THE MODERN CASE FOR SOCIALISM

Ohananjayarao Gadgil Library

GIPE-PUNE-007269

THE MODERN CASE FOR SOCIĄLISM

BY

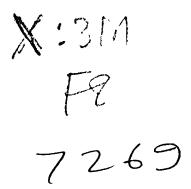
A. W. HUMPHREY

· AUTHOR OF

A HISTORY OF LABOUR REPRESENTATION," "ROBERT APPLEGARTH: TRADE UNIONIST, EDUCATIONIST, REFORMER," "INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM AND THE WAR"

LONDON
GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD.
MUSEUM STREET

First published in 1928
(All rights reserved)



Printed in Great Britain by Unwin Brothers, Ltd., Woking Capitalism . . . has fallen into discredit because it has hever kept its promise for a single day, and in any case is obviously no policy for a gentleman.

—George Bernard Shaw, Spectator, October 17, 1925.

CONTENTS

_										PAG
Preface	•	•	•	•	•	•			•	I
Authorities Quoted .	•	•	٠.	•	•	•	•	•		1
	C	HAP	TER	I						
THE SOURCE OF WEALTH										2
Socialism defined—I Factors in Production of Value—Exchange national idered—"Labour" not of Living.	n of ota	Com Sour	modi ce of	ties- Wes	–Lal	bour -Obj	the ection	Crea	tor on-	
	CI	IAP	rer	11						
THE DIVISION OF WEALTH	H.									2
The Worker's Portio Wages and Profit—Iro ventional Standards— Forces—Trade Unic Profits and Low Wa work—Wealth not a Estate Duties—Wage Alterations in Wages— Workers' Alternatives.	on La -Moc onism ges- ccum s an -Pro	iw of lifyin an Exam ulate d C	Wag g In d S mples ed b	es—fluer Socia s of y W of P	Subs ace of d L the forke frodu	isten of An egisl "Iro ers—]	ce ar iti-Cation on L Eviden	ad Co apital —Hi aw" ence ffect	list gh at of	
-	CH	API	ER	111			•			
The Fact of the Class Source and Object of Past—The Modern Source Struggle—Factors with small Masters—Grow "Black-coats" organiz—Widening Gulf betwoe diffused?—State Relations in Industryship no Solution—Bubble pricked—Sociate Peace the Aim.	f the trugglich with reen listics—Fai	Straigle— moderate of a case of a ca	uggle Blind ify t Wof ne and F widen of Pr class	Str he age- wly cor- ce- ofit- Sa	uggle Strug earni deve —Is (Decl shari aving	e and ggle- ng clope Capit ine ng- s er	I Co -Pas Clas d Co al be of F Co-p	nscionsing s—Tountricomic comic comi	of he ies ng nal	39

CHAPTER IV

SOME CLAIMS OF CAPITAL EXAMINED

The Claims summarized—Does the Capitalist "abstain"?— Inheritance-Early Capitalists and Modern Cafitalists-Abstinence now no Road to Wealth-Historical Contrasts-Futility of Gospel of "Getting on"—"Production the Mother of Wages"-Capital increases Labour Productivity-But Private Ownership of Capital is not necessary to this-Direction of Industry-Decline of Part played by Capitalists-Salaried Managers-Management unaffected by Change of Ownership—Share Transactions—Foreign Investment—Individual Influence in large Combines-Capitalists and Risk-Distribution of Investments—Trade Slump Contrasts— Workers' Risks-Provision for Economic Development-Incentive to Invention-Great Inventors' Fate under Capitalism-Capitalists and Patent Laws-Lords' Committee on Patent Laws, 1851—Royal Commission on Patent Laws, 1864. Patents Bill, 1907—War Experience of Invention.

CHAPTER V

THE PASSING OF COMPETITION .

The Argument for Competition-Competition and Output in the Nineteenth Century-Machine and Transport Development-Opening up of New Countries-Statistics of Course of Prices and Wages—Decline of Real Wages after 1900—Board of Trade Cost of Living Report, 1912-Rise of Interest-Economic Forces reversed-Factor of Gold Output-Beginnings of Trust Movement-Railway Amalgamations-Combinations since the War-Revelations of Committee on Trusts, 1919-Combination in Agricultural Products-Reports of Departmental Committee on Agricultural Produce, 1923, 1924— Small Traders not effective Competitors—Reports of Standing Committees under Profiteering Acts, 1919—Bank Amalgamations since 1891—Further Railway Amalgamation—Shipping Combinations—Report of Royal Commission on Food Prices, 1925-Big Combinations of 1926 and 1927-Other Trusts and Combinations as reported by Committee on Industry and Trade, 1927—Reason for Combination—Examples of Economy -Trusts and the Public-United States Experience-Can they be regulated?—Effect on Prices—How Combinations conceal Profits-Producer and Consumer menaced-Standard of Living, 1914-26---Way Paved Public Ownership.

