

thousands laid down their lives. If we take Russia her annual income is less in proportion to her population than of any of the European States. In 1882, her total income was £760,000,000, only equal to £9 9s. per head of population. But her taxation, £106,322,000, was nearly one-seventh of her income.

Let us take another view of the matter. In England, with an income equal to £35 2s. 6d. per head, and taxation £2 10s. 4d. per head, it leaves £32 11s. 8d. per head for all other purposes. But see how the matter stands in the other States referred to above. In France it is £21 16s. 10d., in Germany £16 1s. 2d., in Austria-Hungary £14 2s. 7d., in Italy £8 5s., and in Russia £8 6s. If taxation is heavy in England, what must it be in the States of the Continent?

Look, too, at the enormous increase of taxation as compared to the increase of population, taking the years 1840 to 1882. This is a matter that should always be kept in view. In England, the increase was from £2 to £2 10s. 4d.; in France, £1 14s. to £3 10s. 2d.; in Germany, 15s. to £2 5s. 10d.; in Austria, £1 to £2 0s. 5d.; in Russia, 10s. to £1 2s. 2d.; and in Italy, £1 to £2 2s. Taking the whole of the European States, the increase was from an average of from £1 to £2 0s. 6d.

Returning to the subject of the coming wars, and taking the five great Powers—Russia, Austria, Germany, France, and Italy, we find the total cost of their peace establishments in 1882 was £109,879,000. The annual average cost per soldier was, Russia, £35; Austria, £51; Germany, £43; France, £46; and Italy, £40. Placing their armies on a war footing, without the recent augmentations, and taking as the basis of expenditure the cost per man on a peace footing, it would raise the total cost to £312,000,000. To which must be added the cost of their fleets, also the destruction of stores, of fortifications, of property of almost every kind, the loss of trade and of commerce, to say nothing of the loss of men. We hear a great deal at times of the horrors and massacres during revolutionary periods, but while the revolutionary movements of 1848 only caused a loss of £10,000,000 and 60,000 lives, the wars between England and France, 1793 to 1815, cost £1,250,000,000, with the lives of 1,900,000 men. The Crimean War cost £305,000,000, and the slaughter of 485,000 men. And taking the thirteen wars from 1793 to 1878, we have a total cost of £3,037,000,000, and a loss of 4,410,000 men. These items represent only the direct cost and the direct slaughter. If we take the waste and the destruction of property of every kind, with the loss of trade and of production generally in those countries which were the seats of those wars, and if we add the loss to the nations by the slaughter of men in the prime of life, it is too fearful to contemplate.

Look, too, at the enormous increase of the war debts of the above Powers from 1852 to 1882. That of Russia rose from £95,000,000 to £553,000,000. That of Austria-Hungary from £118,000,000 to £458,000,000. German States from £82,000,000 to £271,000,000. The French debt rose from £221,000,000 to £912,000,000, and the Italian from £68,000,000 to £353,000,000. The debts of these five Powers rose in 31 years from £584,000,000 to £2,547,000,000. In 1882, the total European debts had risen to £4,223,416,000, with a yearly charge of £220,000,000. Add the cost of the peace establishments, £260,000,000, and the interest on capital sunk in fortifications, £50,000,000, and we have a total dead weight of £510,000,000 for war debts and war purposes. And since 1882 all these burdens have increased enormously. And what will they be at the end of the coming wars? For the people to bear these burdens will be impossible. From those burdens the people must be freed, and the revolution alone can accomplish that.

But cannot these wars be prevented? Cannot the peoples meet in their tens of thousands and protest? Yes, the peoples can meet in numbers as large as they please, and they can protest and protest again and again and as loud as they please, and still the wars will take place. Because the peoples are powerless,—powerless in every European State; powerless against a mere handful of princes and statesmen, because powerless against the organised legions of trained cut-throats; because the peoples are not yet freed from national prejudices and national hatreds; and because the peoples have yet to learn the principle of human solidarity, the brotherhood of the human race.

