

WORKERS ABROAD

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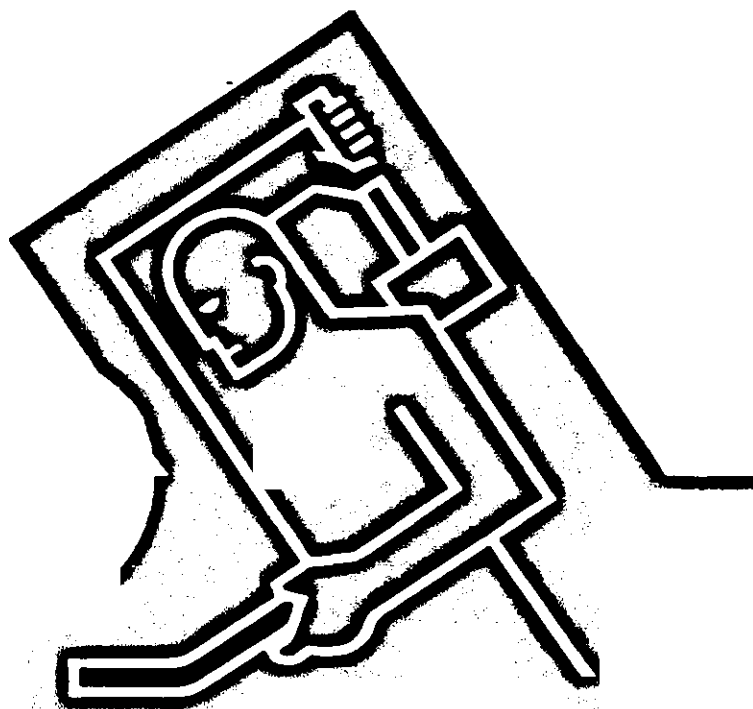
The field is also, of necessity, narrowed in time ; the history commences not where in fact it did, but with the first French Revolution, which may be taken as marking the breakdown of feudalism and the beginnings of the modern order in Europe. The Revolution—that is, in effect, a refusal to tolerate the intolerable—became an important, but by no means the only element, in the labour movement, which in part also consists of an attempt to attain to the unattainable. In both, since they are human activities, there is passion ; but passion, though no movement can live without it, is not enough, and the labour movement had thus to examine its own life and find a philosophy of itself. This endeavour, as might be expected, gave rise to doctrines which have not been permanently or universally accepted in the movement. It is no part of the business of the present writer, who is committed to none of them, to decide how far they are true ; but it is hoped that this outline will provide the reader with an idea of the circumstances in which these doctrines arose, and of the problems to which an answer had to be sought in the light of them.

French Journeymen in the Eighteenth Century

French industries in the eighteenth century were, with few exceptions, carried on by producers on a small scale, who were commonly included in trade guilds.

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G. P. JONES



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No. 34

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by

G. P. JONES, D.LITT.



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CONTENTS

I. FROM THE GILDS TO THE REVOLUTION	9
II. FROM RESTORATION TO REVOLUTION	28
III. EAST AND WEST OF THE RHINE	49
IV. THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL AND THE COMMUNE	69
V. RECOVERY AND REFORM	82
VI. SOCIALISM AND SYNDICALISM	99
VII. THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES	112
VIII. THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN NORTHERN EUROPE	129
IX. THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN ITALY, SPAIN, AND RUSSIA	140
X. REVOLUTION AND REACTION	155
A NOTE ON BOOKS	179
INDEX	182

PREFACE

THE following pages, which contain the substance of lectures delivered to a W.E.A. Tutorial Class in Sheffield during the winter of 1937-38, will, I hope, prove to be of interest to a wider public.

I may be permitted here to acknowledge the patience with which the lectures were heard and the forthright, yet friendly, spirit in which the topics at issue were discussed by the class.

My colleagues, Professor Douglas Knoop and Mr. A. G. Pool, very kindly read the manuscript and suggested many improvements. I am also indebted to Mr. Pool for help in correcting the proofs.

G. P. JONES.

SHEFFIELD, *October* 1938.

WORKERS ABROAD

CHAPTER I

FROM THE GILDS TO THE REVOLUTION

WITHIN the limits of this little volume it is not possible to follow the history of workers and workers' movements of every kind in every country, and the field has thus to be narrowed. Agricultural workers have been left almost entirely out of account; and so have workers' co-operative societies and the labour movement in several countries (especially in south-eastern Europe). The aim is thus to present, in the broadest of outlines, the progress of the labour movement in the more important countries on the European mainland and in the United States. By the labour movement is to be understood, in the following pages, the urge which has led industrial workers to express their sense of justice and their hopes and ideals through craft or other organizations, trade unions and political parties. But in order to understand these it is necessary to consider the economic and social conditions in which, from time to time, the workers found themselves, and the beliefs and doctrines which they inherited or accepted or worked out for themselves with regard to their situation and the means of improving

WORKERS ABROAD

it. The workers, in short, are to be considered as producers not merely of cloth and iron but of societies, of work not made with hands ; an activity in which, according to ancient philosophy, their strength and skill could be of little use.

The field is also, of necessity, narrowed in time : the history commences not where in fact it did, but with the first French Revolution, which may be taken as marking the breakdown of feudalism and the beginnings of the modern order in Europe. The Revolution—that is, in effect, a refusal to tolerate the intolerable—became an important, but by no means the only element, in the labour movement, which in part also consists of an attempt to attain to the unattainable. In both, since they are human activities, there is passion ; but passion, though no movement can live without it, is not enough, and the labour movement had thus to examine its own life and find a philosophy of itself. This endeavour, as might be expected, gave rise to doctrines which have not been permanently or universally accepted in the movement. It is no part of the business of the present writer, who is committed to none of them, to decide how far they are true ; but it is hoped that this outline will provide the reader with an idea of the circumstances in which these doctrines arose, and of the problems to which an answer had to be sought in the light of them.

French Journeymen in the Eighteenth Century

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FROM THE GILDS TO THE REVOLUTION

That form of industrial organization had begun and flourished in the Middle Ages, but, by the sixteenth century, the guilds were showing signs of decay and of incompatibility with the more capitalist kind of production then beginning to develop. By the eighteenth century they were stagnant and full of abuses, and in 1776 they were abolished by the reforming statesman, Turgot, as outworn monopolies, inconsistent with the public interest and with industrial freedom as he understood it. After his fall they were re-established, with some modification, and lasted until 1791, when a clause in a finance act put an end to them. The trades organized in guilds were carried on by the three traditional grades, namely apprentices, learning the trade; journeymen, who had learned it well enough to be worth hiring; and masters, in theory independent producers and commonly heads of small industrial establishments. Their apprentices usually, and their journeymen not infrequently, boarded and lodged with them, so that the relations between master and man were more intimate and direct than is commonly the case in the same industries to-day. Circumstances had, nevertheless, tended for a long time to drive a wedge between interests formerly identical, or nearly so. Instead of being a temporary grade on the way to mastership and office in a guild, the status of journeyman had become, in many instances, permanent, and mastership was a privilege reserved for a few, and more or less hereditary. The guilds, themselves subject to pressure and interference on the part of the state, were thus managed by a clique of masters, mainly in their own interests, and were not, from the journeymen's point of view, a satisfactory kind of organization. Accordingly,

WORKERS ABROAD

the journeymen tried to serve their own interests by means of separate associations of their own. The confraternity, or religious gild, provided a model, and, under the convenient cover of such an association or otherwise, the journeymen frequently united in societies called *compagnonnages*.

Their object was to improve or maintain the working conditions of their members by getting control of the placing of journeymen in employment and by pressure on the *patrons*, or masters. To that end, they sought to prevent the employment of non-members, and imposed fines on members for breach of the society's rules. They also boycotted masters of whom they did not approve, and used the weapon of the strike, either in one trade or in all the trades of one town or of a number of towns. The *compagnonnages* are of particular interest in connection with the *tour de France*—that is, a journey undertaken by a craftsman, either for the purpose of finding employment or in order to increase his knowledge and skill in his trade—through a series of towns. These were not the same for all trades, but in general were the following: Lyons, Nîmes, Marseilles, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Rochefort, Nantes, Angers, Blois, Orléans, Paris, Auxerre and Dijon. In each town on its list the *compagnonnage* had its local headquarters, an inn or estaminet kept by the "father," a former *compagnon* or journeyman, and "mother." Here new arrivals might be lodged and fed, meetings of the society were held, and its common box was kept. Upon arrival the newcomer was registered and was later found employment, or, failing work, was assisted on his way to the next town. Members were also helped when sick, and, when they died, were buried with such pomp as the association

FROM THE GILDS TO THE REVOLUTION

could command. The members recognized one another by passwords, signs and handgrips, and used a ritual for initiations and other occasions. The associations were essentially secret, and imposed penalties for communicating their business to masters or revealing their secrets to outsiders. The development of their ritual may have owed something to the Scottish rite of freemasonry, which spread in France during the eighteenth century; but freemasonry was by no means confined to the *compagnonnages*; moreover, though freemasonry was dreaded and condemned by the Church, the *compagnonnages* commonly had patron saints, and made attendance at the customary masses compulsory for their members.

There seems to be no means of making a reliable estimate of the total membership of these societies in the eighteenth century, and it is not possible to say what proportion of the town workers they comprised. Presumably they could not have included all the dependent workmen in any craft, for the *compagnons* were single men and could not, ordinarily, continue their membership after marriage, though they might remain in sympathy with their old associates. This type of organization was to be found in some thirty trades, more or less, among which the building trades were important. The strength of the *compagnonnages* was, however, diminished by their division into three rites or "duties," namely, the "Children of Father Soubise," the "Children of Master James," and the "Children of Solomon," who sometimes agreed with one another but were often at loggerheads, and not infrequently conducted their arguments with sticks.

The workers' associations so far noticed prevailed in the building industry and in manufactures carried on in

WORKERS ABROAD

the houses or shops of "little masters." In manufactures on a larger scale, though the conflict of interest between employers and employed was no less acute, continuous associations of workers were rarer, possibly because workers congregated in factories or mills could easily meet together at any moment and down tools. One large-scale industry, the manufacture of paper, did give rise to numerous associations of workers, who organized themselves in confraternities, made rules binding on their members, and enforced them on workers in the trade. In spirit these associations were similar to the Children of Father Soubise or of Solomon; both were types of organization intermediate between a mediæval gild and a modern industrial trade union. They fought for their interests against gild masters or mill owners, but at the same time they aimed at a measure of monopoly for themselves and at restricting entry into the craft. In this respect they bear a resemblance to some early trade societies in the Lancashire cotton industry, and generally to the older skilled craft unions of England in the nineteenth century. The arrangements of the *tour de France* may be compared with those of the wandering brushmakers in England; and the ritual of the *compagnonnages* may have had points of similarity to that which brought the Tolpuddle Martyrs into trouble in 1834.

The formation of such associations, however pious the form of organization might appear, ran counter both to the traditional and to the newer social theory of eighteenth-century France. In itself, the association of producers was considered necessary and laudable, but only so long as the associations were consistent with the government's idea of its own and the public interest. As early as 1383 the formation of confraternities, except

FROM THE GILDS TO THE REVOLUTION

by royal licence and for the sole purpose of going to church in procession, had been prohibited ; subsequently, a long series of acts, edicts and orders, stretching through the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, forbade and punished illegal associations, especially of wage-earners, for it was always they who suffered rather than the masters, who could associate in the guilds. Workmen meeting together were liable to prosecution for being present at an unlawful assembly, a term ill-defined and capable of being construed according to the prejudices of the bench. Apparently any assembly meeting without the permission of the authorities was unlawful by the mere fact of its occurrence, and apart from its purposes or conduct. In the attempt to suppress the *compagnonnages*, particular attention was paid to their arrangements for placing journeymen in employment, arrangements which, in some localities, led to scarcity of labour and to higher wages. Accordingly such measures were forbidden by the town authorities, and another agency, in the interest of the masters, was set up instead, with what degree of success is not clear. The Bordeaux employers in 1754 set on foot a wide movement against the control of employment by the journeymen, and wrote to ask employers in other towns not to take on any journeyman except through the masters' agency, or to employ any new arrival unless he were provided with a certificate of good conduct. Regulations for these purposes were to be agreed upon by the various towns, and submitted to the police and the higher authorities for approval. Though the masters in some towns were quite in favour of adopting such regulations, this attempt at a national employers' agreement was unsuccessful.

WORKERS ABROAD

Conditions of Labour

It would be wrong to conclude that masters and journeymen were always at variance, or that there was everywhere a great gulf between the two grades. Generally, it is true, the masters were supported by the town and other authorities ; but their condition was far from enviable, and many of them lived in much the same hard conditions as their journeymen. Their standard of living varied according to the trade, but their housing was usually poor. "Besides their shops or workshops," says a contemporary, "they occupied only a large room, which did duty as kitchen, dining-room and bedroom for the family, and one other room for the journeymen whom they commonly lodged and boarded." Their food was often neither abundant nor good ; the wife of a Chatellerault cutler described it as follows : "bread and soup several times a day because meat is too dear ; soup of herbs, of carrots, of onions. . . . At home the drink is water but on Mondays the master goes to drink wine at the tavern with his journeyman." A minority of employers had some chance of rising to ease and even affluence, but most had a struggle to maintain their families, and some, possibly an increasing proportion, were in danger of becoming as dependent in status as their journeymen. That was the case with working masters in the Lyons silk manufacture, working to the order of merchant masters who often supplied the raw material, prescribed the patterns, and paid for the work when done. During the eighteenth century these dependent masters repeatedly struck, and

FROM THE GILDS TO THE REVOLUTION

on at least one occasion, in 1744, allied themselves with the journeymen.

Masters in such a condition can hardly have had prosperous journeymen. Wages varied a good deal from trade to trade and place to place. The Paris printers could earn 50 sous a day, but that was an exceptionally high rate; in Rouen journeymen could earn from 25 to 30 sous, labourers 15, and women 10. It has been calculated that 20 sous were required to provide the needs of life, but few workmen managed to get that amount regularly. There is indeed evidence that money wages rose during the century, but it seems to be agreed that prices rose more; in the latter years of the old régime, according to some authorities, money wages rose by 20 per cent. and the cost of living by 100 per cent. The hours of labour were very long. In mining, where the work was notably hard, the working day was 12 hours, but in other trades a day of 16 hours was by no means uncommon, and of the workers of Lyons a contemporary wrote: "They regularly work 18 hours or more every day without loss of time, for a quarter of an hour, sometimes less, suffices for their meals." No doubt the work was less rapid and intense than in modern factories, and holidays and stoppages were more frequent; but such a long working day can have left little time for recreation or culture, and, in the absence of any generally effective care for popular education, most workers were illiterate. Their mode of life was thus, inevitably, often as gross as their existence was miserable and uncertain.

WORKERS ABROAD

Social Theory

The great mass of the workers can therefore have known next to nothing of what the classes above them were thinking, and even had they been familiar with the trend of economic theory in their day they would have found little in it to give them hope, and almost nothing to help them in framing a practical programme. The most eminent writers on economics were those called Physiocrats, to which school Turgot, the statesman, belonged. The centre of their teaching was a belief that agriculture alone was really productive, and such a belief hardly tended to encourage that expansion of industry which was necessary if more employment was to be available for craftsmen. Nor did Turgot's doctrine offer much hope of raising wages, for he explicitly assumed what was later to be called the "iron law." "With all kinds of labour," he wrote, "it must happen and in practice does happen that the workman's wages are limited to what is necessary to procure his sustenance." He did indeed believe that "God, in creating man with needs and making labour necessary to him, has made the right to work the property of every man." This inalienable human right ought to be freed from all restrictions; but he meant by that a freedom from guilds and monopolies, not the freedom of the worker to form associations for his own protection.

For Turgot and the other Physiocrats the institution of private property, and the inequalities in wealth connected with it, were, or might be, right, natural and in the general interest; but such a view was questioned by several writers. Meslier, parish priest of Étrepigny, in

FROM THE GILDS TO THE REVOLUTION

his *Testament* (published by Voltaire in 1762), denounced "idle and unproductive wealthy do-nothings," and held that the produce of the earth should be owned and enjoyed in common. Morelly, in his *Code of Nature* (1755), and the Abbé Mably, in his *Doubts Expressed to the Philosophical Economists* (1768), held that not private property but communism was in accord with the law of nature and right reason. "How," Mably asked the Physiocrats, "will you set about convincing the men who possess nothing, that is to say, the great majority of citizens, that they are clearly part of an order of things which enables them to obtain the greatest amount of enjoyment and well-being?"

The greatest literary influence working against the old order, in its political and social aspects, was no doubt Rousseau. In an early work, the *Discourse on Inequality* (1755), he explained that the primitive golden age of equality was brought to an end by the invention of agriculture and metal-working and by the foundation of civil society. This, in effect, was grounded on a swindle, an agreement whereby the many, who possessed little wealth, were hoodwinked by the few, who possessed much, to maintain the institution of private property in general. Thus what was an injustice became the foundation of society. "The first man," he wrote, "who, having enclosed a piece of land, thought of saying 'This is mine' and found people silly enough to believe him, was the true founder of civil society." Thereafter, as society grew and developed, inequality increased, until it produced the misery and despair of France in his own day. This doctrine of Rousseau's was not socialist, for he lamented the loss of individual freedom which had existed in the golden age; nor was

WORKERS ABROAD

his teaching of any use as the basis of a programme, since men could not possibly return to primitive natural equality. Civilization, in short, was an incurable disease. In his *Social Contract* (1762) Rousseau made the agreement, which he had previously regarded as a trick, into something quite different, namely, the foundation of justice and of the state, properly so called. The state is indeed master of all the possessions of its citizens, but master of them only in so far as is necessary for the public good ; otherwise, every individual is free to do what he likes with his own. The right to private property is thus secure, though not absolute ; it is subject to the general will, that is, to the corporate reason or public spirit of the citizens. This principle does not amount to socialism, but might, of course, be used to justify a socialist order, supposing it could be shown that the general will was in favour of such an economic system. Hungry journeymen and weary peasants might, like some students in a later age, have made little out of Rousseau's political theory ; but they would have understood well enough the most constant and sincere part of his teaching, his passionate hatred of the cruel inequalities of his time. "All the advantages of society," he wrote, "are they not for the powerful and the rich ? All the lucrative posts, are they not filled by them alone ? All the privileges, all the exemptions, are they not reserved for them ? . . . How different with the poor ! . . . The more he needs humanity, the more society refuses it to him. . . . He always bears, besides his own burdens, those from which his rich neighbour is exempt. . . . I think him a lost man if he has the misfortune to have an honest heart, a pretty daughter and a powerful neighbour." The same hatred

FROM THE GILDS TO THE REVOLUTION

of privilege animated the Revolution when it came. It is nevertheless true that neither Rousseau's philosophy nor the Revolution, for all their stressing of equality, understood the necessity of workers uniting in order to be equal in bargaining power to their employers ; nor had the journeymen's associations, for all their opposition to particular employers or kinds of employer, yet awakened to a consciousness of the interest of workers in general.

