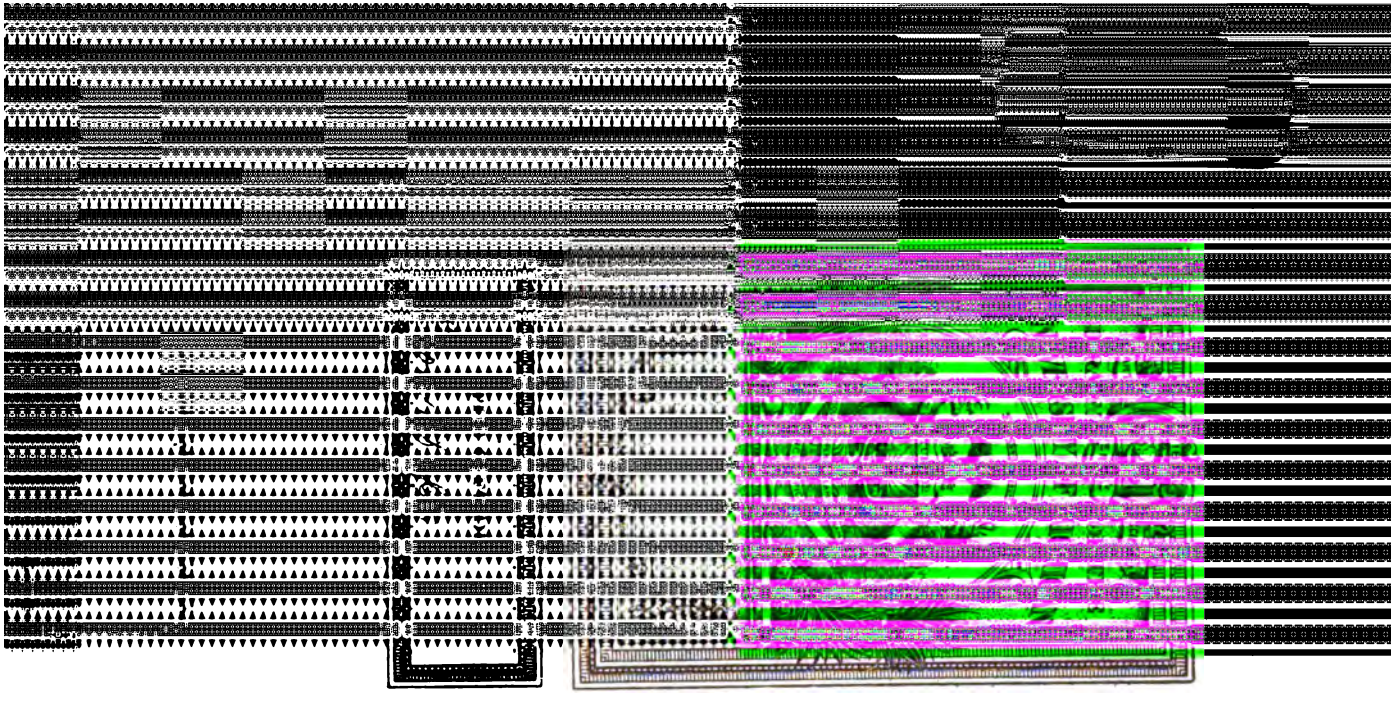
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SERIES

Edited by G. LOWES DICKINSON



THE WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL

By

R. W. POSTGATE

1920

London:
THE SWARTHMORE
PRESS LTD.
72, Oxford Street, W.1

New York:
HARCOURT BRACE
& HOWE
1, West 47th Street

Econ. Dept.
qt.
10-2-1922
gen. qt. file.

FOREWORD BY THE EDITOR

THE object of this series is twofold; to disseminate knowledge of the facts of international relations, and to inculcate the international rather than the nationalistic way of regarding them. This latter purpose implies no distortion of facts. It is hoped that the books will be found to maintain a high standard of accuracy and fairness.

But their avowed object is not merely to record facts, but to present them in a certain light, and with a certain object. That light is Internationalism and that object the peace of the world. If the series is successful in its purpose it will contribute to what Wells has called the "international mind."

The object has been to produce the books at a price that shall not be prohibitive to people of small incomes. For the world cannot be saved by governments and governing classes. It can be saved only by the creation, among the peoples of the world, of such a public opinion as cannot be duped by misrepresentation nor misled by passion. The difficulties of that achievement can hardly be exaggerated, but ought not to daunt. And the editor ventures to hope for support for men of good will in this one attempt, among the many others, to enlighten the intelligence and direct the will.

PREFACE

THIS book is an attempt to tell the history of Labour Internationalism. On the First International, an important chapter in the social history of Europe, I have had the good fortune to be able to consult the Minute book and other documentary sources. I have given great attention to the First International because I believe it to be an episode whose importance to European labour, and to British economic history has been seriously underrated.

R.W.P.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

(1)—THE PRECURSORS

LABOUR internationalism differs in type from all other internationalism. There have always been many societies to promote international friendship. There used to be an Anglo-German society: there is still an Anglo-Ottoman society. There have been and are numberless international societies of various kinds to oppose war. Leagues of Peace and Freedom, Women's Leagues, Arbitration Societies, Leagues to Prevent War, Christian Leagues, League of Nations Unions, and many others have a more or less precarious existence. Their aims are all of a kind: they are negative, they wish to oppose war, or to remove a certain particular cause of war. They hasten up, as it were, with a blessing and words of conciliation whenever an international crisis occurs. They promote international brotherhood and smooth away differences. They regard the different nations, part of the great family of the world, just as they would the individuals of a family which persisted in silly internecine quarrels. They hope by a strenuous course of sermons, and by more powerful financial arguments, to show these individuals how much better it would be for them all if they would only live in peace. Of divisions

cutting horizontally across the boundaries of nationality they have no conception. They see only the vertical lines.

The Workers' International is an idea entirely alien to these conceptions. The adoption of a class basis means a great and final breach with middle-class pacifism. The old watchword, that all men are brothers, ceases to be true. The "Internationale" does not say, does not believe that all men are brothers. All workers are brothers, if you will, but not all men. The workers unite internationally not for peace, but for war. They have all a common international enemy to overthrow—the bourgeois employing class. This class unites at need to fight them, as Bismarck helped Thiers against the Commune, as Germany and the Allies joined in a common opposition to the Bolsheviks. To reply to this union, a union of the workers is necessary. Not only is it of use from day to day in industrial disputes, to prevent foreign blacklegging, but in time of revolution the workers in capitalist countries can prevent their governors from attacking the lands where the Revolution has succeeded. The aim of labour internationalism is not to end war, but to change its terrain, to make it not national but class war. This is because it is held that war is not the outcome of ill-temper, or of international misunderstanding, but of modern imperialism, which is economic in its basis and inseparable from the existence of capitalism. War, therefore, can only be attacked through capitalism, wars can only cease when the capitalist class, as a class, ceases also to exist.

It follows from this that Labour Internationalism can only appear under modern capitalist conditions. A

Small Owners' International would have no vitality. And in fact the beginning of Labour internationalism coincides with the first appearance in strength of the modern proletariat. In England in 1834, appeared the first powerful Trades Union that had ever been seen. It had an imposing name—the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union—it had a membership of more than half-a-million, a figure not reached again in that century by any other union, it had the overturning of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism as its professed aim. For a few months it was hoped and feared that it would succeed. Its power seemed unlimited and the alarm of the governing classes was ill-concealed. The fame of this organisation reached France, and the workingmen of Nantes sent proposals to turn it into an international Union. "Brothers and Friends!" they wrote, "Do not let our union be stopped by the sea or rivers that mark the boundaries of States. Let us put into communication with one another, London, Paris, Manchester, Lyons, Liverpool, Nantes, Bordeaux, Oporto, Lisbon, Madrid, Cadiz, Barcelona, Turin, and all the great centres of industry in the world." But the proposal came too late. By the 7th of June, when it was published in the Union journal, the *Pioneer*, the Grand National was defeated. The vast organism had no more power of cohesion than quicksilver. The shock of the employers' resistance had shattered it into fragments. Two months later it was officially wound up. Six months later there was not a trace of it to be found. We do not even know if the Nantes workers ever received an answer.

The idea of Labour internationalism disappeared for a while with the fall of the Grand National. There were, it is true, communications in 1842, between the Chartists and the editors of a Parisian workers' paper, *L'Atelier*, and in 1846, Ernest Jones sat on the Brussels International Democratic Committee as a Chartist delegate. Proudhon was the French representative on this body, which almost immediately dissolved owing to violent internal quarrels. In addition, G. J. Harney, in his various periodicals, the *Democratic Review*, *London Democrat*, etc., has a markedly international outlook. But nothing was done on the English side of the Channel, in spite of the relative strength of the English working-class movement.

In France, however, appears the first consistent advocate of a workers' International—Madame Flora Tristan. She published in 1843 a booklet entitled *Union Ouvrière*, in which she outlines in detail a plan for the international organisation of the working-classes, town by town. From the publication of this work may be dated the beginning of Labour internationalism. The book went through three editions in two years, and over 20,000 copies were disposed of. Madame Tristan threw all her energy into lecturing for her project, and was in the middle of a course of provincial addresses when she died at Bordeaux in 1845. She was born in 1807. She was a descendant of Montezuma. When in London she visited the lunatics in Bedlam. One of these believed that he was Christ at His second coming, and told Madame Tristan to go forth into the world to preach the new order. Madame Tristan was deeply impressed,

and henceforth believed herself a woman with a mission. Her book, *Union Ouvrière* is almost unreadable, not from its stylistic peculiarities so much as from its type. Italics, small capitals, huge capitals, black type, exclamation marks are scattered about so lavishly that the eyes are tormented. The sight of a single page gives an impression of hysteria stronger than could be produced by the most violent language.

This strange woman is the first propagandist of Labour internationalism. She left behind her a small knot of devoted followers who kept the idea alive. Henceforward, in spite of the feebleness of her labour organisations, France took a leading place in the Workers' International.

Perhaps we ought not to count the famous Federation of the Just, for which Marx and Engels wrote the *Communist Manifesto*, as a precursor of the International. It was only nominally an international organisation of the workers. It remained in fact a collection of refugees from the German section of the French Société des Saisons, which had met disaster in 1839. Its membership was very small. Although one Prussian member, Stephan Born, played a great part in 1848, the members generally composed a small and uninfluential coterie. The pearl of the *Communist Manifesto* in any case was cast before swine: the Federation, though it accepted it, did not understand it. It resumed at once its violent internecine quarrels, fell back into the slough of Utopianism from which it had been raised, and in the end practically forced Marx and Engels to resign. Similar was the character of the group of socialist refugees of all

nations who formed in 1855 a Central Committee in London.

But all these attempts had prepared the way for the First International, founded in 1864. This was the most important event of the century. Under the powerful and enlightened leadership of Marx it united and drilled the workers. It taught them to march together. It raised Socialism to the status of an international programme. Socialism became the aim of the whole labour movement instead of the secret doctrine of a Blanquist conspiracy. The First International is, more than any other single agency, responsible for the foundation of the Trade Union organisations of Spain, Denmark, France, and Austria-Hungary.

Previously no shadow had been cast over the road of the happy progress of capitalism. Since the Industrial Revolution the bourgeois class had felt itself the chosen heir of the future. It had broken the old forms of society, it had overturned governments and altered the face of a continent. No country could withstand capitalism. No walls stood the onslaught of machinery and manufactures. Only one embarrassment was felt—the lack of new worlds to conquer. With the appearance of the First International the period of unquestioned advance closed. The proletariat, which had hitherto only made a fleeting appearance in riots and occasional disorder, now comes forward as an organised class. With the growth of capitalism there appears the cancer that will kill it. The abject terror of the Continental employers in face of the International had one excuse. No terrible secret power belonged

to the International. But it signalised the beginning of the process which changed capitalism from a victor, amazing and glorious, for whom all the dreams and praises of Alexander Ure and Benjamin Disraeli were realities and truth, into the capitalism of 1919, uncertain and cruel with a coward's cruelty, looking not for new worlds to conquer, but to the implacable enemy who presses it harder each day.

(2)—The First Years

The accepted date for the origin of the First International is the International Exhibition of London in 1862. The Government of Napoleon III thought it worth while occasionally to favour the working-classes. One of these gifts, capriciously bestowed or withheld, was the permission or rather encouragement to the French workers to send delegates to London in 1862, to learn by example from the British workers. Britain was at that time far in advance of the Continent in all forms of machine industry and the Emperor hoped that French manufacture would benefit by the instruction of the French workers. In spite of the resistance of his own prefects, he permitted the workers to unite to elect delegates, although they were forbidden at the time not merely to hold meetings but to belong to any Union or Trade Society at all. Considerable sums of money were subscribed by wealthy men for the delegates. Three hundred and forty of these were sent—two hundred from Paris and forty from Amiens. They duly appeared at the Exhibition. There were also some Germans present.

Later, a certain number of them were entertained to tea by British Trade Unionists, and from this tea arose the First International. It does not appear, in spite of the warm fraternal sentiments expressed, that anything was done at this meeting beyond the adoption of a proposal to select Corresponding Committees in London and Paris. The delegates returned home without having committed themselves to anything. But from the projects discussed here arose later the whole structure of the First International.

Jaeckh, in his booklet upon the International, calls this "legendary history." Nowhere can be found any evidence to prove that the Exhibition meeting had any particular connection with the founding of the International. George Howell, who was later a member of the General Council, wrote in 1872 to Walter Morrison, M.P., "The Exhibition of 1862 had nothing whatever to do with its inception." This fable, he believed, was spread by the French, with their usual national vanity. They resented any infringement of their revolutionary patent, and wished to depreciate the London Trades Council which had originated the International. "The brat," he says, twisting the boastful French phrase "was *not* born in Paris and put out to nurse in London." The origin is to be sought in the reply by the Trades Council to an appeal by the General Neapolitan Society of Workingmen, of December 17th, 1861, for English aid in securing Italian unity and organising Trade Unions. The Council's reply was to the effect that it was a non-political organisation, and gave an elaborate account of the forms assumed by English unions. This had a large

circulation on the continent and was the beginning of international negotiations among workingmen. Then, in 1863, the nine hours struggle was resumed in Britain, and was supported by the Continental workers. Fresh connections with Europe were formed. The Paris bronzeworkers sent subscriptions to London.

Here Howell breaks off to abuse Tolain, the French Proudhonist and Labour leader whose national vanity had provoked his annoyance, and never resumes. I have put his account, for what it is worth, beside the orthodox history. In any case, there is little doubt that we are on firm ground in saying that the first recorded act which undeniably led directly to the formation of the International was that of George Odger, the English Trade Unionist, and a group of adherents. At some date in 1863—the undated printed sheet has been preserved by Howell—they sent an address in French and English "to the Workingmen of France from the Workingmen of England." It was a protest against the brutal suppression of the Polish insurrection: "we echo," it said "your call for a fraternity of peoples . . . highly necessary for the cause of labour." It was possibly a reply to a previous French manifesto. Anyhow, from these negotiations arose the meeting at St. Martin's Hall, on September the 25th, 1864, and the foundation of the International.

St. Martin's Hall is at the corner of Long Acre and Endell Street, opposite the "Enterprise," a public house. It faces Bow Street and is not far from Covent Garden Tube station. It was originally built to serve as a concert hall. Later it became the Queen's Theatre, still

later it was turned into offices. To-day, it is used for purposes which to all international Socialists must seem merely disgraceful. It is occupied by Messrs. Odhams, and used for the publication of a weekly paper called *John Bull*.

In 1864 the hall could be hired for meetings at a comparatively low rate, and was frequently so used. Here, on September 28th, 1864, a meeting was held under the chairmanship of the Positivist, Professor E. S. Beesly. Its nominal object was to protest on behalf of Poland, and only after that had been done did it turn to the international organisation of the working-class. There were present English trade unionists, French workers led by the persistent Tolain, Germans, Poles, and Italians carefully drilled by Mazzini's secretary, Wolff. A French refugee in London, Le Lubez, outlined the scheme for a Central Committee, sitting in London, with branches in all the capitals of Europe, His project being accepted, the meeting appointed a Committee with General powers for the purpose of organisation. Upon this Committee sat a number of British Trade Unionists and Major L. Wolff and Dr. Karl Marx. The International was born.

The infant suffered not from too little attention, but rather from a plethora of godfathers. Howell and Odger, two distinguished Trade unionists, who were on the Committee, saw in it merely a means of reproducing English Trade Unions upon the Continent. This was in itself an enterprising plan : the Continental workmen had up till then known only silent slavery, alternating with violent revolts. Howell's ideal was to provide

them with an organised labour movement. Marx, who in the end carried the day, proposed to use the International also as the great propagandist of Socialism, at once educating the workers and uniting them. Certain French refugees in London hoped that it might be induced to murder Napoleon III. Finally, Mazzini looked to it to replace his lost organisation. After the fall of Rome in 1849, he, Kossuth and Ledru Rollin had founded a secret republican organisation. It had decayed and fallen into impotence. But he still retained the Italian organisation and hoped that this new organisation might become a Federation of secret republican societies, of Young Italy, Young France, Young England, Young Belgium, and so on. On the 11th of October, therefore, his secretary, Major Wolff, proposed that the Committee adopt the rules of the Italian Workingmen's Association, which he had translated for the purpose. An English delegate seconded—there was always an English delegate prepared to second anything. Marx opposed, as this would have meant that the International became a secret, conspiratorial society. The matter was adjourned for Marx to produce a counter-proposal. Rather less than a month later he brought forward his proposed Address and Rules. There was then no more question of Major Wolff's intrigues. The address is perhaps one of the finest of Marx's minor works. It begins on a low tone, citing the recent speech of Gladstone in which he compared the wealth of Great Britain with the abject poverty of the British workers, and from that, with the compelling logic of which Marx alone was capable, carries on the reader to the whole theory of

the class struggle and lays bare the whole basis of the International. Of the Rules little need be said: they are characterless. Their lack of colour, in fact, permitted the Bakuninists later to allege that the International did not countenance political action, which, when we consider the members of the Committee, is clearly seen to be absurd. The "Address" definitely contemplates political action.