Yes, while the peoples tolerate princes, peers, and statesmen; while they are content to be divided into empires, kingdoms, and municipalities, they must ever remain powerless, the victims of a thousand tyrannies, crushed to the earth by a thousand oppressions. The wars we cannot prevent, but we can prepare for the revolutions which are sure to follow. We can prepare to aid them, not only by our words, but by our deeds. Let us remember the words of St. Just: "That those who make half revolutions but dig their own graves;" and let us remember also that if the revolution is to be successful it must be universal. We see the reaction everywhere triumphant, despotism everywhere in the ascendant, the tyrant exalted, the worker degraded, and this in the year of grace 1887. After more than eighteen hundred years of preaching and praying under the Christian dispensation, behold Christian Europe one vast military camp. In the midst of all our grand achievements in the arts and sciences, behold the degradation and pauperism of our toiling millions. Yes, the revolution must be universal. Neither Germany, France, or Russia can accomplish a successful revolution. A mere political change may be accomplished, but the revolution that shall ensure the supremacy of labour, that shall place the destinies of the people in the hands of the people; the revolution that shall sweep away both the Church and the State; that shall free Society from tyranny through all its ramifications,

and man from oppression in all the relations of life,—that revolution must be universal if it is to be successful. Let emperors, kings, and princes have their wars, but let the peoples be prepared for the revolution that will follow.

J. SKETCHLEY.

SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

CHAPTER XV.—SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM—KARL MARX.

THE foregoing chapters on modern Socialists may be regarded as leading up to the full development of the complete Socialist theory, or as it is sometimes called, "scientific" Socialism. The great exponent of this theory, and the author of the most thorough criticism of the capitalistic system of production, is the late Dr. Karl Marx.

He was born in 1818 at Treves, his father being a baptised Jew holding an official position in that city. He studied for the law in the University of Bonn, passing his examination with high honours in 1840. In 1843 he married Jenny von Westphalen, sister of the well-known Prussian statesman of that name. Philosophy and political economy, with especial reference to the great social problems of the age, were his special studies on leaving the university. These studies led him towards Socialism, the result of which was that he felt compelled to decline the offer of an important government post. About this time he left Treves for Paris, where he became co-editor with Arnold Ruge of the *Deutsch-Französischen Jahrbücher*; and he also edited the Socialist journal *Vorwärts*; but in less than a twelvemonth he was compelled to leave France for Brussels. In March 1848 he was driven from Belgium and fled to Cologne, where the revolutionary ferment was at its height. He at once undertook the editorship of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, the leading revolutionary journal, which was suppressed on the collapse of the revolutionary movement in 1849.

We should mention that in 1847, in conjunction with his life-long friend, Frederic Engels, he put forward the celebrated 'Communist Manifesto,' which subsequently served as the basis of the International Association.

After 1849 he went to Paris again, where he remained but a short time, and then left France for London, remaining there with brief intermissions till his death, which took place in the spring of 1883.

The principal part he took in political action during his sojourn in England was the organization of the International Association.

The most important among his works besides 'Das Kapital' are 'Die Heilige Familie,' written in conjunction with Frederic Engels; the 'Misere de la Philosophie,' the answer to Proudhon mentioned in our last article; '18 Brumaire,' an anti-Napoleonic pamphlet; and 'Zur Kritik der Politischer Economic,' which laid the foundation for his great work 'Das Kapital.'

The importance of this latter work makes it necessary for us to indicate the contents of the principal chapters, so as to form a brief sketch of the Socialist economy.¹

Part I. deals with Commodities and Money. The first chapter defines a commodity. A commodity according to Marx is briefly expressed as a socially useful product of labour which stands in relation to other similar useful products of labour. The *value* of such a commodity is primarily the amount of necessary social labour contained in it: that is to say, the average amount of labour carried through a certain portion of time necessary to its production in a given state of society. The young student must take special note that when Marx uses the word *value* by itself it is always used in this sense; *i. e.*, to put it in a shorter form, as embodied average human labour. The term Use-value explains itself. Exchange-value means the relation of one commodity to another or to all others. The ultimate issue of the various expressions of Value is the money form: but in the words of Marx, the step to the money-form "consists in this alone, that the character of direct and universal exchangeability—in other words, that the universal equivalent form—has now by social custom become identified with the substance gold."