The Revolution and the Workers

When the old régime tottered in 1789 and crashed in the following years, it might seem that the time had come for the workers to break their chains ; but after the Revolution had worn itself out and the dictatorship which followed it had been shattered, the workers under the restored Bourbons were still in fetters, and equality was almost as far off as ever. In part this may be explained by the fact that France was soon at war, and thus had little leisure or quiet to solve domestic economic problems ; but it is also clear that the Revolution was, or soon became, hostile to organized labour, and was in no sense socialist in outlook. Agrarian serfdom was indeed abolished, not only in France but beyond its borders where French occupation lasted long enough for the purpose ; the immunity of nobles and clergy from taxation was ended ; and, if political equality was not attained, there was a nearer approach to equality before the law than had ever been known before. More important than this, perhaps, was the fact that a revolution had occurred and, in part and for a time, succeeded. Despite the later successes of reaction, the stimulus of the

WORKERS ABROAD

Revolution remained, and the same spirit was to shake not only France but Europe in 1830 and 1848.

The fact that the Revolution did not free the journeymen does not mean that they had no part in it, though, as workers, they played no guiding part and shared less in its benefits than the peasants and the bourgeoisie. The years immediately before 1789 had seen a marked depression in industry, attributed by some to the Eden Treaty with Great Britain in 1786, though it can be accounted for otherwise. The state of the markets, whatever the cause, was made an occasion for reducing wages and lengthening hours, and gave rise to much unemployment and unrest. There were labour troubles at St. Étienne in 1786 and Lyons in 1787, a year in which, it is said, 30,000 people in that city were in receipt of charitable relief. There were troubles also at Nîmes; which were no less acute because the Protestant minority of the inhabitants included a majority of the larger employers and merchants in the textile industry. The hard winter of 1788-89 increased the prevailing distress, and the Revolution itself disturbed trade. It is thus no wonder that martial law was in force in Lyons for several months in 1790, and that in June of that year many houses were pillaged in Nîmes. Paris, in April 1789, had a taste of disorder in which hundreds of workmen were concerned; they came from the Faubourg St. Antoine, the quarter whence, on 14th July following, workers by the hundred hastened to take part in the first act of the Revolution, the storming and capture of the Bastille.

An attempt was made to cope with the poverty of these years by providing charitable employment, such as spinning by women and children, and public works such

FROM THE GILDS TO THE REVOLUTION

as road-making, a means of relief which Turgot had used when he was intendant in Limoges. Public relief works were opened in Paris in August 1789, and very soon 12,000 persons were employed on them, at the rate of twenty sous a day, but the municipality, on account of the drain on its resources, sent home the workers from outside Paris, and, in August 1790, decided to reorganize the works. Able-bodied men were to be paid piece rates instead of day wages, and the rate was to be low enough to leave them a motive to seek work elsewhere. Because the massing of discontented workers was apt to be dangerous, the works were closed in 1791. In the same year the point of view of the governing authorities was made clear in the Chapelier Law, which arose out of an attempt on the part of the journeyman carpenters to strengthen their organization and to induce the municipal authorities to establish a legal minimum wage, much to the annoyance of the employers, who, with the master smiths, asserted that the public order was threatened by a general workers' association 80,000 strong. The town authorities asked the Constituent Assembly to legislate on the question, and in June 1791 an Act was obligingly provided. Briefly, this prohibited all associations of workers, employers, or merchants; municipal and administrative bodies were forbidden to receive petitions from associations of people in the same trade; and resolutions taken by workers for the purpose of ceasing work together or refusing to work at less than a stated wage were declared unconstitutional and contrary to the rights of man. Those who called meetings for such purposes might be punished by a fine and deprivation of political rights. Chapelier professed himself in favour of a living wage; but he held that wages ought

WORKERS ABROAD

to be determined by free agreement between individuals. In short, he and the Assembly took the view that such associations as the journeyman-carpenters' were of the nature of the privileged corporations of the old régime, and were inconsistent with individual freedom. Like English legislators of the same period and later, they failed to see, or would not admit, that, of the supposedly free parties to a wage agreement, one might be free only to starve.

It is thus evident that before the outbreak of war the government was very unfriendly to the organization of wage-earners. The bourgeois dominance of the Revolution was, however, threatened when the Jacobins seized power in 1793 and set up what might have become, had their dictatorship continued, a comprehensive state control of economic activity. Robespierre declared that "whatever is essential to preserve life is common property to society at large," and, further, that "society must provide for the support of all its members." This was to be secured not by the abolition, but by the extension and redistribution, of private property. In his view "the richest of Frenchmen ought not to have more than a hundred and twenty pounds a year." Accordingly the wealthy were heavily taxed; property was confiscated for the good of the state; freedom of bequest was abolished. Attempts were made at the fixing of maximum prices for bread and other necessities, the regulation of farmers and traders and of imports, exports and foreign investment. The strength and skill of the worker, like the possessions of the rich, were to be regarded as being at the disposal of the state, and attempts were made to solve the problem of unemployment by registering workers and fixing maximum wages. The Jacobin

FROM THE GILDS TO THE REVOLUTION

programme thus bears some resemblance to the communist and anti-communist dictatorships of modern times. Making use of high-sounding rhetoric, of deliberate perversions of justice, and of agents who were by no means free from detestable motives, it sought to subject the individual and sectional purposes of employers, workers and peasants to the general good, as interpreted by the Jacobins, while at the same time Christianity was proscribed as inconsistent with the ideals of the Revolution. The uncertainty which followed from arbitrary interference and confiscations and from a hopelessly depreciated currency went far to ruin the programme; the imprisonment of contumacious fishermen, bakers and peasants did not increase the supply of food, and poverty was widespread when detestation of the insensate Terror brought about the fall of the Jacobins in 1794. Their attempts to recover power were all frustrated; and under the Directory, the Consulate and the Empire which followed, neither discontented workers nor disgusted democrats were able to threaten the established government seriously.

There did occur, however, one movement which, though it had but the remotest chance of success, is of no small interest and importance in the history of socialism. It was led by Gracchus Babeuf (1760-97), sometime a land surveyor in Picardy, imprisoned in 1790 for his fiercely revolutionary advocacy. He opposed the terrorism of Robespierre, but, after his fall, denounced the ensuing government as reactionary, and was again imprisoned in 1795. Upon his release he got into touch with men like himself, with stormy revolutionary records and all eager to go farther, and they founded the Panthéon Club. They were largely Jacobins, who

WORKERS ABROAD

wished to set up, in the Jacobin manner, other clubs of the same kind in the provinces. Eventually the Equals, as the conspirators called themselves, believed they could count on 17,000 supporters, including 9,500 in the regular forces. It is not clear how far the rank and file were in accord with the whole programme of the leaders, who aimed at the overthrow of the government, the setting up of the 1793 constitution (which had never been established in practice) and communism. The Babouvist ideals may be summarized in a few articles from the *Analysis of Doctrine*, approved by their leader : “ (1) Nature has given every man an equal right to the enjoyment of all goods. (2) The purpose of society is to defend this equality and to increase, by the help of all, the happiness of all. (3) Nature has laid on every man the duty of work. . . . (4) Labour and enjoyment ought to be in common. . . . (7) In a real society there should be neither rich nor poor.” The Equals were convinced that, if they could seize power, a society free from class distinctions could be then and there begun ; but in fact the possibility of any such achievement did not exist. The tradition of small-scale production, the passionate belief of the peasant in the sanctity of his ownership of the soil, and the dislike of further change, which years of political convulsion had produced, all made against the success of any measures to establish social ownership of the means of production. Babeuf and his associates were heralds of a day which was more than a century distant, and martyrs in the cause of a new order which they foresaw but could not found. Their plans having been betrayed, such conspirators as were left at large tried in vain to start an insurrection ; between February and May 25, 1797,

FROM THE GILDS TO THE REVOLUTION

forty-five of the Equals were tried for treason, and three days later Babeuf and Darthé were executed.

Thereafter there could be no question of a rising of the working classes and the poorer bourgeoisie. The attitude of Napoleonic government towards the journeymen may be judged from the fact that their situation in relation to their employers was made less favourable even than under the Chapelier Law. A law of 1803 imposed severe penalties for agreeing to cease work; under the Penal Code (1810) these were lightened, and imposed not only for striking but for inducing men to do so. The Code prohibited associations of masters as well as of men; but it also contained an article according to which an employer's evidence, in a dispute as to the amount of wages paid, was to be accepted upon his word. A measure which might work unfavourably for the employee was the regulation instituting the *livret*, or certificate, *i.e.* a kind of passport containing the worker's name, place and date of birth, and description, with details of the dates when he commenced and finished his terms of employment. The employer could require the book to be left in his charge, and could enter on it all advances or payments to the worker, who recovered the book only when he had finished his period of hiring and was out of debt to his master. Or, if any debt remained, that was indicated in the book, and any other master who took the journeyman into his employment paid off the debt and stopped the amount out of the worker's wages.

CHAPTER II

FROM RESTORATION TO REVOLUTION

THE Bourbons, restored by the Powers after Napoleon's fall, were replaced in 1830 by the bourgeois monarchy of Louis Philippe, who reigned ingloriously until he in turn was dismissed by the revolution of 1848. In getting rid of the clerical and reactionary government of his predecessor, the working classes of Paris had played a necessary part behind their barricades ; but they got little good by it, for, though the franchise qualification was lowered, the electorate still consisted of only about 200,000 people, and the mass of the nation was left without a direct share in government. The revolution of 1830 thus achieved less change (though it was change in the same direction) than the Reform Act of 1832 in England, where also the working classes had little reward for their support ; and as some English working men sought a remedy in chartism, so their French contemporaries sometimes turned to revolutionary republican societies. French bourgeois government, however, was corrupt and far less fertile in reforms than the Whigs and Peel's Tories. But, if the French labour movement met with little success between 1815 and 1848, it added to its experience in agitation, and the period produced programmes and ideas of deep interest.

FROM RESTORATION TO REVOLUTION

Industrial Development and Social Conditions

During this period France, in comparison with Great Britain, made little progress. The removal of gild restrictions during the Revolution might have been expected to free the way for new and improved methods of production, and the heavy protection maintained after 1815 was doubtless considered necessary to encourage French industries. On the other hand, the protectionist policy can hardly have helped the export of French goods, and may have contributed towards keeping backward and relatively inefficient producers in business. It is certainly true that French industry as a whole was only belatedly affected by the technical changes which English industries had undergone in the previous century. Thus, for instance, as late as 1846, about 60 per cent. of French iron smelting was still carried on by means of charcoal, a fuel which English iron masters had begun to abandon more than a hundred years earlier. In 1847 there were in the whole of France only about 5,000 steam-engines, with a total force of 60,000 horse-power, considerably less than the English textile industries had required in 1839. It follows that French establishments as a rule were small; indeed, apart from a few large iron works and mines and some textile mills in Alsace, factory production hardly existed in France in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The workers, therefore, found themselves opposed as a rule not to rich mill-owning capitalists or mining companies, but to employers of much the same sort as those who controlled industry under the old régime. Thus, in the part of Lyons known as Croix Rouse,

WORKERS ABROAD

there were congregated from thirty to forty thousand weavers, employed by some eight to ten thousand "little masters" working to the order of about eight hundred *fabricants* or merchant masters. These ruinously reduced the prices they paid to the master workmen, who were in turn compelled to sweat their journeymen to such an extent that the daily wage, which had been from 4 to 6 francs for 13 hours in the time of Charles X., is said to have fallen to 1 franc for 18 hours in 1831. In October of that year the weavers desired the fixing of a wage which would allow them to live, and after negotiations, assisted by the benevolent prefect of the district, a meeting of twenty-two representatives of the two sides drew up a new list of prices, for the merchant masters themselves, as well as the authorities, admitted that the current prices meant starvation. A hundred or so of the merchant masters, however, with the support of the Ministry of Commerce, repudiated the agreement. Some are even reputed to have said of the weavers, "If they have no bread in their bellies we shall fill them with bayonets." In desperation the weavers demonstrated on December 21st, and when the National Guard failed to disperse the crowds, the governing officials left the city, only to return at the head of sufficient troops to crush what the government regarded as an anarchic outbreak of brigandage. "The workers," said Casimir Périer, the Minister, "must realize that there is no cure but patience and resignation." There was further trouble in 1834; the law against combinations was made more severe, and the enraged weavers, this time with the help of the republicans, were in revolt for five days, during which the government used 15,000 troops and, it is believed, 1,200 persons were killed.

FROM RESTORATION TO REVOLUTION

In marked contrast with the old-fashioned organization of the Lyons silk industry was that of the cotton manufacture, especially in Alsace, the one part of France in which an "industrial revolution" occurred during this period. The spinning jenny and the fly-shuttle were introduced in this region during the first five years of the century, and steam power was applied to spinning in 1812; the power loom, after 1823, was adopted more quickly than in any other part of the Continent, and perhaps spread as quickly as it did in Lancashire. Factory production, especially in the region of Mulhouse, was accompanied by much the same evils as those widespread in England before the age of factory reform. Hours were too long, wages too low, and the labour of women and children too much used. These last-lived, not infrequently, at some distance from the mills, and could be seen arriving early in the morning, "the women pale and thin, walking barefoot through the mud, the children dirty, emaciated, ragged, and carrying in their hands the crust on which they were to subsist." Enlightened employers were anxious for reform; but the first French Factory Act, of 1841, was valueless and in the main inoperative. In other textile regions, though industrial changes may have been less rapid, conditions were often bad. At Rouen, according to one authority, with steady work, ordinary wages, and a low price for bread, a worker and his wife could live in some comfort, and even save a little; with one child saving was difficult, and with two or three impossible. The worst conditions were perhaps to be found in Lille, where, according to one writer in 1834, out of 70,000 inhabitants, 22,000 were poor, and in the department one-sixth of the population, or 163,000 persons, were on the registers

WORKERS ABROAD

of charitable foundations. The St. Sauveur district of Lille, according to Adolphe Blanqui, writing in 1849, consisted of "a series of islets, separated by narrow dark alleys ending in little courts (*courettes*), serving at one and the same time as drains and depositories of refuse. . . . The windows of the houses and the doors of the cellars open on these pestilential passages. . . . As one penetrates this ring of *courettes* a strange population of children, etiolated, hunchbacked, deformed . . . presses round, asking alms. Most of these wretches are nearly naked and the better-off clothed in rags. But they at least breathe in the open air, and it is only in the depths of the cellars that one can judge of the suffering of those whom age or bad weather keeps indoors. . . . The abyss in which they exist is entirely bare of furniture ; only to the most fortunate is it given to possess a flemish stove, a wooden chair, and a few utensils. . . . More than 3,000 of our fellow citizens live in this horrible condition in the cellars of Lille."

Trade Unionism

It is thus clear that *laissez-faire* produced much the same sort of result on both sides of the Channel ; but, bearing in mind the speedier growth of large towns and the more rapid industrial changes, it may be concluded that England suffered more than France, whose town and industrial population was smaller in proportion. On the other hand, the level of real wages was perhaps higher in England, where legislative reform of industrial conditions was certainly more far-reaching and effective. English trade unionism, also, was more widespread and, after the legislation of 1824-25, not so subject to legal

FROM RESTORATION TO REVOLUTION

repression. Industrial concentration was no doubt bound to give rise, sooner or later in France as well, to a type of workers' organization more suited to new conditions, but under the Bourbons and Louis Philippe there were few signs of trade unionism in the larger-scale industries. One reason for that was the state of the law, which made combination of workers a criminal offence; another, probably, was the large amount of unskilled male labour and female and child labour employed. Such workers are in any event difficult to organize, and their need at this time was so desperate that they were probably in no position to bargain about wages and hours. The *compagnonnages* continued, as in the previous century, to resist the employers, but they were still exclusive in spirit and, after 1830, were weakened by further divisions.

Meanwhile, severe as the law was against combinations of workmen and, in theory, of masters, one form of association, the mutual provident or benefit society, was not only permitted but given some encouragement. Such societies were founded in great numbers; in 1840 there were more than 200 of them in Paris and 82 in Lyons. Not a few of them drew their membership from the same trade, and were thus capable of acting, at times, as trade unions, by paying unemployment benefit during a trade dispute. After 1830 there was a good deal of activity in the formation not only of such societies but also of trade unions of the ordinary kind. Workers' journals also made their appearance. Strikes were frequent, and though these were usually confined to one trade, there were traces in Paris, as early as 1833, of an understanding between several different trades for mutual support. The strikes, however, were not very successful, and the new developments suffered a setback

WORKERS ABROAD

in consequence of the anti-combination law of 1834. Many trade unions either were dissolved or became friendly societies, with little power to influence a trade dispute. After 1840, however, activity revived, in much the same directions as before ; but in addition there was a new development, inspired by Buchez, of co-operative production, whereby small groups of skilled workmen managed their own workshops for their own benefit. The co-operative movement seems, however, to have been confined to a few districts, notably Paris and Lyons, and though many societies were formed in 1848 few of them survived for long. Meanwhile the workers were taking an increasing interest in politics, at least in the larger towns, and were demanding reforms such as a shorter working day and freedom of association. There was nothing in the nature of an organized labour movement, a fact easy enough to understand when it is remembered that most Frenchmen had no votes. Moreover, active though it was at times, the trade union movement included only a small minority of the workers. When the revolution came in 1848, the working classes had neither the organization nor the training which was necessary in order to seize the chance then offered for the realization of their hopes.