Major Wolff, failing to carry his rules, withdrew in anger, and for years Italy remained practically closed to the International. Later, Mazzini assured a deputation that he was not responsible for Wolff's action in any way, nor was he hostile to the International. Unfortunately, the great Italian was this once not strictly truthful: from the year 1865 onwards he was the enemy of the International.

On November the 8th, the rules and Address were officially adopted and printed in the *Beehive* on Saturday, the 12th. By that act the International Workingmen's Association was declared to be constituted. Very little material exists for the history of the next year. Certain English Trade Unions joined. There was a knot of propagandists in Switzerland, another in Belgium and another in France. Spain, Italy and Germany were practically untouched. In the years 1865 and 1866 the movement was still embryonic. Its growth depended upon the few active groups mentioned. Only after the Congress of the latter year (1866) did the two years hard work bear fruit. All accounts show a sudden forward sweep in 1866 and 1867. Malon asserted that the membership leapt up from 70,000 to over 300,000. And

though it is difficult to see on what basis he could have calculated his figures, yet it is true that the year 1866 was the crucial year of the International's expansion. It is characteristic of what Marx called " British blockheadedness " that Howell thought it a year of failure.

The Congress of 1865 had not been held. Instead of it an informal conference had been held in London in September. Delegates were present from German and French Switzerland, Great Britain, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy and Spain.* But it was becoming clear that only the first four were of importance. Germany was pre-occupied with the Schweitzer-Liebknecht division, Italy was Mazzini's preserve (Wolff attended this meeting, for the last time) and Spain had no labour movement. Even as early as this, Tolain at the head of the Proudhonist Frenchmen, showed " crotchety " tendencies. The French delegation demanded that anyone should be allowed to vote at next year's regular congress, whether he was a delegate or not. After a certain amount of ill-feeling the British delegates disposed of this proposal and the decision was used next year by the French to expel the Blanquists. The Polish question still occupied some attention, but on the motion of the French it was finally dropped. Among the subjects upon which the national sections were to report to the next congress, Dr. Karl Marx had placed " the influence of religion."

Howell's comments, again, are worth quoting. They throw light on the ordinary English Trade Union mind as well on the proceedings of the Conference: " On

* See the *Workman's Advocate*. Add, Poland.

Monday, September 25th, 1865, the first Congress was held in London. It lasted three days. Delegates were present from France, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, Poland. It terminated its sittings by a Soiree and Public Meeting in St. Martin's Hall, this Congress was deemed eminently successful. During the following winter and Spring it continued to spread. But one of the seeds of discord was sown at this first Congress,—viz., the introduction of the religious idea by Dr. Karl Marx. From this moment the discussions have led to interminable debates on all kinds of abstract notions, Religious, Political and Socialistic. . . . Whatever tendencies the Association may now have they did not form part of the original programme which a Gladstone or a Bright might have accepted with a good conscience."*

During the year 1866 very little is recorded. The Parisian delegates met every Thursday to consider the twelve points of the programme for discussion at the Congress. These were: The organisation and aim of the International: past, present and future of Trade Unions: female and child labour: limitation of the working day: co-operation and Trade Unions: Capital and Labour, foreign competition, etc.; Taxation; International Institutions; the necessity of destroying Russian power and reviving Poland; standing armies; religious ideas; the establishment of a friendly society. The General Council in London protested against the treatment of Fenian prisoners. Nevertheless, when the Congress first met in Geneva in September, 1866, a real growth in strength was perceived. The Congress

* Letter to W. Morrison, M.P., 1872. See Bibliography.

lasted from the 3rd to the 8th of September. Sixty delegates were present. This time they were no longer the casual foreign refugees of London, representing nobody but themselves, but regularly elected delegates of real sections. France, Switzerland and England were alone represented: but although the list of names is smaller, the strength was really greater than ever had been known before. There were three German sections, but the German labour movement, as a whole, was not affiliated. Forty-six delegates were from sections, fourteen from Trade Unions. It is interesting to notice that the latter were not regarded as members, but only as "adhering" although some at least had paid subscriptions. From Switzerland were present, naturally, a very large number of delegates: Geneva, Lausanne, Montreux, Neuchatel, Chaux de Fonds, Locle, Saint Imier, Sonvillier, Bienne, Zurich, Wetzikon and Basel all possessed a section or sections and were represented. In addition ten small Trade Unions and Friendly Societies sent delegates. The whole Swiss Movement, already strong and rapidly growing, was headed by Dr. Coullery, of Chaux de Fonds. Coullery impressed the English delegates very much. "He was the ruling spirit of the Congress," said Carter, of the General Council. Coullery exercised a great sway over the workers by means of his paper, the *Voix de l'avenir*, which preached "a sort of neo-Christian humanitarianism, and was very badly edited." Coullery was no socialist, but a middle-class man of radical views. For all its numerical strength the Swiss movement was still in the Liberal darkness. Only under the educative

influence of successive congresses in Switzerland did the Swiss workers become advanced enough to reject Coullery.

The French delegates came from Paris, Lyons, Neuville sur Saone and Rouen. G. Jaeckh* mentions also delegates from Caen, Vienne and Bordeaux, which I cannot trace. They were all "Gravilliers" as the Proudhonists or Mutualists were called. They were not regarded with any particular disfavour by the Bonapartist government, and were treated as traitors by the Blanquists. Certain followers of Blanqui arrived at Geneva, without mandates, and desired to sit. Tolain and his friends had the pleasure of seeing them expelled in virtue of the London resolution. Henceforward Blanqui also was among the opponents of the International and treated *les internationaux* with general contempt.

Of the English delegates only one (Laurence) was sent directly by a Trade Union, the London Amalgamated Tailors. The rest were sent by the General Council. Nevertheless, they represented a considerable Trade Union affiliation, which the Council reckoned as 25,173. England at this time had a large number of strong, small craft unions, relatively wealthy, and linked by strong Trades Councils. Of these the largest, the London Trades Council, was adherent to the International. There were also the big "Amalgamated" Unions, headed by the great Amalgamated Society of Engineers. Three of the most considerable of these, the London Tailors, the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, and

* *The International*, p. 21. Compare J. Guillaume, *L'Internationale*, Vol. IV, p. 327.

the Amalgamated Cordwainers were paying members of the International. Their policy was directed by a knot of cautious conservative men—Allan, Applegarth, Odger, Guile, Howell and others—whose place was so secure, and their authority so unquestioned that they became known as the "Junta." Howell, Odger, and Applegarth, who were at the General Council of the International for long periods, formed a personal link with it. On the 8th of September, 1866, seventeen Unions had joined the International: promised affiliations brought the number up to thirty. All through 1867 we hear of a steady influx of English Unions. The first regular Trade Union Congress was not held till 1868, the 1869 Congress recommended all Unions to join the International. If the English members had been as active as the Continental, and a British Federal Council had been formed in time, the International might quite well have performed the duties which the Junta and the Trade Union Congress were both beginning to attempt. But this was not done, and that is no doubt one reason why the English workers who in 1864, appear comparatively most advanced, clear-headed and revolutionary, in 1872, have fallen far behind the Continental workers and since then have always cheerfully brought up the rear of the revolutionary army.*

The proceedings of the Geneva Conference were not of great importance.† It adopted the rules almost

* See Appendix I.

† See Guillaume *op. cit.*, Vol. I, ch. i., Vol. IV, Appendix, J. Puech, *Le Proudhonisme dans l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*, ch. iii.

intact. Long reports on the twelve questions to be discussed were read from the French section and the General Council in London. The General Council's report was written by Marx, but shows no signs of the master-hand. The French report was written under the influence of Proudhon, who had recently died, and is a better document in every way. On the twelve questions, colourless decisions were adopted in the sense which might be expected. The Congress decided merely to record the opinions expressed about religion and come to no decision. We should be wrong to judge from the report that this Congress was dull and useless. To us the opinions expressed seem platitudes, but they were not then. The intolerable European working-class was beginning its education; it needed a Congress wherein it should learn the alphabet and recite A for Ass, B for Bull, C for Cat, and so on. Geneva gave that elementary lesson, and so far from the workers holding it superfluous, the reports of the Congress gave a great impetus to the International.

The French Government began to be alarmed. It first seized numbers of pamphlets, etc., on the person of Jules Gottraux, a British subject who was bringing them to London for the General Council. The Council induced the British government to intervene and recover them. Then the printed copies of the French report to the Congress were seized at the frontier. The minister Rouher, in reply to complaints, offered to let it through "if you will insert some expressions of gratitude to the Emperor who has done so much for the working-class."

The Paris Committee refused, and the police henceforward seized nearly every document sent through the post to the International.

The International grew rapidly in all countries, but in England its strength became greatest. It took a hand in the violent Reform agitation which threatened to become revolutionary. It received a steady influx of Trade Unions, including two other " amalgamated " Unions (the Saddlers and Harness Makers', and the Malleable Ironworkers) and the Operative Bricklayers. Affiliation was accepted from the United Excavators, a union of unskilled labourers, which led to a coolness with the London Trades Council. Generally, the English Unions showed a tendency to obey the instructions of the Sheffield Trade Union Congress of 1866, and join the International, but one thing they did very reluctantly—pay in any money. Geneva had decided that every member should pay 3d. a year: this for Trade Unions was reduced to a ½d., but still money would not come in. The income of the Council for the past year had been £57 19s., £1 1s. 1d. was still in the hands of the Treasurer but there were liabilities amounting to nearly £22. During the course of the year (September, 1866 to September, 1867) the Unions produced £14 2s. 5½d., the French sections sent £26 9s. 6d., the Swiss £8 9s. 7d., and no other sections anything at all. The Council was in the most desperate straits. The Minute Book abounds in entries like these: " October 2nd, (1866). It was decided to pay the quarters' rent [for 18, Bouverie Street, E.C., for the *Commonwealth*, the International's organ], due last midsummer. There being nothing in

the Treasurery*, the treasurer advanced the quarters' rent by way of a loan." At the end of the next year, when the Council had moved from Bouverie Street, the late landlord, Mr. A. Miall, writes demanding £3 10s. for gas and rent. He then seizes the Liverpool Cigar-makers' subscription, sent to the old address by error (October 8th). Next week he writes a letter threatening prosecution and containing "insinuations against members of the Council." He has opened the Cigar-makers' letter and stuck it up again. The Council raised 10s. to send him. Next week the Secretary "read a letter from Mr. Miall containing an apology for his insinutations in the last and statement that should consider himself entitled to open the letters of the Council though it was unlawful." The Geneva Congress had voted to pay the General Secretary £50 per annum: at the end of May the members of the Council tried at least to raise 10s. a week, by subscription among themselves. The first week they gave 11s., then 9s., 8s., 7s., 7s. 6d., nothing, 6s., nothing, 3s., 8s., and after that the attempt was abandoned.

Marx was unable to attend for most of the year, and the direction was largely in the hands of English members. These were so casual in their attendance, that on two occasions no quorum could be obtained. But it was no doubt their influence which made of the International, the efficient Trade Union which it rapidly became. In 1865 delegates had expressed the opinion that Trade Unions were not possible on the Continent,

* The Minute Book is full of curious misspellings, which I have done my best to retain.

being alien to the spirit of the workers. In 1867, owing to the action of the International, Trade Unionism was the rage. In France, Unions had been permitted to exist in 1864, but practically nothing had been done until after the Geneva Congress, when the Paris bronzeworkers formed a Union containing 1,500 members. The employers instantly locked them out until they should dissolve the Union. The International appealed to the English Unions who sent well over £1,000 to Paris. The Bronzeworkers' membership leapt up to 4,000 and the employers gave in altogether. The effect of this was immense: all over France, Trade Unions sprang up and the economic struggle became acute. Assi, leader of the Creusot strikers, when brought up for trial was asked whether he was a member of the International. He replied, "No, but I hope to be allowed to be." Such was the spirit of the new unions, when not actually members of the International they were under its influence. The control of the movement was gradually slipping out of the hands of the group of Proudhonist luxury workers who had founded it. Two years later Dupont, the corresponding Secretary could announce that "the credit question," the great panacea of the Proudhonists, was going out of date entirely, and "forming Trade Societies" had taken its place.

Although the Trade Union organisation of the International was largely due to the English, and foreign strikers began naturally to appeal to the English Unions for aid, as the richest members of the association, the benefits were not all one way. The London Tailors were engaged over the winter of 1866-67, and right through

the summer in a bitter struggle for a reduction of hours. They received considerable gifts of money from the Continent—£40 from Berlin alone. More than this, the International succeeded in the end in making impossible a trick of the employers which had hitherto broken strikes without fail—the importation of cheap foreign labour. The strikes of the Old London Society of Basket-makers and of the tailors in 1867, and later the cigarmakers' dispute were the occasion for signal successes of this kind. The supply of foreign blacklegs dried up at its source, and those already brought over were induced to desert. Later, in 1871, when it was forced into supporting the Nine Hours Movement, the great Amalgamated Society of Engineers itself had to join the International and seek its aid in stopping immigration.

The character of the International was now clear. It had two sides—it was at once a powerful Trade Union body, and an international political society. Its membership mostly consisted of local "sections"—ordinary branches of a political party, scattered all over Europe. These sections might or might not have a federal National Council, which need not contain all the sections in its country. They were directly attached to the London General Council. On the other hand, National Trade Unions were also accepted as members, thus providing a second type of organic unit inside the International. In Spain, eventually, these two units tended to coalesce; the section split itself up into various local *trade* groups and the national Union did not exist. We can trace a small but steady

conflict between the two types of organisation. The predominance of the first form of organisation (political, by sections) meant, that the International was liable to become a revolutionary organisation; the predominance of the other, that it would become a respectable international Trade Union. Accident alone made its destiny the former, for at first its functions led it all to the latter.

The English membership was almost exclusively of the Trade Union type. Regular sections existed in Liverpool and Kings Lynn, but apparently nowhere else.* The attitude of the English members was unvarying. They regarded the Trade Union function as the only one that mattered, and on political matters offered the most inconsequent opinions, frequently self-contradictory, and neither in their violence or their moderation to be taken seriously. Lucraft, for example, urges quite seriously the claim of Turkey to be the most liberty-loving land in the world. English delegates were prepared to vote for almost any political resolution, however absurd. They regarded these debates as mere exercises, not to be taken seriously, and apparently the British working-class agreed with them.

The Belgian working-class movement was becoming one of the strongest members of the International César de Paepe,† its devoted and energetic leader was one of the most vigorous members of the International.

* There were never more than 294 paying English individual members. 122 of these were of foreign extraction. Marx paid in more than any others except Cowell Stepney.

† Pronounced roughly, "de Pahp."

The Belgian Federal Council was one of the earliest national federal councils formed in the International. In Belgium the organisation by sections predominated, although many of these sections were semi-trade-union. That is to say, whereas the ordinary section would be called " Section of Bethnal Green " or " of Antwerp, North," there were a large number of Belgian sections such as the " Francs Ouvriers " of Verviers, which was a trade society. An English organised section called " the Liverpool Matchmakers " would have been a parallel case. In Switzerland, also a very well-organised country, the sectional type of organisation existed side by side with affiliated Trade Unions. These last were mostly centred in Geneva and were conservative organisations of highly skilled workers, many of them being watchmakers' organisations. Eventually, while the Trade Unions moved further to the left than Dr. Coullery who originally led the Swiss movement, the sections, especially those in the Jura, moved yet further to the left and then began the quarrel which split the International. In France, as we have observed, the Trade Union type of membership, originally unknown, was at last appearing by the side of the other. The Germans were more interested in their own Labour movement, and the struggle between the Marxists Bebel and Liebknecht, and von Schweitzer, Lassalle's successor. The German movement eventually adhered *en masse*, and unions which were not permitted to adhere, as in Prussia, took out cards of membership for all their members individually. Always, however, the German interest was rather languid, and though they punctiliously performed their

duty in 1871, the German organised workers had a sufficiently strong native organisation to prevent them feeling the urgent need for the International which was felt in other countries. In Italy, the effect of Mazzini's ban and the war for unity was still felt. No sections could be founded, while the Trade Unions that existed always replied courteously to invitations to Congresses, regretting a previous engagement. Two "delegates" turned up at the 1867 conference, but their societies did not propose either to join or send money. In America the Council was in communication with the brilliant working-class leader, W. H. Sylvis, of the International Ironmoulders' Union* who had succeeded in uniting the American movement for a time in the National Labour Union. But as yet relations were confined to postal expressions of goodwill. Orsini, who afterwards tried to kill Napoleon III, had been to America, and, he told the General Council, enrolled Wendell Phillips and Charles Sumner as members of the Association.