PAGE 134

155

CHAPTER VI

THE POWER OF THE BANKS	
Further Banking Fusions—Banking Affiliations—Resources of	
Dig rive—ruture Agreements probable—Expenses of Multi-	
plication of Branches-Banks get best Terms possible-Bank	
Rate and Market Rate—Immense Totals of Bank Advances—	
Banks' Motive not the Public Advantage—Influence over	
Public Authorities—Credit and Prices—Nature of Money—	
Banks' Control of Volume of Money—Effect on Employment	
2-Paper as Currency—Conventional Nature of Gold Basis—	
The Bank of England—It Works for Profit of Shareholders—	
Relations with Government—Bank of England Dividends—	
Obscure Nature of Bank Return—Position and Power of Banks	
summarized—Need for Nationalization of Banks—Govern-	
ment Credit used for Private Profit-Statistics of Bank	

CHAPTER VII

Profits-Bank Ownership and Control a Key Position.

THEORY OF PUBLIC ENTERPRISE IN INDUSTRY . . .

Producers' Independence destroyed by Machine Development and Land Monopoly-This can be recovered only by Ownership and Control in Association-The State and Municipality-New Organs may be developed-No New Principle involved-Capitalism progressively modified by Legislation-Historical Examples—Factory Acts, Mines Regulation Acts— Railway and Shipping Regulation, Building Regulation-Trade Boards Acts-Case of Food and Water-Evidence of Select Committee on Adulteration, 1855 and 1856-Report of Select Committee on Adulteration, 1874-Report of Select Committee on Adulteration, 1896-Present-day Adulteration -Water Supply under the Water Companies-Short Weight and Short Measure-National Food Council's Revelations-Capitalism made tolerable only by State Regulation-Its Failure to produce Well-being—Object of Private Enterprise— Public Enterprise and Profit-making—Cash Profit and Public Service—Conditions in which Cash Profit may be made— Disposal of Profit—Paying off Borrowed Capital—The Debt Fallacy-Pacific Cable Finance as an Object Lesson-Objections to Public Enterprise-Initiative and Invention-Characteristics of Large Undertakings-Test of Experience-State Enterprise under Capitalism—Opposition to Developments— Capitalist Interests and Post Office—Socialist Management of

PAGE

191

Industry—Not modelled on Present-day Bureaucracy—Other Objections—Choice of Occupation—"Tyranny" of the State—Officialism—"Abolition of Private Property."

CHAPTER VIII'

THE SUCCESSFUL PRACTICE OF PUBLIC ENTERPRISE IN INDUSTRY

Capitalist Enterprise not always Successful—Millions Lost since the War—Writing off Capital—Examples—Statistics of Bankruptcy—Public Enterprise before the War—Some Comparisons between State and Private Railways—Examples of Public Enterprise throughout the World—State Enterprise in Britain during the War—Work of National Factories and Food Control—The So-called Loss on Wheat—Real Effect of Bread Subsidy—State Enterprise in Peace-time—Post Office Achievement—Case of the Telephones—State Printing Works and Clothing Factories—Success of State Public Houses at Carlisle—Public Enterprise in the British Dominions—Municipal Enterprise in Britain—Its Wide Range—Results of Working of widely differing Undertakings—"Debt" and Assets—Capitalist Propaganda and the Facts.

CHAPTER IX

The Producer under State and Municipal Ownership—Would he be more truly free?—Security and Freedom—Essential Characteristics of the Wage-system—Commodity Status of Labour not necessarily abolished under Public Ownership—Existing Type of Public Ownership never the Socialist Ideal—The Guild Idea in the Eighteen-eighties—Testimony of other Socialist Writers—The Guild Idea To-day—Its Influence in the Labour Movement—The Guild System outlined—Future of the State—Weakness of existing System of Parliamentary Government—Functional Representation—Current Proposals for its Application—Abolition of the Wage-system—Realistic Nature of the Guild Idea—Labour's Goal.

PREFACE

My aim in this book is to present certain of the main elements of Socialism in the light of the existing economic situation, current political experience and recent Socialist discussion. It is in this sense that the book is intended to be an exposition of the modern case for Socialism. No attempt is made to develop Socialist doctrine. I have sought to expound the existing doctrine in a modern setting, and in my view there has never before been a time in which the facts of economics and politics placed that doctrine on so firm a basis.

The book does not claim to cover, even in outline, the whole of the Socialist case, important aspects of which it leaves untouched. I hope, however, in a future book, to deal with these phases of the subject, with the aim of presenting, in conjunction with the present volume, an all-round survey of Socialist philosophy.

The growth of Socialism as a political force has inevitably resulted in its literature becoming more and more concerned with special departments of the subject—the attitude of Socialism to particular problems and questions of Socialist tactics—and it appears to me, especially in face of the new conditions created by the war, that an attempt to restate the case for Socialism as a whole is not untimely. The only sure foundation for Socialism is a preponderating public opinion understanding and accepting the Socialist faith. This book is intended to be a contribution to the growth of such opinion. The work itself explains why, in the writer's view, the spread of Socialist belief is a crying need of our time.

Any literary merit of the book is in part due to my wife, for whose reading of both typescript and proofs I am grateful.

A. W. HUMPHREY.

PALMERS GREEN, N.,
April, 1928.

AUTHORITIES QUOTED

THE authorities named below are quoted in this volume. Where two dates are given the one in brackets is that of original publication, the other being that of the edition or reprint consulted; but this must not be understood as necessarily meaning that in cases where only one date is given only one edition of the work has been issued. In certain cases the number of pages is stated to indicate a pamphlet or booklet.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

General Theory of Socialism

Brailsford, H. N.: Socialism for To-day. 1925.