Economic and Social Theory

After the French Revolution, as during it, the outlook of governments and the governing classes was essentially individualist. The possessors of large capitals, whether engaged in commerce or in domestic or factory industry, commonly and naturally prefer to be as free as possible from outside interference ; and it is easy to erect this

FROM RESTORATION TO REVOLUTION

preference into a principle, and to assume that the interest of the capitalist coincides with that of society in general, that is to say, that cheapness and efficiency are secured by the absence of privilege and by free competition between individuals. Frenchmen were thus prepared to accept in part the ideas made current in England by Adam Smith and presented shortly and systematically in French by J. B. Say. With regard to imports, indeed, French manufacturers could see no advantage in competition, and demanded and obtained stiff protective duties. What they did not desire, with a few exceptions, was state interference to protect their employees. Orthodox theory was, nevertheless, not allowed to pass unchallenged. Sismondi, impressed with the recurrent crises of his period, attacked the belief in competition in his *New Principles of Political Economy* (1819), and repeatedly stressed, what optimists tended to ignore, the conflict of interest between employers and employed and the existence of exploitation amounting to a grave social evil. Since he did not deny the rightness of rent and interest in themselves, he cannot be called a socialist in the strict sense of the word; the remedy he suggested was not state ownership and control of the means of production, but the extension of peasant proprietorship and the disintegrating of industrial capitalism into small-scale production by independent masters. On the other hand, another critic, the Comte de St. Simon, enthusiastically welcomed large-scale industry, and envisaged a France organized like a vast well-conducted factory, in which everybody would be rewarded according to his capacity. Class distinctions would decline and politics would vanish, questions of production and administration being solved by a mixture of technocracy

WORKERS ABROAD

and business government. He taught the necessity of modifying the institution of private property, so that wealth could be used to increase and not to hinder production ; but he was no socialist, for he believed that the capitalist had as good a right to reward as the worker ; nor, though anxious to improve labour conditions, was he a democrat, for he believed that "the problem of social organization must be solved for the people. The people themselves are passive and listless, and must be discounted in any consideration of the question. The best way is to entrust public administration to the care of the industrial chiefs."

The disciples of St. Simon, who formed themselves into a society organized in accord with his principles, carried his logic further. Though prepared to allow the capitalist what would now be called "earnings of management," they denied the right of any one to be paid simply for owning land or capital, and were opposed to the hereditary transmission of land and capital. The control of property, they held, should be decided by reason and competence, and not by the accident of birth. They argued for state ownership of capital, that is, for socialism, but a socialism without equality, for the central fund of capital was to be "employed by associations of persons hierarchically arranged, so that each one's task shall be an expression of his capacity, and his wealth a measure of his labour." That is, presumably, men would be unequal in wealth and power because they are unequal in capacity. Such an organization would demand subjection and obedience in all, and specially in the workers ; and to ensure this the spread of a new religion or morality was considered necessary. That the workers could be brought to accept

FROM RESTORATION TO REVOLUTION

such a religion and an economic order in which there is no place at all for a workers' movement was extremely unlikely, though Hitler's Germany shows that such a development is not in itself impossible. The conditions for any such triumph were, however, absent in France. Meanwhile, property owners would be averse from a collectivism which, even if it offered them power, might deny them interest; and the workers, not unnaturally, might well prefer to look after their own interests, so far as they could, for themselves.

While the St. Simonians put their trust in well-administered industrialism, their contemporary, Charles Fourier, saw a vision of a new co-operative way of living. Though regarding their attack on property as monstrous he was aware of the conflict of economic interests, and sought to resolve it not by dispossessing the wealthy but by making every man a proprietor. His ideal community, or *phalanstère*, has been happily described by M. Gide as a co-operative hotel, with some 1,500 residents, all able to live cheaper and better than they would with each family doing its own cooking and washing, and all benefiting socially by contact with people of different interests and associations. This community of consumers was also to produce co-operatively all, or nearly all, it needed by working an estate of some 400 acres attached to the *phalanstère*. The whole group would be organized like a joint-stock company, and the produce was to be divided according to a formula— one-third to capital; five-twelfths to labour; and one-quarter to the management, which would be elected by the workers as a whole. As such groups were established the drift of the population to the large towns would cease; the proletariat would disappear, and there would

WORKERS ABROAD

arise instead of it a population of contented proprietors living in spacious garden communities.

Fourier's scheme, though Utopian, was consistent with some kind of capitalism ; indeed he was prepared to give capital a greater reward than it can ordinarily obtain. His ideal community is thus very different from that of which Étienne Cabet dreamed and which he sought to establish in America, where he died. His *Voyage to Icaria* (1848) pictures a completely communist society, with planned production and all possible use of machines. The produce of agriculture and industry is deposited in great stores, from which all citizens are supplied according to their needs. It would be possible, he thought, to make the transition to this ideal arrangement without force, by means of laws to fix wages and to lay increasing, and in the end expropriatory, taxes upon the rich. In Icaria none of the wealth would be wasted on war and armaments, and the way to Icaria was not by revolution but by persuasion and appeal to the natural goodness of men. That might take time, and if ten years would not suffice there was nothing to do but try for a century, if necessary.

The writings so far noticed had less direct effect upon the march of events in their time than two others, the *Organization of Labour* (1839, 1841), by Louis Blanc, and *What is Property ?* (1840), by Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. Both authors were to be active in 1848 ; and Louis Blanc was to play an important, if unavailing, part in the revolutionary struggle of that year. Proudhon's question was by no means new ; there were various answers to it ; but he scared the bourgeois by replying in three words that property is theft. By that he meant that property had been divorced from labour and

FROM RESTORATION TO REVOLUTION

wedded to privilege. Its possession by the few, who did not work, was possible only through the dispossession of the many, who did ; the incomes of landlord and capitalist, in short, were simply a toll, which society wrongly allowed them to levy, on the exertions of others. Proudhon's explanation of how the capitalist managed to do that is ingenious, even if it cannot be proved, and, it may be noted, was adopted by his bitter opponent, Karl Marx. In effect it is that the capitalist hires his workmen as separate individuals, and pays each as though he were producing in isolation ; but he gets out of them the much greater value produced by their labour in combination, though he pays nothing for that advantage. On these grounds Proudhon might have been counted a socialist had he not in other works declared himself opposed to socialism. Eager to abolish a system in which idle property-owners drew revenue, he wished, like the Englishman Thomas Hodgkin, to found a property right securely on labour. This right, moreover, ought to be exercised in full freedom ; even trade unions were dangerous, for "when you speak of organizing labour it seems as if you would put out the eyes of liberty." For the same reason he was opposed to the increase in the power and centralization of government which state socialism implies. Instead, he believed in a federal constitution, under which freely organized bodies would have the maximum power to manage their own affairs in their own way. To secure economic justice and to increase production, he held it necessary so to alter the banking system that credit would be readily available for all producers at little or no cost ; but his plans for working that miracle were inadequate, and the People's Bank, which he founded in 1849, was

WORKERS ABROAD

ill-supported, and had to be closed when he was imprisoned for criticizing Louis Napoleon.

Louis Blanc's very popular *Organization of Labour* was largely devoted to exposing the evil results of competition, which he regarded as the cause of low wages, intolerable conditions, and recurrent crises of production and unemployment, and as ruinous to both workers and the bourgeoisie. This species of civil war, tending inevitably to revolution, could, he argued, be gradually eliminated by organizing industry upon a basis of association, with the backing of the state in the initial phases. Insurance, banking, the railways, and certain commercial functions should be managed by the state, but he would allow considerable scope, in a period of transition, for private enterprise. His idea was that the funds and authority of the state should be used to found social workshops or factories (*ateliers sociaux*), which would be carried on very much like other factories, except that the management would be differently appointed and the product differently divided. At first the state would nominate the management, but later, when they had more experience, the workers would appoint their own. Out of the product of the workshop provision would be made for widows and orphans, sickness, new plant and the like, repayment of borrowed capital, and payment of interest. The remainder would be available for distribution to managers and workers, the latter all being paid the same rate of wages. To begin with, the social workshops would exist alongside others of the ordinary kind, but, being presumably better managed and served, they would increase at the expense of private enterprises, which would, in time, be transformed and become social in organization.

FROM RESTORATION TO REVOLUTION

To socialists of a different school, and to orthodox economists, Proudhon's attempt to preserve capital while divesting it of its essential characteristic, its capacity to draw interest, seemed like weaving ropes of sand. As for Louis Blanc, it was utterly unlikely that the government of a thoroughly individualist state would use its resources to start a movement which aimed at substituting social for private enterprise. Defective as both authors might appear, however, from the point of view of Marx and his followers, they did much to rouse the workers for the first great battle with their opponents, in 1848. "Property is theft" resounded like a challenge to the old oppressive system: the right to work expressed the principle on which a new order was to be based, and the organization of labour epitomized the means of its realization.

The Revolution of 1848

The fall of Louis Philippe was partly the result of reviving Bonapartist sentiment, and of middle-class dissatisfaction with a too narrow franchise, corruption in the legislature, and a foreign policy at once treacherous and unsuccessful. The working classes, without whose action the government might have survived, loathed it for its brutal repression of workers in Lyons and elsewhere, much as English working men hated the Whigs for their savagery in the winter of 1830-31 and at the trial of the Tolpuddle labourers. In part the French workers may have been moved by republican feeling, but in the main they sought a remedy for the economic evils which had been intensified in the years immediately preceding 1848. In 1845 and 1846, as in England and

WORKERS ABROAD

Ireland, long continued rain had gone far to ruin the harvests. Meanwhile, after a speculative boom in railways in 1842, capital for investment was scarce and credit dear. The Bank of France, finding its reserves dwindling, raised the discount rate early in 1846, and had to borrow 25,000,000 francs in England. France was inevitably affected by the severe crisis of 1847 in England; bankruptcies multiplied and depression reigned; begging increased and, towards the end of 1847, food riots were frequent, so that troops had sometimes to be used to protect wheat in transit. Upon the occasion of a prohibited reform banquet on February 22, 1848, large crowds came into conflict with the municipal guard; and on the following day the National Guard, largely recruited from the bourgeoisie, declared for reform. A pistol shot killed the officer commanding troops in front of the Foreign Office, and they opened fire with fatal effect. The corpses of the slain were carried in procession, amid intense excitement, on the 24th. On the 26th the Republic was proclaimed; and the provisional government included Louis Blanc and Albert, "workman," though they seem to have been added after its formation, and were not intended, at first, to rank as equal with the other members. Thus, from the beginning, there appears to have been some degree of division between the politicians, intent only on constitutional changes, and the leaders of the working classes, who had other and more far-reaching aims. The provisional government, not daring to ignore their demands, made a show of meeting them in two ways, by setting up the Luxembourg Commission and by establishing the National Workshops.

The Luxembourg Commission, established in answer

FROM RESTORATION TO REVOLUTION

to a popular demonstration on February 28th, was a sort of permanent conference in the Luxembourg Palace, with Louis Blanc and Albert as president and vice-president, to study the condition of the workers. When its organization had been completed it consisted of representatives both of workmen and of employers, with committees for joint discussions. The joint sessions were successful in settling several trade disputes. As early as March 2nd decrees were issued by the provisional government embodying decisions of the Luxembourg Commission: one abolished sub-contracting, and another reduced the working day to ten hours in Paris and eleven in the country. The Commission undoubtedly gave an impetus to co-operative production; 2,000 tailors were set at work in a disused prison making uniforms, the organization being based on Louis Blanc's principles. Scores of such societies were started, but few of them are said to have been existing ten years later. The Commission discussed other projects, such as labour exchanges, a national insurance scheme and land settlement, but its deliberations were in the main fruitless, and were probably intended to keep Louis Blanc occupied in debates and out of power. It is significant that the National Workshops were not placed in the Commission's charge. Co-operation with the employers did not last long, and the Commission turned part of its attention to electioneering, with unfortunate results. Louis Blanc and Albert resigned, and the Commission did not meet after May 13th, though some workers who had been members of it played a part in the agitation which brought about the final struggle in June.

The National Workshops were set up by a decree of February 27th to fulfil the government promise "to

WORKERS ABROAD

guarantee the existence of the workmen by means of labour"; but they belied their name, for, though they were national in the sense of being a drain on the nation's funds, they were not workshops in any sense at all, being in fact relief works of much the same kind as those organized in previous times of depression as far back as the eighteenth century. Vast numbers of men had to be taken on, 14,000 being on the pay roll on March 15th, and over 117,000 three months later. It was not possible to employ such large numbers, and those for whom work could be found were mainly set to navvying. Since it failed to provide the promised work, the government had to do the next best thing and provide maintenance; thus the men drew 2 francs a day when navvying and 1.50 francs, later reduced to 1 franc, when idle. The cost has been calculated at about 14,488,000 francs, say, £600,000 all told, and for that there was very little to show. The government does not seem ever to have contemplated a large scheme of public works, and regarded the National Workshops as a temporary measure which could be ended when the government felt itself strong enough to do so. There is even room to believe that, far from accepting the revolutionary claim to the "right to work," the government intended to use the National Workshops to discredit Louis Blanc's ideas and to circumvent its working-class allies in the Revolution.

Early in March the direction of the whole enterprise was handed over to Emile Thomas, a young, but capable, organizer, who had impressed the authorities with his plan for remedying the confusion into which the National Workshops had already fallen. Even he was unable to employ effectively more than a minority of his men,

FROM RESTORATION TO REVOLUTION

and his contribution was almost entirely administrative. The whole body was organized in military fashion under officers mainly recruited from his old school, the Central School of Arts and Manufactures. A kind of parliament was also set up, consisting of about 400 workers' delegates together with the Central School officers, meeting twice a week. Its business was said to be "the interests of the unemployed worker," and it was to have no concern with politics; its first meeting occurred, perhaps a day too late, on April 2nd. Ten days earlier the Minister of Public Works had told Thomas not to worry about the numbers of his men: "Spare no money; if necessary it will be provided for you from the secret funds. . . . Perhaps the day is not far distant when we shall have to summon them into the street." Meanwhile, the men were encouraged to join the National Guard, and it is thought that by April nearly 40,000 had done so.

Without following the events of the spring and summer in detail, it will be enough to note that the tide of revolution was ebbing in May. Before the end of that month the general election had shown that while the country as a whole was tired of the government of Louis Philippe, the desire for marked social changes was confined to Paris and the larger towns. In the Assembly, when it met, the labour representation was small and impotent, consisting of some eighteen workmen and half a dozen foremen, as compared with 99 army officers, 52 doctors, 53 men of commerce, 65 industrialists, 160 landed proprietors and 325 lawyers. The outstanding problem of the next five weeks was the future of the National Workshops. The danger of abolishing, rapidly and without other provision, an institution which was all that stood between 100,000 men, or more, and the

WORKERS ABROAD

starvation of themselves and their families, was evident ; nevertheless, the continuance of the workshops was costly and contrary to bourgeois ideas about the function of the state. Moreover, since Thomas had not been able to keep all his men out of a radical demonstration on May 15th, they could not be regarded as a reliable organ of defence. On May 17th further enrolments were forbidden, and on the 24th instructions for the reduction of numbers were sent. Two days later, Thomas, who protested against the instructions as too drastic, was practically kidnapped and removed from the command. In the Assembly speedy action was being demanded by the Vicomte de Falloux, whose aristocratic lineage stretched as far back into the mists of antiquity as 1823, when his grandfather, a cattle dealer, had been ennobled.

In June there was an increase in meetings and disorder in the streets, despite prohibitions and severe laws passed by the government. As their fate became clearer, the National Workshops drew closer to the active delegates of the Luxembourg, and joint demonstrations were planned. Falloux and his committee, on June 23rd, drafted a resolution to wind up the National Workshops in three days ; but early that morning the first barricade was up, with the flag of a National Workshops detachment floating above it, and by noon the eastern, or working-class, end of Paris had made preparations for armed conflict. Once the fighting started the grievances of the National Workshops men played less part ; the government kept on paying all through the insurrection, and, out of 100,000 men or more, it is believed that only some 20,000 at most took part in it. The fighting could have but one issue, for the insurgents, though possessed of high courage, had poor weapons and were

FROM RESTORATION TO REVOLUTION

not led by any prominent socialist. Against them the government used regular infantry, cavalry and artillery, as well as the National Guard and the *Garde Mobile*, a force of about 15,000 mainly recruited, according to Marx, from the lowest ranks of society, provided with uniforms, accommodated in barracks, and weaned from its working-class sympathies during its training.

The government placed all executive power in the hands of the African veteran, General Cavaignac, who, seconded by General Lamoricière and numerous other high army officers, brought the heroic resistance to an end by June 26th. Two days previously he had issued a proclamation declaring that "Bread is ensured for all"; it may have been sincere, but it was certainly too late; had it been made earlier, the casualties, which have been put at 16,000, might have been spared, and 14,000 prisoners would not have had to suffer incarceration, torture and typhus. On July 3rd, when there was presumably no need to guarantee bread for all, Cavaignac was able to proclaim the dissolution of the National Workshops. He remained powerful until the election of the President of the Republic in December 1848. In the previous month a new constitution was promulgated: it preserved adult male suffrage, and contained two inexpensive declarations of benevolence towards the working classes; but it did not recognize the right to work.

A large share of the responsibility for the unhappy events of 1848 was laid, then and later, on the shoulders of Louis Blanc. But the National Workshops were directed not by him but by his opponents; they were not based on his principles, and they were not intended to be permanent or successful in his sense. Louis Blanc

WORKERS ABROAD

had as much moral responsibility for them as Wordsworth had for Mr. Chesterton's sonnet on Stilton. It is indeed true that "the right to work" and the "organization of labour" became the battle cries of the insurgents, but battle cries are not the causes of revolution, for they have no meaning apart from the conditions which bring desperate men to utter them. The real causes of insurrection were not words and men but the grim facts of unemployment and hunger. Inevitably, if unfairly, the National Workshops were regarded by the bourgeoisie as proving the worthlessness of Louis Blanc's ideas; and the June days naturally went far to damn socialism. The result was not only that the Paris unemployed lost the workshops, but that the whole country lost the shorter working day which the Luxembourg Commission had obtained. The Revolution decreased political liberty and ruined the Second Republic; for it left conditions in which Louis Napoleon was able to set up a dictatorship. On the other hand, adult male suffrage remained, survived the dictatorship, lives in the Third Republic, and has been the means of getting better conditions for the workers. The insurrection of 1848, though it failed, was an inspiration and a warning. In principle, it was no more and no less a conflict of classes than the disturbances in Lyons, but it was the more impressive because it happened in the course of a political revolution and in the capital of France, in one sense the centre of Europe. There workers had died for a cause of their own and not merely, as so often in the past, in the interests of their betters; but the June days also made it plain that, against a government supported by trained troops and modern equipment, poor arms and the barricades offered little hope of success.