The delegates of these various sections, except America, met in Congress again at Lausanne from the 2nd to the 8th September, 1867. The impression one receives from reading the report is that of a Babel of conflicting advice. It was part of Marx's life work to sweep away the fantastic and untenable "systems" which held the International field and replace them by modern scientific socialism. He could not attend the Congress himself: he was in the depths of poverty and his family was suffering terribly from disease and hunger.

* "International" in the American language, merely means that the Union concerned will accept Canadian members.

He had a hard task. The Belgians were "Colinsists." Probably few Englishmen have read the nineteen volumes of *Social Science*, written by the Belgian sociologist, J. G. C. A. H. Colins, so it is worth while summarising his views. First, and most important was the need to believe in no God, but in the existence of the soul. On economic matters he believed in the collective ownership of all immobile property, such as land, mines and houses. Private property must be retained in all other things, including the products of factories and all other commodities, and in capital. Heavy taxation should be applied to the rich, and death duties increased. This curious body of doctrine made the Belgians incline first of all to Proudhonism, and later to Bakunin. At this conference De Paepe presented a long report on Proudhonist lines, demanding the establishment of a workers' bank, whose security should be the workers' labour power.

The Swiss were suspicious of these redhot revolutionary proposals. Coullery, who was still their unquestioned leader, addressing the Congress on Saturday the 7th, said: "I believe in the most complete liberty and therefore in individual property. The land is an instrument of labour, it should belong to the labourer like any other tool. If you wish to make the land collective property, why not extend this theory to all other means of labour? This would be logical, but absurd. . . To demand the socialisation of the land is to demand the state of things which exists in Turkey, which is none the better for it. When everything is socialised the individual will be dwarfed. I hope to God to be dead by

then." Guillaume, who later was to lead a revolt against Coullery, inflicted upon the Congress a long report on Phonography, by which word he meant a proposal for simplified spelling: he occupied most of the sixth session with it, and insisted on having a resolution passed.

The strongest single party was the French, who were all Proudhonists, or *mutualists*, to use the name which they preferred. Proudhon is very rarely read now because his style is so oppressed by his Hegelianism. He is far worse than Marx; his books are like "the Bible in the press" in the old song, "no man can them read." Briefly, however, the mutualists advocated the cause of the small peasant. Small holdings in the country; in the town, the worker, individually, to own the tools he uses. We must remember that great industry was not so advanced in France as in England, and this proposal did not seem outrageous. Mutualism, said De Paepe, defining it at the Congress, meant that the product of labour should belong to the producer, who should only exchange it at cost price, that is, for a product which had cost an equal amount of labour. This could be attained by co-operative societies and the foundation of people's credit banks, by which the big man would be driven out of business. Nationalisation was an evil thing, and the State was to disappear. Eccarius, Marx's friend from the General Council, was greatly impressed by the idea of a People's Bank, and generally the mutualists had the dominating voice in the Congress. They succeeded, as good Proudhonists, in having a resolution passed on the need "for Morality,

Justice, and Virtue," and for the drafting of a "Moral Code" for the worker and all peoples. They also expressed an opinion against strikes without meeting much opposition. One thing of vital interest was proposed by the French delegate, Longuet (Caen). "Concerning the organisation by the State of railways, canals, mines and public services, Longuet says it is understood that these are not to be administered by State officials . . . . Railways, mines, etc., should be made, exploited or administered by workers' associations, who are to be bound to give their services at cost price, without making profits (bénéfices) that is, in agreement with mutualists principles" (Compte Rendu, p. 67).

The resolutions of the Congress are of considerable interest* but we cannot deal with them in detail here. An attempt was made to reduce to order the organisation of the International and ensure a regular income. The Parisians carried through all their resolutions upon credit, and the People's Bank, and the Congress unwisely enough advised all Trade Unions to invest their funds in co-operative societies of production. On the other hand, considering the question "Whether the spread of workers' societies does not tend to create a fifth estate, below the fourth, and yet more miserable?" the Congress decided, that it did, but that the spread of great industry would check this tendency. It also approved, in guarded terms, of free education, which the mutualists opposed, and of course, of "Phonography." It declared that "means of transport and communication" should be owned by the State, and that political

* See the *Compte Rendu* and Guillaume, Vol. I,. Part I, ch. iv.

emancipation of the workers was necessary for social emancipation. A Congress of a bourgeois pacifist organisation called the League of Peace and Freedom, was being held at Geneva, and contrary to the desire of the General Council it was decided that the International adhere to it.

The records of the next years expansion are scattered. The influx of British Unions slackened and some withdrawals occurred. Money was sent from London and Paris to Geneva, for a builders' strike. The strikers won, and the position of the International was secure. Finances were a little easier, the Secretary was paid 15s. a week. An appeal was issued " To the Trade Unionists of Great Britain and Ireland " which had but little success. Against the desires of Marx the British members of the Council insisted on spending most of the time in debates on the subjects to be discussed at the next conference.

Marx was now, merely by his powerful mind and by no intrigue whatever, gaining a complete mastery over the Council. He attended regularly, and even through the dulling medium of the illiterate minute-takers, there is a startling difference visible between his speeches and those of the other members. The debate on machinery (July 28th, 1868—p. 149 of the Minute Book) is particularly interesting. Marx, incidentally, declared " I think every child above the age of nine ought to be employed in productive labour a portion of its time." He rather puzzled his English colleagues. One of them has left a pencil note which must refer to him : " M. a German of an acute mind, but like that of Proudhon,

of a dissolving tendency, of a domineering temper, jealous of the influence of others, without strong philosophical or religious faith, and, I am afraid, with more hatred, if even just hatred, than love in his heart."*

Already the most wild rumours were afloat concerning the International. The usual stupid lie about "infinite sums of money" in London was put about; the newspapers stated, and there were people found to believe, that the men on strike all over Europe were so against their will, and by order of the International, which had such vast financial resources that it was impossible to oppose its will. Howell has preserved an undated editorial, apparently from the *Times*, which assured its readers that the International was arranging for the Turks to massacre the Armenians. Fantastic stories were woven around the person of Marx: this half-starved refugee, doing the work of two men and beset by domestic afflictions was described as an icy-hearted genius, of fiendish abilities and autocratic power, directing a vast revolutionary conspiracy. He was writing, it was said, a book in so obscure a style that none but the initiated could understand it. It would contain the plans of the social revolution.

The French Government, as it was a Government of police spies, was the first to be influenced by these police spy stories. In March 1868, it prosecuted the members of the Paris Central Committee, on the outrageously false change of belonging to a secret society, and in May prosecuted the Committee which took its place.

* John Spargo (*Karl Marx*, p. 265) quotes a very similar sentence as Mazzini's, but gives no reference.

Convictions, of course, followed, but the only result was that the Central Committee disappeared and the localities corresponded directly with London. The general effect was to increase the influence of the International in France.

In Switzerland, a division was showing itself; while Coullery was advocating an alliance with the Conservatives, Guillaume, at the head of the hell-fire revolutionaries of Le Locle, was unbendingly championing the principle of coalition with the Liberals. "In Belgium," said a letter to the Council "our members endeavoured to resist the conscription." Here the International suddenly became an organisation of very great strength, owing to strikes in March at Charleroi and Marchiennes. The workers were treated with violence, the soldiers being ordered to fire upon them without any adequate reason. The result was that the beginnings of Trade Unions—a few societies of "Free Workers"—joined the International, and under the direction of De Paepe, a strong organisation was built up. The Brussels section had 2,000 members. Just as the Bronze-worker's strike made certain the future of the International in France, and the Builders' strike assured its success in Switzerland, the Charleroi massacre secured the adherence of the Belgian workers. Four countries thus being safe, the International began to reach out towards Germany and Austria. The followers of von Schweitzer decided to abstain; however, a certain number of the unions belonging to his "German Universal Workers' Union," joined. The Marxists, at their Congress at Nuremberg, agreed to affiliate, by a vote of

sixty-eight to forty-six, and their executive was made the German national Committee. This occurred too late for them to be represented at the International's Congress. In Austria, the Government intervened to stop the International's propaganda, nevertheless, a workers' movement had begun, and the individual societies quickly began to adhere.

A man named Bakunin had just joined the International in Geneva.

So the year went until the next Congress met in Brussels on September 6th, 1868, and sat till the 13th. A Spanish delegate attended from the *Legion iberica del Trabajo*, and Dupont of the General Council was delegate "of the Naples' Workers' Societies," but in neither of these countries was the International more than an idea. Organisation was to come later, but the time was very near. So too, a telegram from Hungary, and a letter from Holland showed that the work had been begun there also. A remarkable increase in the number of Trade Union delegates was observed.

The opinions of the European working-class had undergone a profound change. The same "old gang" arrived from Paris to find that the leaven had worked; "collectivism" as it was called, Socialism in the modern sense, was now predominant. Affiliation to the League of Peace and Freedom was rejected. The Mutual Credit Bank, by now the *bête noire* of the Congress, was shelved by a resolution asking the Belgians to produce a detailed plan and report. Already much time had been occupied by the reading of long reports, and the Congress was finding their abundance a difficulty. The disease grew

worse; the Belgians in particular rose to undreamt of heights of verbosity, till, in the end, the reading of reports had to be given up altogether. The English delegates at this Conference also complained of too many and too long speeches.

It was the debate on property which routed the Proudhonists. Hess had nearly provoked a storm by remarking that the "credit-bank" was an illusion, and that Marx had answered Proudhon. Tolain and his followers attacked violently a resolution demanding that all landed property and means of communications should be socialised. The debate was heated and noisy; in the end they were voted down by thirty to four. The resolutions which were carried did not provide for ordinary State administration, but for workers' control on the lines laid down by Longuet the year before. In addition the Congress warmly recommended to the workers' a book which had recently appeared—Karl Marx' *Capital*. The whole Congress was a prolonged defeat of mutualism, and the French delegates did not take it well. Lessner complained to the General Council on his return that whenever anybody spoke in English or German, the French talked all through his speech, making such a noise that he could not be heard. Marx, who is supposed, in the anti-Marxist legend, to be plotting with equal venom against the Proudhonists, as later against Bakunin, took up their defence and reminded the Council that it was an act of courage in them to come at all, with Bonaparte in power.

A London delegate, one Cowell Stepney, provoked a curious incident. He delivered a few remarks, not very

intelligibly, and the President explained to the Congress that Stepney was a nobleman of the very highest rank, a millionaire, and a most extreme socialist. Fortunately, Stepney was stone-deaf and heard none of this most imaginative description. As he had in fact a little spare money and held views which would not seem outrageously reactionary in a modern co-operative society, he was of great use to the General Council in the future, since the Continental branches paid their dues irregularly or not at all.

The Swiss delegates returned from Brussels converted to collectivism.* The General Council itself was profoundly impressed. We find a notable change in the tone of the ordinary members' speeches. On December 1st, for example, the Council decided to oppose the giving of a dinner to Johnson, the American ambassador because "he does not represent the workers." On November 24th the Council had received a report of Mazzini's death. Hermann Jung opposed the drafting of an address: "Mazzini" he said, "was opposed to the class struggle now going on; while we are the leaders of one class, he is one of the leaders of the other class."

During the next year, September, 1868, to September, 1869, there was not a cloud in the sky. British enthusiasm was failing, but the Trade Union Congress, of 1869, invited the International to attend and passed a resolution urging all Unions to join it. The money ran very low on occasion, in August the rent was in arrears and there was only £3 10s. in hand. But everywhere

* Guillaume *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 66.

the International was spreading. There was a section at San Francisco and the American National Labour Union, whose leader Sylvis was just dead, was considered a regular national division. The Council had had called to its notice, among others, strikes in Lyons, Waldenburg, Sotteville les Rouen, Basle, St. Etienne, Seraing, and (all in one day !) Elbeuf, Prague, Graz, Pesth, Vienna—where the bakers were on strike because their masters called them *Du*—and a Chinese strike on the San Rafael railway, U.S.A. What happened to the last handful of strikes I do not know, but the first-mentioned strikes were all signal examples of the efficiency of the International's organisation. The Seraing puddlers' strike in Belgium and the St. Etienne miners' strike in France were repressed in the most savage manner by the Governments concerned. "Massacre" was the word used, not unjustly, and the unprovoked savagery of the soldiers strengthened still more the bond of feeling uniting the International. Italy was at last being seriously taken in hand by the Naples Federal Trade Committee. Germany reported 110,000 members. Belgium "had sixty branches where once they had three."

But the International had drunk poison without its knowledge. Among the delegates to a Conference of the League of Peace and Freedom in 1868, had been Michael Bakunin. He tried, in vain, to turn this body into an International Socialist body. Failing in this attempt, he and his friends "bolted the conference" and formed a dissident body, called *l'Alliance de la Democratie Socialiste* (Alliance of Socialist Democracy). This

body applied for admission *en masse* into the International. It was to retain its own organisation, and remain a select international association within the larger body, *imperium in imperio*. This strange request was received in London.

The Council—which, by the way, was on thoroughly bad terms with the Genevese Central Committee and had no reason for disliking a dissident movement—considered the request on December 15th, 1868. "Jung (Swiss corresponding secretary) thought there were certain things in the programme to which he could not answer until he knew the opinions of the Council. Dupont, Johannard, thought that this new society could only be a source of weakness to the I.W.M.A., that the very objects they sought to attain were being worked out by the I.W.M.A. in a far abler manner than they ever could by this new one. Marx thought that it was against our rules to admit another international association into our society."* Jung wrote to that effect, the letter being signed by George Odger and R. Shaw.† From Belgium also came a letter from De Paepe, and the Belgians generally, expressing the strongest disapproval of Bakunin's proposal. Consequently the Alliance "dissolved its Central Bureau," and decided to affiliate branch by branch, and the Genevese section submitted its programme in a somewhat bellicose letter written by one Perron. Marx, on the instruction of the Council, replied pointing out some contradictions with the International's

* Minute Book.

† Not "V. Shaw" (Guillaume *op. cit.* i., 104).

programme. These were corrected, and, on July 27th, Marx proposed the admission of the Genevese branch of the Alliance. The Council agreed and Bakunin was inside the fort.

Marx had met Bakunin years ago and disliked him. Their relations had remained courteous, but Bakunin was temperamentally alien to Marx. Marx never could tolerate fools, and by fools he meant everyone whose processes of thought were not like his own. His own opinions never changed except after prolonged reflection and much research. Bakunin's opinions seemed to change with the weather. In a very little while he covered all phases of opinion, from writing loyal letters to the Tsar begging him to uplift his people, to preaching, in common with Nechayev, relentless war, by murder and theft, against the individuals of the governing classes. He was great not by his thought, or by his dull books, all begun enthusiastically and abandoned half done, but by his magnetic personality and vast energy. He had a power of making large empty phrases, about liberty and so on, move his hearers deeply, because of his own sincerity.

Original theory it is difficult to ascribe to him. He generally returned for his basic ideas to him whom he called " the great and true master of us all—Proudhon." But to them he added, during this period, three violent negations. These three he wished to be enforced upon the International. They were (1) There is no God. The beginning of the programme of the Alliance read " The Alliance declares itself Atheist." Not agnostic, but atheist. This portion of the programme was taken

seriously and the abundant sources of dissension were increased by violent religious arguments. (2) There shall be no State. To this he added what must have seemed to Marx an insane passion for destruction of institutions. Marx, by a process of logical thought had been led to revolutionary views. But he was never quite at home, quite *sans gêne* in his revolutionary milieu. He was out-of-place, like an Elder in a ballet dance. His mind was essentially tidy, detailed and orderly; Bakunin's delight in vast, unruly, untidy explosions of popular force, his contempt of leaders and organisations was the exact reverse. "I drink" he loved to say, "to the destruction of public order and the unloosing of evil passions." (3) Political action is forbidden. This was not elevated into a principle until the Swiss left wing had tried politics (in alliance with the liberals!) several times and met with uniform ill-success. These principles were without question, in spite of later quibbles, entirely foreign to the original aims of the International. They represent an attempt to turn it into an anarchist body as Marx was turning it into a Socialist body.

To one form of organisation Bakunin had no objection. He wrote in 1870 to Albert Richard "Have you never thought what is the principal cause of the power and vitality of the Jesuit order? Do you wish me to name it? Well, it is the complete effacement of individuals and of private wills, in collective organisation and action." Not only had he the Alliance at his service, he had also a secret International Fraternity, which was dissolved this year (1869) and yet another secret organisation

of National Brothers. Wherever he went he formed a clique. In the International this clique contained, among others, Robin, a Belgian; James Guillaume from the Jura; J. Ph. Becker, of the German Swiss Committee; Nechayev, a brilliant and energetic Russian with whom he was closely linked; Gaspard Blanc and Albert Richard, of Lyons. The last three of these turned out to be very queer fish, for Bakunin was not a good judge of men. For the moment, however, they served the purpose. Bakunin was a genius in intriguing, in "wangling," packing committees, faking elections and generally defeating the intention of the electorate. During the high days of the real fight in Switzerland, sections appear and disappear, the same people form several sections, one after the other, merely to elect delegates, and at the final Congress, Bakunin's majority is a fake one. Even the terrible "Alliance" is a strange body; it was supposed to have numberless adherents throughout Europe, yet we hear only of a few adherents in Spain and Italy and of the Genevese section. When examined, this last was found to have only twenty members.* This year, Bakunin did little except assist in making the quarrel with Coullery final, he was more occupied in collecting his forces. Yet we find J. P. Becker attempting to make the whole German movement consent to be dependent upon his Swiss Committee.† The intrigue was too clumsy and did not succeed.

