SOCIAlISM FROM THE RIGHT.

CHAPTER XXI.

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM: CONCLUSION.

Marx now goes on to trace the development of the capitalist in the post-feudal society. He shows the clash between the landlord and the wage-earner. He points out the strife of the worker with the machine, the intensification of labour due to the constant improvement of machinery. He then proceeds to analyze the class struggle in the history of the wage-labourer. The Acte, the legislation to which the employing class found themselves compelled, in order to make it possible for the "free" workman to live under his new conditions of competition; in order, in short, to keep him from turning mad, was the legislation founded by the advance of the revolution from falling to pieces almost as soon as it was established.

The point of the intensification of labour is so important that it deserves a word or two in passing: the gist of the matter as put forward by Marx is this: "Of all the revolutionary movements that have contributed to the production progresses towards perfection, the wear and tear of the workman in a given space of time is increased; and this is true of the organization of the division of labour, period only it is limited by the fact that the man himself is the machine, and no such limitation exists in the period of fully developed machinery, in which the workman is an adjunct of the machine, which latter dictates to its supplement, the workman, in its constant craving for increasing productivity, the amount of wear and tear of his body in each hour's work. This emphasizes as plainly as possible the subjection of the characteristic industry into the "productivity of labour." Marx also deals with theory of compensation to the workman displaced by machinery; that is, the common view, that by the labour-saving of machinery, which at first sight would seem to tend to the lessening of the number of men employed, more capital is set free for employment.

But, says Marx: "Suppose a capitalist to employ 100 workmen at £3,000 per annum. The total capital annually laid out amounts therefore to £3,000. Suppose that the degree of the machine is 50 of his workmen, and employs the remaining 50 with machinery that costs him £1,500. To simplify matters we take no account of buildings, coal, etc. Further, suppose that the raw material annually consumed costs £3,000 both before and after the change. Is any capital set free by this metamorphosis? Before the change the total sum of £6,500 consisted of half constant, half variable. Capital is therefore a product of one-half being capital and the other half being output of the total capital. Instead of being set free a part of the capital is here locked up in such a way as to cease to be employed in labour-power; variable; but becomes a constant capital. Of the remaining unchanged, the capital of £6,500 can in future employ no more than 50 men. With each improvement in machinery, it will employ fewer." That is to say: "The labourers when driven out of the workshop by the machine, are thrown upon the labour-market, and there add to the number of workmen at the disposal of the capitalists. In Part VII of this book it will be shown that its effective demand is the same as we have seen, is represented to be a compensation to the working-class, is on the contrary a most frightful scourge. For the present, I will only say this: The labourers that are thrown out of work in any branch of industry, ought to seek work in whatever other branch. If they find it, and thus renew the bond between them and the means of subsistence, this takes place only by the intermediary of a new and additional capital that is seeking investment; not at all by the capitalists who formerly employed them, and was afterwards converted into machinery."

The remainder of this Part V. of Marx deals with various questions connected with the capitalist system, and its relation to the new Society. Part VI. deals with the transformation of the value or price of labour-power into wages; with time wages, price wages, and the national difference of wages. Part VII. deals with the important subject of the accumulation of capital: First, with its simple reproduction, afterwards with the conversion of surplus value itself back into capital, and with the transition of the laws of property, that property is a product of the collective labour of man. This is Marx says: "This primitive accumulation plays in political economy that rôle as original sin in theology. Adam bit the apple, and thereupon sin fell upon the human race. Its origin is supposed to be explained when it is mentioned that in primitive times the goods of the society were two sorts of people, one, the diligent, intelligent, and, above all, frugal Rique; the other, lazy rascals, spending their substance and more in riot living. The history of theological original sin tells us certainly how to be condemned to that his own. In the same way with the bourgeois, that is, with his brow; but the history of economic original sin reveals to us that there are people to whom this is no means essential. Never mind! Thus it came to pass that the former sort accumulated wealth, and the latter sort had at last nothing to sell except their own skins. And from this original: sin dates the poverty of the great majority, that, despite all its labour, has up to now nothing to sell but itself, and the wealth of the few that increases constantly although they have long ceased to work. In actual history it is notorious that, enslavement, robbery, murder, briefly force, play the great part."