CHAPTER III

EAST AND WEST OF THE RHINE

Germany before 1850

AT the beginning of the nineteenth century Germany, for a variety of reasons, was backward in comparison with France and almost primitive in comparison with Great Britain. Feudalism still existed and, in eastern Germany, predominated. Towns of any size were rare ; indeed, as late as 1870 there were only eight with more than 100,000 inhabitants. It follows that the mass of the population, 73 per cent. in Prussia and perhaps 80 per cent. in Germany as a whole, was rural. Industries were scattered, and generally small in scale and backward. A few large ironworks existed, such as those at Essen, Oberhausen and Sterkerade, but even in some of these the workers were not completely industrialized, and elsewhere, as in the cutlery and other trades of Siegerland, both miners and iron makers worked for part of their time on the land. So also did many of the people engaged in the textile trades. Cotton and silk were to some extent concentrated in the region of Elberfeld and Barmen, but even there weaving was almost entirely a domestic industry. In general, the industries of Germany were still in bondage to the forest and the stream. Only after 1835 did they show many signs of increasing scale ;

WORKERS ABROAD

and the real industrial awakening of Germany came in the second half of the nineteenth century, especially after the Franco-German War. Meanwhile the condition of the workers left much to be desired. Country artisans and textile workers and those living in small towns did not live among horrors such as those which encompassed their contemporaries in Manchester and Merthyr Tydfil, but their wages were very low, and the beginnings of factory production brought dislocation and suffering. In 1844, when the power loom was transforming the textile industry of Silesia, the wretched weavers rose in revolt and wrecked machines and mills, until reduced to order by military force. Widespread poverty is indicated by the fact that in Prussia, whose population must have suffered far less from industrial diseases than that of England, the general death-rate was considerably higher, being 1 in 38.85 as compared with 1 in 47.86 in this country.

Germany was also backward politically and socially. It consisted of a loose federation of states under the presidency of reactionary Austria, and for the most part despotically governed. The future leader of Germany, Prussia, early in the century began two important movements—the freeing of the peasants and the Zollverein, or customs union. The former was a slow process, whereby the formerly dependent peasants acquired personally free status and possession of their lands, generally by sacrificing considerable portions of them to their lords. They also acquired such freedom of movement as their pockets would allow, and, with the building of railways, began to crowd into factories and towns. Prussia also took steps towards freeing industry from guild restrictions; but other states followed only slowly, so that neither the

EAST AND WEST OF THE RHINE

remains of serfdom nor the gilds had vanished by 1848. The customs union, begun as an administrative improvement in collection at the Prussian frontiers, came to include the neighbouring states and, eventually, all Germany.

All these changes were modern in spirit and necessary to the development of a capitalist order. That order was, it should be noted, less free and, politically speaking, less liberal in its development than in England. The tradition and practice of state control and ownership always remained stronger in Germany; and liberalism was less powerful, because it had to be accommodated to a kind of nationalism which did not trouble English politics. Centuries of disunion, long and insecure land frontiers, the deep humiliation of Germany by Napoleon, and the backwardness of the country, all contributed towards making Germans desirous of unity and military strength. At first, since the opponents of unity and parliamentary government were the reactionary princes, liberalism and nationalism might go hand in hand, but the liberal movement failed in 1849, while nationalism triumphed in 1871 under the unscrupulous and dictatorial leadership of Bismarck. The German middle classes thus had to fight for a status and influence that the English bourgeoisie had long possessed, and until the irresponsible rule of the German princes had been broken the preliminary conditions for a working-class movement could hardly exist. Such conditions were brought nearer by the revolutionary disturbances which broke out in Germany in 1830 and, more effectively, in 1848. In the events of that memorable year the German working classes played comparatively little part; but the establishment of constitutions in several states cleared the way

WORKERS ABROAD

for later agitation, and in Berlin, where the troops fired on demonstrators, the strongest monarchy in Germany had to bow to the storm, and the voice of the working class was at least raised. A Prussian minister was told by the thousands assembled outside his doors that they were free working men, demanding not charity but work ; and the municipal authorities had begun to provide it.

Social Theory in Germany

Behind the manifold imperfections of the German princedoms it was possible for Hegel to see the vision of the state as a transcendent being, with a supreme reason and will of its own, the guardian and expression of social morality, and representing in its development "the march of God upon earth." As such it was above the criticism of the vulgar and even of philosophers ; for philosophy itself was only to be employed in the service of the state. Whether true or nonsensical, his teaching was convenient in Prussia ; he could find a reason even in the unreason of war, for "war is not to be regarded as an absolute evil. . . . Just as the movement of the ocean prevents the corruption which would be the result of perpetual calm, so by war people escape the corruption which would be occasioned by a continuous or eternal peace." His apparently reactionary doctrine could be interpreted in a liberal sense by philosophers, who separated from it what they did not regard as essential to it ; indeed it could be held that his teaching was profoundly revolutionary, and Karl Marx, who was deeply influenced by it, so modified it as to make what was apparently consistent with the drill-sergeant au-

EAST AND WEST OF THE RHINE

ocracy of Prussia into the dogma of triumphant communism under Lenin. There is much more clarity, and far less idealization of the state, in the writing of Friedrich List, but there is strong emphasis on the nation, "a society which . . . combines itself into one independent whole ; which recognizes the law of right for and within itself ; and in its united character is still opposed to other societies of a similar kind in their national liberty."

This nationalism, which in List took the form of pan-Germanism, was ominous for neighbouring nations, and largely oblivious of any conflict of interest between employers and employed within the same state. Not so the work of Johann Heinrich von Thuenen (*The Self-contained State*), a benevolent landlord and economist of distinction, who "saw in the coming centuries another frightful struggle begin, which required for its completion perhaps five hundred years of ruin and misery . . . the struggle between the educated middle class and the common people, or, more properly, between the capitalist and the artisan." Von Thuenen deplored and denied the view that the natural wages of labour amount to no more than subsistence, but the famous formula in which he stated what wages might be is doubtless more simple than true.

At the opposite pole from von Thuenen's scientific formula are the passionate outpourings of Wilhelm Weitling, the wandering tailor who served the cause of labour in Germany, Austria, France, and the United States, where he died. His suggestions for a better order, based on the ideas of Fourier and Cabet, are vague ; he was fundamentally the gosseller and not the thinker. Communism for him was "the common right

WORKERS ABROAD

of society to be able to live without care in uninterrupted prosperity"; and his exposition of it is full of fervent, if anti-clerical, Christian piety. His teaching, which brought about his expulsion from one country after another, had little influence either on Christians or on communists; the former were not misled by his many scriptural citations into forgetting that he was attacking the most sacred of the Commandments, the eighth, and the latter thought it necessary to find other foundations for their beliefs. These foundations were provided, for the generation that came after 1848, in the works of two German authors far removed from Weitling's simple faith, namely Johann Karl Rodbertus (1805-75) and Karl Marx (1818-89); the one may be regarded as the founder of conservative, and the other of revolutionary, socialism.

As others had done before him, Rodbertus analysed capital, in the ordinary sense, out of existence, and based production on past and present labour—capital being the embodiment of labour already carried out. The revenue of landlord and capitalist was a toll levied on the product of others, and was not to be explained as the reward of service. Moreover, in modern society these revenues were continuously increasing, owing to the increasing productivity of labour; but the workers' share in their own product was declining relatively, for wages remained on the 'fodder basis. The problem therefore, at its simplest, might be stated as (a) how to modify or abolish private ownership of land and capital, and (b) how to secure for the workers a greater, and an increasing, share in the produce of their labour. In the end capitalism would give place to socialism, but only slowly and as society became fit for it. Labour was as yet too avid of

EAST AND WEST OF THE RHINE

gross material satisfactions, and the public spirit of other classes too little developed ; socialism, in short, was to be reached by evolution, not by catastrophic revolution. In the meanwhile, by well-directed taxation the state should prevent the increase of rent and interest ; state employment and insurance schemes should be used to protect labour and prevent its degradation ; lastly, the wage of labour should be fixed by the state and not be determined by the power of the capitalist and the higgling of the market. For this purpose the state would determine a normal working day in each trade and the average output possible in that time with reasonable diligence. The worker, irrespective of the number of hours he worked, would be paid in terms of that unit (*Werkarbeitstag*) ; the whole output of the nation would also be valued in it, and the state would determine the proportions of the output to be distributed in wages, rent and profit. Rodbertus suggested 10 per cent. for the state, and 30 per cent. each for land, capital and labour ; a non-metallic currency, in units of labour hours, would be issued, and in this currency commodities would be priced and labour paid. The working classes would thus get a fixed, instead of a declining, share of the national wealth, but they would not get the whole product of their labour.

Wide as the division was between them, Rodbertus and Marx had certain beliefs in common. Both regarded capital as part of the product of labour which had not been distributed to its makers ; both considered capitalism as a historical phase on the way to socialism ; and both believed that the relative reward of labour, being merely equal to subsistence, was declining while that of landlord and capitalist was increasing. Marx differed

WORKERS ABROAD

from Rodbertus in holding that no benevolent schemes could make capitalism safe or tolerable, and that by its own nature it bred its own ruin. Like Rodbertus, he inherited from "orthodox" economists a belief that the exchange value of commodities was in proportion to the labour required to make them; but he qualified this by saying that only "socially necessary" labour counted, and that, in this connection, he meant labour in general or labour in the abstract; that is to say, he assumed the possibility of some unit in terms of which the different labours of navvies, bricklayers and clerks could be measured. The logical weakness of this doctrine has been repeatedly exposed; but what matters more is that the doctrine, whether true or false, is of little or no use as an explanation of prices, and has therefore little interest for economists. In any event, this dead doctrine is far less important than other parts of Marx's teaching, on which his influence chiefly depends.

Among them is his explanation of "surplus value," which others, including Rodbertus, had already given, but not so elaborately or emphatically. An essentially capitalist condition, Marx explains, comes into existence only when the worker has been deprived of land or other means of independence, and has, consequently, nothing with which to get his daily bread but his bodily force and skill. These, in a state of political, but unreal, freedom, he sells to the capitalist, who, being the stronger party in an unequal bargain, gets them cheaply, and is able to dictate the conditions in which they shall be applied. Moreover, he gets a unique commodity, the only one which has the property of being able to produce more than it costs to maintain. The difference between the price paid for labour power and the value which

EAST AND WEST OF THE RHINE

labour power produces is the capitalist's gain, out of which all rent and profit come. The capitalist pays only enough to maintain the labourer, whose maintenance can be produced in a fraction of the time for which he is employed ; moreover, by extending the working day, or reducing the time taken to provide the labourer's sustenance, or both, the capitalist increases the surplus. This explanation raises a difficulty which Marx candidly recognized but which, in the opinion of economists in general, he never succeeded in solving. If, as Marx insists, human labour alone can give rise to surplus value, and machinery cannot be sweated, it would appear prudent for a capitalist to use more and more of his capital in hiring human labour and less and less in installing machines ; but in fact capitalists have found it more profitable to distribute their capital in exactly the opposite way.

That Marx may have got hopelessly entangled in the "great contradiction" is perhaps of little moment. The fact of exploitation, however it be explained, he proved again and again from the irrefutable records of the most capitalist country in the world. The ordinary workman, it is true, did not need Marx's *Capital* to convince him of what his everyday experience made painfully obvious. That the trick was worked he knew well enough ; the explanation of how it was worked he might be content to accept on the authority of Dr. Marx and his large, difficult volumes, without reading them ; for Marx differed from most philosophers in seeing that there was a trick, not as an occasional abuse but as a constant characteristic of the economic system. The works of capitalism, in short, were the basis of faith in socialism.

WORKERS ABROAD

It was the aim of Marx to provide not only an explanation of capitalism as it was, but a key to the history of civilization and a guide to its futurity. Hegel's "march of God upon earth" became for him a process of conflict and development with its essence in economic change, of which cultural, religious and philosophic changes were but by-products. Thus, speaking broadly, feudalism was overthrown by a bourgeoisie, which made a new religion, philosophy and politics for itself out of its own needs; and this bourgeoisie would in turn be overthrown by a proletariat, which also, of necessity, would destroy the ethical and intellectual standards by which the bourgeoisie justified its own dominance. Inevitably, the development of capitalism concentrates vast possessions and power in the hands of a few, while the lower ranks of the bourgeoisie are forced, by competition, crises and bankruptcy, into the swelling mass of the proletariat. Finally, when this mass, more and more concentrated, becomes fully conscious of its interests and solidarity, "the knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated."

The Second Empire and the Workers

The election of Louis Napoleon as President of the Republic, then for a ten-year term, and lastly as Emperor, were successive steps in a process of counter-revolution by plebiscite, which involved not only the collapse of socialism but the overthrow of bourgeois radicalism. The old powers returned to play behind a new façade the same parts as under Louis Philippe. The richer bourgeoisie were the real rulers of France; their allies,

EAST AND WEST OF THE RHINE

the royalists, held command in the army, and their agents, the priests, were given authority in the schools. Outwardly, the régime expressed itself in magnificence ; the tortuous and narrow alleys of former times were obliterated by Haussmann's splendid avenues, admirable for counter-revolutionary artillery to fire along and hopeless for revolutionary barricades to defend. But behind the splendour there was little capacity or strength, and the vast strumpet sham of the Second Empire collapsed like a house of cards in 1870 when attacked by the one effective reactionary power in western Europe. The Empire did indeed disguise its reactionary intent with a veneer of reforming promise ; the Emperor himself had written on " The Abolition of Pauperism," and had grandiose schemes of agricultural colonies under military discipline to till the waste areas of France. The St. Simonians, having given up their fundamental criticism of the capitalist order, rallied to the Empire and asked for popular education, public works and the provision of easy credit. Encouragement of industry by that means was the declared object of the *Crédit Mobilier*, which went bankrupt, perhaps because it was too far in advance of the times and attempted to do too much ; but a contemporary, aware of its operations on the stock exchange, called it the greatest gambling house in history, and the shrewd judgment of Bagehot perceived in it a gang of court favourites with predatory aims inconsistent with the public interest and sound industrial development.

Hostile as it was to effective trade unionism, the Empire encouraged thrift and made advances amounting to several million francs to provident societies, of which three thousand are said to have existed in 1855. Its

WORKERS ABROAD

expenditure on public works stimulated employment, and it gave some help in improving housing. In 1853, moreover, it redressed an old wrong by passing a law to enable an ordinary workman to serve in the industrial court of the *prud'hommes*; and in the following year it removed another by giving the workman the custody of his own *livret*. On the other hand, it did little or nothing in its early years to improve the appalling factory conditions, and it did less for the education of the masses than even the government of Louis Philippe; in Paris, where arrangements were most effective, 13 per cent. of the workmen could neither read nor write. In such circumstances it is little wonder that the mass of working men, disillusioned after the failure of 1848, took little part in politics and had little interest in ideas. Proudhon was still influential among the leaders, and was to remain so, despite the bitter attack made upon him by Marx; but there was little enthusiasm for experiments, either on Proudhonist lines or any other, between 1850 and 1860. The working classes were, nevertheless, not merely acquiescent; they trusted ultimately not in theories and parties but in the strike, and the number of prosecutions (for the strike was quite illegal)—86 in 1852, 109 in 1853, 168 in 1855—shows that even at the height of the dictatorship the workers were far from being completely subdued.

During its second decade the Empire showed signs of a more liberal spirit both at home and abroad; at the same time French working men became aware of the nature and position of the trade unions in Great Britain, and were stimulated to claim the same freedom of association for themselves. As early as 1851 the municipal authorities of Paris had paid the expenses of workmen

EAST AND WEST OF THE RHINE

sent to the London exhibition, but the twenty-four who went were chosen by employers from their own shops and factories. In 1862 a Paris brass-worker, Tolain, wrote a remarkable letter to a sympathetic journal, arguing strongly that the workers should be free to appoint their own delegates to the London exhibition of that year, and eventually, through the good offices of Prince Napoleon and by using the personal authority of the Emperor to overcome magisterial obstruction, that was done. The reports of these delegates were partly occupied with technical matters, but they emphasised the difference between the low wages and long hours of Paris and the better wages and shorter working day in England.

Meanwhile the organization of French workers was developing; benefit societies were giving place to active trade unions, or "societies of resistance," such as those of the printers of Paris, the miners of Denain, and the weavers of Lyons, to take but three examples. Some of these societies were very short-lived, and most of them had only a small membership and very low subscriptions. The printers, who calculated that money wages had risen only 10 per cent. and prices and rents 50 per cent. between 1850 and 1862, were on strike in the latter year, and their leaders were arrested and convicted; but an appeal to the Emperor's clemency resulted in their release within a few days. The act showed that he was not content to be the whole-time servant of reaction; it also led to a change in the law, since it was absurd that the Crown should continue to pardon men legally, if unjustly, convicted. Accordingly, in 1864, three articles of the Penal Code were altered in such a fashion as to make a strike legally possible, though the language of the

WORKERS ABROAD

new articles still gave the police plenty of opportunities, and a trade union remained, as before, illegal. Four years later the position was made easier. After still another exhibition in 1867 the delegates formed the habit of meeting together, and, though the workers as a whole remained indifferent to their deliberations, the government took notice of them. In 1868 a ministerial report, approved by the Emperor, was published, which declared that the government would act on the same principle with regard to associations of workmen as it adopted with regard to the employers ; that is, it would not interfere nor prohibit their formation so long as they did not restrict the liberty of industry, and did not depart from their proper purpose by becoming unlawful political associations. Though some workers believed in the possibility of an alliance between the workers and the Empire, others felt that the benevolence of the government was both capricious and in meagre proportion to its power ; its concessions were regarded as the fruit not of good will but of necessity, in face of the increasing difficulties with which the Empire was beset. The government had not the time, even had it possessed the capacity, to remove this distrust, and its fall at Sedan was regarded by the workers as the result of its own character, and as the fate which it deserved.

The Rise of Social Democracy

Between 1848 and 1870 Germany was moving slowly but surely towards something like the régime suddenly, if insecurely, established in France by Napoleon III. The apparatus of suffrage and representative assemblies

EAST AND WEST OF THE RHINE

existed in both countries, but the ruling powers were monarchic and military-minded. The policies of Napoleon and Bismarck had something in common ; both sought to buy submission in exchange for glory ; the difference was that Bismarck was able to supply it. That did not mean that he could not also pursue some reasonable and benevolent objects ; his domestic policy showed after 1870 that he desired, so far as was consistent with the power and profits of their betters, the well-being and security of the working classes. What he opposed, though in vain, was the organization of the workers to seek those objects for themselves.