* So Jaeckh says. The section paid for the first year for 104, but never paid anything again.

† See Jaeckh, *op. cit.*, p. 60. The Eisenach Congress was just sitting and large numbers of von Schweitzer's Unions had joined it. The Congress on receipt of Becker's proposal, merely laid it aside.

In behaving thus Bakunin followed a high principle. "I shall die and the worms will eat me, but I want our idea to triumph," he said in the same letter to Richard "For this I want not the more or less dramatic growth of my person, not of *a* power, but of *our* power, the power of our collectivity, in whose favour I am ready to abdicate my name and personality." He believed that everything must be done for the cause and all means were lawful, however surprising. He preached this in common with Nechayev in the most violent terms.* Later, Nechayev turned the same methods against him, and Bakunin, who had preached with him exactly the same views, drew a vivid portrait of him in his anger: "For him, truth, mutual confidence, real and strict solidarity only exist among a dozen individuals who form the *sanctus sanctorum* of the Society. All the rest are to serve as a blind instrument, as matter exploited in the hands of these dozen really united men. It is permissable, indeed, a duty, to deceive them, compromise them, steal from them and in case of need even to ruin them—they are conspiracy-fodder. . . The sympathy of mild men who are only partly devoted to the revolutionary cause, and who have other human interests outside the cause, such as love, friendship, their family and social relationships—this sympathy is not for him a sufficient basis, and, in the name of the cause, it is his duty to gain possession of your whole person without your knowledge. To do this he will spy on you and try to gain possession of your secrets, and for this purpose, when you are away and he is alone in your

* See R. Hunter: *Violence and the Labour Movement*: ch.i.

room, he will open all your drawers and read all your correspondence, and whenever a letter appears to him interesting, that is, compromising in one way or another to you or one of your friends, he will steal it and keep it carefully as a document against you or your friend. He did this with O. and with Tata and other friends, and when we proved it at a General Meeting, he dared to reply 'Well, yes, that is our system. We consider as enemies, and it is our duty to deceive and compromise, all those who are not *completely* with us,' which means all who are not convinced by this system and have not promised to apply it themselves. If you have introduced him to a friend, his first care will be to sow discord, intrigue and scandal between you; in a word, to provoke a quarrel. Your friend has a wife or a daughter. He will manage to seduce her and give her a baby, in order to force her to break away from official morality, and into a revolutionary protest against society. . . Do not say I exaggerate, all this has been proved to me in detail."* But up till that moment (July, 1870) Bakunin had been intimately linked with the man whose principles were these and had in addition collaborated at least in the production of works in which these views were expressed. He always praised brigands to the end of his life and was the founder of the system of propaganda "by deed"—*i.e.* by the murder of individuals. No wonder, Marx thought, as he wrote to Danielson, that "these men are able of anything." The changing character of Bakunin's views, his exhortations to violence and his success in splitting the

* Guillaume, *op. cit.*, ii., p. 62.

International, combined with personal dislike, induced Marx to believe him an *agent-provocateur*, a belief absolutely without foundation. Yet, under this delusion Marx was led into behaving in a manner totally unworthy of him, and the virulence of his hatred then has obscured the indefensible behaviour of the Bakuninists in the first place.

Another actor deserves mention. Nicholas Utin was a Russian in Geneva, who became prominent in 1870 as opposing the Bakunists. Of his character it is difficult to speak. Jaeckh* the Marxist, calls him " very able " " an active young man," Kropotkin, an Anarchist, found him " bright, clever, and sympathetic," Guillaume, however—I summarise several amiable descriptions—calls him " a miserable Jew, vulgar, lying and conceited, whose only weapons were falsehoods and the wealth his father had gained in a disgraceful trade, that of vodka, an imbecile with a train of adoring females." Whatever he was really, after some attempts at conciliation, he joined vigorously in the battle. He made each wound worse, and was soon an adept intriguer, though he failed in the end to equal the master Bakunin. Between the two Switzerland was soon rotten with intrigues.

We have anticipated a little and must return to the September of 1869, when the Basle Congress met. The General Council had been informed that the suppression of the Paris Committee had destroyed the International in France and that " the Paris bookbinders formed the only real section." They were most agreeably surprised, therefore, to meet a large delegation, representing Trade

* *Op. cit.*, p. 89.

Unions from over the length and breadth of France. Delegations from Italy, Spain and Austria proved the existence of a real, though young movement in those countries. The German delegation was nearly as imposing as the French and represented nearly as strong a movement. From England the London Amalgamated Tailors, London Chairmakers, and the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners were represented. Unfortunately, the British interest was declining and this delegation really meant little more than that Applegarth, Lucraft and Eccarius wished to be present at Basle.

A delegate from "The Positivist Proletarians of Paris" raised a difficult point: What was the position of societies not regularly affiliated? Only at this conference was it decided that their delegates could not vote. There never was any machinery arranged, either, for a card vote, which defect was later made use of by Bakunin. An American delegate, A. C. Cameron, arrived from the National Labour Union. He delighted the Congress by saying that he represented 800,000 men, which was a lie.

The Congress resolutions now at last placed it in a sound Socialist position. To give the devil his due, it must be said that Bakunin's friends in Switzerland had helped materially in this. Two test resolutions on the land were put before the Congress:

"1. The Congress holds that society has the right to make the land collective property."

"2. The Congress holds that it is necessary to make the land collective property."

Bakunin, on the one hand, Eccarius and Lucraft on

the other, spoke for the resolutions. Tolain and a few friends defended rather pathetically the claims of small property. The voting was: for the first proposition fifty-four; against, four. For the second, fifty-three; against, eight. Most of the French delegates voted for. The resolutions seem tame to us: they were not then. They were rightly taken as symbolic of a whole Socialist policy, and excited the greatest interest and surprise. They gave an impetus to the International in Southern Europe particularly; everywhere they caused alarm among the propertied classes.

Some lesser points remain to be noticed. The Congress considered in detail the functions of Trade Unions in a most interesting debate, which if there was room should be summarised here. The Belgian Hins, in particular (p. 144 of the report) spoke on their future function in a manner which shows that the proposals now known as Guild Socialist or Syndicalist, and partially realised in Russia, were in a less developed form, the recognised programme of the Socialists in the first International. A remarkably ill-drafted resolution, on inheritance, proposed by the Bakuninists gained more votes than Marx' from the General Council. Neither was carried. The Genevese sections, who had already begun to dislike Bakunin's propaganda, demanded that the International should confine itself to Trade Union action.

No other regular Congress met till 1872, and much water had flowed under the bridges by then. The International had reached its prime and fallen into decay. (In 1869 and 1870 it is at its strongest, in 1872 it is dying.)

We must summarise first its progress in this period—1869 to 1872. Under the influence of Bakunin a great forward movement began in Spain. Kropotkin gives 80,000 as the number of Spanish members in 1872. He does not overstate. The growth was sudden and dizzying. There were four centres—Cadiz, Madrid, Barcelona and Palma. Some 800 branches were organised. These added another to the already various types of organisation affiliated; they were neither unions nor political sections, but sections of the International, regularly constituted, and organised as Unions. Spanish Trade Unionism was the International: there was no means of dividing the two. In Italy, the International suddenly shot rapidly ahead. The method of the Internationalists was ingenious. They had to fight Mazzini's influence; they therefore, used Garibaldi as a stalking horse. Each of their societies elected him as honorary president; the old man who knew little, but sympathised with the Commune, accepted with pleasure. He broke violently with Mazzini, defended the International, and publicly began the breaking up of his influence. "Mazzini and I" he wrote "we are both old. But no one speaks of reconciliation between him and me. Infallible people die, but they do not bend. Reconciliation with Mazzini? There is only one possible way for it—to obey him, and of that I do not feel myself capable."

In France, in 1870, the police, says Richard, reckoned the number of *internationaux* at 433,785. Hales (General Secretary) the next year said there were 8,000 paying English members and an attempt was made to

turn England into an ordinary division, with organised sections. A British Federal Council was started, and a deputation attended it to solicit its support for Sir Charles Dilke. It appeared at the end of the interview that the deputation thought the Council was the Land and Labour League. After this, the Council fades out of history. Sections were actually formed for a moment at Limehouse, Bethnal Green, Hackney Road, Manchester, Liverpool and Middlesbrough, and Hales hoped for sections in "Exeter, Edinburgh, Boston, Coventry, Glasgow, and so on." The Dutch organisation was growing rapidly, and another small country was swept in—Denmark. A Danish Federal Council was founded at the end of 1871, next year, 2,000 members in Copenhagen and 400 in Aarhus were quoted as typical. In America a council of Czechs, French, and Germans was formed in New York at the end of 1870, from the three existing sections. In July, 1871, there were ten sections, in February of 1872 there were forty-one sections. All these figures are accurate; there were other less trustworthy ones. We may cite a French account* of the "Tinte Hui" an alleged Chinese section of the International, whose name means "The Fraternal Society of Heaven and Earth," and whose membership ran into millions and extended all over China and India. It is, however, true that a section existed in Melbourne, Australia.

If only the International had been left alone, all would have been well. But before the Franco-German war broke out, the Bakuninists had made the fissures too

* O. Testut, *L'Internationale*, 1871, p. 215.

deep to be bridged. So centred had they become on their petty intrigues that the Swiss International died away and both parties received deserved reproaches from the Communard refugees, who had been risking their lives for the cause while the Swiss had been slandering and tricking one another.

At the Basle Conference Bakunin and others had thwarted the desire of the General Council to resign, and have its seat moved from London, and had in addition forced more powers into the hands of the Council, in particular the power to suspend a section or forbid its entry. It was therefore a little unfortunate that the Bakuninists began their campaign by an attack on the General Council for incompetence and grasping at power. Robin, in the *Egalité*, published (winter of 1869–70) a series of articles of the most offensive kind to the following effect; the Council was ignoring the decision of previous Congresses by not sending regularly a bulletin of news to all sections, and it had better remember that it is *obliged* to obey Congresses (this conciliatory phrase so pleased Robin that he repeated it several times); it had refused to create a British Federal Council because it would not let go its powers, and was consequently neglecting its real duties; it had published a manifesto defending the Fenians, which was a piece of stupidity; it was hushing up the division between Liebknecht and von Schweitzer. These attacks were phrased in an arrogant and violent manner, deliberately intended to provoke not an adjustment of actual grievances, but a violent quarrel. At the same time Robin enlivened Swiss local life by forcing personal

quarrels with Duval and Waehry, two locally distinguished members of the International, who passed over from the Bakuninist clique to the other side.

The General Council, that is to say, Marx, replied in a dignified and most restrained manner, to the Swiss Federal Committee. It observed that the extraordinary phrasing of the accusations, and the irregular manner of their preferment, might excuse it from any reply. Nevertheless, it addressed these remarks to the Committee. (1) The bulletin was to be published, only if enough money was subscribed and regular information and documents sent in from the national committees. Neither of these conditions had been fulfilled in the least degree. (2) It did not consider that an English Federal Council beneath the General Council was possible, necessary or desirable, and argued this question in detail. In any case it is obvious that Robin and the Bakuninists were entirely ignorant of British conditions, and had no business to dictate orders on such matters. (3) The Council also argued in detail in defence of its manifesto on Ireland. (4) It observed that it was doing its very best to compose the quarrel inside the German Labour movement and remarked that it would itself decide when, if ever, a public intervention was necessary.*

The " Romand " (French Swiss) Federal Committee, which received this letter, couched in very reasonable

* The whole is quoted in Guillaume *op. cit.*, i. 263. It was made a cause of complaint that these letters were not published (Marx' mean treacherous intrigues in the dark, etc.). It is, however, quite clear that in the initial stages Marx and the General Council wished only to avoid a public flaunting of internal dissensions.

language, thought it would be a pleasant intrigue not to pass it on to the Bakuninists at all. This imbecility practically settled the question. The General Council observed that in spite of a perfectly fair answer the Bakuninists continued making utterly unfounded charges; Robin whose temper was execrable, concluded that the Council dared not answer, and began to collect signatures for a petition against the tyranny and incompetence of the Council. Both parties prepared for a serious conflict, Marx in addition was confirmed in his conviction that Bakunin was an agent set on smashing up the International. He, therefore, on the 28th of March, 1870, wrote a letter to Kugelmann in Hanover, in his capacity as German corresponding secretary, which recounts the whole affair from his own point of view in the most savage and bitter terms. He also makes certain accusations against Bakunin and his clique—such as that of faking mandates at Basle—which he should have known to be false. He makes a remarkable number of errors in detail, and finally a grotesquely untrue accusation of embezzlement against Bakunin himself. There is little to be said in defence of the letter, which was, and still is, the strongest argument in favour of the Bakuninists.

Nothing came of it at the moment, however. The Bakunin intrigue went on to its inglorious success. On April 4th, the conference of the French ("Romand") Swiss sections was held at Chaux de Fonds. The question between Bakunin and the official Committee was to be settled there. The struggle had by now become not merely a political difference but a struggle

between the "sectional" organisations of the Jura and the Trade Union organisations of Geneva. Chaux de Fonds is very near Locle and very far from Geneva, it thus happened that a disproportionate number of Jura delegates were present. The test came over the question whether the "section of the Alliance" in Geneva should be admitted to the Federation, as it had been to the International. Twenty-one voted for, eighteen against. The majority was fake; that is not contested. The twenty-one represented fifteen sections whereas in Geneva alone there were thirty sections. The great majority of the Swiss internationalists were of the "minority" party. The only possible defence is that advanced by Guillaume on anarchist grounds—that only those who are present at a Congress should vote, and that their vote must count as one, regardless of the numbers whose delegate they are.* For in theory all members—if they had been wealthy leisured men—could have turned up.

The Conference split, each section calling itself the Romand Federation. The General Council being "notified" by both sides, corresponded temporarily with the old secretary. On the 28th of June, 1870, it gave its decision. The majority at Chaux de Fonds, it found, had been only nominal, and therefore the anti-Bakunist Federation would be recognised as having the right to the title Romand Federation. The other Federation should choose whatever other local title it desired. In a postscript Jung, who wrote the letter, reminded the Bakuninist Federation "in the most friendly manner"

* Guillaume *op. cit.*, *ii.* 27.

that the Rules of the International did contemplate political action. The Jura Federal Committee replied by an article in *Solidarité* * telling the General Council, in effect, to mind its own business.

All the same, so little was Marx actively intriguing against the "Alliancists" that when Robin in 1871 came to London, Marx himself managed to get for him a seat upon the General Council.

(3)—The Commune

But a disaster was at hand which caused everyone to forget Bakunin's intrigue. War broke out between France and Prussia in July, 1870. The German members of the International vigorously, but uselessly opposed war; the Lassalleans, however, voted for war credits in the Reichstag. The General Council stated, as was universally believed, that it was a defensive war on the part of Germany. The International in France had just been subjected to another prosecution by the Government; heavy sentences had been inflicted and the organisation damaged. Consequently there were few to protest against the war.

In six weeks the French armies were smashed and the empire had fallen. A Republic was proclaimed on September 4th. The General Council now warned the German sections that the war had ceased to be defensive. The call was answered; all the Socialist members of the Reichstag voted against the war credit. A general

* It had lost control of *Égalité*.

agitation against the war began, which Bismarck suppressed by wholesale arrests and prosecutions. The egregious Swiss Bakuninists helped the International's difficult task by issuing a proclamation calling upon all members of the International to join the French armies.

The French Government of National Defence was merely playing. Paris was invested. The Commune was approaching.

Before the great tragedy of the Commune, Bakunin provided a comic curtain-raiser. Anarchism is not ridiculous, but the Anarchist Commune of Lyons is. On the 28th of September, 1870, Bakunin, Albert Richard and Gaspard Blanc with considerable following, invaded the Lyons Hôtel de Ville. They captured it, and issued a proclamation declaring the State abolished, and raised the pay in municipal workshops to 3 francs a day. Before the day was out, however, the State returned in the form of bourgeois National Guards, the Bakuninists fled from the Hôtel de Ville and all was over.

On January 28th, 1871, the French Government signed an armistice. Paris, which was in a patriotic fury was enraged. An Assembly to conclude peace was called for February 8th. This Assembly contained a majority of rural monarchist deputies; Paris was violently Republican. After various other acts of provocation, Thiers, the Government's head, ordered his soldiers to seize the cannon of the Paris National Guard, on March 18th, 1871. The regulars, however, fraternised with the Guards and the crowd. They shot their own general who tried to force them to shoot down the crowd. The members of the Government and officials present in

Paris fled in a panic to Versailles, leaving no authority but the Central Committee of the National Guard.

There was a day or two's uncertainty. Two or three people who claimed to command the National Guard were brushed aside. No one exactly knew what was happening; what was the Government, or what relation it had to Thiers. There was a member of the International, Varlin, on the Central Committee, but he thought very little of the whole movement. It was only a military revolt, he said, accompanied by vague talk about decentralisation.

In a few days things cleared. The Government had fled, therefore the Central Committee was the only authority. It proceeded at once to abdicate. It forced on the elections for a Commune, which should take its place. Anxious attempts, in the end successful, to get the aid of the Mayors of the Paris districts, delayed this till March 26th.