ENGELS, FREDERICK: Socialism: Utopian and Scientific (1880). English edition, 1892.

Ensor, R. C. K.: Modern Socialism as set forth by Socialists in their Speeches and Writings, 1910.

GRONLUND, LAURENCE: The Co-operative Commonwealth. 1885.

HODGSKIN, THOMAS: Labour defended against the Claims of Capital (1825). 1922.

HYNDMAN, H. M.: Socialism and Slavery. 1884. 13 pp.

Social Democracy: The Bases of its Principles and the Causes of its Success. 1904. 28 pp.

Jaurès, Jean: Studies in Socialism (1903). English edition, 1908.

LAFARGUE, PAUL: The Evolution of Property from Savagery to Civilization. 1890.

LONSON, JACK: War of the Classes. 1920.

MACDONALD, J. RAMSAY: The Socialist Movement. 1911.

Socialism: Critical and Constructive. 1920. MARX, KARL: Value, Price and Profit (1899). 1925.

SNOWDEN, PHILIP: Labour and the New World. 1920.

VANDERVELDE, EMILE: Collectivism and Industrial Evolution. English edition. 1907.

WEBB, SIDNEY AND BEATRICE: The Decay of Capitalist Civilization. 1923.

Special Aspects of Socialism

Addison, Christopher: Practical Socialism, 1926.

BAX, E. BELFORT: Address to Trades Unions. 1885. 14 pp.

BINNING, THOMAS: Organized Labour: The Duty of Trades Unions in Relation to Socialism. 1886. 13 pp.

BECHOFER, C. E. (see RECKITT).

CAHN, HERMAN: Capital To-day. 1915 (New York).

Cole, G. D. H : Self-Government in Industry. 1919.

Guild Socialism Restated. 1920.

Davies, A. Emil: The Case for Railway Nationalization. 1914.

The Collectivist State in the Making. 1914.

HILTON, J. P.: Britain's First Municipal Savings Bank. 1927.

Hobson, S. G.: Guild Principles in War and Peace. 1918.

HUTCHINS, B. L. (see WEBB).

JOWETT, F. W.: The Socialist and the City. 1907.

MILHAUD, EDGARD: The March Towards Socialism. English edition 1920.

Money, SIR LEO: The Triumph of Nationalization. 1920.

ORAGE, A. R. (Edited by): National Guilds; An Enquiry into the Wag. System and the Way Out. 1914.

RECKITT, MAURICE B., AND C. E. BECHOFER: The Meaning of National Guilds. 1918.

SIMPSON, JAMES: Canada's Experiments in Public Ownership. 1926 22 pp.

Webb, Sidney and Beatrice: A Constitution for the Socialist Common wealth of Great Britain. 1920.

Mrs. Sidney, Miss B. L. Hutchins, and the Fabian Society Socialism and National Minimum. 1909.

Other Special Problems

BLACK, CLEMENTINA: Sweated Industry and the Minimum Wage 1907.

CLAY, HENRY: Property and Inheritance. 1924. 30 pp.

COLLER, FRANK H.: A State Trading Adventure. 1925.

GEORGE, HENRY: Progress and Poverty (1879). 1906. HINDMARCH, WILLIAM: Observations on Defects of the Patent Laws. 1851.

JONES, ELIOT: The Trust Problem in the United States. 1922 (New York). LLOYD, E. M. H.: Stabilization. 1923.

Experiments in State Control at the War Office and the Ministry of Food. 1924.

ROBERTSON, W. A.: Combination among Railway Companies. 1912.

SELLEY, ERNEST: The English Public House as It Is. 1927.

SIMON, E. D.: The Inheritance of Riches. 1925. 38 pp.

Historical and Biographical

ASHTON, THOMAS S.: Iron and Steel in the Industrial Revolution. 1924.

BUTTERWORTH, JAMES: History of Oldham. 1826.

BAINES, EDWARD: History of the Cotton Manufacture. 1826.

BAINES, F. Eo: Forty Years at the Post Office. 1895.

CHAPMAN, S. J.: The Lancashire Cotton Industry. 1904.

Daniels, George W.: The Early English Cotton Industry. 1920.

EDWARDS, NESS: The Industrial Revolution in South Wales. 1924.

ESPINASSE, FRANCIS: Lancashire Worthies. Two vols. 1874, 1877.

Francis, John: A History of the English Railway: Its Social Relations and Revelations, 1820-1845. 1851.

FYNES, RICHARD: The Miners of Northumberland and Durham (1873).

GARDINER, A. G.: Life of George Cadbury. 1923.

HAMMOND, J. L. AND B.: The Rise of Modern Industry. 1925.

HARRISON, A. (see HUTCHINS).

HOBSON, J. A.: The Evolution of Modern Capitalism. 1906. (A later edition of this work, revised and brought up to date, is now issued by George Allen & Unwin.)

HOWELL, GEORGE: Trade Unionism New and Old. 1891.

Labour Legislation, Labour Leaders, Labour Movements. 1902. HUTCHINS, B. L., AND A. HARRISON: A History of Factory Legislation (1903). 1911. (A new edition was issued in 1926.)