Germany, like France, was becoming more industrialized ; but progress was more rapid east of the Rhine. That is indicated, for instance, by the increase in the use of steam power ; in 1850 Germany had only some 40,000 horse-power, as compared with 67,000 in France ; ten years later France used 181,000 and Germany 200,000 ; and by 1870 France, with 341,000, was far behind Germany, with 900,000. Small-scale production was admittedly widespread, and survived for a long time ; as late as 1895, out of every thousand Germans gaining a livelihood in business, 399 were employed in enterprises having a personnel of 5 persons or less. But the revolutionary movements of 1848 had stimulated the German governments to hasten the emancipation of peasant holdings, and the peasants were available in greater numbers for industrial employment. The railways, also, both contributed to the extension of markets and made the population more mobile. Without them neither industrial development nor the unification of Germany would have been possible ; they carried troops to the frontier and beyond, and politicians and officials

WORKERS ABROAD

to and from the centres of government. But they also served the opponents of the régime; they brought working men to conferences and carried the correspondence of the First International.

The revolutionary activities of 1848 and 1849 did not lead directly to the formation of permanent associations of a trade union type in Germany. A League of Workers, with headquarters in Berlin and branches in a few other towns, was founded in 1848, but this and other early ventures did not long survive. Workers' educational associations (*Arbeiterbildungsvereine*), whose members had political interests, were more widespread; but these associations were suspected, and measures for their suppression were taken in 1854. Thrift associations, on the other hand, were encouraged. The first and chief founder of these was Franz Hermann Schulze (1808-83), known commonly as Schulze-Delitzsch, a liberal who understood and sympathized with the difficulties of master craftsmen, but who saw that it was hopeless to put the clock back or to save the "little masters" by resurrecting the old gild monopolies, though there was a chance for small-scale producers if they would organize to help themselves. As early as 1849 he founded in his native district of Delitzsch associations of shoemakers and of joiners to procure their raw material at cost price, and in the course of the next two years he set on foot two loan associations, into which monthly contributions were paid and by means of which cheap credit could be provided for those able to make sound use of it. Before his death the number of co-operative associations of various kinds ran into hundreds, and their members could be counted by the hundred thousand; they were organized in districts and nationally, had their own

EAST AND WEST OF THE RHINE

publications, and, from 1865 onwards, a bank. Their success was largely owing to Schulze-Delitzsch, who not only founded the movement but was responsible for its legislation and administration. Successful as it was in increasing the efficiency and resources of its members, it could do little for the working classes in general, who consisted mostly not of master craftsmen but, actually or potentially, of mere wage-earners; they were suspicious of the connection of the movement with the liberal bourgeoisie, and their hope was, inevitably, centred in a different kind of organization.

Another liberal who took a direct share in the improvement of the conditions of the working classes was Max Hirsch (1832-1905), who had been impressed with the strength of the English trade unions and, in 1868, advocated the founding of German unions of the same kind. He was assisted by Franz Gustav Duncker (1822-88), the head of a publishing house which issued works by authors as different in their outlook as Schulze-Delitzsch, Lassalle and Marx. He was opposed to Bismarck's policy of force, was a staunch advocate of social reform, and championed the right of workers to combine—a right which the laws of Prussia and the German states generally denied them until 1867, and then granted only in part. The trade unions founded by these two, which tended in politics to follow the lead of the liberals, believed, like their British contemporaries, that the interests of employers and employed could be harmonized, and, though they would not altogether repudiate the use of the strike, they held that it should not be lightly or frequently declared. They never included more than a small minority of German workers, who were less content with liberalism than the workers

WORKERS ABROAD

of Gladstonian England ; the belief in an inevitable class conflict was much more widespread in Germany, and one of its advocates, at least, was a far more brilliant and dramatic figure than the staid and cautious officials of the British trade unions.

Ferdinand Lassalle (1825-64), the founder of Social Democracy, was, like Karl Marx, a Jew by origin, a student of philosophy by training, and an agitator by nature. Both showed a marked tendency to dominate the associations which they founded. Lassalle had not the opportunities, nor perhaps the patience, to acquire the wide knowledge of economic theory and history which distinguished Marx ; on the other hand, if he lacked the learning that Marx gleaned in the British Museum, he was master of greater clarity and a more moving eloquence, which brought his message directly home to men whom Marx's writings would have sent to sleep. He had made a notable defence when indicted for rousing the workers of Düsseldorf, as Marx and Engels did those of Cologne, in 1848 ; thereafter he made a name for himself by a romantic struggle, lasting eight years and fought in thirty-six courts, for the rights of the Countess Hatzfeldt. A few years after the successful conclusion of this, in 1854, he was lecturing on the constitutional crisis of the early 'sixties, and in May 1863 he became the first president of the newly founded Universal German Workers' Association.

Like Rodbertus and Marx, he believed that the economic order was based on the "iron law" that wages were limited to mere sustenance, while the increasing wealth produced by the labourer was seized by unproductive landlords and capitalists. To end this state of affairs he advocated the formation of productive

EAST AND WEST OF THE RHINE

associations, not unlike Louis Blanc's social workshops, which were to be provided with capital on easy terms, and eventually gratis, by the state. The members of these, ceasing to be mere wage-earners, would escape the iron law. Similar associations in agriculture would in time abolish the landless labourer and the idle rent-receiver. Finally, when the industrial and agricultural productive associations had spread widely, combined among themselves, and developed their organizations, recurrent crises of production would not occur, and middlemen and speculators would disappear. There could be no hope, however, while landlords and capitalists had a preponderant share of political power; consequently it was necessary to get the vote for all citizens and to organize the workers to make effective use of the chance which universal suffrage would give them.

Lassalle's economic plans had no chance of being tried out, though he secured interviews with Bismarck, who was charmed with him and believed that he was not lacking either in patriotism or in monarchic convictions, though he might consider himself as capable of reigning in Germany as the Hohenzollerns. The Universal Association did not grow very rapidly, was troubled with divisions among its officers, and had no press of its own. Worn out by a multitude of police prosecutions, Lassalle left his work in other hands while he went to recover his health in Switzerland. There, before he was forty years of age, after a duel fought with a man whom he did not hate, on account of a lady with whom he had refused to elope, he died of wounds in August, 1864. How much was lost to the cause of German labour by the tragic outcome of that event cannot be known. Lassalle did not appeal merely to the reason and interest.

WORKERS ABROAD

of workmen ; he gained their affection and loyalty during his lifetime and became almost a legend after his death, for he possessed the magical something which expert framers of theses and programmes so often lack. However incomplete his work, he had done one great thing for the workers ; as one of their songs declared, he had put the sword into their hands. The Association was, however, too divided, and some of his successors were men of too small a mould, for it to be successfully wielded.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL AND THE COMMUNE

CONTACTS between workers of different nationalities had occurred thousands of times before the founding of the First International, but they had rarely contributed much to mutual understanding, and had sometimes given rise to feelings of hostility and dislike. Such feelings were less likely to be aroused when foreign workers arrived, not as part of a wage-reducing or strike-breaking horde, but as political exiles. Workmen of that kind naturally drew together, finding a bond in their language and in their ideas. Thus, for instance, a League of Exiles was founded by German refugees in Paris as early as 1834, and some members of it, who formed themselves into a Federation of the Just in 1836, kept in touch with French organizations of the same kind and took part in the conspiracy of 1839. A branch of this federation was set up in London, and came to include not only Germans and Swiss but Dutchmen, Hungarians, Bohemians, Russians and other Slavs. About the same time a similar body was established in Switzerland by Wilhelm Weitling, and others existed secretly in Germany. In general these societies propagated optimistic socialism, such as that of Weitling, or radicalism, like that of the arch-conspirator, Blanqui. Engels, who was aware of

WORKERS ABROAD

the existence of such societies in 1843, did not become a member until 1847; he and Marx reorganized the Federation of the Just and drew up for it the famous *Manifesto*, printed in 1848, the purpose of which was to substitute a scientific for a sentimental socialism. Though it had an enormous influence later, the *Manifesto* achieved little at the time; the triumph of reaction all over Europe made any effective international association of workers impossible.

Hope revived when, in 1862, French delegates visiting the London Exhibition came into contact with English workmen, who entertained them at the Freemasons' Tavern. In the following year, when many meetings were held in Great Britain to protest against the oppression of the Poles, another French delegation arrived, and Odger, one of the "junta" then unofficially directing the trade-union movement, proposed the holding of international congresses. Finally, at a meeting in London in September 1864, the First International came into existence, its constitution and programme, after an unsatisfactory attempt by Mazzini, being drawn up by Marx. Workers in each country were recommended to organize in national bodies, with which the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association could deal, but at the same time local societies could correspond directly with the Council, and, moreover, they had a free hand in local affairs. It was convenient for the Council to sit in London and for its chairman, treasurer and general secretary to be English, but each other nation was to be represented on the Council by a corresponding secretary. The Council was intended to exercise a general oversight, and to act as a clearing house for information as well as to arrange periodical congresses.

FIRST INTERNATIONAL AND COMMUNE

To people who knew little of it but its title, the First International may have seemed an imposing and even an ominous body ; but the red, or workers', international was far from possessing the resources, unanimity and discipline of the black international of the Church. Mazzini, who did not part company with it for some time, was a nationalist republican, and detested the communism and atheism of Marx. Outstanding English trade unionists, such as Applegarth and Odger, who were members of the Council, could hardly be regarded as revolutionaries. Very few English trade unions joined, and the London Trades Council not only refused to let representatives attend its meetings but would not even recognize the International as a means of communication with trade unions abroad. In other countries it had more influence ; but, as the future was to show, its members were divided by differences of doctrine, and, in the end, a notable conflict between its leading personalities brought about its end.

In France the International was officially founded in July 1865, through the efforts of Tolain, Fribourg, and Limousin, who had first to convince the republicans that the affair was not a Bonapartist manoeuvre. Even when that had been made plain the conspiratorial followers of Blanqui remained hostile, though they took part in the first congress, at Geneva. Sections of the International were established at Rouen, Havre, Caen, Amiens, Lille, Lyons, Nantes and about half a dozen other places, but some of these sections had only a nominal existence, and none of them was very strong. Progress, if slow, was made, though the subscriptions were by English standards very small, about a penny a week, and the Paris section had to beg in many quarters in order to be able to send

WORKERS ABROAD

a few delegates to Geneva in 1866. When the imperial government prohibited the publication in France of the report presented to the congress by the French delegates, the reputation of the International increased among the republicans, and, in 1867, the committee scored a success by intervening in a brass-workers' strike. With the help of the International, representatives of the strikers were sent to London, and persuaded English trade unionists to contribute some thousands of francs to their defence ; whereupon the employers, wrongly believing that the powerful English unions were members of the dread International and that its treasure chest contained millions of francs, capitulated. This success was not long maintained, for the government took alarm, and in December 1867 commenced prosecutions against Tolain and more than a dozen others of the Paris committee. They could not be convicted as a secret society, for Tolain had worked in plain daylight and deposited copies of the rules with the police, but they were accused of departing from their proper purpose and becoming an unlawful political society. For this the accused were heavily fined, and the society was declared dissolved. A new committee, including several communists such as Varlin and Malon, had meanwhile been elected, and the new leaders were prosecuted in May 1868. They were both fined and sentenced to imprisonment ; thus the society lost at one and the same time its leaders and many of its members, who, as they explained, could not afford to go to prison and leave their families to starve. Tolain did manage to attend the Brussels congress in 1868, but he had to report that the International in France was almost dead.

German governments were even more hostile than

FIRST INTERNATIONAL AND COMMUNE

the French, and for several years the International could make little progress in that country. It was, however, energetically served by Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel. The former, an exile in London after 1848, was a disciple of Marx, and later became his chief representative, as it were, in Germany. Bebel, a turner and self-educated, was at first a liberal and a member of a Schulze-Delitzsch association, but was won over to Marxian principles. He and Liebknecht contributed to the spread of these principles among working men's societies, and attempted to turn Lassalle's Universal Association in the same direction. In 1869, at Eisenach, they formed the Social Democratic Labour Party, partly out of seceders from the Universal Association, and thus founded a body which accepted the International and could be relied upon to support "scientific" socialism as its doctrine. At various dates, as will be explained later, the introduction of the International into Switzerland, Belgium, Denmark, Italy and Spain may be regarded as beginning the modern socialist history of those countries; but in the Swiss, Italian and Spanish sections the influence of Marx was not, as in the German, dominant and unchallenged.

During its first six years the International held four congresses. At the first, held in Geneva in 1866, few Germans were present, probably because of the war, only just concluded, between Prussia and Austria, and the discussions were confined almost entirely to the Swiss, English and French delegates. The English were interested mainly in the eight-hour day and regarded the strike as a useful weapon. The Paris delegates, on the other hand, presented a memorandum in which Proudhon's influence was marked, and declared strikes

WORKERS ABROAD

undesirable and, in the end, ineffective. The solution of the labour problem was to be sought, according to the memorandum, by some such means as Proudhon's bank, by adequate technical training, and by the spread of statistical information, so that particular trades would not become overcrowded. The memorandum also stressed the necessity of increasing direct, and decreasing indirect, taxation, which bore heavily on the working classes. It also, in the interests of family life and individuality, pronounced against compulsory free education by the state, the effect of which would be to stereotype its recipients. Proudhonist ideas were also prominent at the second congress, at Lausanne in 1867, which approved the founding of societies for co-operative production. On the other hand, it also approved of strikes and declared in favour of nationalizing roads, canals and railways. The Brussels congress of 1868 carried the principle further by approving the nationalization of land, mines, quarries and forests; and at the Basle congress in 1869 a large proportion of the delegates voted in favour of abolishing inheritance.

This congress was mainly interesting as the theatre of war between Marx and Michael Bakunin (1814-76). The great romantic revolutionary, having taken a courageous part in armed resistance to reaction in Dresden in 1849, spent the next twelve years in Saxon, Austrian and Russian prisons, and in Siberia, whence he escaped round the world to London in 1861. The years of prison life, which had gone far to ruin his gigantic frame, had not broken his spirit; but they had withdrawn him from a world which was changing rapidly and which, when he re-entered it, he could not easily understand, so that twenty years after the fall of

FIRST INTERNATIONAL AND COMMUNE

the Second Republic he continued to think, or at any rate to feel, in the mode of 1848. His temperament and his experiences bred in him a passionate hatred of the state, and of the constriction of which it seemed the most powerful and evil example ; but he fought it by founding secret societies, real enough to him though they often had little actuality. To unromantic persons like Marx and Liebknecht he could not but appear, at best, as unreliable and irrational, and, at worst, as treacherous and destructive. Mutual hostility was perhaps increased by Marx's fear and dislike of Russia. The duel between them is not the less interesting, because Marx, the great advocate of revolution in the daylight, generally ruled invisibly from the background, while Bakunin, the indefatigable projector of secret conspiracies, could produce an immense effect by a dramatic intervention in public.

In September 1868, not long after his entry into the International, Bakunin explained that he rejected communism in favour of what he called collectivism. Almost prophetically he described communism as swallowing up in itself, for the benefit of the state, all the forces of society, whereas what he desired was "to see society and collective or social property organized from below upwards, by way of free association, not from above downwards, by means of any kind of authority whatever." These views, which were likely to command some sympathy among Proudhonist opponents of Marx, naturally led Bakunin and his supporters to try to reduce, in the council of the International itself, that element of authority which seemed reprehensible in society ; but Bakunin, by a manœuvre too obvious to be successful, was also trying to build a Social and Democratic Alliance

WORKERS ABROAD

which might serve to transfer the leadership of the International from Marx to himself.

In the Basle congress he intervened on the question of inheritance; in principle there may have been little difference between him and Marx, who held that the many had already been disinherited and that the few, who gained thereby, would necessarily be expropriated. The Council approved of abolishing inherited fortunes by progressive taxation and other similar means, but Bakunin (who suffered much anxiety in trying to get his own share of inherited property in Russia) was for "complete and radical abolition" by revolution. His motion was deemed lost, but the Council motion was rejected by an overwhelming majority. During 1870 and 1871 the International could not function normally, and both Marx and Bakunin had other matters than their personal differences to think about. The next congress met at the Hague in 1872. Marx was present, but Bakunin was too poor or too ill to come, and his supporters were in a minority. Nevertheless the days of Marx's dominance were nearing an end, for there was opposition not only in countries where Bakunin's influence was strong but in Belgium and even in England. The congress did indeed reject the Bakunist proposal to reduce drastically the powers of the central office, and it was also persuaded to expel Bakunin and his supporter Guillaume. That was almost its last act, for Marx, foreseeing that he could no longer control it in the old world, proposed its transference to New York, a measure to which the startled congress agreed.

FIRST INTERNATIONAL AND COMMUNE

The Commune

As early as 1868, in view of the increasing tension between France and Prussia, the International denounced war as murder, and advocated its prevention by a general strike. At that time, however, the workers were far too unorganized for any such measure, and too easily convinced that their rulers were right. Even the International was by no means innocent of nationalist ideas, for when the war broke out in July 1870 the Council described it as "on the German side, a war of defence." Some working men, at least, knew better; the Paris sections of the International declared their solidarity with the German workers, and the outstretched hand of fellowship was grasped by a meeting at Chemnitz representing 50,000 Saxon workmen. By September 1870 the Council of the International showed a tardy realization that the war was a Prussian war of conquest, and advocated that France, since the hated second Empire had collapsed, should be allowed to make peace without losing territory. Liebknecht and Bebel went to jail for long periods for unpatriotic arguments of a similar kind. Wilhelm Hasenclever, secretary of Lassalle's Association, did his duty as a socialist by voting against money for the war, and his duty as a Prussian soldier at the siege of Paris.

When the news of Napoleon's surrender reached Paris a provisional government set itself up on September 4th, and, while it settled into its seat, the Germans moved on Paris and began the siege which lasted for 135 days. The government moved to Bordeaux, but a truce was arranged with Bismarck to permit the election of a

WORKERS ABROAD

regular government which could make peace. It was elected in February 1871 and contained more than 400 royalists of one sort or another, against 80 radicals and 20 revolutionaries. Paris was not in the mood to acquiesce in the situation, and what chance there was of bringing it to agreement was thrown away by two measures of Thiers'. One moved the Assembly to Versailles, the home of absolutism ; another brought to an end the existing moratorium on trade bills. These were much used in the trade of the city, and had been bought up by financiers eager to touch their money ; but the law meant difficulty and even ruin for many master craftsmen and small shopkeepers. A parallel abolition of the moratorium on rents increased discontent, and helped to throw the petty bourgeoisie into the arms of the workers. This discontent was the more serious, because the classes affected supplied the National Guard, whose companies and battalions were now developing committees and a federation which existed alongside the ordinary government and, at times, superseded it. An attempt by Thiers to remove the artillery of Paris started violence, and the Central Committee of the National Guard took over command of the city. Disturbances occurred also in Lyons, Narbonne, Toulouse, Limoges, and other places ; but none had more than a transitory success, and Paris was left alone to face the savage vengeance of Thiers and his colleagues, some of them very disreputable. After local elections, the Commune was installed on March 28th. It governed while Thiers carried on his siege of the capital, begun in April and bloodily finished on Sunday, May 28th.