While the Committee was occupied in attempting to preserve legal forms, and failing even to occupy properly the Paris forts, the Government in Versailles had, as is always the case, a much quicker apprehension of the facts than their working-class opponents. Thiers was willing enough that Paris should amuse itself with negotiations, so that he might have time to form an army, isolated from the outside world, and carefully drilled and instructed in right politics. While he was perfecting this instrument, he waited. But his mind was made up—to kill, and if ever he weakened in his determination to reply by murder to the Paris declaration of communal autonomy (for that was all it was as yet) the

Assembly was there to hold him to it, that Assembly which behaved more like a Zoo than a Parliament when Paris was mentioned.

On March 26th, 1871, Paris elected its Commune. There was an overwhelming revolutionary majority, among which were seventeen members of the International. On April 2nd, his army being ready, Thiers had the artillery turned upon Paris. It was henceforward War.

* * * *

What was the International doing in the Commune? We have seen it gradually becoming a Trade Union organisation. We have seen its political organisation struck by Napoleon on the eve of war.

It appears, from a careful consideration of the reports of meetings during the siege,* that in Paris, the character of the International had wholly changed. The Trade Union membership which had been its backbone had disappeared. Practically, as the meetings during the siege showed, the exigencies of the war had ended Trade Unionism. The trade delegates regret that they can afford no money; their unions, to speak plainly, only exist in name now (p. 34).† The International cannot afford a journal. It can guarantee neither the money nor the circulation (p. 4). Since September 4th, its organisations have been scattered (p. 55). There is no sign of the "rising tide." The speeches are a chorus of lamentation.

* See Appendix II.

† References to the *Seances Officielles*.

Yet while the old organisation by Unions had broken up, a new organisation had taken its place. I have counted* forty-six sections, mentioned as existing in Paris in the winter of 1870-71. If one takes a large map and makes a red mark on it for each one of them, an impression is given of a widespread and strong organisation. The political unit, the section, had ousted the Union. This meant that the International had become a revolutionary body; it had ceased to be legal and respectable; it lived or died with the Commune. Nothing that Bakunin could do was as fatal as this slow change in Paris during the siege. The workers of Western Europe were brought into a struggle which, though neither Marx nor Bakunin ever realised it, was premature.

When, therefore, the thunder-clap of March 18th passed by, leaving Paris rather dazed, the International was there as the only revolutionary *organisation*. Yet it was a different International. It was "Collectivist"; it had a fairly sure grip on the programme of Marxian Socialism, and even an inkling of its philosophy. Tolain, Chémalé, Limousin, and the rest of the Proudhonists were of a past age. They are hardly spoken of. Tolain, indeed, stayed with the Assembly and was for that reason expelled. But from the others nothing came. There were a few Proudhonists in the Commune—Beslay, who so disastrously protected the Bank of France, led them. But the International no longer followed them, nor did it base its programme on "Justice, Virtue, Morality, a People's Credit Bank and Small Proprietorship."

* See Appendix II.

Within the Commune the mass of the members of the International, together with nine others, formed a regular minority, a sort of " His Majesty's Opposition." It was not a Socialist minority. It is natural, but wrong to imagine that the International formed a minority of Socialists faced with bourgeois radicals. What the International opposed was the " romanticism " of the majority. The Majority was partially Blanquist, partially radicals of Forty-Eight. The first were deprived of any direction or cohesion by the absence of their leader Blanqui, who had been imprisoned by Thiers. The second never had any particular programme at all, but grasped eagerly at the floating theories of communal autonomy and decentralisation, with which they sought to justify the Commune. The International and the Blanquists both realised the proletarian character of the Commune, which was far more essential than semi-anarchist theories of decentralisation. The International parted from the Blanquists, however, on the question merely of policy. The Majority confined itself to a tedious imitation of 1793. It abdicated its power twice into the hands of a Committee of Public Safety, a foolish, incapable body which it had to recall. It tolerated the most appalling disorder and incompetence in all public departments including that of War. It substituted for discipline and an ordered policy the tiny spurts of stupid anger with which weak men are accustomed to simulate strength. It decreed enforced service in the Guard and omitted to enforce it. It suppressed some anti-Communard journals and permitted their revival under another name. It arrested handfuls of comparatively

harmless reactionaries and left the Versaillese spies untouched. Its decrees were uniformly symbolical, they were grand gestures. The Majority posed for posterity all the time. It pulled down the Vendome column. It reduced Communard officials' salaries to £240 a year. It "separated Church and State." It returned the objects pawned by the poor. It secularised education. It was continually occupied in decrees which were declarations of principles and not a foundation for Socialist society. In the early days of the Soviet revolution in Russia, it is reported, Trotsky said: "We may be forced to go. But if we are, we will slam the door behind us so that the noise will shake the whole world." The criticism of the Minority of the Majority was really that it was only occupied in arranging for a dramatic slamming of the door and not at all in defending the Commune.

An Internationalist, Léo Frankel,* was delegate for Labour and in the short time at his disposal began to put into practice the programme of the International. We have seen that this was the elimination of private production in favour of autonomous guilds or industrial Unions working under the general supervision and control of the State, to whom the final ownership would be reserved. The decay of the Trade Unions made his task difficult, but on April 16th he made an announcement to all the *chambres syndicales* (trade councils) numbering thirty-four, instructing them to meet in Committee to arrange to take over all closed workshops. The Committee met twice before the fall of the

* Or Fränkel—the spelling varies.

Commune, and the strength of Trade Unionism began to revive.

But while the Commune was issuing symbolical decrees and slowly feeling its way to a real policy, death was approaching it by great strides. The reply to Thiers' attack on April 2nd had miscarried, owing to the failure of Lullier, the drunken Communard commander-in-chief, to occupy the important fort of Mont Valerien. The Versaillese began to shoot their prisoners, but the Commune seized a number of hostages, including the Archbishop of Paris, and threatened that for every prisoner shot three of these should be killed. So for a moment the murder of prisoners ceased. Lullier was replaced by Rossel, another incapable leader. But to oppose the forces of the Federals, as the Guards were called, to Thiers' army, was to pit a penny whistle against Sousa's band. Thiers had the men and the artillery. Safe behind a destructive rain of explosives, the Versaillese slowly advanced. The fortresses of Issy and Vanves on the Federal side were practically hammered to pieces before they were abandoned. Porte Maillot, commanded by the guns of Mont Valerien, was reduced to ruins. The Federals replied with what pieces they had, but typical of the tragedy of the Commune was the corpse of the gunner found dead by his unused cannon, and a pile of shells of the wrong calibre. The battle was fought with an intensity through April and May that had not marked the languid operations of the Bonapartist generals in 1870. The fiercer intensity of the battle reflected the greater reality of the class war.

Towards the end, Delescluze, a Blanquist and a civilian, took over the war Department. The minority, which had retired on the nomination of a second Committee of Public Safety, was ordered back to its post by the Council of the International (May 15th). A supreme effort was to be made. In Dombrowski, Wroblewski and La Cecilia, the Commune possessed excellent generals if Delescluze could provide the organisation to support them. But already the struggle was practically over. Thiers had repressed attempts in the provinces to restrain him. His forces were increasing every day. The three vital points of the Communard defences, Forts Issy and Vanves, and Porte Maillot, were abandoned or in ruins. For a few days it was still possible to hold out the Versaillese, then on May 21st owing, it is said to a spy's signal, the Versaillese entered.

There followed a week's terrible barricade and street fighting. The Versaillese steady advance over a spreading area of Paris was only bought street by street with hard fighting. At night, from buildings fired by Versaillese shells and others burnt by the Commune,* huge tongues of flame leapt to the skies. Human cries, the incessant rattle of machine guns, violent explosions made the nights nights of horror. As they advanced, the Versaillese murdered their prisoners. In a vain hope of stopping them, an official of the Commune shot the hostages seized for that purpose by the Commune, including the Archbishop.

All was over on the 26th. A day or so later the outlying fort of Vincennes surrendered.

* The Internationalists, on the whole, opposed the burnings.

But if the fighting was over the killing was not. The Versaillese murdered their prisoners, I have said. It is not an adequate phrase. They sought throughout Paris for anyone, man, woman, or child, who had taken any part in the defence, had attended any wounded or fed any hungry. They killed not singly, but in crowds; they killed not till their human instruments were exhausted, but till exhaustion should overtake the steel of a machine gun. The Lobau Barracks, the Rue des Rosiers, and many other places were so running with blood that the soldiers were stained with it half-way up to their knees. In one terrible square in Paris the dead were too hastily buried; that night the affrighted inhabitants heard groans and the sound of moving. In the morning the ground was all undulating from the struggle of the half dead, buried alive, and one man's arm was thrust forth into the air. There was for days a dark brown thread of colour running down the centre of the Seine; and an unmoved Parisian invented the game of "la pèche aux fedérés" (guard-fishing) which consisted in betting how many Federal corpses would float under the bridge in a certain time. The graveyards were choked and huge common pits were opened in which the unidentified corpses were tossed in cartfuls. Quicklime, as Louise Michel said, was hungry that year. We have to turn to the incidents of the war of 1914 to 1918 to find parallel instances of ferocity and thirst for blood.

How many prisoners and peaceable citizens were murdered? Twenty thousand? Thirty-five thousand? No one can say. A hundred thousand Parisian workers

had disappeared after the Commune. But then, after the first outburst of massacre there were an immense number of killings after court-martial held outside Paris, and even more deportations.

But the Commune was dead. All its defenders had been, it was to be hoped, individually, and separately disposed of. Socialism in France had been killed for many years, by the killing of the Socialists. And the International had received a staggering blow.

(4)—The End

After the Commune perhaps a united effort might have saved the International. There were even one or two indications of a spread of its power. Portugal had been brought into the movement and contact had been achieved with Sweden. John Hales, the General Secretary, claimed that there were eighteen sections in England and three in Scotland. These sections, moreover, launched in 1872 a Labour Party.* They have a

* The sections claimed in 1872 are: Manchester, Liverpool, Middlesbrough, Boston, Exeter, Coventry, Bethnal Green, St. Lukes, West End, Hinckley, Buckfastleigh, Castleford, Birkenhead, Woolwich, Sunderland, Newcastle, Leeds, Hull, Portsmouth, Halifax, Sheffield, Plymouth, Nottingham, Loughborough, Glasgow and Edinburgh. Irish sections in: Soho, Bradford, Chelsea, Middlesbrough. Miscellaneous: Manchester Masons, Manchester Bricklayers, Manchester Cordwainers, Halifax Republican Club, Nottingham Labour Protection League: 36. That so large a political Labour Movement existed and was entirely forgotten is astonishing; that it was, as the Bakuninists claimed, anarchist, is incredible. I believe the following to be the truth. The party did exist and was quite probably of the strength claimed in the years 1872-73. It is not to be confused with the Land and Labour League, with which the General Council had earlier had some relations. This was connected with Sir Charles Dilke's Republican propaganda, and is apparently a separate organisation. Nor was it connected with

superficial appearance of great strength. There were thirty-six sections in 1872, nearly as many as in America. Yet so difficult is it to gauge the actual importance of many of the alleged "sections," Marxist as well as Bakuninist, that it is just possible that the movement was only an immense pretence.

For camouflage was needed. On the ground that they disagreed with "The Civil War in France," the General Council's Manifesto on the Commune, Odger and Lucraft, the two remaining Trade Union leaders of importance resigned. This in fact meant the formal departure of the British Trade Union movement, in spite of Applegarth's continued presence, which was looked upon merely as a personal idiosyncracy. In Italy the police suppressed the only strong and long-lived section, that of Naples; the labour movement fell back under Mazzinian influence, and nothing was left but a few groups of Bakuninists, not affiliated to the International, nor of any very considerable strength. In Spain the Federal Council had for a while to flee to Portugal to escape the police.

At the time when police persecution was at its height

---

the Labour Representation Committees which secured the return of Broadhurst and Macdonald to Parliament in 1874. This movement was led by Odger and Cremer, who had left the International in anger. It represented the right wing of political labour, this Party the left.

The party was mainly made up of survivors of the Chartist movement. It resolved not to run candidates for Parliament in 1873, and from that date declined. It lived on, led by two brothers named Murray, until the foundation of the Democratic Federation, which its surviving members, mostly from Woolwich, all joined. A year later the Democratic Federation became the Social Democratic Federation. The S.D.F. became the B.S.P., which can thus claim descent from the First International.

the General Council summoned a private Conference in London (September 17th, 1871)—private because of the danger to the French Communards. Two members of the Alliance, including Robin himself, and Spanish and Belgian sympathisers were present. The Bakuninist Romand Federation was not invited owing to its refusal to accept the decision of the General Council concerning its name, etc., or to answer its letters. A considerable number of members of the Paris Commune were present. As they had mostly been invited to sit on the General Council, *honoris causa*, and as they were nearly all agreed in opposing the Bakuninists, the latter said that "the members of the General Council had an absolute majority."

The proceedings were fairly unanimous. Robin became grossly insulting and left the Conference, otherwise there was very little trouble. The delegates re-affirmed the principle of political action, instructed the Bakuninist Swiss Federation to call itself the "Jurassian Federation" (which it later did) and declared the new "section of propaganda" inadmissable. As the "section of the Alliance" had dissolved itself, and this new section, its successor, was not to be admitted the Conference declared the matter closed.*

It was nothing of the sort. The decisions of the London Conference, from which the Italians, Dutch, Danes, Germans and Americans were absent, could

* In the *Pretendues Scissions* the General Council states that one reason why it could not admit the new section, was because it had assured the Y.M.C.A., that it did not recognise theological sections, (p. 13). What is the meaning of this mysterious reference I do not know.

hardly be taken as final. In any case, the two factions resumed a war of growing bitterness. All the strength of the International went into it. We must imagine this violent polemic accompanied by a continuous dwindling of the sections, by division, decay and the erection of false sections for election purposes. We are present at the death of a movement.

We are also present at its putrefaction. The most disgraceful accusations are freely proffered. Slanders which have no basis in fact, are mingled with distortions of truths. While the Bakunists excel in filthy language, the Marxists outdo them in suggesting falsehoods. Nor are the chiefs exempt from this blame. Bakunin said of Marx's pamphlet (*les Pretendues Scissions dans l'Internationale*); "The sword of Damocles has fallen on us; yet it is not a sword, but the habitual weapon of Mr. Marx, a lump of ——." Marx, on the other hand, stated that the members of the Alliance spread their propaganda by means of habitual murder. Yet, if we make this distinction, it is not to be thought that the Bakuninists were truthful or their opponents restrained in their language.

The appalling torrent of abuse and calumny which flowed from both sides makes it difficult to write a reasoned history of the quarrel. The two great leaders in whose persons had become centred the causes of Anarchy and Socialism were unequal to their task. From intellectual giants they dwindle suddenly to ill-conditioned old men, mumbling at each other the curses and vituperation of spite and senility.

Yet there was a distinct division of principle, which

deserved more calm consideration. Bakunin held that the International must have in embryo the form of the new society—of anarchy. Therefore, the existence of any central control by the General Council was inadmissable, and the Council itself must be abolished, and the International reconstituted on the basis of the complete autonomy of sections. In addition it was specifically charged that Marx and Engels had endeavoured to force upon the International a German-Jew form of authoritarian communism of their own, and had in addition attempted to secure a personal dictatorship.

How far it was advisable for the International to abandon any centralised organisation is very questionable. But the strength of Bakunin's appeal lay in his attack on personal dictatorship, and rejection of the authoritarian Socialism which he believed to be Marxism. It is also undeniably true that since Engels' arrival in London, Marx and he had quite openly "run" the General Council. With the disappearance of the British Trade Unionists there was no one to check them. The delegates of the Labour Party were ciphers, nonentities fit to form a cabal but incapable of any policy, while the French refugees were mostly Blanquists and authoritarian in principle. In addition, Marx and Engels had freely used their positions as corresponding Secretaries to attack individual Bakuninists.

On the other side Marx stood for the retention of the powers of the General Council. "Anarchy" he wrote, "is the great charger of their lord Bakunin. . . . All Socialists hold Anarchy to mean this; the aim of the

proletarian movement, the abolition of classes, once attained, the power of the State which serves to keep the great majority of producers beneath the yoke of a small exploiting majority, will disappear and governmental functions become mere administrative functions. The Alliance reverses this. It proclaims anarchy in the ranks of the proletariat as the most infallible means of defeating the powerful concentration of social and political forces in the hands of the exploiters. On this pretext it requires the International at the moment when the old world seeks to crush it, to replace its organisation by anarchy. The international police asks no more."

He added that Bakunin had spread a network of secret societies inside the International. This erection was three-fold; there was the Alliance itself, semi-secret, semi-public, which controlled or tried to control, every section of the International by underhand means. Within this were the National Brothers, absolutely secret, who controlled the Alliance, and within them the 100 International Brothers who had all the threads in their hands.