KINGSLEY, F. E.: Charles Kingsley: His Letters and Memories of his Life. Edited by his Wife. 1883.

KIRKUP, THOMAS: The History of Socialism. 1913 edition, largely rewritten by Edward R. Pease.

NEWMARCH, W. (see TOOKE).

PORTER, G. R.: The Progress of the Nation. 1912 edition revised by F. W. Hirst.

STEPHEN, LESLIE: Life of Henry Fawcett, 1886.

TOOKE, THOMAS, AND WILLIAM NEWMARCH: A History of Prices and the State of Circulation. Six vols. 1838-57.

URE, ANDREW: The Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain. 1836.

WEBB S, AND B.: Story of the King's Highway. 1913.

WOODCROFT, BENNETT: Brief Biographies of Inventors of Machinery for the Manufacture of Textile Fabrics. 1863.

Finance

CANNAN, EDWIN: Money: Its Connection with Rising and Falling Prices. 1923.

EASTON, H. T.: History and Principles of Banking. 1924.

Hobson, J. A.: Gold Prices and Wages (1913). 1924.

RAUTSKY, KARL: The High Cost of Living. 1915 (Chicago).

LAVINGTON, FREDERICK: The English Capital Market. 1921.

MAF, WALTER: Banking, 1926.

Schuster, Sir Felix: The Bank of England and the State (1906).

WESTON, W. J.: Banking and Currency. 1922.

WITHERS, HARTLEY: The Meaning of Money. 1911.

Capitalist Philosophy

GARVIN, J. L.: Art. "Capitalism," Encyclopædia Britannica, 13th edition. Leverhulme, Lord: Reconstruction after War. 1919. 32 pp.

WITHERS, HARTLEY: The Case for Capitalism. 1920.

Miscellaneous

Gretton, R. H.: The English Middle Class. 1917.

Hobhouse, L. T.: Liberalism. 1911.

JOHNSTON, THOMAS, AND JOHN F. SIME: Exploitation in India: Report of a Deputation sent to India by the Dundee Jute Trade Unions. 1926. 19 pp.

LABOUR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT: British Imperialism in Malaya. 1926. 64 pp.

MONKSWELL, LORD: The Railways of Great Britain (1913). 1926.

Ruskin, John: Unto This Last (1862). 1907.

SAUERBECK, AUGUSTUS: Course of Average Prices of General Commodities in England, 1820-1907. 1908. (Graph with Notes.)

SIME, JOHN F. (see JOHNSTON).

SMITH, ADAM: Wealth of Nations (1775). 1904.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS AND OTHER GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

Inventions

Lords' Committee on Bills to amend the Patent Laws, 1851. Report and Minutes of Evidence.

Commission on the Law relating to Letters Patent for Inventors, 1864.

Report and Minutes of Evidence.

Food: Adulteration, etc. Supplies and Prices

Select Committee on the Adulteration of Food, 1855-1856. Reports and Minutes of Evidence.

Select Committee on Food Products Adulteration, 1896. Report.

Departmental Committee on Distribution and Prices of Agricultural Produce. Interim Report, Milk and Milk Products, 1923; Final Report, 1924.

Royal Commission on Wheat Supplies. Second Report. 1925.

Royal Commission on Food Prices. First Report. 1925.

Food Council. Report on Short Weight and Measure in the Sale of Food-stuffs. 1926.

Trusts and Combinations

Committee on Trusts, 1918 (Ministry of Reconstruction). Report.
Standing Committee on the Investigation of Prices and Standing Committee on Trusts (Profiteering Acts, 1919 and 1920). Reports:
Cement and Mortar; Electric Lamps; Sewing Cotton; Tobacco.

Trade, Industry and Finance: General

Company Law Amendment Committee, 1918. Report.
Company Law Amendment Committee, 1925-26. Report.
Commissioners of Inland Revenue. Report, 1922-23.
Coal Industry Commission, 1919. Minutes of Evidence.
Royal Commission on the Coal Industry, 1925. Report.
Committee on National Debt and Taxation. Report, 1927.
Committee on Industry and Trade. Third Report: Factors in Industrial Efficiency, 1927.

Labour Conditions

Report of the Ministry of Labour for the Years 1923 and 1924. China No. 2 (1927). Memorandum of Labour Conditions in China (Foreign Office).

State Undertakings

State Management Districts (Licensing Act, 1921). Annual Reports, 1924-25, 1925-26, 1926-27.

Select Committee on Estimates. Third Report (Supply and Inspection of Clothing). 1927.

Committee of Inquiry into Government Printing Establishments. Report, 1927.

Miscellaneous

Report of Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies. 1922 and 1923.

Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom. Nos. 68 and 70.

Statistical Abstract for British Overseas Dominions and Protectorates

No. 57.

Census of 1921. England and Wales; General Tables. Scotland; Preliminary Report.

OTHER SOURCES

Among works of reference I am chiefly indebted to the Municipal Year Book, that mine of information on municipal matters, and, among periodicals, to the Municipal Journal, the Economist and the Statist, the two last-named more especially for information relating to trusts and combines. For many current illustrations of the argument I am indebted to the Daily Press.