Writing twenty years after the event, Engels told his adversaries : " Look at the Paris Commune. That was

FIRST INTERNATIONAL AND COMMUNE

the Dictatorship of the Proletariat"; but the epitaphs of movements, as of men, may be striking without being wholly true, and some qualification of Engels' statement is necessary. The passion behind the Commune was by no means wholly proletarian, but sprang in part from an emotion which the pure proletarian ought not to feel, an outraged patriotism, such as the veteran Blanqui showed when he started his journal, *The Fatherland in Danger*. Besides the Jacobinism of Blanqui, the Commune to some extent expressed the federalism of Proudhon, whose influence was strong among the Paris workers. In any event the development of large-scale industry had not gone far enough in Paris to produce a numerous proletariat; and it is to be noted that though the proletariat was represented on the Council of the Commune, it was not dominant, and its representatives did not dictate. Out of 92 members, only 21 were workers in the narrower sense of the term, and the majority of the Council belonged to the smaller bourgeoisie. Seventeen members of the Council were also members of the International.

The Commissions, which were put in charge of various branches of administration, and the Council, which gave legal force to their recommendations, bore in mind the interests not only of workers but of shopkeepers and small tradesmen. The immediate exaction of rents was prevented by a general moratorium; other debts were to be discharged gradually, as from July 1871, by payments spread over two years; fines in factories and workshops were abolished, and so was night work for bakers; trade unions were freed; and workshops abandoned by their managements were to be taken over and worked by co-operative associations. Had the

WORKERS ABROAD

Commune succeeded, this measure might have been the starting-point of a radical change in industrial organization ; and it has been suggested that the Commune was, if not actually, at least potentially, communist. The fact remains that there was little communism in its measures ; it postponed, but did not repudiate, rents and loans ; and, if it did draw some 6,000,000 francs, to which it had no claim, out of the Bank of France, it left safely in the vaults of that institution nearly 3,000 millions which it might have seized. In its last fighting phase the Commune was certainly destructive ; but the responsibility for burned and shattered buildings must be shared with its besiegers, whose shells set the Ministry of Finance ablaze, and, in any event, the leaders of the Commune might claim that some of the burning was a military necessity. When all the circumstances are borne in mind, it must be considered that the revolutionary Commune showed, throughout most of its history, a bourgeois respect for property.

That was possibly a mistake, since Thiers had no scruples about blackening its reputation, however it acted. The one hope was to meet him with the only thing he respected, superior force, and for that it was essential that Paris should take the offensive early, before Thiers had time to gather and organize the Versailles troops. There were few chances of success, for Bismarck, in the course of the treaty negotiations, agreed to release the interned French troops, and it was thus possible for General MacMahon and his soldiers to gain over their own countrymen the victory which they signally failed to gain over their country's enemies. The number of Versailles killed was less than a thousand officers and men, but the total killed in the civil war, including those

FIRST INTERNATIONAL AND COMMUNE

shot by order of the military authorities, was possibly more than 20,000. Parts of Paris were literally paved with corpses ; the city was pervaded with flies and the stench of corruption, and menaced with pestilence, which was avoided by burning the dead, for days on end, on a huge pyre in the gardens of Belleville. Not a few died in atrocious fashion : Varlin, condemned by court martial, was shot only after a mob had been allowed to batter his face to a jelly. The violence was not confined to one side ; popular passion required the shooting of the hostages held by the Commune, including the Archbishop of Paris ; but Varlin had done his best to prevent the massacre, and Thiers could have saved the hostages earlier had it served his purpose. There is, on the whole, substantial truth in the verdict with which Marx concluded the history of the Commune, " Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them."

CHAPTER V

RECOVERY AND REFORM

AFTER some years of uncertainty, the constitution of the still existing Third Republic was established in 1875. MacMahon, with his clerical and monarchist supporters, failed to give it an authoritarian twist, and two subsequent attempts to subvert or enslave the Republic also failed ; the first was an attempt at a dictatorship by General Boulanger, between 1887 and 1889 ; the second, also an affair of priests and soldiers, was the wrongful conviction of Captain Dreyfus in 1894. The demonstration of his innocence, in which Émile Zola, Anatole France, Clemenceau, Jaurès, as well as other notable figures in the intellectual and public life of France, fought hard, was no less significant than it was fortunate. It showed that, scandalous as some of her legislators might be, France was not prepared to accept the basic belief of dictatorships in the infallibility of the executive, and that French culture was too much impregnated with a sense of human dignity and respect for objective truth to be easily overborne by Catholic anti-semitism and the military itch to set up despotism. The freedom of the Third Republic, it is true, was compatible with a good deal of poverty among the working classes ; but the Republic fettered one agency which many workers regarded as their enemy, the Church ; and it

RECOVERY AND REFORM

granted what no previous government had conceded, free elementary education.

The Third Republic and the Workers

Industrially, France still moved only slowly ; between 1870 and 1903 the French coal output increased by 162 per cent. and coal consumption by 156 per cent., while German output and consumption in the same period increased by 377 per cent. and 422 per cent. respectively. An even greater disparity is shown in the production of iron, which increased in France by 113 per cent. and in Germany by 614 per cent. In the woollen manufacture, on the other hand, France led ; her consumption of raw wool in 1876 was 143 million kilogrammes, as compared with 157 in the United Kingdom and 77 in Germany ; by 1904 France consumed 212 million, the United Kingdom 198, and Germany 86. This industrial development inevitably meant the concentration of workers to an increasing degree in certain parts of the country and in relatively large establishments. Before 1848 all France, probably, contained only 133 establishments employing 500 workers or more apiece, and 3,200 employing between 50 and 500 ; by 1896 the corresponding figures were 444 and 7,200. Large factories were clearly far from being the predominant type of industrial organization ; even in 1901, out of every thousand establishments, there were not seven which employed more than 100 persons each. The few large-scale works which existed were mines, textile factories, ironworks and railways. Elsewhere the proportion of employers to employees was very high, as for instance

WORKERS ABROAD

among bakers, of whom, in 1901, 64,000 were payers of wages and 76,000 were wage-earners.

The process, according to Marx inevitable, whereby the great mass of the population would be forced into the ranks of the wage-earners was thus not very rapid in France ; nor does it appear to be true that the wage-earners were, as a class, being driven down to a lower and lower standard of living. Money wages rose remarkably under the Second Empire, and continued to rise, though less rapidly, from 1871 to 1882 ; thence to 1887 they tended to remain stationary, after which they rose slowly during the later nineteenth and early twentieth century. Taking the period from 1853 to 1901 as a whole, it has been calculated that the average daily wage rose from 1.99 to 4.02 francs ; that is, roughly speaking, money wages doubled during the second half of the nineteenth century. It is, of course, true that this rise was compatible with low, and even declining, wages in some trades. Paris sempstresses, working at home, often earned only 1 franc or 1.50 francs in a day of 14 hours, and, as late as 1906, women were being paid 1 franc a day for sewing shirts. There is no easy way to determine how far the higher money wages of 1900 may be taken to represent higher real wages. Rents tended to rise remarkably, and, for working-class families, were more than two and a half times as high in 1896 as they had been in 1844. Levasseur, taking the higher rents into account, suggests, though only tentatively, that the cost of living rose by less than 25 per cent. between 1850 and 1890. Thus, if his suggestion be near the mark, it must be concluded that the workers' standard of living rose substantially during the second half of the nineteenth century.

RECOVERY AND REFORM

Meanwhile, whether they felt themselves better off or not, the workers under the Third Republic gained better working conditions, more adequate chances of education, and greater freedom of association. The Factory Act of 1841 had been almost useless, and the reform of 1848 had been undone. In 1874 an Act of wide scope prohibited generally, if not quite universally, the employment of children under 12 and the employment of adolescents at night ; it also forbade the employment of children and women in mines below ground, and provided for effective inspection. In 1886, after strenuous opposition in the Senate, the working day for women was limited to 11 hours, and by further Acts, in 1892 and 1900, it was gradually reduced to 10 hours for persons under 18 and all women. The leisure which these Acts made possible for younger workers was made more valuable by the steps which the Third Republic took to remedy the intellectual destitution of which the workers had just cause to complain under previous governments. The framework of popular education was erected, largely through the endeavours of Paul Bert, Jules Ferry and Buisson, in three main statutes passed in 1881 and 1882. These laws provided that no schoolmaster or mistress should teach unless provided with a satisfactory certificate of competence ; that primary education should be compulsory and free of charge ; and that instruction in state schools should be secular. It still remained possible for priests and nuns to teach and for religious education to be provided, but, after the Dreyfus affair, republican sentiment was more hostile than ever to clerical activity, and early in the present century steps were taken to make school instruction completely secular. The Church found little

WORKERS ABROAD

support among the working classes for its protests. An observer in 1899 was made aware that to be seen talking to a priest meant forfeiting the trust of one's fellow working men. The proletariat agreed with Gambetta that clericalism was the enemy.

Trade Unionism

After the Commune the government naturally, if unjustly, found a scapegoat in the International; and Jules Favre, the Foreign Minister, tried to organize co-operation of the European powers against it. Nevertheless it did not die immediately; twenty Bakuninist delegates contrived to hold a conference in a Lyons cellar in 1873 but were arrested. A law of 1872, to enforce which all the powers of the police were available, prohibited the existence of the International, and the workers were too dispirited to try to keep it alive. An attempt was made to capitalize their resentment against Thiers and MacMahon by plying them with Bonapartist propaganda, but with insignificant results. There was also an attempt to win them over to the Church, through the foundation of Catholic workers' circles, to be directed by members of the upper classes. These endeavours, as Marx had foretold, were of little avail; and the workers, however disillusioned in politics, were wise enough to put their trust in associations of their own making.

Trade unionism, despite threats, remained. Some unions, taking advantage of the fact that legal authorization was required only for groups of twenty or more members, evaded the attention of the police by forming

RECOVERY AND REFORM

themselves into groups of eighteen and keeping their funds in the name of one of their members. The trade unions of this period were, indeed, very moderate in their views, and were apt to recognize an ultimate harmony of interest between employers and employed ; at a Lyons congress in 1878 only eight votes could be mustered in favour of nationalizing the land and the instruments of production. The timidity of the unions is, however, of less importance than the fact that they existed. The joiners of the Seine, the pottery workers of Limoges, the mechanics of Marseilles, and the weavers of Roubaix are all examples of unions formed or resurrected soon after the Commune. By 1876 the miners of the Loire were organized, and by 1882 the miners of the Nord. Little confidence can be placed in estimates of the numbers in this period ; according to one, there existed in 1881 five hundred unions with a membership of sixty thousand, but the total was probably a good deal larger. By that time a new spirit was abroad in the unions, which manifested itself in a more socialist attitude at trade union congresses and in a more ambitious scale of organization. A congress of 1879 passed resolutions in favour of nationalization, and calling for the formation of a labour party similar to that existing in Germany. In the same year, resuming an attempt hindered by the outbreak of war in 1870, the hatters formed the first federation of workers in the same trade ; the printers followed in 1881, and the miners in 1883. By modern standards the finances of these federations would seem insufficient and insecure ; the printers, for instance, paid about threepence per member per month. But such small subscriptions were presumably enough to cover the costs of the central

WORKERS ABROAD

office and the very low remuneration of the officials ; the miners' general secretary drew little more than two pounds a month.

Though aware of the resurrection of socialism after the Commune, the republicans of the eighteen-eighties do not seem to have feared it greatly. Nor were they hostile to trade unionism ; indeed they were prepared to encourage it as a means whereby, without having recourse to the state, the workers could pursue their own interests for themselves. The moderate attitude of the unions also earned for them the confidence of the government, which was willing to end the ambiguous position in which the unions still stood. Accordingly, a law of 1884 required trade unions to deposit their rules and the names of their officers, but it removed legal prohibitions, so that associations of persons in the same, or allied, trades could, without limit of numbers, be freely formed and did not need government authorization. Both in 1884 and later some sections of the workers feared the bourgeois bringing gifts, and preferred not to constitute themselves regularly according to law. That the Act was nevertheless worth while seems clear from the dislike of it among employers ; in any event it marks a period of trade union expansion. Statistics relating to French trade unions are far from satisfactory, but they are good enough to indicate considerable growth ; the membership rose to 402,000 in 1893 and 977,000 in 1909.

Besides the individual unions and the federations, there grew up in France a form of association to which there is no exact parallel in this country, the *Bourse du Travail*, literally the labour exchange, though its functions were much wider than the title indicates. It was, in fact,

RECOVERY AND REFORM

a union of the trade societies within one town, and was thus comparable to the trades councils set up in English towns during the last three decades of the nineteenth century. But the *Bourse du Travail* was a much more effective institution, equipped with premises of its own, commonly including offices, a hall for meetings, and not infrequently a library as well. It acted as a labour exchange, and took part in the distribution of unemployment pay and trade-union assistance to men travelling in search of work. Its provision of books—the Paris *bourse* had a collection of three thousand—and of courses of technical instruction suggests a resemblance to the nineteenth-century English mechanics' libraries and institutions. But it took an especially active part in propaganda and the conduct of strikes. Being a local federation, it expressed the regional and local feeling which is strong in France, and, being a federation of different trades, it did much to widen the views and interests of workers who might otherwise have tended to see every problem in terms of their own trade. The first *bourse* to be founded was that in Paris in 1887; fourteen of them existed in 1892, when a federation of them was formed, and by 1910 the number had grown to a hundred and forty. The great majority of them, owing to the poverty of their constituent societies, applied to the local authorities for help, and not without success. In receiving subsidies, however, the *bourses du travail* risked some loss of independence, and came into conflict with the authorities, who desired some control of institutions supported in part by public money, and who, at least in Paris, demanded that only unions regularly constituted according to the law of 1884 should be eligible. There the *bourse* was closed in 1893

WORKERS ABROAD

by the Minister of the Interior, and so remained until 1895, the unions having meanwhile formed an independent *bourse* of their own.

The German Empire and the Workers

Flushed with triumph, unified politically, and stimulated by the receipt of an immense indemnity, Germany in 1871 entered on a phase of rapid expansion. In forty years her population rose from just over forty, to a little under sixty-five, millions, and as it grew it became more industrial; three-quarters of it were rural in 1871, but half of it was urban in 1910, and in the same period the number of towns with more than 100,000 inhabitants rose from eight to forty-eight. Germany passed Great Britain as a steel producer, and built up a large textile industry, a great mercantile marine, and vast chemical, electrical and engineering industries. In the course of this development she made a greater and more conscious use of modern science than her predecessor, Great Britain, and also showed a greater readiness to organize in large enterprises and federations, which at one and the same time introduced an element of control into industry and enabled the centralized concerns to wield great political influence. Though the leaders of the new industries were faced with a growing socialist movement, the bourgeoisie contained a liberal element which was prepared to vote against the suppression of opinion and of democratic organization, and this hostility of the liberals, together with the Crown's dislike of frank and avowed repression, sufficed in the end to frustrate Bismarck's attack on political freedom.

RECOVERY AND REFORM

The Iron Chancellor was not without a sense of paternal responsibility towards the labouring masses ; but it may be noted that his benevolent measures were not introduced until the fear of socialism had made something of the kind desirable, and after their author had for more than a decade tried an entirely unbenevolent repression. In 1871 and in 1872 he attempted a European combination against the International, but was foiled by the refusal of Great Britain to take part. Two years later he tried to muzzle German socialism by a press law, but was beaten by the liberals in the Reichstag. He tried again, and was beaten once more, in May 1878, when an ignorant scoundrel shot at the Emperor ; but he got a second chance when in June Dr. Karl Nobiling not only shot but wounded the Emperor severely. Nobiling came of aristocratic stock and was, apparently, revenging a private grudge ; but the Social Democrats were blamed for his crime, and Bismarck, having dissolved the Reichstag and caused a general election in a state of excitement favourable to reaction, found sufficient conservatives returned to carry a law for the purpose which he had pursued for so many years. The law against Social Democracy had at least one merit, a clear statement of what socialism is : " Labour is to be emancipated from capital ; private capital is to be converted into collective capital ; individual production, regulated by competition, is to be converted into systematic co-operative production. . . . The Social Democratic movement . . . proceeds from the assumption that the betterment of the condition of the working classes is impossible on the basis of the present social system, and can only be attained by social revolution."

The Social Democratic movement, which would have

WORKERS ABROAD

accepted this description of its aims, had, after a good deal of dissension, been united, for Lassalleans and Marxists came together to found the Socialist Labour Party at Gotha in 1875. This body was clearly menaced by Bismarck's law, which prohibited the formation or continuance of any society aiming at the overthrow of the existing order or tending to cause conflict between classes, and conferred on the authorities powers ample enough to deal even with benefit societies of which the government did not approve. So far as the Social Democrats were concerned, the right of assembly was practically abolished, and the publication of socialist newspapers, pamphlets and posters was made all but impossible. Nevertheless, wide as the powers were and frequently as they were used, the Act, renewed from time to time, not only failed to suppress the movement but could not even prevent its rapid growth. In the Reichstag, Bebel and others said what could not be said elsewhere ; and their speeches, being privileged, were printed. One socialist newspaper, *Freedom*, was published in London, and another, the *Social Democrat*, in Zurich, whence it could be smuggled into Germany. Meanwhile the socialist vote rose ; it was 300,000 in 1881, 550,000 in 1884, 763,000 in 1887, and over 1,500,000 in 1890, in which year the Reichstag not only refused to make the anti-socialist law permanent but would not grant its renewal. Despite Bismarck, the German workers retained a hold on political power, and, during the last ten years of the century, socialism was able to advance further by means of a free press and relative freedom of meeting.

In marked contrast with his failure to wipe out the socialist movement was Bismarck's success in initiating

RECOVERY AND REFORM

social insurance. In three Acts, passed in 1883, 1884 and 1889, he laid the framework of a scheme which was extended, altered and codified by 1911. By that year practically all workers earning less than two pounds a week were assured of help in sickness, one-third of the cost being borne by the employers and two-thirds by the workers. The cost of accident insurance, which covered nearly everybody earning less than five pounds a week, was borne by employers alone. Old age pensions were made available for wage-earners and some salary-earners by equal contributions from employers and employed, with some assistance from the state. The cost of the pensions varied with wages, but was rarely more than twopence a week.

