



"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN REED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday June 15.

ENGLAND	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	HOLLAND
Brotherhood	Albina (Oreg.)—Weekly Courier	Hague—Recht voor Allen
Die Autonomie	Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	Liege—L'Avenir
Justice	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Antwerp—De Werker
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	Hamamton (N.J.) Credit Foncier	SWITZERLAND
Norwich—Daylight	Troy (N.J.) Christian Pulpit	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
INDIA	Paterson (N.J.) Labor Standard	SPAIN
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	El Productor
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	New Haven (Conn.)—Work-	AUSTRIA
Melbourne—Honesty	men's Advocate	Vienna—Gleichheit
UNITED STATES	San Francisco (Cal.) The People	Brunn—Volksfreund
New York—Freiheit	Seattle (W.T.) Voice of the People	Arbeiterstimme
Truthseeker	FRANCE	ROUMANIA
Der Sozialist	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Jassy—Lupta
Volkzeitung	Le Socialiste	DENMARK
John Swinton's Paper	Le Revolte	Social-Demokraten
Herald	Guise—Le Devoir	SWEDEN
Boston—Woman's Journal	Lille—Le Travailleur	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
Liberty	ITALY	
	Turin—Il Muratore	

NOTES.

SAID Mr. Champion, the barbarians are within and not without the so-called pale of modern civilised society. They have been engendered by it. Let the cultured and leisured classes look to it, before these barbarians 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 leisured, 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 leisured 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, leisured 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. H. A. B.

C 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 departure at the late 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 he 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 must 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 Rowland Hill, Wheatstone, Whitworth, Siemens, Bessemer, Armstrong, Liebig, Hofman, Lesseps, Holker, Doulton, 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 men above-named with a circular plate of metal called a medal, 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 thieving classes, or to put it a little milder, the predatory classes, must estimate the twaddle and fuss 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 them 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 workers show by united action that they will allow this 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. A.

SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

CHAPTER XIX.

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM.—CONSTANT AND VARIABLE CAPITAL.

MARX 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 act 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, or 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 original 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 determined 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 useful properties, and could 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 (as e.g., the mordants used in dyeing cloth or yarn, or the gums, 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 consumed, but transformed.

In the following chapters Marx enters into an elaborate and exhaustive 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 after all a 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 productivity of labour caused by new inventions, machinery, 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 instrument necessary to the capitalist is the labourer himself living under such conditions that he can be used as a mere instrument for the production of profit. The tools, machinery, factories, means of exchange, etc., are only intermediate aids for putting the living machine into operation.

E. BELFORT BAX 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 looking into it at all. This is a pity, although before 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 criticism of the present state of things, and the remedies proposed by non-Socialists and semi-Socialists, is on the whole clearly put and well reasoned. The author points out the growing discontent, the insufficiency of the reward of labour; the futility as remedies of thrift and temperance, of preaching Malthusianism, of land nationalisation, peasant proprietorship, etc. But then having condemned capitalism by showing its inevitable 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 labouring 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 regulating 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-brewers and our hapless friends the chain-makers.

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

land-tax (having argued well and clearly against Mr. George in an earlier chapter), and the restriction on heritage usually advocated by those who take up that form of tinkering, as also a tax on speculation; but he does not seem to set any great store by these latter remedies, 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 ingrained tendency in the author to utopianism. Mr. Kempner seems incapable of conceiving of the class-struggle, or the historical evolution of industrialism, or of understanding that the real point at issue is when and how the workers shall emerge from their condition of pupillage and be masters of their own destinies.

In spite of all this the book may be recommended to young Socialists, as the destructive part of it is, once more, clear and well-reasoned, and the would-be constructive part so feeble 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 draw a hard and fast line between Socialism and Communism, that 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 material and instruments of labour and distribution. W. M.

SOCIALISM IN THE WEST END.

On Saturday afternoon, at the French Hall, St. James's Restaurant, Piccadilly, 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 solely on his own responsibility, though he believed that many, if not all, 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 was unable to prevent himself becoming a Socialist. The returns of the Registrar-General show that the material conditions in which the poorer classes have to live are such 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 an alarming extent insufficiently fed; and as the result of careful enquiry last winter it was found that in the poorer Board Schools one-third of the children were insufficiently clad and shod. In winter in the East-end and 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 cubic foot than the rich in the West-end. It is not uncommon for a poor family to have to pay a quarter of its total income to the landlord, while one-fifth or one-sixth is the usual proportion. The sanitary condition of these exorbitantly rented houses was shown to be abominable by the commissioners appointed by Lord Salisbury for enquiring into the housing of the poor, and yet all that was done was to pass an Act giving the tenant of the unsanitary den, 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 foretell that no such action ever will be raised. The position of working women especially calls for comment. Samuel Morley, of chapel-building renown, bought hosiery from middlemen who paid their women workers at the rate of nine shillings a-week. Deduct half-a-crown or three shillings for rent, and you leave tenpence a-day for the women to supply themselves with food and clothing. How can it be done? Bryant and May, Limited, paid last half year twenty per cent. dividend on their capital, and earned this profit, among other ways, by making women make match-boxes at 2½d. per gross, the women having to find their own work-room, firing, and paste. In London three thousand shopwomen are killed yearly by diseases brought on by the long hours they have to stand and run about.

These are some of the miseries to which the poor must submit. Under such material conditions who can wonder that some of the poor are drunken 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 overwhelming portion of the population, and a revolt may be expected of such an extent that the world's history cannot parallel. On the other hand, there may be yet time for the middle classes to enter the field of battle and help the workers to a peaceful transformation of society. It is not only to the sense of fear that Socialists appeal when they address the propertied classes; they believe that there is no nobler career for a middle-class man than for him to aid in the peaceful transformation of our present society into a co-operative commonwealth. If any one thought that Socialism was not the remedy, they should come and explain what they conceived to be the remedy.

At 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. K. D.

In his new book on 'State Purchase of Railways,' Mr. Waring says:—"Government activity in the acquisition of railways has increased very much in quite recent years. In 1875 there were on the Continent 69,246 miles of railway, of which 14,268 miles, or about 20 per cent., belonged to Government. Seven years later the mileage had risen to 88,782, of which 32,663 miles, or about 36 per cent., were in the hands of the Government. Further acquisitions since 1882 have placed about 50 per cent. of the continental 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 Governments twelve are proprietors of railways."