INDEX

Ability, waste of, 88	Canadian State enterprise, 222 et seq.
"Abstinence" of capitalists, 58, 59 at seq.	Cannan, Edwin, 143 #.
Accidents in industry, 73, 74	, Capital—
Addison, Christopher—	claums of, summarized, 58, 59
on discouraging inventors, 67, 88 on munition making, 203, 204	created by labour, 23 distribution of, 49
on Wheat Commission, 207 %.	not abolished by Socialism, 67
Amaigamation of businesses, see Trusts	not source of wages, 65
Ambition, crushed by Capitalism, 47, 48	Capitalists—
America, railway development m, 92	and inventors, 75 et seq.
American Bemburgh Company, 119 American Meat Trust, 105	losses of, 191-193 not directors of industry, 69 et seq.
American Tobacca Company, 47, 108	"risks" of, 72
American United Shoe Machinery Company, 121	Carlisle liquor control, 214 et seg.
American Yarn Association, 120	Cartels, 107, see also Trusts Cartwright, Edmund, 79 Cement industry, see Trusts, 110
Anglo-Persian Oil Company, 123	Cartwright, Edmund, 79
Argentine Meat Company, 45	Cement industry, see Trusts, 110
Arkwright, Richard, 80, 81 Armstrong-Whitworth, 133	Chamberlain, Neville, 239 Checkweighers, 159
Artificial silk, 34, 119	Child labour, 67, 158
Associated Portland Cement Manufacturers, Ltd.,	China, Capitalism in, 32
99, 210, 222, 215	Civil servants, business capacity of, 188, 189
Australian State enterprise, 173 %., 197, 199,	Class struggle, 39 et seq., see also Trade Unionum
200, aid el seq.	Clay, Henry, 49
Racon Anthony Sr	Clayton Act, 126 s. Coal industry—
Bacon, Anthony, 6r Baines, Sir Frank, 189 s.	capital of, 153
Baking trade, see Trusts	see also Mines Acts
Baldwin, Stanley, 47	Coats, J. and P, Ltd, 112 Cole, G. D H., on functional representation, 263
Bank Charter Act, 145	Cole, G. D. H., on functional representation, 263
Bank of England, 145-150	Coller, Frank H, on Food Control, 206
Bank rate, 139 Bankruptcies, 193	Combines, see Trusts Commission on Coal Industry, 1925, 73
Banks-	Commission on Food Prices, 1925, 115
amalgamation of, 113, 114, 134	Commission on Patent Laws, 1864, 86
banks and gold basis, 145	Committee on Distribution and Prices of Agri-
credit, 137 et seq.	cultural Produce, 89, 109 Committee on Industry and Trade, 78 s., 89,
influence on prices, 141 el seg. influence over Government, 149	106, 124 %.
opposition to Post Office development, 185	Committee on National Debt and Taxation, 97 s.
profit, their motive, 140	Committee on Patent Laws, 1851, 83
profits, 152, 153	Committee on Trusts, 1918, 89, 101, 106, 107,
public credit behind banks, 151	108, 119
public ownership of, 152 et seq see also State undertakings	Committees on Company Law, 129 Committees on Food Adulteration, 162, 164, 166
Barclays Bank, 113, 135, 152	Companies Acts, 50
Dar. B. Belfort, on unions and Socialism, 257	Competition, decline of, 89 at seq., see also Trusts
Bechoter, C. E., on Guilds and State, 261 Binning, Thomas, on unions and Socialism, 252 Birmingham Municipal Bank, 239 st seq.	Compositors, 95
Binning, Thomas, on unions and Socialism, 252	Confederation of Organized Employers, 42
Black Clementing on subsections made of	Contracts, influence of combines on, 102, 103 Co-operative societies, 49
Black, Clementma, on subsistence wage, 36 "Black-coats" organising, 45	and bread prices, 116
Bleachers' Association Ltd., 121	and soap prices, 142
Bombay cotton mills, 32	future of, 263
Boulton, Matthew, 80	shareholding in, 55
Bowerman, C. W , M.P., 213 Bowley, A L., 93 Bradford Dyers' Association Ltd., 121	Co-partnership, 53, 54
Bradford Duers' Association I td. ver	Copper Exporters Inc., 122 Cort, Henry, 75
Bread subsidy, 206	Cost of living, 95
Brewers, see Trusts	Cost of production, wages and, 36
State as brower, 214 st seq.	Cotton trade-
British-American Tobacco Company, 108 British Cotton and Wool Dyers' Association, 121	early capitalists in, 62, 63 m.
British Cycle and Motor Manufacturers' Union,	in India, 31, 32 Courtaulds, 119
120	Credit, see Banks, Withers
British Dyestuffs Corporation, 117	Crompton, Samuel, 76, 77
Dritish United Shoe Machinery Company, 121	Cunard Company, 115
Brotherton, Joseph. M.P., 70	D'Arm Cooper van
	D'Arcy Cooper, 129 Davis, Emil, and public enterprise, 194 m., 226 m.
Brunner Mond & Co., 117 Building operatives, 95	Deflation, 142
building societies, 49, 55, 50 #,	Direct labour, 237, 235
Butterworth, James, 62	Docker, F. Dudley, 192
Cadhury Gaarna on business man ac	Drapery trade, 34, see also Trusts
Cadbury, George, on business men, 72 Cahoo Printers' Association Ltd., 121	Drug adulteration, 163 Duke of Northumberland, 46 m.

```
Electric lamps, see Trusts
                                                                                                                                    International Combines, see Trusts
Electricity, see Municipal undertakings, State undertakings
                                                                                                                                   Inventors
                                                                                                                                            ventors—
Capitalism and, 75 el seq.
in Post Office, 209 n
undertakings
Ellerman Lines, 115 f
Emergency Powers Act, 41
Emmot, Lord, 189
Employers, organization of, 41
Engels, Frederick, 155
Engineering Employers' Federation, 41
Engineering trades, 95
Estate Duties, 35
                                                                                                                                            mostly operatives, 83
                                                                                                                                   war and, 87
Investing class-
                                                                                                                                           its security, 72
                                                                                                                                   rise of, for
Iron and steel trades, fr, see also Trusts
"Iron Law" of Wages, 29 et seq $37 m.
                                                                                                                                   Jaurès, Jean, 27

Joint-stock companies, 49, 69

increase of private companies, 130

Jones, Ehot, on United States Trusts, 126, 128

Joynson-Hicks, Sir W., on Cafflisle liquor contabl, 20
  Factory Acts, 158
  Fawcett, Henry, 185, 209
Federal Trade Commission Act, 126