If, in the matter of social insurance, Bismarck was ahead of his time, in his opposition to a shorter working day he was far behind it. Even clericals and conservatives in 1869 were ready for statutory reduction of the then usual working day of twelve hours, but the Chancellor, then and later, defended the natural right of men and women to be overworked. Prussian legislation to limit hours, starting in 1839, had been mostly inoperative, but subsequent legislation covering the Empire was more effective. A code of 1891, extended by 1914, failing to reach the point to which Great Britain had progressed by 1847, allowed an eleven-hour day for women, and, in general, left the hours of males over sixteen quite unregulated. Collective agreements in not a few instances achieved what the law failed to bring about, as for instance in the building trades, in which a ten-hour day (nine on Saturdays) became the rule. That was the rule also in most Prussian factories and in engineering; but the day was usually longer in the

WORKERS ABROAD

textile industries, and a twelve-hour day was common in smelting works and rolling mills.

It is uncertain to what extent, otherwise than by some reduction of hours and by an extension of social insurance, the German workers benefited from the development of industry after 1870. Sir William Ashley was able to show that money wages rose markedly in some trades, and that large sections of the population were raised from lower to higher income categories. On the other hand, it seems clear that money wage levels were as a rule lower than those prevailing in the same trades in England, and that the German worker had to give longer hours of labour for them. Ashley's evidence to show that the rise in money wages was not offset by an equivalent rise in the cost of living would hardly convince his opponents on the issue of protection and free trade; in any event, his information about rents was practically nil, and his not very abundant information about food prices does not suggest a very rosy picture. The German workers' wages were worth more in rye and potatoes, but a capacity to eat more sour bread and Cobbett's root of misery is a poor proof of betterment. It may be true that the German worker was eating more meat, but some of it was horse-flesh. The average consumption of flesh food for the country as a whole has been estimated at 1 lb. 3 oz. per head per week; but since that is an average the working classes must often have consumed less, and perhaps much less. In the early years of the twentieth century ministers of religion at Saarbrücken "knew colliers' homes in which no meat came on the table the whole week through."

RECOVERY AND REFORM

German Trade Unionism

Because the industrial awakening of Germany was comparatively late, trade unionism was not firmly established until well on in the second half of the nineteenth century. Another delaying factor was the state of the law, which, as might be expected, was unfavourable. An Act of 1869, applying to the states in the Northern Confederation, and extended after 1871 to the Empire, did remove the prohibitions previously enacted against associations of workmen seeking to better their conditions, even if they attempted to do so by withdrawing their labour, but the same law imposed conditions which made strikes and picketing dangerous if not impossible. By 1878, nevertheless, there are said to have been in existence, besides the unions linked more or less closely to the liberals, 25 national and 5 local unions accepting socialist ideas and having a membership of 49,000. Bismarck's attack put an end to most of them, only four remaining in 1882; but from that time onward the movement, though partly underground, revived, and by 1886, despite the police, there were 32 socialist unions, with perhaps 100,000 members. With the expiry of the anti-socialist law in 1890, the field was free for the development of what was in its day and in some respects the greatest labour movement in history.

Before the War the German trade unions consisted of three main groups: the Hirsch-Duncker unions, historically the oldest; the Christian unions; and the "free" unions, associated with the Social Democratic Party. There were, besides, some independent unions not included in any of the foregoing groups, but their

WORKERS ABROAD

membership was small and their influence negligible. The progress and relative strength of the three kinds of union are clear from the following table :

	<i>Membership in 1891</i>	<i>Membership in 1912</i>
Free Trade Unions . . .	277,659	2,553,162
Christian Unions . . .	—	344,687
Hirsch-Duncker Unions .	65,588	109,225

The Hirsch-Duncker unions were, roughly speaking, at about the same stage of development as the English craft unions of 1860, and their position in the German labour movement in 1912 was about as incongruous as that of a dray horse at a motor exhibition. The Christian unions bore witness to the success of a Catholic social movement, which, though at first it prospered only slowly, was given an impulse by the papal encyclical of 1891. These unions included some Protestants but were mainly Catholic; they rejected the Marxist materialism and belief in the class conflict, and considered that the strike ought to be used, if at all, only in very extraordinary circumstances. Ordinarily they sought to improve the condition of their members by peaceful agreement and mutual benefit funds. The strongest contingent among them was that of the coal-miners, mainly in the Rhineland, who numbered over 80,000 and who, according to Mr. G. D. H. Cole, could not have been organized by the socialist unions. At times they showed tendencies towards solidarity which their ecclesiastical guides could hardly have liked; and some of their rank and file, it is said, were secretly members of free trade unions.

The free trade unions were distinguished from their

RECOVERY AND REFORM

rivals by being based on belief in the inevitability of class conflict, and by a refusal to be led, or misled, by political liberals or ecclesiastical dignitaries. They did not require their members to join the Social Democratic Party, nor did the party seek to dominate the trade unions, but the two movements were independent allies and the stronger for their independence. Unlike the French unions, the Germans had next to no anarchist tradition, had very little belief in the general strike, and did not consider that relatively high rates of contribution reduced their militant effectiveness. In comparison with the French and even with the British trade unions they were remarkably centralized. As the number of trade unionists grew, the tale of unions decreased, so that in 1911 more than 2,500,000 workers were included in fifty-one federations, or national unions, partly on industrial and partly on occupational lines. All these were organized in much the same way, with central control of funds and sanctioning of strikes, an arrangement which tended to limit the area in which disputes were waged while using the whole force of a union to support the members called out. As early as 1890 steps were taken to co-ordinate the free trade unions, and after 1892 the powers and functions of a central commission were defined. Its business was to carry on propaganda, supervise development, collect statistics, publish the *Correspondenzblatt*, and keep in touch with trade unionism in other countries. It worked with a committee consisting of delegates from the constituent national unions and meeting once a quarter. Besides being combined vertically, in the national unions, the movement was unified horizontally in cartels, or local associations of different unions. These were concerned with propaganda and to some extent

WORKERS ABROAD

with the application of factory legislation. Some hundreds of them possessed libraries, a large number ran hotels and inns of their own, and a few conducted employment exchanges and other services.

If, in comparison with the labour movement elsewhere, the German workers were remarkably well organized and politically powerful, it has also to be remembered that the situation in which they found themselves was, potentially at least, more dangerous. The prestige and power of the army officers was far greater than in England, and the continuance of free political institutions less secure. The leaders of industry had not accommodated themselves in the same degree to the existence of workers' organizations, and had shown a far greater capacity to build powerful organizations of their own. Some of these leaders regarded the complete subjection of the workers as the only desirable basis of industrial order, and were occasionally frank enough to say so. In any event, they made among themselves arrangements, in which they were sometimes detected, to black-list workers who played any important part in the labour movement.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIALISM AND SYNDICALISM

THE war of 1870 and the Commune, together with internal divisions, shattered the first attempt of the workers to unite internationally, but they could not for long hinder the rise of a socialist movement which the industrial development of each country created within its own borders. Inevitably, these separate movements differed somewhat from each other, and all of them changed during the period of forty-three years between the Commune and the Great War. Broadly speaking, it may be said that German socialism preserved a formal revolutionary orthodoxy while becoming reformist in practice. In France, where Marxist principles did not secure so fast a hold, the movement at one and the same time showed less discipline and more revolutionary feeling. In both countries, and in others, an outstanding problem of the socialist movement was whether it could or should co-operate with the more radical wing of the bourgeoisie in the attempt to achieve working-class aims.

German Socialism

When Lassalleans and Marxists sank their differences at the Gotha Congress in 1875, the party that Bismarck

WORKERS ABROAD

tried to destroy achieved unity, which the French party did not reach until thirty years later. The demand, in the Gotha programme, for the formation, with state assistance, of socialist productive associations would commend itself to the followers of Lassalle, and both they and Marxists would agree on the statements that labour is the only source of wealth, that its product belongs to society, and that a just order requires the abolition of the wage system. This revolutionary object, according to the programme, was to be attained by constitutional means and to be accompanied by complete democracy, that is, by universal, direct and equal franchise, and freedom of meeting, of the press and of association. Meanwhile the movement was to press for reforms, such as a normal working day and the substitution of a progressive property tax for the existing indirect taxes. When the persecuting laws expired, the party was reconstituted, with a very similar programme, at Erfurt in 1891, and thereafter increased its membership and representation in the Reichstag considerably, polling more than 3,250,000 votes in 1907. It was the largest and strongest socialist party in the world, was supported by a remarkably well-organized trade-union movement, and had the advantage of an ably conducted daily and periodical press. Like other parties, however, it could not remain united in doctrine, and had considerable difficulty in maintaining at one and the same time a certain rigidity in principles and the elasticity necessary in meeting growing and complicated problems.

Friedrich Engels lived until 1895 to defend the Marxian doctrine, which he had done so much to formulate and publish. Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht and Karl Kautsky also held to the orthodox beliefs, which remained the

SOCIALISM AND SYNDICALISM

official teaching of the party. As early as the eighteen-nineties, however, Vollmar, who was influential in southern Germany, advocated co-operation with the bourgeoisie in order to gain improvements in the conditions of the workers. But a more formidable challenge to the received doctrine came from Eduard Bernstein, who denied the truth of essential Marxian doctrines and was the most prominent exponent of what was called revisionism. He sought to prove, for instance, that capital did not, as Marx had taught, tend to be concentrated in the hands of fewer and fewer people; on the contrary, it was becoming more widespread in ownership; small firms and businesses were not being increasingly driven out, and the masses were not being pushed down into direr and direr poverty. It followed that capitalism was not decadent, and that the prime duty of socialists in using their political power was not mere obstruction but the winning of reforms. Consequently the time had come to revise the doctrine and amend the programme of the party.

In addition to this criticism of doctrine, and connected with it, there were differences with regard to tactics, as for instance on the agrarian question. Few socialists, after 1870, could be unaware of the danger implied in the existence of a stubbornly individualist, conservative peasantry. While this class continued to vote with the centre and the right the triumph of socialism at the polls was postponed, and common sense indicated the necessity of doing something to win the peasants over to the left. The difficulty was that Marx, who spoke in the *Manifesto* of the "idiocy of rural life," had in the end nothing to offer the peasant but the bleak prospect of extinction as an independent cultivator. The Frankfort Congress of

WORKERS ABROAD

1894 proposed the recognition of peasant proprietorship and the improvement of the cultivator's position by insurance schemes and the development of co-operation ; but Engels and Kautsky denounced this programme as heretical, and it was repudiated at the following congress of Breslau. The peasant was not attracted ; he lives to-day under rulers who have ensured that rural life shall be an idiocy, but have been astute enough to give it an outwardly honourable status.

In regard to another problem, the co-operative movement, the party was more successful. Lassalle had been hostile to the kind of organization founded by Schulze-Delitzsch, and there existed some degree of suspicion that an extension of co-operative enterprises might breed a petty bourgeois outlook among those engaged in them. The spread of co-operation was made easier by a change in the law in 1889, and the working classes made great use of the facilities open to them. That they did not thereby become less socialist is evident from the alarm of the older kind of co-operators, who, at the Kreuznach Congress in 1902, expelled a large number of societies on account of their socialist leanings. This disrupted the movement, for it led to the secession of a large number of co-operative stores, which founded a rival federation and grew rapidly in numbers and strength.

French Socialism

In little more than a decade after the Commune an active socialist party had been formed in France, largely through the efforts of Jules Guesde, the irrepressible editor of *Égalité*, and Paul Lafargue, a son-in-law of

SOCIALISM AND SYNDICALISM

Marx. These orthodox Marxists met with little opposition from the older schools of socialism, which were either dead, decadent or disgraced. Nevertheless, almost from the beginning, there were divisions in the ranks of French socialism. In part these differences may be attributed to temperament, French socialists being less willing than Germans to accept regimentation or the ambiguous formulæ which may be needed to keep formal party unity. In part the differences sprang from clashes regarding doctrine and tactics. Paul Brousse, a refugee in Spain after the Commune, had met Bakunin and to some extent adopted his ideas. He thus represented the forces which had refused to tolerate Marxist dominance in the First International; he was, moreover, more willing than Guesde and Lafargue to co-operate with bourgeois radicals. The opponents of Guesde, known as possibilists, or opportunists, were, however, themselves divided, and secessions brought new parties into existence. Thus by 1899 there were in effect six different working-class or socialist parties, namely (1) the Labour Party (*Parti Ouvrier*) of Guesde; (2) the Socialist Revolutionary Party, an anarchist party led by Vaillant, which had arisen from the Central Revolutionary Committee, or followers of Blanqui; (3) the Socialist Workers' Federation, following Brousse; (4) the Socialist Revolutionary Labour Party, led by Allemane; (5) the Communist Alliance, which usually co-operated with the Socialist Revolutionary Party; and (6) the Independent Socialists, led by Jaurès.

The programme of the Guesdist Labour Party, in principle and in details, resembled that of the German Social Democratic Party. Politically it demanded full democracy, the substitution of a citizen militia for the

WORKERS ABROAD

professional army, the repudiation of the national debt, and the abolition of indirect taxes. For industry it demanded an eight-hour day and a six-day week, a minimum wage, equal pay for men and women doing the same work, employers' liability for industrial accident insurance, the abolition of factory fines, and the prohibition of child labour. The party's ultimate object was social ownership of the means of production; in the meanwhile, though believing that small-scale production was fated to disappear in agriculture as in industry, it recognized peasant proprietorship, on the ground that the workers were in possession of the means of production, and advocated the protection of the peasant against moneylenders and the tax collectors of the capitalist state. Trade unionism was regarded as useful, and strikes as necessary, under the existing order, but the general strike was not considered as an adequate revolutionary weapon, and the party hoped to overturn capitalism by means of the ballot box.

The Socialist Workers' Federation, on the other hand, considered that socialism would be reached by a natural evolution, since capitalism inevitably tended towards monopoly, and monopolies, as inevitably, would require regulation in the public interest. Gradually this regulation would be turned into possession, and one industry after another would become a public service. In the view of the Socialist Revolutionary Party, however, the development of monopolies would necessarily be accompanied by a strengthening of capitalism, and was therefore less a direct step towards socialism than a round in the conflict of classes. It behoved the workers, as monopolies grew, to strengthen the trade unions and make them effective fighting organizations. Political

SOCIALISM AND SYNDICALISM

action might indeed have a certain value as propaganda, but victory was to be achieved otherwise, and largely through the general strike. The Independent Socialists, who appealed mainly to skilled artisans, professional workers and the "intelligentsia," propagated a socialism which was less a dogma than a composite of elements, partly derived from the ideas of 1848 and partly from experience of public work on municipal councils and in the Chamber of Deputies.

These differences were a proof that people took principles seriously, and insisted on freedom of discussion and of organization. Provided that reactions against Marxist doctrine did not themselves become rigid and intolerant orthodoxies, they were valuable stimulants to thinking. Nevertheless, as most socialists agreed, it was a pity for the progress of the movement to be hindered by bickering, and it was thus desirable to secure as much co-ordination as possible. In 1896 the Guesdists, the Revolutionary Socialists and the Independents agreed to co-operate on the basis of a programme announced by the Independent, Millerand, in which the importance of political action, the nationalization of industries as society became ripe for it, and the necessity of international workers' co-operation were stressed; but complete unity was made difficult by a controversy which broke out in 1899, when Millerand accepted office in Waldeck-Rousseau's ministry, and thereby not only agreed to co-operate with the bourgeoisie but became a colleague of the ruthless butcher of 1871, General Galliffet. In the stormy congress which followed it was decided, though not by an overwhelming majority, that socialists should not join a bourgeois government; but Millerand was not expelled. A union of the socialist parties was for the

WORKERS ABROAD

moment achieved, but it soon broke down, partly on account of the high-handed action of the committee towards the socialist deputies. It gave way not to the old diversity but to two parties, the Socialist Party of France, or Socialist Revolutionary Unity, led by Vaillant, and the French Socialist Party led by Jaurès and Renaudel. The former party was insistent on the class conflict and distrusted all co-operation with the bourgeoisie. The latter party was prepared to take all measures which it could obtain by political action, a business in which it was more successful than its rival. Both in France and beyond its borders the division was deplored, and eventually a move for unity was brought about at the Amsterdam Congress of 1904. Thus by 1905 there existed one party, the French section of the Second Workers' International; but the formal unity did not in practice abolish the old differences. Despite its theoretically revolutionary basis, the party did in fact co-operate with the radicals. In 1906 Briand and Viviani took office in Clemenceau's ministry; this led to their expulsion from the Socialist Party, and they joined the Republican Socialists.

Syndicalism

As the French trade unions outgrew their timidity and became increasingly socialist in outlook, they felt the need of association on a larger scale. Early attempts to unify the movement were, however, frustrated by the influence of Guesde and his followers, who feared a loss of power if the unions most subject to them should enter into closer relations with others. The Guesdists were also suspicious of the trade union tendency to regard

SOCIALISM AND SYNDICALISM

the general strike as the most potent revolutionary weapon. In 1895, nevertheless, there was founded the C.G.T., or General Confederation of Labour, of which twenty-eight national unions, eighteen *bourses du travail*, and eighteen local unions became members. During the lifetime of Pelloutier, secretary of the federation of *bourses*, these local associations were more powerful than the trade unions and dominated the Confederation of Labour, but in 1903 the fusion was really complete and the *bourses* became elements in the C.G.T. rather than masters of it. Though a split between unions and *bourses* was thus avoided, the C.G.T. was far from unanimous, and, like the socialist movement, showed the division between revolutionaries and reformists. The latter were in favour of peaceable agreements, believed in developing the friendly society side of trade unions, and did not wish to lose reforms by using violent methods likely to alienate friendly sections of the bourgeoisie. The revolutionaries, on the other hand, though not unwilling to accept such reforms as could be got, were not content with a policy of gradualism, and believed that co-operation with the bourgeoisie was more dangerous than profitable. Their business was to fight, and sabotage and strikes offered more hope of victory than political action.