The second chapter deals with Exchange. Exchange, says Marx, presupposes guardians or owners of commodities, since these cannot go to market of themselves. A commodity possesses for the owner no use-value where he seeks to exchange it: if it did, he would not seek to exchange it. "All commodities," says Marx, "are non-use values for their owners and use values for their non-owners. Consequently they must all change hands. But this change of hands is what constitutes their exchange, and the latter puts them in relation with each other as *values*, and realises them as *values*. Hence commodities must be realised as *values* before they can be realised as use-values."

Commodities, then, find their universal value represented by one commodity from among them, which has in itself no use-value unless it be that of representing or of symbolising the abstract quality of value.

Chapter III. deals with the circulation of commodities under the money form. Here Marx very justly observes: "It is because all commodities as values are realised human labour, and therefore commensurable, that their values can be measured by one and the same special commodity, and the latter be converted into the common measure of their values—*i. e.*, into money. Money as a measure of value is the phenomenal form that must of necessity be assumed by that measure of *value* which is immanent in commodities, labour time."

¹ We must remind the reader that we do not profess to offer more than some hints to the student of Marx. Anything approaching to an abstract of 'Das Kapital' would take up space far beyond the limits of the present little work.

This long and important chapter proceeds to discuss the theory of circulating money or of currency at considerable length and in great detail. The subject is one of such importance and with respect to which so many fallacies are afloat, that we propose to devote our next article to an exposition of its leading features.

E. BELFORD BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE CRIMINAL CLASSES OF THE FUTURE.

A RETROSPECT AND A PROSPECT.

(Concluded from p. 58).

It was ludicrous in the extreme to witness the impotent rage of the "respectables" as they were one after the other passed from the Court on to scenes of really useful labour or condemned to the same penal discipline that in the hour of their triumph they had inflicted upon their fellow-creatures. One or two languid swells whose speech had hitherto been made up of painfully aspirated "aitches," said that, "weally you know," it was quite a change. And in time they became Men instead of the rapid prigs they had previously been. It was also curious to see the unbounded indignation of titled and untitled persons whose precious dignity was infringed upon by the "low fellows" who had charge of them. Scandalous! infamous! they exclaimed. There was in truth wailing and weeping over the tasks they had sentenced others to but now had to perform themselves.

Outrageous as this treatment seemed to be to these handlers of other people's rights and possessions, yet it had been mercifully adopted as an alternative to a policy of extirpation advocated by the more enraged of the revolutionists.

The true spirit of the revolution was not displayed in these acts, but was a policy imposed upon it as a matter of self-preservation. It had however, the effect of softening many who with loud-mouthed persistency had under the old régime advocated these forms of punishment for the poor. The fellow-feeling which Shakspeare has said makes us wondrous kind, was born of the actual experience of the lot to which so many thousands of the now emancipated labourers had been condemned.

Many gave in their adhesion to the new order, and were at once set free to take part in the reorganisation going on outside. A large number were obliged to commence life *de novo*, for none of their previous nefarious occupations were left to them. All forms of usury and profit-mongering were abolished. The land had long since been declared common property, and was being cultivated by the free communities established in the smiling shires of old England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. These *ci-devant* stockjobbers, landlords, rent-mongers, and usurers, formed, in short, the army of useless mouths in the new order of things.

No recruits came from this quarter to the literary, cultured class; but from the ranks of labour, freed from the benumbing process of their rent and profit getting, were reverent students of the knowledge thrown free and open to all. The brain-worker, no longer forced to sell his work in a commercial market, met with full recognition at the hands of the communities to whose refinement and pleasure he contributed; and in no instance was there a desire shown to exact excessive tribute from the communes because of varied or singular capacity.