That this organisation, partly puerile, partly, in the hands of such as Nechayev, really dangerous, had existed there is no doubt. Part of the structure, however, was certainly now in ruins, while there are clear indications of yet more secret cabals. How far exactly the International was penetrated by such secret societies cannot be said with certainty. Disconnected documents which were published, chiefly by Testut, at this time show a system of secret alphabets, etc., which suggest a society

which varied from a Camorra gang of assassins to the "pretend game" of a Boy Scout.*

The interval between London and the conference at The Hague in 1872 was employed by both sides in collecting their forces. France, with rare exceptions, might be counted as wholly on the side of the Council. So also, without question, were Germany and Austria. In America there was a split threatened. Section 12 of New York was under the influence of two well-to-do ladies, Mrs. Victoria Woodhull, and Miss Tennessee Claflin (now Lady Cook), and had come under the censure of the General Council. The Bakunists claimed them as anarchists, but in fact they were only protagonists of feminism and free love, who had succeeded in destroying the proletarian character of their section's programme and concentrating all its attention on the Woman Question. When Victoria Woodhull ran for the Presidency, no more illusions could be entertained. The eccentricities of Section 12, however, had no real effect upon America, which remained Marx' stronghold.

Nevertheless, the defeat of the Commune meant that the day of the centralised international association was over. Waiting tactics, and therefore the growth of national federated parties, were necessary for some time to come. The Socialist movement was bound to adapt itself, for propagandist purposes, to the bourgeois state. The second International was gradually appearing. For this reason—a reason which would have angered

* Undismayed by the collapse of his previous organisation Bakunin just after the Hague founded another called simply "Y". The National Brothers still existed.

them beyond measure—the Anarchists gained practical support for their demand for decentralisation. Belgium and Holland inclined to their side for this reason. In Spain, owing to a series of obscure intrigues, the Marxists were beaten. Each side brought accusations of foul play, but there was in fact, behind Bakunin here, a great mass of anarchist followers. Spain, in fact, was his central fortress as Germany was Marx'.

Italy had out-Bakunined Bakunin, by declaring itself so autonomous that it could not attend The Hague, but the movement was so small that little was lost. French Switzerland was equally divided, and the movement was in any case in the last stages of decay. German Switzerland was Marxist. In England, resentment of Marx and Engels' personal authority, and, unfortunately, personal spites, made the Labour Party delegates decide to vote for the Anarchists.

This was roughly the division of forces when the Congress met at the Hague on September 2nd, 1872. There was no such thing as a card vote and the majority of the delegates were on the side of the General Council. No one can say, now, on whose side the majority of the International was; but the accidental majority at the Hague sufficed for the Council. "Damn prudence," Engels is reported to have said, when he had ascertained the exact figures of his party, and the opponents. Well-meant efforts of conciliation, such as Jung's, were treated as treachery by both sides.

The proceedings may be described as formal. Marx, who was present, had his majority and proposed using it. Bakunin had failed to appear and the leading of the

opposition had fallen, as it had done for some time past, upon Guillaume. He did it well. In the earlier period the behaviour of the Bakuninists had set everybody against them. They now appeared as defending a principle, while the tactics of the Marxists were at least unfortunate. The Bakuninists proposed the abolition of the General Council, and the autonomy of sections. These, as well as their abstention from political action, were grave matters, worthy of a Congressional discussion. The Marxists proposed the expulsion of Bakunin, Guillaume and others, a matter of personal rancour only.

A Committee was appointed to consider the Marxist proposal—the other proposal was to come later, and, of course, was never considered. But before a decision was made concerning the expulsions, the Congress voted to remove the General Council to New York.

This decision, which killed the First International, was taken on the motion of Marx. New York was so far away that the International died; the Bakuninists made some attempt to run a counter International, which never had any real vitality; in 1880 the whole organisation was a memory. Practically anyone could have foreseen this, and it is a puzzle to this day, why Marx forced the proposal through. Did he not realise the destruction he was working? Was he so alarmed over the power of Bakunin, that he wished to get the General Council far away from his influence? Had he decided deliberately to hand over the movement to Bakunin in a graceful manner? These last two suggestions are improbable, nor is it true that Marx had realised

that the occasion for a centralised working-class organisation was, for a time, past, and that in view of the crushing of the Commune, the workers must turn themselves, for nearly fifty years, to the construction of national socialist movements. He and Bakunin agreed in this at least—that they always thought the revolution was round the corner.

More probably, Marx had two motives. He must, he felt, get the International well out of the hands of his hated rival, Bakunin. America was the only untouched country. Yet he also wished to be rid of it. He was an invalid. "I have for months" he wrote a little later to Danielson*, "suffered severely and found myself, for some time, even in a dangerous state of illness, consequent upon overwork. My head was so seriously affected that a paralytic stroke was to be apprehended." Impatiently, like an invalid, he wanted to push it aside—it was no longer any use—but Bakunin must not have it. Once it was shelved, he forgot about it. Only Engels, as Engels would, continued to fight the anarchists with detailed malice. Marx had forgotten them.

The Conference next heard the report of the Committee and expelled Guillaume and Bakunin. The "proofs" supporting this action were published later by the General Council under the title, *L'Alliance de la Democratie Socialiste*. The whole, half silly, half dangerous, secret organisation of Bakunin was dragged into the light. The crimes of Nechayev were exploited for all they were worth. A plausible case was made out

* 12th August, 1873.

for the existence of a considerable number of secret societies, widely extended if small in membership, whose main object had been to assure the personal dictatorship of Bakunin. He had attempted, it was argued, to destroy the organisation of the International in order that his societies might grasp the power in the resulting chaos. There is nothing more easy than, under the pretext of a very free form of organisation, to arrange the dominance of a clique. It was also stated that Bakunin was expelled on personal grounds, because he had received money for translating Marx' *Capital*, a work of which he never did more than a few pages.

The last charge is trifling, but there is considerable proof for the first. At this date the materials for an examination of Bakunin's societies probably no longer exist. Their existence is not denied, nor their jesuitical character. But what their object was, whether they actually managed to pull the strings of the International, whether they used criminal methods, and so on—all that is still a matter of opinion. Bakunin never replied, except by Billingsgate, to the booklet *L'Alliance*, and we are left with the prosecuting counsel's speech alone.

After the expulsions the minority refrained from taking any further part in the proceedings. The Congress broke up in a depressed atmosphere. The General Council went to New York, whence it declared excluded the Jurassian, Belgian and Spanish Federations, which had disavowed the resolutions at the Hague. The English movement quarrelled violently inside itself.

The International was rapidly disappearing. Both sides held another Congress in 1873 at Geneva, but

rather in order to spite the other side than because of any real strength. The Bakuninist strength lay in Spain, and there was perhaps some hope to be gleaned from the undeniably strong movement there. But this same year, 1873, saw the beginning of its ruin. The Spanish Republic was in the hands of the party known as "Benevolent" or "Platonic Republicans." Opposed to them were the Federal Republicans, known as Intransigeants, and in the autumn of this year, they revolted. The International took an active part and in two towns, Alcoy and San Lucar de Barrameda, the workers held control for a considerable time. Revolutionary juntas in other cities such as Barcelona and Cartagena, fell fairly quickly. The whole affair was long, complicated, mismanaged and bloody. In the end the whole business was settled by the return of the Monarchy; the Spanish International was crushed and its disappearance finished the Bakuninist International.

In New York the General Council vegetated. It quite lost any control of the European movement. The American branch of the International played a small but not discreditable part in American politics. It fought, slightly, within itself, but was nevertheless the first active and prominent Socialist propagandist body in America. The most urgent question was that of co-operation with non-Socialist Labour bodies, to which Sorge, the new Secretary, was opposed. Certain branches seceded on this question and formed the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party of North America.

On July 15th, 1876 was held the last conference of the International, in Philadelphia. One delegate arrived

from Germany. The rest were Americans. The outlook was in the last degree gloomy. The Conference accepted facts, and declared that as there was only the American branch alive, the General Council was abolished. A few months later the American Federation rejoined with the Social Democratic Party to form what in 1877 became the Socialist Labour Party, which exists to-day. The Bakuninists held a few more conferences, but they too had dwindled to an unimportant handful of anarchists.

Chapter II

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

The Second International is generally held to begin its life with the Paris Congress of 1889. At that date the two largest French sections (Marxist—revolutionary, and Possibilist—reformist) each held a rival congress. But at the next Congress (Brussels, 1891) the two sections re-united and did not dissolve again till 1919. Congresses were held at regular intervals till the outbreak of war.* The International started as a compromise, not as an adventure like the First, and it bore the mark of its origin all its life.

Not until 1900 was any form of central organ—the Bureau—set up. Previously, the various national movements merely met, quarrelled and separated. It seems indeed odd that 1889 more than any other year should be taken as that of the origin of the International. Why not 1878, when a large number of Socialist delegates met at Ghent? Why not any of the ten casual Congresses that fill up the space between 1872 and 1889?

For reasons that we considered in the last chapter, the Second International was a Federation of strong national bodies. 1872 to 1889 is the period of the growth

* A list is given in Appendix IV.

of the imposing Socialist parties of France, Belgium, Germany, Italy, etc., which made such an impressive show before the world. These parties were not prepared and not likely to submit to any central authority. For some time there was not even an international link.

Kirkup and Pease's *History of Socialism* (1913) is not a good book. But it gives truly the pre-war attitude on the International in its chapter 13. "No one," it says in effect, "would take the Bureau seriously in England at all. There is a story of a Dutchman who once asked it whether he ought to join the Government, but that is all." And as he was a Dutchman there was probably a catch somewhere, and they do not tell us what the Bureau replied or whether he attended to the reply.

This Bureau was formed in 1900 and sat in Brussels. It had no powers and was practically confined to making the technical arrangements for Congresses and being a centre for correspondence. The nearest it ever came to being a live international body was in its activities as a mediator between quarrelling national parties. It was midwife at the birth of the English "United Socialist Council," and the miserable life and death of that body is a commentary upon its powers.

Jaurès, that master in compromise, who could secure an appearance of unity between the most violent opponents on principle, was the greatest figure of the Second International, and its most dominating personality. Of all the resolutions passed under his influence, only one had any "actuality," the resolution on war—and that chiefly because the complete independence of the national sections had turned the Second International

into a purely anti-war organisation. The resolution read as follows :

" If war threatens to break out it is the duty of the working class in the countries concerned, and of their Parliamentary representatives, with the help of the International Bureau as a means of co-ordinating their action, to use every effort to prevent war by all the means that seem to them most appropriate, having regard to the sharpness of the class war and to the general political situation.

" Should war none the less break out, their duty is to intervene to bring it promptly to an end, and with all their energies to use the political and economic crisis created by the war to rouse the masses of the people and to hasten the fall of capitalist domination." (Copenhagen, 1910.)

The men who drafted and voted that resolution were defeated in advance. Behind those words was no living faith or real confidence. The shifty, hesitating phrasing, the dull, parrot-like repetition of formulæ about " rousing the masses of the people " and so forth, show their pre-occupation was to say nothing and yet to seem to say something. And so it remains, a pathetic and forlorn thing, at once accusing and explaining the great apostacy of 1914.

The history of the Second International, therefore, was the history of the national movements. To give it here is impossible, but one must try to explain the most striking fact of all—the unquestioned German predominance. Russia, England and France, possible rivals, all fell under German influence. In England,

the reason was clear—the innate feebleness of the English Socialist movement. The Labour Party was non-Socialist (yet, significantly enough, was admitted to the International) and produced no great leaders, much less any theorist or politician of standing. In France the strength of the movement was gradually sapped away by the growth of a real revolutionary movement—Syndicalism—and the party tended more and more to become a collection of politicians who "sold out" at the first opportunity.* Russians were still regarded as backward persons, fit subjects for pity and subscriptions, but hardly as equals—besides, their language hid their thoughts. But in Germany a galaxy of learned if rather ponderous intellectuals, and an immense membership, gave the movement an unequalled prestige. And from Germany arose the theory most characteristic of the Second International, which was proved, in the year of testing 1914, to have penetrated it to the very bones.

This theory—Revisionism or Reformism—was a theory well suited to the days before the war, when nationalism seemed a pleasant and harmless recreation, with just a spice of risk, and when the workers of the world were discovering that ease was possible for some at least of them under capitalism, and that meliorative measures could actually be secured, and were by no means always meaningless. A German, Eduard Bernstein, was and is its chief exponent.†

* One remembers Clemenceau, Briand, Viviani, Millerand, and many others.

† E. Bernstein, *Evolutionary Socialism* (I.L.P.).

The economic basis of Revisionism was this: In the opinion of the authors of the *Communist Manifesto*, and all those who believed in the imminence of a catastrophic revolution—a revolution in the accepted sense of the term—this revolution would come through the innate contradictions of the capitalist economic system. It was taught by Marx that capitalism was steadily proceeding to a sharper class division. By the process of the accumulation of great capitals, which drove out the lesser capitals, industry was becoming more and more a battlefield in which many dispossessed proletarians faced a very few industrial magnates. The impossibility of these proletarians buying back their own products, under the profit system, led to recurrent crises and at last to the final crash. To all this Bernstein gave the lie. Small capitals were not on the decrease, but the increase. The middle classes were flourishing like the green bay tree, and he had not the Psalmist's faith in its fall. The peasant proprietor, so far from disappearing, had dug himself in, and the big farm had broken down. All this he argued by statistics.* But what was happening was the gradual assumption of power by the working class inside the democratic state, and the gradual realisation of socialism by piecemeal reforms. "In all advanced countries," he wrote to the Party in 1898, "we see the privileges of the capitalist bourgeoisie yielding step by step to democratic organisations. Under the influence of this, and

* He should have distinguished between independent small capitals and shares in big businesses and limited companies. In the latter case concentration of capital is a fact. Cf. my *Bolshevik Theory*, chapter ii.

driven by the movement of the working classes which is daily becoming stronger, a social reaction has set in against the exploiting tendencies of capital, a counter-action, which, although it still proceeds timidly and feebly, yet does exist and is always drawing more departments of economic life under its influence." He instances factory legislation, democracy in local government, co-operation, and the privileges of State servants. "The final aim is nothing; the movement is everything"; he exclaimed in the end. Others embroidered upon this, and there was the great "boom" of nationalisation and municipalisation; there was the Fabian Society. To many Reformism came as a great light; the way to Socialism was easy, bloodless and constitutional. Nationalisation, slowly and in good time. And above all, everything was going well; things were getting better and not worse.

Towards this harmless, chattering and careless world the unseen catastrophe of the great war was rushing hourly. They were too pre-occupied in gaining reforms within the framework of their own states to notice or to be prepared.

Very few of us can recapture the thoughts we had in those few days. None of us can know what passed in the minds of the Socialist and Labour leaders. What did such a one think, when he came home from a great meeting, to learn that his Government had taken the step, had done what he had just told a cheering audience it should *not* do? Papers which had stormed against the threat of war in one night swung over and accepted and greeted it. Men who had threatened their rulers

with the international proletariat cheered the departing troop trains. As a man striding along the hillside in early morning breaks without noticing tiny gossamer webs, so the moving armies had destroyed the International, and no one cared to observe it. It died silently and forgotten.

Here is a great, a final break. The work had to be done again. The International must be rebuilt from the bottom up. Men might use the old names, but the thing itself was new.

The few necessary formalities were punctually and decently performed by Camille Huysmans, the secretary. The nominal seat of the extinct Bureau was transferred to Holland. The President, Vandervelde, joined the Belgian government. Socialists everywhere turned their attentions to organising the war.

Chapter III

THE WAR AND THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

In the dark period of the war one man deserved and deserves praise above any others, the more so because we are apt to forget him now, when he vainly clings to a rotting corpse which he believes to be the living thing he desired during the war. He is Camille Huysmans. To him more than to any other man was due the fact that a decent peace came as near as it did in 1917.

On one who met him during the "Stockholm" period, he made the impression of a man of tremendous gesticulating energy, a lean man whose face and expression seemed to change more rapidly and more violently than even the traditional "comic Frenchman's." Part of his overpowering energy came of course from his narrowness. He would not listen to argument or tolerate contradiction: he held a rigid "moderate minority" attitude and would hear of nothing else, either to the Right or to the Left. But this had its advantages. Nothing distracted him from his one pre-occupation. He would "go to Stockholm" as the phrase was. He would have peace and bring the war to a swift end. His mind was centred on that alone: the Bolshevik revolution passed by him without interesting him, except in so far as it disarranged some pieces on the board. One also saw, or felt one could see, that deep

in him there was a substratum of Belgian patriotism, that he felt strongly the national sentiments natural to a Belgian worker. And yet all the time he strove single-mindedly to perform his international duty, knowing that in his hands, more than any one else's, lay the fate of the International. Many greater men appeared during the war, but none more worthy of our admiration, or to whom the world owes more.

He failed, it is true. But at least the failure of "Stockholm"—which meant the failure of Huysmans—caused a great disturbance. He failed, but he overturned two French Governments, smashed the British Coalition and wrecked the German morale before he was beaten.

During the first two years of the war* he, as the Secretary of the Bureau, was continually attempting to knit together the threads that had been broken. He met everywhere with unanimous repulse and insult. Peace without victory was regarded still by Socialists as impossible, and it never crossed their minds that they should at least have tried to see if they could not have come to a common agreement with "enemy socialists" on the terms of a just peace, and then have tried to force their governments to adopt them. No harm could have come: good might have come. Indeed, the roaring "patriots" might reflect that similar tactics were used by President Wilson for the purpose of disintegrating the German Army.

