NOTEs.

Said Mr. Champion, the barbarians are within and without the so-called pale of modern civilised society. They have been engendered by it. Let the cultured and leisureed classes look to it, before these barbarisms rise in all the might and misery of their wrongs and with avenging hands bring red ruin and destruction to that society that has fed and fattened on their sufferings.

It may be, as was asserted, that there is much Socialism among the educated classes, but so long as it remains hidden it is of small value. Let the educated classes make their Socialism manifest in unmistakable manner, let them labour with all their might for its realisation.

To-day it is the despised street-preaching Socialist that bears the brunt of the battle, who endures persecution and suffers imprisonment for the advocacy of its cause.

If there is so much Socialism among the cultured and leisureed, let them come from behind the "screen" and show it to the world. Let them take up its cross and bear it.

Socialism has too few advocates, but would soon have many did the cultured and leisureed get to work and teach its principles.

Socialists are rebels against society as it is to-day; they rebel not in silence, wherever they go they declaim against it.

A cultured, leisureed and silent rebel runs no risk of persecution or imprisonment; but did all the silent rebels proclaim themselves rebels, the social revolution would be nearer.

A writer (anonymous) in our contemporary Justice, has found out a new definition of Anarchism. According to our friend Anarchism means abstention (for whatever reason) from parliamentary action. I fear this new definition is scarcely exact enough to satisfy either Anarchist or Collectivist.

Our friend also writes as if the Socialist League had made some new discovery at the conference: He had better read again the resolution of the Conference as printed in the Commonweal, which will set him right in this matter, since it asserts the indisputable fact that the policy hitherto pursued by the League has been one of abstention from parliamentary action.

I must venture to call the end of his note as to the constitution of the Council of the League impertinent, since the domestic concerns of a body with which it has nothing to do, do not concern the writer. However, it may be as well to remind our friends that while our Council sits in London we have Branches in various parts of Britain, who cannot possibly send up one of their members to sit on the Council once a week. A real delegate Council would be impossible under such conditions, and a bogus one would not be desired by a body like the Socialist League, which has always shown what I consider a very laudable objection to "bossing." W. M.

The Albert Medal founded 25 years ago by the Society of Arts, and presented to such men as Howard Hill, Whistoun, Whitworth, Siemens, Bessemer, Armstrong, Liebig, Hofman, Lessau, Holker, Doutont, and Pasteur, is proposed to be given to the Queen in this Jubilee year. If ever there were any good object served in providing the above-named men with a circular activity it is small wonder that good object will be entirely eclipsed by the bestowal of that which is awarded for "distinguished merit in promoting arts, manufactures, and commerce," on an old woman who has done nothing to deserve the insane, debasing, and unnecessary flattery with which she is inundated.

Personally we regard her much the same as many other women, and we have no doubt she is well informed of the Socialist movement in Germany,—she, as many a hundred of the trained men and women (with brains) who compose the thriving classes, or to put it a little milder, the predatory classes, must estimate the twaddle and fust now made at its true value.

We know many of these people who live upon unearned profit and increment, who acknowledge that the people who provide the means by which they live are mostly fools, and as long as they are allowed to gather in profits will do so, for the very good reason that until the working classes have acquired a sense of the pervading reality of the system to exist no longer, it would be absurd to change the condition in which we now live, that is until an organisation of honest and true workers come forward and claim their own.

The best effort we can make, therefore, is to educate and prove our position to the masses. Labour should unite as it has never yet united to withstand the common enemy, the profit-thief. Strikes should be made no more possible, but a strike far-reaching and universal should be made on behalf of any section or separate trade by the whole of the workers throughout our country. When this is made possible, then the battle we are now fighting will be half won.

SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

CHAPTER XIX.

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM.—CONSTANT AND VARIABLE CAPITAL.

Mark goes on to develop further the process by which the capitalist exploits the labourer under the present system of wages and capital.

We now come to the two instruments which the capitalist uses in his exploitation of labour, and which are named constant and variable capital; constant capital being the raw material and instruments of production, and variable the labour power to be employed in producing on and by means of the former.

The labourer, as we have seen, adds a value to the raw material upon which he works; but by the very set of adding a new value he preserves the old; in one character he adds new value, in another he merely preserves what already existed. He affects this by working in a particular way, e.g., by spinning, weaving, forging, that is, he transforms things which are already utilities into new utilities proportionately greater than they were before.

"It is thus," says Marx, "that the cotton and spindle, the yarn and the loom, the iron and the anvil become constituent elements of a new "use-value." That is, in order to acquire this new value, the labour must be directed to a socially useful end, to a general end, that is, to which the general labour of society is directed, and the value added is to be measured by the average amount of labour power expended; i.e., by the duration of the average time of labour.