Inventions from practical workmen were also applied to the most laborious and repugnant tasks; and this class of labour, whilst being equally rewarded, was reduced to a minimum.

The marvellous changes wrought in the capital completely transformed it. Its hideous suburbs, the houses of the smug legal cheats, disappeared and gave place to pleasure resorts. In the centre, the monuments of cant and greed, the monstrous barracks erected by five-per-cent. philanthropists in which to herd a landless, rack-rented population, were levelled amid general acclamation. It is reported that an old, very old man, by name Alderman Lowwater, stood by and wrung his hands at the overthrow of his pet schemes for regenerating mankind and pocketing a profit as well.

The monuments of nonentities and scoundrels that obstructed and disfigured the public places were removed, with other road rubbish, and in their stead arose monuments to the heroes and heroines whose labours in science, art, and letters had liberalised thought and paved the way for the glorious and beneficial change. Applied mechanical science reduced the working day for necessities to the limit assigned it by Hoyle some years before—viz., 1½ hours per diem. Labour rendered attractive by free selection and pleasant environment, with utility as its sole impetus, produced marvellous results, that stood out in bold contrast to the shoddy goods thrown upon the markets by half-starved workers driven by the twin scourges of greed and fear to exhausting toil. No less remarkable was the change wrought in the features and comportment of the people. Freed from cankering care and the fear of starvation and punishment, their manners and looks became more in accord with their happy and free state, but the marks of the fell system so recently destroyed would take a long time to finally obliterate. And as time went on, the younger children came into the colleges and academies; they listened with wonder to the record of how in the past times idlers were rewarded with wealth and honours, whilst the producers endured cold, hunger, and insult; how they had rattled their own chains and been pleased with the music, and echoed the shibboleths of their masters; how wholesale butchers of their kind were belauded and decorated, whilst merit and invention served only to increase the

gains of low cunning commercial gamblers, and moreover allowed that every additional power over the forces of nature tended but to increase their misery. With the aid of models and diagrams the filth, squalor, and crime of the past was illustrated to their amazed gaze; and whilst they uttered joyful thanks that their lot was cast on pleasant lines, where neither thief, pauper, idler, or prostitute existed, they gave a mental tribute of praise to the memories of those who had laboured for the Cause "ere the toil of strife and battle overthrew the curse of Gold."

F. KIRZ.

LITERARY NOTICES.

'Anarchy' (Eau Claire Book Co., Eau Claire, Wis., U.S., post paid 25 cents) is an admirable pamphlet, by C. L. James, the "Socialist Alderman", son of G. P. R. James the novelist. It shows wide reading and intelligent appreciation of the subject, and is worth careful perusal.

In the *Bombay Gazette* of Jan. 21, our comrade D. Gostling has an admirable letter on "the growth of Socialism," with an account, also, of the Henry George contest in New York. This is a concession by an important journal to the growing interest taken in our cause in India.

Articles of interest to Socialists:—*Nineteenth Century*: "Notes and Queries on the Irish Question," W. E. Gladstone; "Scientific and Pseudo-Scientific Realism," Professor Huxley; "The Scientific Bases of Anarchy," Peter Kropotkin.

'The Irish National League Leaflets' (Irish Parliamentary Offices, Palace Chambers, S.W.; 4d. per 100, post free) are a well-written and instructive series, well worthy of circulation among people who are ignorant of the "reasoned enthusiasm" that animates the Irish people in their struggle for freedom.