  Fielden, John, 158
Food, adulteration of, 162 et seg.
Food Control, war-time, 205 et seg., see also
Committees
                                                                                                                                   Jurgens, 133
Jute industry, 31
  Food Council, 167
  Foreign investment, 70
Furness Withy Company, 115
                                                                                                                                   Kautsky, Karl, 98 s.
Kay, John, 77
Kerr, Philip, 61 s.
Kingsley, Charles—on child labour, 158 s.
on water supply, 166 s.
 Garvin, J. L., on State in industry, 180
George, Lloyd, 127, 205
"Getting-on" illusion, 63
Galmour, Sir J., on Carlisle liquor control, 217
Gladstone, W. E., 185
Glanzstoff Company, 119
Glass-bottle industry, 566 Trusts
                                                                                                                                   Labour-
                                                                                                                                            and co-operation with Capital, 51
  Gold
                                                                                                                                            as source of wealth, 22 et seq.
interests not those of Capital, 39, 40, 41
  and prices, 97, 98
as basis of credit, 145, 146 #
Gretton, R. H., on middle class, 157
Greystone Lime Burners' Association, 111
Gronlund, Laurence, on Socialist State, 246,
                                                                                                                                   its share of product, 27 et seq.
see also Wages, Wage-system
Labour Party, 46 **, 47
Lafargue, Paul, on capitalist parisitism, 58, 72
Lassalle, Perdinand, his "Iron Law," 29, 30
Lavington, F.—
on bank loans, 144
  Guest, John, 62
Guilds, Laurence Gronlund on, see also National
Guilds
                                                                                                                                   on investment, 70 n.
Layton, W T., 70 n.
Leaf, Walter—
on Bank of England, 146, 149
 Hargreaves, James, 78
Hartley Pit disaster, 160
Hartley, W P, Ltd., 168
Hatting industry, 63
Henderson, Arthur, M P, 173 m., 218 m
Henshaw, Henry, 63
Hichens, W L, 245
Hitton, J P, 239, 242
Hindmarch, W M, on patent laws, 82, 87
Hobbouse, L. T., on inheritance, 60
Hobson, J. A.—
on gold and credit, 146 m.
on rising interest, 97 m.
                                                                                                                                            on banks' competition, 136
                                                                                                                                            on credit, 142
                                                                                                                                            on war-time gold restrictions, 145
                                                                                                                                       essure Class, 60
                                                                                                                                   Leisure Class, 50
Lever Bros, 71, 129, 800 also Trusts (soap)
Leverhulme, Lord, 63, 71
Lebknecht, Wilhelm, on Class Struggie, 57
Lipton, Ltd, 133
Lloyd, E. M. H.—
on war organization, 190, 201
 on gold and credit, 146 s. on rising interest, 97 s. Hobson, S. G., on Parliament, 263 s. Hodeskin, Thomas, on inventors, 79 Holding companies, 129, see also Trusts Holt, A., & Co., 115 Horner, Leonard, 9x Horrockses Crewdson, 19x House of Lords, reform of, 46 Housing.
                                                                                                                                            on war output, 184 s.
                                                                                                                                    Lloyds Bank, 113, 134, 152
London, Jack, on restricted opportunities, 47
                                                                                                                                    MacDonald, J. R —
on Patents Bill, 1907, 87
on sale of labour, 27
on scientific wage-earners, 87 n.
                                                                                                                                   on Socialist State, 246
McKenna, Regnald, on bank credit, 134, 192
Malaya rubber, 33
Malaya tin mines, 32, 33
   Housing-
           Census statistics, 170 m.
  costs of, 141
Howe, Ehas, 80
Howell, George, on trade-union aims, 43
Hyndman, H M—
on State Socialism, 253
                                                                                                                                   Malaya tin mines, 32, 33
Marcont Company, 191
Marx, Karl, theory of value, 24 m., 155
Matches, see Trusts
Meadow Darry Company, 133
Meat trade, see Trusts
Metropolitan Water Board, 188, 244
Milk trade, see Trusts
Milk trade, see Trusts
Mines Acts 150
          reply to Herbert Spencer, 252
  Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd , 117
   Imperial Tobacco Company, 96 s, 108, 113
  Imperial 100acca 1, 32
Indua Capitalism, 31, 32
Industrial "co-operation," 51
Industrial democracy, 246 et seq.
                                                                                                                                                                                         •
                                                                                                                                    Mines Acts, 159 Mitchell-Thompson, Sir W., 209
   Inflation, 180
  Inharitance, 59
Initiative under Public Enterprise, 179 et seq.
Instone, Sir S., on railway nationalization, 175
Interest, 115e in after 1896, 95
                                                                                                                                            Edwin Cannan on nature of, 143 %.
                                                                                                                                            multiplying supply of, 98 m. see also Credit, Banks
                                                                                                                                     Money, Sir Leo, on State initiative in war, 182
```