In the tender annals of Political Economy, the idyllic reigns from time to time. For example, at the beginning of a new epoch of accumulation, the present year of course always expected. As a matter of fact, the methods of primitive accumulation are anything but idyllic. Marx then proceeds to give an instance of one important form of "Primitive Accumulation," the expropriation of the peasants from the land, taking affairs in England as a type of this idyllic proceeding; as also the legislation at the close of the Middle Ages against vagrants, etc., that, those who had been expropriated; and, besides, the enactments for the forcing down of wages. He then describes the birth of the capitalist farmer of modern times, and the reaction of the agricultural revolution on public and industrial capital, etc. A chapter follows on the historical tendency of capitalist accumulation to work out its own contradictions; the transformation of scattered private property, arising from individual labour, into a capitalist property, with its foundation of expropriation comparatively more protracted violent, and difficult, than the transformation of capitalist private property, already practically resting on socialized production, into社会化ised property. In the former case we had the expropriation of the peasantry by a few usurers; in the latter, we have the expropriation of a few usurers by the mass of the people.

A chapter on the modern theory of colonisation concludes the book, which it must always be remembered is but the first volume (in the original German issue) of a book intended to cover three volumes, but which, nevertheless, as a criticism of capitalist production may be treated in most respects as an adequate summary of Marxian doctrine.

E. BELFORT BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

Arrest of Fred Henderson at Norwich.

On Wednesday 27th July Lord Salisbury visited Norwich and held a large meeting on the Agricultural Hall, Plain. As a counter demonstration, a meeting was held in the Market-place, to protest against the policy of coercion. At this meeting Michael Marten, M.P. for South Down, spoke the longest. He said that the policy of coercion and did not put forward a merely political alternative to the Tory policy, our comrades resolved to support them, and Fred Henderson spoke. When addressing a meeting, a workman or shopman should seek his way an honest and, and except as to the Irish member, gave our comrade by far the heartiest greeting of the evening. Again when another speaker wished the meeting a" "their place was that the meeting was not once interrupted by cries of "Socialist," and when he asked what it was that Socialists wanted. Mr. Salisbury, after receiving a message, received a storm of answers. The meeting concluded with three tremendous cheers for the social revolution, called for by Henderson, who asked the audience to go to the Agricultural Savings. The crowd went down London Street, cheering, and reached the Plain (a recognised open air station). Henderson took up a stand under the large tent and held a meeting, when the mounted policemen on duty rode through the crowd at the speaker and ordered them to desist or he would ride down. Seeing that this unwarrantable interference with the right of public meetings, was exciting the anger of the crowd, Henderson called out, "No violence. Give three groans for Salisbury." Right heartily the crowd responded to this appeal, and then the mounted police, driving to and fro among the people, created a disturbance, and tried to excite the people to riot. One constable, No. 40, named Mills, excelled in brutality all the others, and succeeded in making his name known in the public what a miserable ruffian he was. He galloped his horse at full speed along the crowded path, knocking several people down, and, with his fellows, separated the combatants. Henderson called this at last, and arrested our comrade in most brutal fashion, Mills striking him several times without the crowd. Henderson, as soon as he was seen in a position of danger, was galloped to the station, and Henderson had to pass the night in the cells, charged with riotous conduct. Needless to say, the charge utterly fell flat, and nothing but the fright and horrors the police, without a hearing a witness on our side, recognizing at once the insufficiency of the police evidence. We are glad to hear that the matter is being taken seriously, although no action has been taken yet.

[1] Constant capital, raw material, and the instruments of production; variable capital, money paid in wages.

[2] Of all the instruments of the farmer's trade, the labour of man... is that on which he is most to rely for the repayment of his capital. The other two—sowing stock, working cattle, etc.—are, as it were, "...without a given portion of the first, are nothing at all."—Burke.

[3] It is important not to misunderstand this phrase as used here. The labour of the Middle Ages, though individual from its mechanical side, was from its moral side quite definitely dominated by the principle of association: as we have seen, the "master" of that period was but a delegate of the Gild.