But, as though to mark the complete futility of his persistence, and the finality of the division, in 1915 were

* I have given a fuller account of the war period in my brochure, *The International during the War* (*Daily Herald*, 3s. 6d.).

held three conferences—one of the Allied Socialists (London), who emphasised the righteousness of the Allied cause, one of the Central European Socialists (Vienna), who emphasised the righteousness of the German cause, one of the neutrals (Copenhagen) who expressed a desire for peace. Henceforward, Huysmans —to whose Executive had been added Dutch members— was forced to rely upon the support of Danes, Dutch, Swiss, and such small neutral parties, and his honest attempts at peace were regarded as the fussy interferences of an unpatriotic Belgian, pushed forward by neutrals, who wished to share the spoils and not the risks of war. Another neutral conference was held in 1916, at Berne, but it separated, depressedly recognising its own impotence. Having been told, very bluntly, by the various belligerent parties, that they would *not* come to a conference, Huysmans had only to fold his hands and wait till the rank and file woke up to second his efforts.

Even in 1915 there were faint stirrings. There was a small, negligible minority in every country. In England the B.S.P. and I.L.P. raised thin and piping voices against the war. Remnants of Syndicalist and Socialist revolutionaries in France, including the metal workers' secretary, Merrheim, were equally asking why the killing should not stop—now, at once. In Germany, a truly heroic man, Liebknecht, was leading a breakaway in which he was followed, at a distance, by what are now the Independents, who, then as now, vacillated and doubted. But they were few and knew themselves to be weak. The first great war enthusiasm had passed

and men had begun to ask "how long?" but they were not yet prepared to inquire if men across the frontier were asking the same question.

In Italy, where the Government had sold itself, like a prostitute, to the highest bidder, and no better war-cry could be devised than Sacred Egoism, the Socialist Party *en masse* was against the war. In Russia also, the State had for years been merely an instrument of torture and degradation of the people, and Russian Socialists, with the trifling exception of a few renegades, were in violent opposition to the war. No one expected great things from Russia: still these two groups helped to swell what would otherwise have been rather a forlorn little procession.

These parties and groups at last arranged an unofficial conference in Switzerland, at Zimmerwald, in the September of 1915.* From this Zimmerwald Congress arose, eventually, the Third International. Therefore we must rather concentrate on what it was *not*, than what it was. It was not an attempt to form a new International. It was not an assembly of revolutionaries. It was not an homogeneous assembly at all. It had a very small following. The delegates who gathered there were almost exclusively pacifist, not revolutionary. The shock of the war, coming after decades of reformism, had driven away the last vestiges of revolutionary thought. Men had to relearn Marx. But at this conference the delegates had no thought but

* Previously there had been a conference of pacifist women Socialists in Berne (March, 1915)—unimportant in itself, but deserving mention as the first instance in which delegates from the warring countries met together.

of stopping the war. They passed a formal censure on the Bureau for inactivity, but had no desire to supercede it or be anything but a "ginger group" within the International. They knew, as well as Huysmans did, that he had done all he could, and that it was for them to stir up the popular sentiment that would permit him to go further. They appointed, however, a Commission to remain as a permanent link, and when they separated to resume their hard toil in the warring countries, the Commission remained and led them in the end into very strange paths.

The Zimmerwald Conference reassembled (with more or less the same personnel) at Kienthal, in April, 1916.* By this time the movement was growing in strength. There seemed no reason that the war should ever stop. And with the growth of anti-war feeling, the latent divisions in the anti-war camp began to show themselves. The hand of Lenin begins to be visible. He had failed to turn Zimmerwald into anything but a Pacifist congress. But there is an undercurrent of Bolshevism in the resolutions of Kienthal: in the light of after events we can see clear indications of the coming of the Third International. I cannot do better than quote R. P. Dutt†:

"The Zimmerwald manifesto proclaims the solidarity of the proletariat in face of the horrors of the war let loose by capitalist imperialism, denounces the action of those socialists who have put themselves in line with their governments and taken on responsibility for the

* British Delegates were not able to attend either Conference.

† *The Two Internationals* (Allen and Unwin, 1s. 6d.), page 8.

conduct of the war, and calls on the proletarians of all countries for united action for Peace and Socialism. The International Bureau is only mentioned in one sentence, where it is stated to have failed in its duty. The cry is throughout for peace, immediate peace, peace without annexations and indemnities, and with full recognition of national rights; and Socialism is only thrown in once or twice, along with Liberty and Fraternity, as a fuller statement of the final object of the struggle.

"In the Kienthal resolutions a new colouring appears. The patriotic Socialists are still denounced (they now appear for the first time under the title of 'Social Nationalists') but there is an equally vigorous denunciation of 'bourgeois pacifism.' The hope of any real peace under capitalism is declared to be an illusion. The only solution is 'the conquest of political power and the ownership of capital by the peoples themselves; the real durable peace will be the fruit of triumphant Socialism.' The struggle against the war and imperialism is to develop with increasing intensity into a general mass movement against the whole forces of reaction and the economic consequences of the war until it ends in the supreme international struggle for the final triumph of the proletariat. A whole series of resolutions is devoted to the international Socialist Bureau, whose action is denounced in detail."

All the same, the revolutionary and pacifist sections were to all appearance still inextricably mingled. It needed a great forward movement to make the united sections powerful and dangerous, and also to make the

latent antagonisms acute. This was provided by the Russian Revolution of March, 1917. The vilest and foulest government of Europe suddenly disappeared—vanished, leaving nothing but an enormous void. No one could tell what would take its place. A few nonentities—Lvoffs and Miliukoffs—strutted about the stage of Petrograd, declaiming and pretending to rule the storm but everyone waited for the Russian people to speak. Gradually its voice was heard: and what it said was: Peace. In effect, millions of voices shouted the Kienthal programme to Western Europe. People who had concentrated their thoughts on the success of the war and thrust aside and suppressed their growing sickness at the unending slaughter, had to listen to this colossal cry. All through the spring and summer of 1917 this voice dominated all international affairs. At first it was a friendly invitation, then an urgent summons, lastly a harsh and threatening demand.

The officials of the International Socialist Bureau, who had their ears to the ground, had decided just before the explosion of March that the tide was rising and the time had come for another try for a full international Conference. They, therefore, on January 7th, 1917, made arrangements for a full session of the Bureau* to decide upon this. They met with a rough set-back from France, where the patriotic Majority were still in control, and an unexpected difficulty from Vandervelde, who, President of the Bureau as well as leader of the

* The Executive of the Bureau consisted of a small number of Belgians, the Bureau itself, which only met twice a year, of delegates from all countries.

Belgian Socialists, from this time until late in 1919, used his official position as far as he possibly could to prevent any conferences. Huysmans, however, went forward, for the Russian Revolution was obviously creating a new situation. Indeed, the new Russia practically took matters out of his hands. On May 9th, the new body in Petrograd which men in Western Europe were just learning to call "The Soviet" issued an imperious summons to all Socialist Parties to meet in Conference at Stockholm on July 8th. The officials of the Bureau were practically pushed aside. But there was no reason for any estrangement, the two parties quickly came to an agreement and the invitations were formally issued. The Zimmerwald Commission hovered round Stockholm uneasily. Huysmans gave it a chilly welcome, and its own revolutionary elements were already suspicious.

The invitations had an electric effect in Europe. Up till then there had seemed no hope of peace. Nothing could stop the war machine, it seemed, and gladly or resignedly, men went on supporting their country. The anti-war groups were small and insignificant. Now suddenly peace seemed to come very near, and there was a stampede. The war cloud lifted for a moment. Distinguished Socialists were sent to Petrograd to explain to their Russian comrades the necessity of going on with the war and returned dazed, like men who had received either a revelation or a violent blow upon the head. And they were able to communicate their feelings to the Parties. The German Party, as a whole suddenly refused to vote the war-credits and the Kaiser

was faced with such ferment that his Government decided it was the lesser of two evils to let the Socialists, both majority and minority, go to Stockholm.

The French Socialist Party was turned upside down. The offices of the *Populaire* (a "minority" journal) were inundated with postcards and letters from soldiers, urging the acceptance of the Stockholm proposal. Cachin and Frossard, two Majority Socialists, on their return from a delegation to Petrograd, advised a special National Convention in Paris, to go to Stockholm. The Convention, after a most violent and noisy sitting, unanimously decided to do so. More significant, perhaps, were the great excitement in the Paris Press, and the huge crowd waiting outside. It grew impatient, and cried out "Go to Stockholm," "Down with the war." An officer who was unwise enough to cry "Vive la gurere!" had to be rescued by the police. And gradually there rose a growing volume of sound, a tune which had not been heard in Paris for three years:

C'est la lutte finale,
Groupons nous, et demain
L'Internationale
Sera le genre humain.

The Italian adhesion was a foregone conclusion, but a change in the British Labour Party was hardly to be expected. Therefore the collapse of the pro-war party was the more astonishing. Here the agent was a Cabinet Minister, Arthur Henderson, who suddenly rose at this moment from mediocrity to the rank of a statesman, and after the crisis, disappeared again into the same obscurity.

He returned from a delegation to Petrograd in the late summer of 1917. He returned convinced of the

necessity for the Stockholm Conference. Nobody treated him as yet very seriously, but on August 10th, the Special Conference of the Labour Party approved his policy by 1,840,000 votes to 550,000. The effect on political life was shattering. The prospects of Stockholm and of the end of the war seemed "set fair."

There are men in the French and British Labour movements, such as Thorne and Renaudel, who have much to answer for. But on nothing that they did does there rest greater obloquy than on their successful prevention of "Stockholm." British Labour united could certainly have got through, and it is known that Ribot's Government was at one time prepared to grant passports. But in France forty Socialist members of Parliament "Les Quarante" as they were called, issued a manifesto violently denouncing the Stockholm project. This evidence of disunion encouraged the French Government to veto the whole scheme, and after Painlevé and Ribot had failed, Clemenceau was able to form a Ministry which shut its ears firmly to any suggestion of peace.

In England, owing to an intense "patriotic" campaign, the vote of the Miners Federation of Great Britain, which was 600,000 and always cast *en bloc*, was turned by a three per cent. majority. The adjourned Labour Party Conference therefore carried the motion, which was again submitted to it, by a very narrow majority, and the Government knew that it had sufficient strength to ignore the demand for passports. Various petty devices were also used by it to discredit Mr. Henderson, though without result. The "anti-Stockholm people"

had won. The war went on, and the Russian Revolution entered on a more bitter phase. Soon the war on the Revolution which is still (1920) going on, was begun. Stockholm was abandoned and the clumsy method adopted of each party considering the peace terms which it would ideally like, and then informing the other parties. This process was still continuing when the parties were surprised by the end of the war. The peace terms so laboriously thought out were entirely ignored by the statesmen of Versailles.

As the hope of "Stockholm" faded away, the Zimmerwald Commission held a hasty conference of its own in Stockholm on September 12th, 1917. Who attended is not stated, but the conference decided that a new International was necessary, and from this date really begins the Third International. But the Bolshevik Revolution came almost at once and nothing was done till after the war.

Then, almost before Western Europe knew of it, the Third International was summoned to its first Conference in Moscow, from March 2nd to 5th, 1919. This conference consisted practically, if not nominally of the Bolsheviks and small Communist groups in near-by countries. A month earlier (February 3rd), the Berne Conference of the Second International was held. To all appearances it was the old International back again. It had, with the exception of the Bolsheviks and the Italian Socialists, all the parties of importance affiliated, which had formed the International before the war.

The resolutions and the debates at these two Congresses clearly marked the fundamental opposition

between them. The Moscow invitation distinguished three sections among the workers : firstly, the reformists—men such as Clynes and W. Graham, let us say—who are " patriots," quite honestly and through and through bourgeois in their minds. These are to be relentlessly opposed. Then there is the Centre—the " Longuetists " or the I.L.P.ers who fluctuate and waver : they are sometimes revolutionary, and wish always to be, but their hearts or their heads keep failing them. To these Moscow adopts a double tactic—to welcome the revolutionary rank and file but comb out the Right wing elements and discredited leaders. Thirdly, a welcome is to be extended to the I.W.W. and similar Syndicalist revolutionaries who are not technically Socialist. For programme Moscow offers merely " Bolshevism." The necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the abandonment of the hope of Socialism by Parliament.* The need to hold oneself prepared for the use of force. No compromise or alliance with the bourgeoisie or the " social patriots." That is to say, Moscow welcomed none but really and consciously revolutionary parties. It is an association for pushing forward ruthlessly Communism or Socialism not an anti-War Association.

The Second International remains an anti-War Association. Its resolutions were long and detailed, and concerned entirely with re-modelling—or re-drafting in advance—the treaty of Versailles, so as to prevent that iniquitous document sowing the seeds of fresh wars. This detailed criticism—too long to summarise here—

* But not of Parliamentary action as a form of propaganda.

was on lines which would have before the war been called advanced Liberal, and dealt chiefly with oppressed nationalities. The apportionment of blame for the last war and the prevention of the next were the only objects. Socialism, which of course received recognition, was regarded as a regular evolutionary process within the law of the constitution. No revolution, no war, that is and was briefly the aim of the Second International. The Third's aim, similarly, is class war to replace national war. While the Third admits only revolutionaries, the Second tends more and more to exclude only revolutionaries.

In 1919 an impartial observer would have said that Moscow's International was a small sectarian body, and have put his money on the large and apparently flourishing Second International. At the 1920 Congresses, held in July and August, in Moscow and Geneva respectively, Moscow was on a fair way to become what it had never really been—an International—the Second was a decrepit relic. The "Centre," so cavalierly treated by Moscow, was yet not prepared for the unadulterated reformism and Liberal nationalism of the Second International, and had left. The German Independents, the French Socialist Party and the English Socialist parties had all withdrawn. Thus at Geneva in 1920 there were only the British Labour Party and the German Majority delegates, perorating on the evil of Bolshevism before the awe-struck and slightly ridiculous tail of delegates from South America, the Balkans and Indo-China, who are inevitably included in any list of the constituents of the Second International. And

of the two main parties, the one, the German, was deeply discredited. "The blood of Danton is choking you," cried Garnier to Robespierre on the 9th of Thermidor when the miserable man was gasping and stuttering before the angry Convention. The blood of Liebknecht is on the Germans: nothing that that party can say or do can ever again obtain the respect and admiration of Europe. Their agents arrested him, their agents murdered him and many others, their Government permitted derisory sentences to be passed on the murderers, their Government even permitted the murderers' escape. No denials or explanations can avail. Noske is still a member of the party.

The presence of the British delegation also did not mean that the British workers adhered. The British Labour movement, after the failure of Stockholm, had no further interest in the International. The officials of Eccleston Square understood that here was a movement which they ought to keep under their thumb, that was all.

So the Centre Parties had left. Logically, of course, they should have gone direct to the Third. But they did not. They first enquired for terms of admission and made attempts to call a separate Centrist congress, which, nominally, held for the purpose of unity, would really have led to a Fourth International. The reason for this was not simply, as was said in Bolshevik circles the fear of the Right Wing leaders of losing their jobs. There was grave danger that Moscow might really think it possible to dictate world policy and arrange the form of Soviet and type of revolution suited for

France and Britian. General lines of policy can of course be laid down, but Zinoviev has on occasion shown an unwise desire to go into detail. But generally the attitude of the Third International appeared more capricious than dictatorial: thus, the French delegates, Cachin and Frossard, received at first such excellent terms that they returned rejoicing, the German Independents, on the other hand, were not merely told, as was just, to get rid of the Kautskys, but were ordered with insults to change their name. On the other hand, the new British Communist Party was propelled into the Labour Party when there was certainly a case for it remaining outside. (And then the Labour Party refused to have it.)

The prospect at the time of writing this, is uncertain. It is probable that a split inside the centre parties will result, then the larger portion will go to Moscow, and there is no reason why the remnant should not drift with other dead things to the Second International. Clearly, however, the "Centre International" was not a wise proposal. It could not live. The question of internal policy—whether or not to work for a proletarian dictatorship—would inevitably have split it. Ingenious devices for making the Soviet or Guild Congress a substitute for the House of Lords really miss the heart of the matter. Wait until you come within measurable distance of Socialism and you will find your new House of Lords and old House of Commons fighting as bitterly as ever did Constituent Assembly and Soviet Congress.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

I—BRITISH TRADE UNIONS AFFILIATED TO THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL.

On September 8th, 1866, were affiliated :

*Amalgamated Society of Cordwainers.
Kendal Cordwainers.
Darlington Cordwainers.
Nottingham Cordwainers.
London Amalgamated Tailors.
Darlington Tailors.
Operative Bricklayers.
Coopers' Hand-in-Hand Society.
Packing-case Makers.
Amalgamated Saddlers and Harness Makers.
Coventry Ribbon Weavers.
Alliance Cabinet Makers.
West-End Cabinet Makers.
Day-working Bookbinders.
Plumbers' Brass Finishers.
Cigar-makers (London).
Amalgamated Society of Carpenters (Chelsea Branch).

" With 13 others promised " (Beehive).

There also had affiliated already :

Operative Masons.
Operative Masons, 1st Lodge.
Operative Masons, Stratford.
Amalgamated Society of Carpenters.
Amalgamated Society of Carpenters (Manchester).

Jaeckh (*op. cit.*, p. 11) also mentions other Unions to which he or his translator has given the following names : " The English Shoemakers," " The Silk Weavers," " An Agricultural Labourers' Union, with 28,000 members." The first is presumably the Cordwainers, or else a Society called in the reports " Cordonniers pour Dames," but in the papers of the International I can find no reference to the others.

From September, 1866, to September, 1867 :

*French Polishers.
Old London Society of Basket Makers.
London Trades Council (" adheres ").
National Amalgamated Association of Malleable Ironworkers.
United Excavators.
Elastic Web Weavers.
Block Cutters and Pattern Drawers.
Organ Builders.