2747	DEA 271
Morris, William, on class war, 39 Morris, William, on class war, 39 Municipal capital, 226, 244 Municipal Undertakings— amusements, 199 banking, 239 st seg. bill-posting, 200 cafes, 236 electricity, 224, 227-232 financial soundness of, 243 food and druk, 197, 237. funerals, 199 gas, 322 house building, 237 markets and abatioirs, 235 telephones, 237 eram building, 238 trams, 233-234 variety of, 236 water, 235 ses sito Public Enterprise Munition factories, 202-205 Nasmyth, James, 91 National Factories, see State Undertakings National Guilde—	and bureaucracy, 185 and bureaucracy, 185 'debt" of, 177 initiative by, 179 objections to, 186 et seq obstructed by capitalist interests, 184, 185 profit-making by, 171 et seq. Purves, Alexander, 133 Rail Makers' Association, see Trusts, 99 Railways— combination among, 99, 100 early development, 91, 96 nationalization of, 175 see size Trusts, State Undertakings Reclatt, M. B. on Guilds and State, 261 Retail traders, see Trusts Ricardo, J. L. M. P., 84 Royal Dutch Shell Group, 122 Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, 115 Rubber industry, 33 Runciman, Walter, 50 Sauerbeck, A., price index, 92 Savings of wage-earners, 54, 55
Matronal Antida—	Scientific workers, 87 %.
and State, 260 place in Socialist thought, 254	Seamen's pay, 33
system outlined, 255 et seq.	Selley, Ernest, on Carlisle liquor control, 215
Would shoush ware-system of all car.	Shipping— "conference" rings, 100
National Provincial Bank, 113, 152	1 TERMAGON OL. 100
National Strike, 47	see also Trusts, State undertakings
National Telephone Company, complaints against, 210	Shipping control, war-time, 207 Shop Assistants' Union, 45
Nationalization-	Short weight and massure 767 of ear
of mines, 46 %.	Short weight and measure, 167 et 100. "Shuttle Club," 78
P. Snowden on, 191	Simon, E. D, on workers' savings, 51
see also Public Enterprise, State Undertakings	Simon, E. D., on workers' savings, 51 Smith, W. R., on meat combine, 227 m.
Needler, Fred, 165	Snia Viscosa, 119
New River Company, 166 m. New Zealand State enterprise, 197, 199, 200,	Snowden, Philip, 189 m.
3 221,	on nationalization, 191 Socialism—
• '	brief definition of, 2x
Officialism, 188	Guild Socialism, 255 et seg.
Output-	private property under, 189 State Socialism, 250 et seq. to abolish Class Struggle, 56
effect of machinery, 90, 91	State Socialism, 250 et seq.
effect of national organization, 183	to abolish Class Struggle, 56
Ownership separate from direction, 69	unpleasant work under, 258 see also Capital, Public Enterprise
Pacific Cable finance, 178	South African railways, 221, 222
Paish, Sir G, estimate of foreign investments, 70	Southern Railway Company, 103
Failler a Shinnilliang Lampang 199	Spencer, Herbert, 25 m., 252
"Particulars Clause," 159 Patent laws—	Spencer, Herbert, 25 m., 252 Spinning mule, 76, 77 m.
handicap to inventors, 82	Stamp, Sir Josiah, 153, 189 n. Standard Oil, 100 Trusts
see also Committee, Commission, Inventors,	Standard of living, 1014-26, 121, see also Prices
	Standard of living, 1914-26, 131, see also Prices Standing Committee on Trusts, 110, 127
Pease, J Beaumont, 139	State Undertakings—
Peel, Sir R., on Bank Charter Bill, 193	banking, 199, 218
Peninsular and Oriental Company, Ltd., 115 Petroleum, see Trusts	brickworks, 198, 219
Post Office	butchers' shops, 219 cables, 196
capitalist opposition to 184 185	cannery, 220
11. M MYUUMAN ON_ 253 '	clothing factories, 199, 218
	electricity, 224
Savings Bank, 49, 55, 56 m. wages arbitration, 249 m.	fine art factories, 200
ottery milusery, by, 191	fisheries, 224
	forests, 197 harness and saddlery factories, 199
Frinting trades, 95, see also State under-	insurance, 199, 220
Printing trades, 95, see also State under-	m war-time, 201-207
Profiteering Act, 1919, 126	mines, 197 Panama Canal, 200
1907-14, 96 n. • • •	ranama Canai, 200
	pastoral stations, 220
of drapery trade, 34 of lindian jute and cotton mills, 31, 32 of shipping, 34	Post Office, 184, 185, 208-212 printing, 212
of Indian jute and cotton mills, ar. as	public houses, 214 st seq.
of shipping, 34	railways, 194, 195, 218, 220, 221, 222