Marx says: "We have seen that the means of production transfer value to the new product so far only as during the labour-process they lose value in the shape of their old use-value. The maximum loss of value that they can suffer in the process is plainly limited by the amount of the old use-value, with which they came into the process, or in other words by the labour-time necessary for their production. Therefore, the means of production can never add more value to the product than they themselves possess independently of the process in which they assist. However useful a given kind of raw material, or a machine, or other means of production may be, though it may cost £150, or say 500 days labour, yet it cannot under any circumstances
add to the value of the product more than £150. Its value is deter-
mined not by the labour-process into which it enters as a means of
production, but by that out of which it has issued as a product. In
the labour process it only serves as a mere use-value, a thing with
use-value, and would not therefore transfer any value to the product
unless it possessed such value previously.

The matter is succinctly put as follows: "The means of production
on the one hand, labour-power on the other, are merely the different
modes of existence which the value of the original capital assumed
when from being money it was transformed into the various factors of
the labour process. That part of capital which is represented by the
means of production, by the raw material, auxiliary material, and
the instruments of labour, does not in the process of production undergo
any quantitative alteration of value. I therefore call it the constant
part of capital, or more shortly constant capital."

At first sight it might be thought that the wear and tear of the
machinery, and the seeming disappearance of part of the auxiliary
material (e.g., the mordants used in dyeing cloth or yarn, or the
guns, etc., used in textile printing) contradict this statement as to the
alteration of value; but on closer view it will be seen that the above
wear and tear and apparent consumption enter into the new product
just as much as the visible raw material does; neither are really con-
sumed, but transformed.

In the following chapters Marx enters into an elaborate and ex-
haustive analysis of the rate of surplus value, i.e., of the rate at which
the creation of surplus value takes place; and he also deals with the
important subject of the duration of the working-day. But as this
is also the matter of detail, in spite of its very great interest and
importance we must omit it, as it would carry us beyond the scope of
these articles.

Marx distinguishes between absolute and relative "surplus value;"
The absolute being the product of a day's labour over and above the
necessary subsistence of the workman, whatever the time necessary
for the production of a definite amount of product may be. The relative "surplus-value" on the other hand is determined by the increased pro-
duction, which is in turn the result of improvements, new machines, increased skill, either in manipulation, or the organisation of labour, by
which the time necessary for the production of the labourer's means of
subsistence may be indefinitely shortened.

It will be seen once again by all this, that whatever instruments
may be put into the hands of the labourer to bring about a result
from his labour, in spite of all pretences to the contrary, the one in-
strument necessary to the capitalist is the labourer himself living under
such conditions that he may be used as a mere instrument for the pro-
duction of profit. The tools, machinery, factories, means of exchange,
etc., are only intermediate aids for putting the living machine into
operation.

E. Belfort Rax and William Morris.

"COMMON-SENSE SOCIALISM."

The first word of the above title is usually a sort of danger signal to
the wary reader to avoid boredom and confusion. "Common-sense" as
applied to knotty questions usually meaning the ignoring of the
main issue, or the putting forward of a remedy difficult to apply and
useless when applied. This is so well understood by persons with not
more than the average amount of time for throwing away on futile and
foolish literature, that the title of this book will probably prevent
many people from even looking at it at all. The one man who did
fore the end of the book the author justifies this well-grounded fear—
- a pity, because two-thirds of it or more, which is devoted to the cri-
criticism of the present state of things, and the remedies proposed by non-
Socialists and semi-Socialists, are shown to be clearly and well.

The author points out the growing discontent, the insuffi-
ciency of the reward of labour; the futility as remedies of thrift and
temperance; the miseries of poverty, the want of a better
peasant proprietorship, etc. But then having condemned capitalism
by showing its inequitable results, and having condemned all the
"tinkering" methods of reform which we Socialists know so bitterly
well, he puts forward his own nostrum, which, after all this, makes
of the mountain, turns out to be one of the smallest and feeblest of
mice ever brought forth. The competition, which he sees very
clearly to be producing a condition of industrial production which will
end in a dead-lock, is to be checked artificially; and how? By regulat-
ing the hours of labour in factories where machinery is used!

For he expressly excepts field labour, the building trades, etc., which
etc., by-the-by, must include at present at least, the labour of the
coal-labourers and our hapless friends the chain-makers.

It is true he adds to this "remedy" some sort of semi-Georgite

land-tax (having argued well and clearly against Mr. George in
an earlier chapter), and the restriction on heritage usually advocated by
him. He takes up the form of tinkering, as also a tax on speculation;
but he does not seem to see the great importance of considering
his great invention being the limitation of the day's work in machine-
using factories and workshops.