Coachmakers' Friendly Society.
Lancashire, Derbyshire, Yorkshire and Cheshire Block Printers Union.
*Coach Trimmers. (Two Societies, meeting at the *Globe* and the *Crown*.)
United Journeymen Curriers.

From September, 1867, to September, 1868 :
National Association of Operative Plasterers.
*Birmingham Housepainters.
Cigarmakers (Liverpool).
[National Reform League.]
City Women's Men (Shoemakers).
City Men's Men (Shoemakers).
New London Society of Basket Makers.
Portmanteau and Trunk-makers.
Chairmakers.
Hull Co-operative Society.
Hull Blacksmiths.

Later affiliations (there may be others, but these are all I can find) :
Bootclosers (1869).
Amalgamated Society of Engineers (1871).
[Nottingham Labour Protection League] (1872).
Manchester Cordwainers (1872).
Manchester Operative Masons (1872).

Records exist of payments made by nearly all the societies affiliating up to September, 1867. There are no later accounts. I have marked with a * the societies of whose withdrawal I have found a record. That is to say, there are forty-eight recorded Trade Union affiliations, ignoring Jaeckh's Unions, the Trades Council and the two Leagues : counting these, fifty-three ; excluding everything, including branch affiliations, except Unions, forty-four Unions were affiliated.

The withdrawal of the British Trade Unions from 1869 onwards was due to a general attack made by the employers on their legal position (Webb, *op cit.*, p. 257), which made them anxious to separate themselves from any doubtful connections and also made them exclusively centre their eyes on English affairs. Before this danger was over the Commune had come and gone, and to belong to the International was to proclaim oneself a revolutionary. Then the International split and there was no further question of its being a useful Trade organisation. The British interest disappeared absolutely.

The Webbs, in their 1920 edition of the *History of Trade Unionism*, as previously, underestimate the influence and importance of the International in England. They relegate it to a note on page 235, *q.v.*

II—SECTIONS IN PARIS DURING THE SIEGE AND THE COMMUNE.

1. ORDINARY POLITICAL SECTIONS:

Acacias.
Belleville.
†Couronnes.
†Cercle d'études.
École de médécine.
†Gobelins.
†Hôpital Louis.
†Montrouge.
Panthéon.
†Recollets.
†Sociale des Écoles.
†13me Arrondissement.
La Villette.
Faubourg Antoine.
†Batignolles.
Château Rouge.
†Duval.
†Flourens.
†Grandes Carrières de Montmartre.
†Les Ivryens.
†Malesherbes.
†Poissonière.
Strasbourg.
†Ternes.
†Vaugirard.
†Association Republicaine du 6me arrondissement.
†Brantôme.
†Combat.
†Est (St. Denis).
†La Gare d'Ivry et Bercy.
†La Glacière.
†Richard Lenoir.
Popincourt.
Roule.
†Stephenson.
†Faubourg du Temple.
†Vertbois.

Total 37.

These are the names of sections who attended meetings of the Paris Federation. It is possible that some of them changed their names—e.g., the *École de medecine* may have changed into the *Sociale des Écoles*—but it is not possible to check this. I have marked with a † those sections whose separate existence is vouched for.* Other sections, elsewhere mentioned, which did not attend during this period are:

Cercle positiviste.
Cercle parisien des proletaires positivistes.
Maison Blanche.
Travailleurs Unis.
Cercle Socialiste.
Meudon.
Clichy.
Grenelle.
Puteaux.

Total 46.

* *Seances Officielles*, Paris, 1872. Appendix.

2. TRADE UNION SECTIONS:

Cooks.	Watchmakers.
Chairmakers.	Bookbinders.
Jewellers (*chambre syndicale*).	House-painters.
Furniture makers.	Optical workers.
Lithographic printers.	Bronzeworkers.
Tailors (*chambre syndicale*).	Potters.
Bakers.	Toolmakers.
Shoemakers.	Designers.
Shoemakers' cutters.	Carpenters.
Engineers.	Gilders.
Lacemakers.	Marble-cutters.
Upholsterers.	Weavers.

Not attending during this period:

Block-printers.	Whitesmiths.
Scale-makers.	Building workers.
Saddlers.	Chasers.
Porcelain workers.	Stone-cutters.
Plumbers.	Leather dressers.
Spungers.	Slate quarrymen.

Total 36.

[The *Chambre Federale* (Trades Council) co-operates, but is not affiliated.]

3. CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

"Marmite" (Co-operative restaurant): Four groups.

Total 4.

Grand Total .. 86.

In 1870 there were three general secretaries for Paris: E. Varlin for trade unions (sociétiés ouvrières), B. Malon (collectivist sections), Murat (Mutualist sections). (Testut *Association Internationale, Lyon* 1870, p. 44.) I have not been able to trace the beginnings of this division but it is important in view of the common statement made among others by Jaeckh, to the effect that the International was under the Commune a Proudhonist body.

III—ORGANS OF THE INTERNATIONAL (1871-2).*

FRANCE:	*Rouen*	La Réforme Sociale.
	Paris	La Révolution.

* Incomplete and probably inaccurate list. I have marked with an asterisk papers which had ceased by 1870, and bracketed friendly papers with which there was an arrangement only.

FRANCE:	*Paris.*	Réveil.
		Travail.
		La Sociale (Mme. Léo).
		La Marseillaise.
		*Le Socialiste.
	Lyons	[Progrès de Lyons.]
AMERICA:	*Chicago*	Workingman's Advocate.
	New York	Arbeiter Union.
		Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly.
ENGLAND:	*London*	*Commonwealth.
		[International Courier.]
		International Herald (1872).
		[Beehive], disavowed 1870.
		[Eastern Post.]
		*Social Economist.
SWITZERLAND:	*Geneva*	Egalité (Utin).
		Vorbote.
	Zurich	Tagwacht *also called* La Diane.
	Basle	Arbeiter.
	Basle	Der Democratt (?)
	Locle	Solidarité (Guillaume).
		*Progrès.
	Chaux de Fonds	La Montagne (Coullery).
		*Voix de l'Avenir.
BELGIUM	*Brussels*	L'Internationale.
	Liege	Le Devoir.
	Bruges	Peper en Zout.
		Vooruit !
	Verviers	Mirabeau.
	Antwerp	De Werker.
ITALY:	*Naples*	Fratellanza.
		*Eguaglianza.
	Bologna	Fascio Operaio (1872, Bakuninist).
	Turin	Il Proletario.
	Milan	Gazzetino Rosa.
AUSTRIA:	*Vienna*	Volkswille (Volksstimme).
		Gleichheit (?)
GERMANY:	*Leipsig*	Volkstaat.
		Demokratisches Wochenblatt.
	Augsburg	Proletarier.

	Berlin	Sozial-Demokrat. Beobachter.
RUSSIA:	The People's Cause (Cause du peuple), Russian journal published in Geneva.	
HOLLAND:	*Amsterdam*	De Verkmann. De Standaart des Volks.
	Rotterdam	Volksblad.
SPAIN:	*Madrid*	Solidaridad. Justicia Social. El Proletario. Emancipacion (Marxist). Condenado (Bakuninist) (1872).
	Barcelona	Federacion. Legalidad (published in Gracia, suburb of Barcelona).
	Palma	El Obrero.
PORTUGAL:	*Lisbon*	O Pensamento Social.
DENMARK:	*Copenhagen*	A paper, name unknown.

IV—CONGRESSES.

(*a*) First International.

1864 London.
1865 *London.*
1866 Geneva.
1867 Lausanne.
1868 Brussels.
1869 Basle.
1871 *London.*
1872 The Hague.

(Marxist)	(Bakuninist).
1873 Geneva	Geneva.
1874 —	Brussels.
1875 —	—
1876 Philadelphia	Berne.
1877 —	Verviers.

(*b*) Second International.

1889 Paris.
1891 Brussels.
1893 Zurich.
1896 London.

1900 Paris.
1904 Amsterdam.
1907 Stuttgart.
1910 Copenhagen.
1912 Basle.
1915 *Copenhagen. London. Vienna.*
1916 *Berne.*
1919 Berne.
1920 Geneva.

(c) Third International.

1915 *Zimmerwald.*
1916 *Kienthal.*
1917 *Stockholm.*
1919 Moscow.
1920 Moscow.

(Irregular Congresses, or those of doubtful connection, are in *italics*.)

V—SECRETARIES OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL:

To 1866 W. R. Cremer.
1866-67 R. Shaw.
1867 Peter Fox.
1867-70 J. G. Eccarius.
1870-72 John Hales.
1872-74 F. A. Sorge.
1874-1876 — Speyer.

VI—BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Section A. The Second and Third Internationals. The literature is very meagre, particularly the pre-war matter. By far the best short summary of present conditions is: R. P. Dutt, *The Two Internationals* (Allen and Unwin). The Third International literature is chiefly in pamphlets (very few, B. Souvarine, *The Third International*, B.S.P., is the only good one) and periodicals (*Le Phare, La Revue Communiste, Nouvelle Internationale, The Communist International*, Moscow). The most important statements of theory have been reprinted in my *Bolshevik Theory* (Grant Richards). Books on the International during the war are: To December, 1914, A. W. Humphrey, *International Socialism and the War*; to June, 1915, W. E. Walling, *The Socialists and the War*; to June, 1918, R. W. Postgate, *The International during the War*. General: Karl Grünberg, *Die Internationale und der Welt Krieg, Gesammelte Materialen*, which I have not seen. One should consult also P. G. La Chesnais, *La Groupe Socialiste du Reichstag*, Edwyn

Bevan, *German Socialdemocracy during the War*; J. Destrée, *Les Socialistes et la Guerre*; N. Lenin, *The Second International*; L. Trotsky *The Bolsheviki and World Peace*. All these are partisan books.

The pre-war general histories of Socialism frequently give a short account of the International: Kirkup and Pease's *History of Socialism* is moderately good; S. P. Orth's *Socialism and Democracy in Europe* is extraordinarily bad.

Section B. The First International. There is a huge mass of contemporary literature in French and English (there is very little German stuff—Jæger's *Moderne Sozialismus* should be referred to) which has never been properly inspected and classified. I am therefore attempting to give a short bibliography which will classify their importance and be a basis for others to work upon.

HISTORIES. M. James Guillaume: *L'Internationale* (4 vols., Ed. Cornély, Paris) by right takes the first place. It is a mass of documents and souvenirs, connected by a charmingly written narrative It is a veritable mine for the historian. But it is not a history. M. Guillaume has forgiven and forgotten nothing. The conflicts of fifty years ago still cloud his sight. He still thinks Marx a slinking Whitechapel Jew, a liar and a swindler through and through. All the Bakuninists are virtuous, all the Marxists villains. His narrative is so coloured as to be alternately naïve and dishonest. His hate is longlived; Marx's reputation seemed to have survived these four fat volumes, but the war gave M. Guillaume his chance, and he gave the final blow by issuing *Karl Marx, Pangermaniste!* a general review of no particular value.

Counsel for Marx may be heard in the person of Gustav Jaeckh, referred to by Guillaume as "Jaeckh the liar." His small book, *The International*, contains many facts not mentioned by Guillaume, but he is no more trustworthy. His history is inverted Guillaume, no more. But he has not the advantage of Guillaume's style; where Guillaume spits, Herr Jaeckh slobbers.

There is a short and fairly impartial account of the Marx-Bakunin quarrel in Robert Hunter's *Violence and the Labour Movement* (Routledge). It is a pity that most of the book is devoted to proving a doubtful and irrelevant thesis about violence: there is much good matter hidden away in it.

J. Puech's *Le Proudhonisme et l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs* (Alcan, Paris) is an account of the French sections, in the early days when they were Proudhonists, and of the early congresses. It is full of valuable matter, almost entirely concerning the French. It also

has a curious bias of its own, a perverted chauvinism which attempts to prove that the International was solely the work of the French.

During the war M. Jean Longuet published *La politique internationale du Marxisme*, a reply to Guillaume's *Karl Marx*. It contains two chapters on the First International which are full of valuable matter, including passages from Marx's letters. The whole work shows an excellent historical sense, but it already "dates" badly, and one regrets M. Longuet's pre-occupation with proving that Marx was not a Pan-German. He also in places shows a bias towards Marx.

Finally, Mr. Morris Hillquit's *American Socialism* contains a great deal of useful matter about the decline of the International and the famous Section 12 of New York.

Incidental references are to be found in A. W. Humphrey's *Robert Applegarth*, and Kropotkins' *Memoirs of a Revolutionary*.

That practically exhausts the modern literature on the International. To correct their most evident bias we must turn to primary sources.

MANUSCRIPTS. In the British Museum are some letters of Marx to Danielson on the International (Add. MSS., 38075), which I have used for this book. They contain a certain amount of information about facts but are more valuable as showing Marx's state of mind. He seems at times to have thought that Nechayev and Bakunin would kill him. The letters, which are signed "A. Williams," are written in a curious macaronic of French, English and German, all mixed up.

In the Bishopsgate Institute is a library called the George Howell collection. No printed catalogue is available, nor may one see the MS. catalogue, but if you know exactly what you want you can get it. For all I know there may be the crown of King John in it, but there is certainly a treasure in the little group numbered 331 88. Here is the original Minute Book of the General Council, signatures and all, from 1866 to 1869, the most important years for England. No minute book was kept before then, and the earliest numbers are unsigned and copied in presumably from loose sheets. It is full of carelessness and faults in grammar ("he was look upon") in spelling ("they" is habitually "the,") and in English ("desiderants" is used for "candidates" on page 4). Up to October 10th, 1886, the writer is R. Shaw, who writes carefully and clearly, though obviously only semi-literate. Then Peter Fox became secretary, and he apparently took the book home for his little girl to do the minutes. They are written in a sprawling, childish hand, and father fills in, not too accurately, the proper names and long words. Shaw and Fox alternate for a while, till Shaw leaves London to find work, Fox to go to his death in Vienna. Then Eccarius takes it

up (July, 1868) and every crabbed ill-spelt line suggests the near-sighted German tailor, painfully using the pen with his great hands, distorted and callous from his trade. Occasionally he lapses into German script. When he is seriously ill in the winter of '68, Hermann Jung, the watchmaker, does the minute writing, and his writing is as though he used a match-end dipped in ink.

There are also in this little bunch Howell's notes for a history of the International, a most informative letter to W. Morrison, a Liberal M.P., the roll of members and accounts, a copy of the Address and Rules, and most valuable newspaper cuttings, all of which were of the greatest service to me.

CONTEMPORARY PRINTED WORKS.

(References as for the British Museum Reading Room.) The newspapers are most important. *The Workman's Advocate*, later *The Commonwealth* (N.R.), was the International's official organ. It ceased to appear in 1867. *The Beehive* (N.R.) then took its place, but George Potter, its editor, was not likely to work well with Applegarth and Odger. A quarrel arose because he was supposed to have overcharged on his bill and the connection ended. Then the *Eastern Post* (N.R.), an East End paper, made an arrangement with the Council by which it published the official matter, and ran its own policy independently. There was a continuous arrangement with the *International Courier* (N.R.), a paper published both in English and French. Of the *International Herald*, the organ of the British Labour Party of 1872, there is only a specimen copy in the Museum. Cowell Stepney, the treasurer, also published a fat monthly called the *Social Economist* (PP. 1423 l.g.), and reference should be made to the Jura Federation's *Bulletin* (PP. 9508). For other papers see Appendix III.

Of books first in importance are of course the *Comptes Rendus des Congres* of 1867 (8277 bb. 29 3) of 1868(1887 d 2) and 1869 (8277 c 58). For 1872 one has to read the reports in the *Standard*, which I believe are by Maltman Barry.

The works of Oscar Testut, a reactionary lawyer, are of the greatest value. His *Livre Bleu de L'Internationale* (8277 aaa 21) is a reprint of nearly all the reports of the sections to the congress, a collection of the greatest interest. His *L'Internationale* (8276 de 23) is a brief but very fully documented and careful account of all the congresses and the history of the International up till 1870. His *L'Internationale et le Jacobinisme*, 2 vols. (8277 g. 39) is a vast dossier of the facts and documents concerning the International in France.

There are points to be gathered from Villetard's *History of the*

International (08276 a. 5) and Onslow Yorke's *Secret History of the International* (8282 aa. 66) and two pamphlets called *l'Association Internationale*, by Albert Richard (8275 bb. 15 5) and Benoit Malon (8275 ee. 5 6). There is also a summary by Professor Beesly in the *Fortnightly Review* for November, 1870.

Then there are the various pamphlets of the Council on the 1870 war and the Commune, two on the war (8026 b. 50) and one on the *Civil War in France* (8051 aaa. 62).

For the Marx-Bakunin quarrel there are two Marxist brochures, *Les Pretendues Scissions dans l'Internationale* (8277 de 29 3) and *l'Alliance de la democratie Socialiste* (8277 aaa. 20) and the *Memoire*, in reply by the Jurassian Federation (8277 bbb. 6).

A single book of the voluminous literature about the Commune deserves special mention: *Seances officielles de l'Internationale* (during the siege and the Commune, 8051 aaa. 41).

The Civil War in France and the debates of the International on Workers' Control I am reprinting in a book of revolutionary documents (*Revolution* 1789-1906).

INDEX

Headley Bros., 18 Devonshire St., E.C.2, & Ashford, Kent.