P Of the and withhour	refreshment rooms, 220
Proprietary Articles Trade Association, 121	steamships, 196, 225

```
State Undertakings—continued
        steelworks, 198
telegraphs, 196, 209
telephones, 210-212
 tobacco factories, 198, 214
Stevenson, George, 81
Stoneware, see Trusts
 Sugar Commission, 206
 Telegraphs, see State Undertakings
Telephones, see State Undertakings
Telephones, see State Undertakings
Tennyson, on adulteration, 162 n.
Thomas, J. H. 179 n.
Thornton, Sur Henry, 222, 223
Tobacco, see Trusts
Tominison, H M, on modern shipowning, 52
Tooke, Thomas, on railway development, 91
Trade Boards, 161
Trade Union Congress, 43, 44, 45
 Trade Unionism-
Trade Unionism—
and Class Struggle, 41 et seq.
and Socialism, 251, 252
as basis of Guilds, 256
Trams, see Municipal Undertakings
"Truck," 759
Trustee Savings Banks, 55, 56 n.
Trusts and Combines-
       allocating contracts, 102
artificial silk, 119
       banks, 113
bedsteads, 99
bleaching, dyeing, and printing, 121
       bread, 115
breweries, 117
cement, 99, 102, 110
chemicals, 107, 117
       coal and ores, 107
cycles and motors, 120
       difficulty of regulating, 126
Drapery Trust, 118
      Drapery 1 rust, 110 edged tools, 120 efficiency and economy of combines, 123 electrical trades, 102, 107, 111 bolding companies' secrecy, 129 influence on standard of life, 98 international cartels before the war, 107
       international copper, 122
international electric lamps, 122
       international gas mantles, 122
international glass bottles, 107
international matches, 123
       international oil, 122
       international steel rails, 99, 107, 123
in United States, 105, 106 s.
       iron and steel, 101, 124 #.
       lime, III
       matches, 122
       meat, 105, 116
milk, 109
       paper, 107
      pottery, 121
price-fixing by, 102
prices raised by, 126
proprietary articles, 121
      railways, 99, 114
rebate system, 104
restrictions on merchants and retailers, 110
       salt, 99, 102
       sewing cotton, 112
      sewing cotton, 112
shipping, 100, 115
shoe machinery, 121
small traders not effective competitors,
               100
```

```
Trusts and Combines-
         soap, 102, 122, 124 M.
stones and earth, 107
         stoneware, 107
textile machinery, 120
         textile machinery, 120
textiles, 102, 107, 120
tobacco, 102, 108, 113
         transport, 107
         wallpaper, 102
washing machines, 120
 winding engines, 120
Turnpike Trusts, 174
 Union Cold Storage Company, Ltd., 116, 117 s.,
United Alkali, Ltd., 117
United Darnes, Ltd., 109
United Darnes, Ltd., 109
United Kingdom Soap Manufacturers Asso-
ciation, 122
United States Trusts, see Trusts
 Ure, Andrew, on fate of inventors, 81
 Value, labour theory of, 22 st seq.
Vandervelde, Emile, on Socialist State, 253
Vestey, Lord, 116
Vestey, Sr Edmund, 116
Vickers, Ltd., 133, 192
  Wage-earners, unable to accumulate, 35
 Wage system—
abolition of, 265
        characteristics of, 248
        F. Engels on rise of, 153 m.
 Wages
        and cost of production, 36
       and cost of production, 30 cotton, 31, 32 course of, 1818–1904, 93; 1900–10, 94 "economy of high wages," 40 engmeering, building, printing, 95 in jute industry, 31 "lron Law" of, 29 dt seq , 37 M. labour the source of, 65
        rubber, 33
        tın, 32
under Trade Boards, 161
 Walpole, Spencer, 158
Washing machine makers, 120
 Water supply by companies, 162, 166
 Watt, James, 79
Webb. S —
        on bank amalgamation, 114
 on bank directors, 151
Webb, S and B—
       on distribution of wealth, 27
on output in nmeteenth century, 93, 94
on Socialist aims, 246
        on Socialist Constitution, 264
on Turnpike Trusts, 174
Weights and Measures Acts, 167, 169, 228 also
Short Weight
Westminster Bank, 113, 135, 136, 152
       Commission, 206, 207
Commission, 206, 207
prices, 97 **.
Wheatley, John, M P., on housing costs, 141
Whiteley, F. Ogden, on municipal "debt,"
Winding engine makers, 120
Withers, Hartley—
on accumulation of capital, 58, 64
       on Bank Rate, 139 #.
on investment by capitalists, 61 #.
on need for capital, 67, 68
on supply of money, 98 m.
Wood, G. H , on wages, 1900-10, 94
```