What lies at the bottom of this curious aberration seems to be an
infringed tendency in the author to utopianism. Mr. Kempner seems
incapable of conceiving of the class-struggle, or the historical evolution
industrialism, or of understanding that the real point at issue is
whether or how en masse workers can maintain their condition of
pliggage and be masters of their own destinies.

In spite of all this the book may be recommended to young So-
cialists as one of the objective prophecies of Karl Marx. And, in
reasoned, and the would-be constructive part so feebly that it is
scarcely possible that anybody could be misled by it, or attracted to it.
It is worth while to note apropos of the attempt some persons make
to make a hard and unbridgeable line between this book and Mr.
Kempner uses the latter word in the sense that it is used in the
'Manifesto' of Marx and Engels, of 1847. A Communist is with
him one who advocates the communisation or nationalisation of
the raw materials and instruments of labour and distribution.

W. M.

SOCIALISM IN THE WEST END.

On Saturday afternoon, at the French Hall, St. James's Restaurant, Picca-
dilly, H. H. Champion lectured on Socialism to a middle-class audience,
Stepniak in the chair. The room was crowded to excess, and the address
was listened to with interest. Mr. Champion stated that he was speaking
exclusively on his own experiences, that he had no intention of bringing in
Socialists would agree with what he had to say. The first step was to realise
the amount of suffering that existed. When a man of sincerity understood
the foundation of misery on which modern civilisation was built he would
be able to prevent himself becoming a Socialist. The returns of the Register-
Generals show that the number of men, women, and children in the United
State's that we live to see that their lives are shortened, in some cases to such an
extent that the rich live twice as long as the poor. The children of the poor are
to-day living longer than yesterday, but in the case of the working classes,
last winter it was found that in the poorer Board Schools one-third of the
children were incorrectly nourished. The children in the richer districts,
other poor districts in London half the males are out of work. In spite of
all this poverty, the poor have to pay rent at a higher rate per cubit foot
than the rich. The lowest rent in Liverpool, for example, is 3s.; the poor have
to pay a quarter of its total income to the landlord, while one-fifth or one-

The sanitary condition of these exist-
bitual maladies are shown to be cleared
appointed by Lord Salisbury for enquir-
ing into the housing of the poor, and
that was that he would pay 10s. a-week
the common-
A -and, with an income of perhaps fifteen shillings a-week, the power to raise
a civil action against the landlord, the initial expenses of which would cost
him perhaps a month's income. No such action has yet been raised; one
might venture to forestall that no such action ever will be raised. The
position of working women especially calls for comment. Samuel Morley,
of the Privy Council, has recently written a book called "Bought and Sold"
which shows that women workers are at the rate of nine shillings a-week.
Deduct half-a-crown or three shillings for rent, and you have tenpence a-day
which is not more than the common daily wage in the United

These are some of the miseries to which the poor must submit. Under
such social conditions who would not drink and vicious. The wonder
is not that they are so bad as they are, but that they are as good as they are.
The gin-shop is the poor man's drawing-room, and hence it is that he so often goes there.
The rich are able to save now £250,000,000 per annum, in spite of the bad
times. What are the middle classes going to do under the circumstances? One
thing is certain—this state of things cannot last. Left alone, the poor
will become poorer and poorer; those who have nothing to lose will form an
army of revolution, and then our country will be in greater peril than
such an extent that the world's history cannot parallel. On the other hand,
there is no use in saying you believe in Socialism because you believe in
helping the workers to a peaceful transformation of society. It is not only to
the sense of fear that Socialists appeal when they address the proper-
ted. They belong, in fact, to the welfare of the nation, and that is why it
not only for the help of the workers, but also for the help of the middle

to be avoided. The close of the lecture a few questions were asked. A somewhat
excited person—a clergyman, I thought—championed Samuel Morley the
chapel-builder. The audience seemed to be bored by the reverend gentleman.

A. E. D.

In his new book on "State Purchase of Railways," Mr. Waring says:

"Government activity in the acquisition of railways has increased very
considerably since 1880. The number of lines of railway has increased from
25,000 miles, of which 14,385 miles, or about 39 per cent., belonged to
Government. Seven years later the mileage had risen to 66,782, of which
32,683 miles, or about 26 per cent., were in the hands of the Government.
Further acquisitions since 1888 have placed about 50 per cent. of the con-
tinental lines under the management of the State. In Germany the transfer of
the entire railway system to the Government is nearly complete, and in
Belgium it is only a question of time. Out of sixteen continental Govern-
ments twelve are proprietors of railways."