich but preventing the rich from continuing to rob the poor."

"Socialism does not favour or tolerate promiscuity between the sexes, but sternly declares in favour of Monogamy."

"Socialism does not enjoy upon its adherents the acceptance of Atheistic principles, but leaves all perfectly free to enjoy whatsoever religious belief commends itself to them ..."

"It is a common thing for some to speak very favourably of Socialism, and very unfavourably of Communism, this arises mainly in consequence of lack of knowledge as to what Communism is. It is the full realisation of the Collectivist ideal, when not only will the means of wealth production be co-operatively owned by the people, but when there will be no regimentation or any dictatorial official class of the kind we have knowledge of today, when even Parliaments will disappear very

very largely if not wholly. Socialists desire a free State of society wherein exploitation will be impossible and minus armies of officials or Parliamentarians - - - 'Private ownership of the means of production; which was formerly the means of securing to the producer the ownership of his product, has today become the means of expropriating peasants, manual workers, and small traders, and enabling the non-workers - capitalists and large landowners - to own the product of the workers. Only the transformation of capitalistic private ownership of the means of production - the Soil, mines, raw materials, tools, machines, and means of transport - into social ownership, and the transformation of production of goods for sale into Socialistic production, managed for and through society, can bring it about, that the great industry and steadily growing productive capacity of social labour shall for the hitherto exploited classes be changed from a source of misery and oppression to a source of the highest welfare and all-round harmonious perfection.

"This social transformation means the emancipation not only of the proletariat, but of the whole human race which suffers under the conditions of today. But it can only be the work of the working-class, because all other classes, in spite of mutually conflicting interests, take their stand on the basis of private ownership of the means of production, and have as their common object the preservation of the principles of contemporary society.

"the battle of the working-class against Capitalist exploitation is necessarily a political battle. The working-class cannot carry on its economic battles or develop its economic organisation without political rights. It cannot effect the passing of the means of production into the ownership of the community without acquiring political power.

"To shape this battle of the working-class into a conscious and united effort, and to show it its naturally necessary end is the object of the Social Democratic Party."

"Socialism". Melbourne, 1908

/"These are quoted from the Australian Labor Movement 1850-1907 by " R.N. Ebbels;/"

In August 1908 Tom Mann spoiled out quite precisely how the now Socialist Party of Victoria should "shape this battle of the working-class into a Conscious and united effort."

"As Socialists, we cannot support opponents of Socialism, no matter what fine fellows they may be in other directions, and it is no secret that in the ranks of Labour are some who have no knowledge of Socialist principles, and therefore no appreciation thereof. Such persons must never expect to get the backing of Socialists; but we must on the other hand sensibly and generously allow for past environment, and not forget that many are actively engaged in courageously fighting with the proletariat in the Great

Class War, who have no clear intellectual grasp of the science of industrial and social economics.

"Not to allow for and properly appreciate this fact would mean that we should soon become doctrinaire, exclusive, pedantic, and narrow, and therefore should soon become comparatively useless and perhaps even mischievous. Therefore, while we must over hold up the ideal of Class-Conscious, International, Revolutionary Socialism, we must rejoice when we see men break away from the support of the orthodox parties, whether called Liberal or Tory, Free Trade or Protectionist, Democratic or Republican, and resolve that henceforth they will unite as Labour men and take their stand against the Capitalist parties.

"This is the first stage of the War of the Classes as regards the attitude of the masses, and those who thus sever themselves from the old order are in a fair way to receive and make use of sound economic knowledge

"For Socialists to antagonise this section by denouncing them because they do not yet see clearly what is meant by the economic interpretation of history, or are unable to discern the differences between the Socialism of our French comrades, Jean Allenane and Joan Jauros, or our German stalwarts, Zebel and Bernstein, would show their unfitness to educate and to organise for great and glorious Socialist victories the mass of the people.

"Such considerations are necessary in considering our attitude towards the candidates that will be brought out by the Labour Party. It is necessary we should use all becoming means to secure the selection of class-conscious Socialist candidates; but even when this is not done, if the candidates selected stand for the proletariat in the War of the Classes, it becomes our duty to work for them and do our honest best to secure their return."

(Tom Mann's Memoirs pp. 202-3)

It is worthwhile remembering that at this very moment back in Tom's home country the Marxist Social Democratic Federation was voluntarily segregated from the Labour Party because the Labour Party did not recognise Socialism and the Class struggle. The British Labour Party had achieved a spectacular success in the General Election of January 1906; we know now that this was largely due to electoral arrangements with the Liberals. The S.D.F. welcomed the advance of the Labour Party but not until May 1914 did this 'Marxist' party, or rather its successor, the British Socialist Party, agree to reaffiliate to the Labour Party.

Tom Mann's success in combining the vision and activity of an "international revolutionary socialist" with a common sense and generosity that preserved him from a narrow, pedantic, exclusive attitude to non-Socialists was brought home on his eightieth birthday in 1936. Both the Communist Party of Australia and the State Parliamentary Labour Party of Victoria sent him official good wishes.

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