'An Irish Judge on the Irish Question' (Irish Press Agency, 25, Parliament Street, Id.) is a reprint of Mr. Baron Fletcher's charge to the County Wexford grand jury in 1814, with introduction by John J. Clancy, M.A., M.P. Coming from a judge of Baron Fletcher's standing, who, it is needless to say was neither a Catholic nor a Nationalist, the deliverance will be found to be one of the most remarkable exposures on record of the infamous oppression to which the mass of the people of Ireland have been subjected under the Union, by the propertied class and the partisans of "law and order." From the same Agency may be procured also the following pamphlets at 1d. each, all of which are worth perusal: 'The Home Rule Question,' by Mr. Sexton, M.P.; 'Facts for Mr. Parnell's Bill,' by John Dillon, M.P.; 'The Treatment of Minorities in Ireland,' by Charles Dawson, Ex-Lord Mayor of Dublin; 'The Orange Bogey,' by John J. Clancy, M.A., M.P.

'The Economic Problem of the Unemployed' is a pamphlet by William Westgarth, Member of the Council of the London Chamber of Commerce, which traces the whole of the evils, such as depression of trade and want of employment, to the "appreciation" of gold, and also lays down a plan of municipal improvements to be carried out with the wealth arising from "natural" or "unearned" increment. If Mr. Westgarth will examine the subject further he will find that, be the medium what it may, commercial competitive exchange can but fulfil its inevitable conditions, and that social use of "natural" increment would swiftly lead to social use of much else, were his suggestion capable of being carried out under the present system—which it is not!—S.

To those who read French and are interested in the genuine Anarchist view of the future Society, we should recommend a series of articles by Peter Kropotkin, which have appeared more or less regularly in the *Révolution* for the past year. These papers, which deal with questions which will arise after the Revolution, must be highly interesting to all Socialists, although many may not agree with the writer's point of view or his suggestions for meeting the economic difficulties which will face us (or our descendants) in the future. Still these suggestions, according to him, resolve themselves into a simple form enough, the revolutionists, namely, taking to themselves all goods, all dwellings, factories, and so forth, and taking care that no works for the manufacture of life-necessaries are suspended, and that circulation of goods is maintained throughout all countries. As he says, our adversaries will discuss these difficulties of the future, being much more fearful about them than we ourselves; we, standing so far without the threshold, can but inadequately deal with the same, and it is unwise therefore to enter too much into details, but that these difficulties will be met successfully in the time to come, there is no reason to doubt. As the writer says: "We are persuaded that when the people put themselves to the work, they will find out how to organise themselves infinitely better than we can now predict of them." Among the articles, I may mention especially those on "Les Prisons" and those on "Les Denrées" (Victuals). In short, we hope that these series will be re-published in pamphlet form (perhaps translated); for the discussion of the conduct of the Revolutionists "the day after" cannot fail to be interesting and useful.—M. M.

Bread-and-water Beecher auctioned off his church pews Sunday for 27,000 dols. Beecher hates an eight-hour man, and thinks the standing army should be brought back from the Indian frontier and used to shoot working-men who cannot buy pews in his church.—*Knights of Labor*.

In reply to a question in the House of Commons the other day as to whether the British Government had sent any expression of sympathy to the Italian Government on account of "the disaster which had fallen on the Italian arms at Massowah," Sir J. Fergusson said: "It would be unsuitable to offer to a great military Power an expression of sympathy on account of such an accident. We ourselves should not like, in similar circumstances, to have the loss of a detachment, which can easily be replaced, treated as a considerable disaster. The Italian Government, with whom we have so many interests in common, are well aware that they may count upon the friendly offices of her Majesty's Government." Mark the cold-blooded way in which Sir J. Fergusson speaks of the slaughter of 500 human beings. They can so easily be replaced by 500 more Italian slaves, and should these get their throats cut, or die of disease, they can as easily be replaced by 500 more. The only inconvenience to the Italian Government is the cost of transport and the loss of kit and war materials, as unfortunately, these poor devils who were killed, and who can so easily be replaced, had their uniforms and accoutrements on at the time of their death. It costs money to replace these. Compare the indifferent way that our politicians speak of the death of 500 men with the maudlin stuff that is spoken when they have to announce the death of one of their own political cronies.—H. S.