For us, a generation later, the quarrel may well seem as unfortunate as the feud of Montagues and Capulets, but to participants and onlookers in that age before Armageddon the dispute was not only exciting but fundamental. On that account, and because the same controversy arose in other countries, it is necessary to make a brief examination of the points at issue. In strictness, the term syndicalist means a trade unionist,

WORKERS ABROAD

whether on the reforming or on the revolutionary side ; but syndicalism has obtained currency as a label for the revolutionary view, and, since that view was adopted by an overwhelming majority at the C.G.T. Congress at Amiens in 1906, the term may be conveniently used to denote the beliefs of such revolutionary leaders as Griffuelhes. In the first place the "Amiens Charter" asserts the independence of trade unionism, which unites class-conscious workers "of every political school." Every individual member of the C.G.T. was declared free to join any group in accord with his political or philosophical views, but he was required to refrain from introducing into his trade union the political interests and controversies which he was free to pursue outside it. On the face of it this condition seemed reasonable, and was calculated both to preserve internal peace and to remove obstacles to trade union growth. On the other hand it was easy, as Mr. G. D. H. Cole has pointed out, for independence of party to be transmuted into opposition to all parties and to political action. Many trade unionists regarded Millerand, Briand and Viviani as deserters who joined bourgeois ministries only because they had ceased to be socialist except in name. The ministries which they joined did introduce reforms, but the Senate's readiness to maim or kill such reforms conveniently prevented socialist participation in government from doing much good to the working classes. Moreover, the bourgeois ministries seemed to be moved by an increasing hatred of trade unionism ; they used the troops in great numbers to interfere in trade disputes ; their police arrested trade union leaders, and in May 1908 shot down strikers at Draveil ; and Briand, formerly an advocate of strike action, had the railway

SOCIALISM AND SYNDICALISM

strike committee arrested in 1910, and ensured victory for the owners by calling fifteen thousand railwaymen to the colours. Briand no doubt regarded himself as bound to defend the interests of the community, menaced by the stoppage of essential services ; but his opponents might consider that what he was defending was not the interest of all, or of the majority, but of the property-owning minority.

Consistently with its emphasis on the class struggle, the C.G.T. denied the claim of the bourgeois state to the bodies and allegiance of its subjects. The claims of patriotism were, according to reformists, a matter for the individual conscience, but a revolutionary syndicalist majority was secured at several congresses for motions declaring that workers have no country and recognize only the frontiers of class. Their duty, it was declared at a special congress in 1912, is not to obey the call to arms but to begin a general strike when war is threatened. The anti-militarism of French trade unionists was, no doubt, made stronger by the existing system of taxation. At a time when soldier-ridden Germany spent on the army 15.55 francs per head of the population, France spent 22.35 francs per head, and the money was raised almost entirely by indirect taxation, which was held to increase the cost of living and to throw on the workers far more than was just of the expense of defending property.

For the delays and compromises of politics, therefore, the syndicalists wished to substitute "direct action." For literary exponents of the movement such action had a deep significance ; strikes and sabotage were considered a real manifestation of proletarian feeling, at once more characteristic and sincere than parliamentary

WORKERS ABROAD

logic-chopping. Direct action would doubtless bring repression, but it would also, even if the workers were defeated again and again, increase solidarity and rouse the spirit which would eventually destroy capitalism by means of a general strike. Sorel, indeed, regarded the catastrophic general strike as a "social myth," a faith which, like the early Christian belief in the imminent crack of doom, might be forceful even if not true. The revolution, it would appear, was not to be planned but would come of itself when an unpremeditated general strike arose out of other conflicts. That, at least, was the view of Pataud and Pouget in *How we shall make the Revolution*. For some writers it followed that the order which would replace capitalism was not to be deliberated beforehand; the details would work themselves out when the time came; but the general principle was clear; authoritarian state socialism would not do, but the trade unions would undertake control of their own industries; the miners would run the mines and the railwaymen the railways.

It is not very likely that the rank and file of French trade unions accepted or understood the views of Sorel and other syndicalist writers. Moreover, however prevalent revolutionary views may have been, reformist unions were not excluded from the C.G.T. There was nothing in its constitution to prevent unions which desired high rates of contribution from imposing them, and it included trades with a strong benefit society side, such as the printers and the building trades, though it is true that most unions either did not believe in high contributions or could not exact them. Compared with English trade unionists, French workers were on the whole markedly class-conscious; but they were not

SOCIALISM AND SYNDICALISM

willing, in order to carry on the conflict, to tolerate strongly centralized organization, and insisted on a high degree of autonomy for the local associations. It is thus evident that the spirit of Proudhon was by no means dead in pre-War France; either because of his influence or because they were men of the same kind, French workers still held a good deal to his view that revolution and justice consist in breaking an authority that is merely imposed, and in loyal service to the group that one freely forms.

CHAPTER VII

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

THE formation of a numerous class of wage-earners was a comparatively late phenomenon in American history. The chief reason for that, no doubt, was the abundance of land, which made it relatively easy for people who in other countries would have been dependent workmen to set up as independent, if not very rich, producers on their own account. It is indeed true that in some spheres of production large numbers of landless labourers were required, but the demand was met, to a greater or lesser extent, by the importation of partly or wholly unfree labour. The labourers consisted in part of indentured servants, that is, of convicted criminals, debtors, or persons who agreed to pay for their passage by work for an employer in America. The bondage of this white labour was limited and temporary, and this method of recruitment could not be used after the colonists had broken away from the British Empire. The use of black labour, which was troubling some consciences in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was given an enormous impetus by the invention of the cotton gin in 1793, which cheapened the cleaning of cotton fibre, and by the increasing demand for raw cotton in the

IN THE UNITED STATES

growing English cotton textile manufacture. Thus King Cotton and slavery spread over the southern states, and by 1860 had reached Texas. Slavery was an important, though not the sole, cause of the Civil War of 1861-65, as a result of which the negroes were technically freed. The coloured population now amounts to about twelve millions, or about one-ninth of the whole population of the United States. The degree to which black labour now competes with white is not easy to determine, but, at least in the skilled trades, is probably small.

Abundance of land and the concentration of much of the national energy in the settlement and exploitation of the West partly account for the relatively slow development of American industry before the Civil War. Machine spinning of cotton was practised before 1790 and the power loom was introduced in 1814, but as late as 1840 three-quarters of the cotton textile output was produced in New England, largely, it appears, because its rivers supplied cheap water power. The iron industry was so little developed that the substitution of iron for wooden railway lines began only in the eighteen-forties. That factory industry was by no means dominant would appear from the computation that in 1849 the country contained 123,000 industrial establishments, employing among them less than a million wage-earners, an average of less than ten apiece. Little as factory production had developed, however, it was accompanied by evils similar to those prevailing in Lancashire and Alsace, and by some others. According to Seth Luther, addressing working men in 1832, "operatives were taxed by the companies for the support of religion; habitual absence from church was punished by the Lowell Manufactur-

WORKERS ABROAD

ing Company with dismissal from employment. . . . Windows were nailed down and the operatives deprived of fresh air, and a case of rebellion on the part of one thousand females on account of tyrannical and oppressive treatment is mentioned. Women and children were urged on by the use of a cowhide, and an instance is given of a little girl, eleven years of age, whose leg was broken with a billet of wood. Still more harrowing is the description of the merciless whipping of a deaf-and-dumb boy by an overseer named Bryant. An eye-witness said, 'When he came in (home) he lay down on the bed like one without life. . . . He was mangled in a shocking manner from his neck to his feet. He received, I should think, one hundred blows.' At Mendon, Mass., a boy of twelve drowned himself in a pond to escape factory labour."

Such factory labour, consisting largely of women and children, was difficult to organize; and the first known textile strike occurred only in 1828. The American labour movement is, nevertheless, about as old as the nation itself, for the Philadelphia printers were on strike in 1786 and the carpenters of the same town had a union in 1791. The early trade unions were for the most part short-lived, and were also in the main purely local, though they corresponded with unions in other towns. Since they consisted of craftsmen, whose trades had so far been little affected by machinery, their chief preoccupation was with wages and hours and preventing the employment of unapprenticed labour. Like English trade unions before 1824, they were unlawful, as associations in restraint of trade, and liable to prosecution. In the eighteen-twenties, when artisans were given the vote in several states, they agitated for education, and not

IN THE UNITED STATES

without cause, for in 1837 it was estimated that in Pennsylvania, out of 400,000 children of school age, 250,000 were without instruction. Before that time the unions had increased in number ; in 1833 there were 29 unions in New York and 21 in Philadelphia ; in 1836 Philadelphia had 58 and New York 52. The unions were also drawing together, different crafts forming local trades associations. The beginnings of wide organization were also apparent ; in 1836 shoemakers and printers had "national" unions. Finally, the workers tried to form political associations ; labour parties were set up in Philadelphia and New York in 1828, and a New England association of farmers and workers existed in 1832 ; but none of these lasted very long.

The early and middle eighteen-thirties were thus a period of political and trade-union activity in America as in Great Britain, where the Reform Bill and the attempts of Doherty and Robert Owen to form large-scale unions occupied the attention of large numbers of working men. The American movement was, however, less continuous than the British, and the financial crisis of 1837, which was felt on both sides of the Atlantic, seems to have withered the American trade unions like an east wind in spring. Between 1837 and 1839, it has been estimated, one-third of the workmen in New York were unemployed. It followed that there was next to no hope of maintaining wage levels by strikes or by negotiation, and, until rising prices and prosperity returned with the California gold discoveries of 1849, there was little interest in trade unionism. One notable advance was made : in 1842 the Massachusetts Supreme Court declared trade unions to be in themselves lawful ; and this set a precedent for other courts. Some legisla-

WORKERS ABROAD

tive improvement of factory conditions also was achieved in this period.

Meanwhile, in an era of depression and unemployment, some attention was directed towards a remedy by an escape from the wage system. Robert Dale Owen and Francis Wright had been active in the early 'thirties, and in 1842 there was published an exposition of Fourier's doctrine, the *Social Destiny of Man*, by Albert Brisbane. Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, and Emerson enthusiastically supported the founding of settlements on Fourier's lines, and in fact more than forty phalanxes were begun, only to fail in every instance through religious dissidence, personal quarrels, or other causes. These, it may be noted, were not the only, and certainly not the most successful, attempts to establish co-operative or communist societies in America. Between 1794, when the Shaker community of Mount Lebanon was founded, and 1850, when followers of Cabet set up an Icarian community in Illinois, at least eight experiments in the communist life were set on foot, mainly by immigrants with peculiar religious views and practices, such as the Shakers, the German Rappists, separatists and inspirationists, and the Swedes of Bishop's Hill, and by the American perfectionists of Oneida and Wallingford. Altogether about 72 communities, 58 of them belonging to the Shakers, existed in 1874. They are then said to have contained a population of about 5,000, and to have owned between them more than 150,000 acres of land. Their wealth, at a low estimate, was said to be 12,000,000 dollars, and during its accumulation, according to a first-hand observer, "the Communists enjoyed a greater amount of comfort and vastly greater security against want and

IN THE UNITED STATES

demoralization than was attained by their neighbours or the surrounding population, with better schools and opportunities of training their children, and far less exposure of the women and the aged and infirm." The record of these communities is, therefore, not unimpressive, and is enough to show that communism, as a way of life, is not impracticable ; on the other hand, it was adopted only by a very small minority of people, and those of exceptional character, beliefs and training, and it seemed no more adapted for the ordinary American in the nineteenth century than the monastic life and ideal were for ordinary men and women in the Middle Ages. More in accord with American ideas was the propaganda of George Henry Evans and the National Reform Union of 1844, in favour of recognizing the right of every man to the land. As a remedy for unemployment and low wages, Evans advocated the free gift to the landless of holdings out of the public domain, the recipients being prohibited from selling their holdings except to other landless persons. The Homestead Act, 1862, did later provide land practically free for settlers, but the public domain was not in fact nearly so inexhaustible as Evans thought, and the opening up of the West has not solved the problem with which he was concerned.

In the period following 1850 the United States developed economically in an astounding fashion ; by 1920, it has been computed, population had increased five times, the value of the agricultural output fifteen times, and the value of manufactures sixty times. The construction of canals, to link up and supplement the great river and lake waterways, and the building of railways had already been taken in hand before the Civil War ; the completion of the railway network and the

WORKERS ABROAD

transcontinental routes followed, and the United States were made into a vast market for their own produce, the importation of foreign manufactures being hampered by a fluctuating but generally high tariff level. Americans showed an extraordinary capacity for mass production of standardized articles and for large-scale associations, whose monopolistic practices the law attempted, with little success, to restrain. This rapid industrial and commercial development was not, indeed, undisturbed; there was deep depression in the South after the Civil War, and widespread suffering in the crisis of 1873; but in the main there prevailed an optimistic belief that the existing order, despite temporary setbacks and deep-seated political corruption, was essentially sound and capable of bringing greater and greater prosperity.

How far the working classes were in fact becoming more prosperous it is difficult to determine. Money wages undoubtedly rose—for unskilled labour possibly 50 per cent. between 1850 and 1890, and 125 per cent. between 1890 and 1924. There is some evidence to support the view that from 1850 to 1890 real earnings were rising also, and that from 1890 to 1900 they rose by 6 per cent. Thence to 1925 the rise has been computed at 36 per cent.; but such results, which depend on translating wages into commodities, probably exaggerate the increase. If, instead of wage-rates, aggregate annual earnings were taken as a basis, the result might be less favourable, since a workman's standard of living depends not only on the height of his wages but on the continuity or otherwise of his employment. Little is known about unemployment before 1890; it is believed that in 1897 about a sixth of the workers in the United States were out of a job, and in 1921-22 the number in employment

IN THE UNITED STATES

was reduced by a seventh in twelve months. Certainly, external signs of prosperity, such as motor cars and expensive hairdressing, were not wanting among American workers; but the higher standards have been possible only with smaller families and by means of family earnings. According to a distinguished American economic historian, "Investigation after investigation since 1915 has shown that the average annual wages of the individual wage-earner often fell below the expenditure necessary to maintain himself and his family in health and decency. . . . Even in some years of prosperity approximately two-fifths of the wage-earners were in this unfortunate situation." It would also appear that the higher standard of living, so far as it existed, was accompanied by a reduction in hours; but the greatest gains came after the Great War. In the building trades the ten-hour day was common in 1850; but the average for American workers in general was nine and a half hours in 1899; and in the iron and steel industries, as late as 1910, 88 per cent. of blast-furnace workers had a seven-day week, and 60 per cent. of them a twelve-hour day. Indeed, the twelve-hour day was defended as necessary in 1923, the year when eight-hour shifts were introduced.

As mass production developed, the importance of the skilled craftsman declined and industry came to depend on a growing proportion of men and women having a little specialized capacity which could be acquired in a short time. This unskilled, or little-skilled, labour was cheaply obtained in vast quantities from Europe. There had been immigration before the Civil War, but a large proportion of the early immigrants had come to farm in a free country and were British, German, or Scandi-

WORKERS ABROAD

navian. Later in the century the bulk of the immigrants came from Italy, Russia, Poland, and south-eastern Europe, and tended far more to congregate in the cities and to find industrial employment. They were frequently illiterate, commonly habituated to despotic government, and used to appallingly low standards of living. Not a few of them regarded their working life in America as a sort of purgatory to be endured until they could return to their own country. Meanwhile they were not rapidly Americanized, but preserved their languages and religions. These differences between immigrants and Americans, and between one kind of immigrant and another, were of advantage to employers, who were thereby able to "divide and rule."

It was some time, however, before the new machines and the flood of immigration began to have profound effects on the structure and problems of the labour movement, and the trade unions of 1850-70 were very similar to those of the earlier period. There existed several "national" unions which did not in fact extend very far from the Atlantic seaboard. Some of them, with local unions and other elements, were federated loosely in the National Labour Union, which, from its foundation in 1866 to its disappearance in 1872, supported the agitation of Ira Steward for the eight-hour day, and gave its blessing to the idea of the land for the people and to the principle of co-operation. A number of experiments in co-operative production were started, especially in the iron trade, but they either failed or became private enterprises. In any event, the blizzard of 1873 swept away almost all traces of trade unionism in the United States. One organization, however, survived and played an important part in the eighteen-

IN THE UNITED STATES

eighties, namely the Order of the Knights of Labour, founded by nine Philadelphia tailors in 1869.

From its foundation to 1878 the Order was a secret society, whose symbol consisted of five stars and whose chief officer bore the title of Grand Master Workman. It was, nevertheless, anything but exclusive, and opened its doors not only to industrial workmen and even employers, but to farmers, women and negroes. This generality in its membership may have resulted partly from the ideas of its first Grand Master Workman, Uriah S. Stevens, who had been trained for the Baptist ministry and must have been familiar with the doctrine that the true faith knows neither Greek nor Jew, bond nor free. Certainly the Order did not found its appeal on the basis of "scientific" socialism, for it was not, strictly speaking, socialist. It demanded the prohibition of child labour and of truck payment, the nationalization of the railways, freedom to form trade unions, the eight-hour day, and other reforms. It also required that public lands should be reserved for settlers, and that the state should not guarantee or recognize private banks, and should not issue interest-bearing bonds or bills, but should issue directly to the people, without the intervention of banks, adequate supplies of currency. Thus the Order, representing agrarian and craft interests, was opposed to land speculators, mortgage-holding banks and monopolists—to abuses of capitalism—but it did not advocate nationalization either of the land or of industry and commerce in general. Nor did it conceive of an inevitable class conflict; on the contrary, it wished "to persuade employers to arbitrate all differences which may arise between them and their employees, in order that the bonds of sympathy between them may be

WORKERS ABROAD

strengthened, and that strikes may be rendered unnecessary.

In order to combat misrepresentation of its activities as anti-social and irreligious, the Order ceased to be secret and cut out parts of its ritual. It was compelled also, by the march of events, to depart from its condemnation of strikes, and was involved in a series of disputes, especially in 1885. The successful outcome of these greatly increased the membership, which rose from 110,000 in July 1885 to 729,000 in July 1886. In that year, however, decline set in; unsuccessful strikes lowered the Order's prestige, and a bomb outrage in Chicago, for which four anarchists, on no evidence, were executed, was unfairly made a reproach to the Knights of Labour. The membership fell to 260,000 in 1888 and 100,000 in 1890; by 1919 it was a mere 10,000, and thereafter the Knights of Labour passed out of American trade-union history. As it declined, a rival, the American Federation of Labour, grew. This was effectually constituted in 1886, and was largely the work of P. J. McGuire, of the Carpenters' Union, and of Adolph Strasser and Samuel Gompers, both of the Cigar-makers' Union. All three had to some extent been influenced by Marxian socialism, and they were also aware of the nature and strength of the British unions. Thus they were dissatisfied with the principles of the Knights of Labour, and considered that a different type of organization was required to serve the workers' interest. Since the history of the American labour movement in the later nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries turns on the victory of the Federation over the Order, it is worth while to state briefly the difference between them.

In the first place they were different in structure. The

IN THE UNITED STATES

Order was built up of local and district assemblies, subject to a national assembly and a central executive. The local assemblies might consist of people in the same trade, but often did not, and the Order believed that its duty was to look after the interests of the oppressed as a whole, and to increase their solidarity, but not to confine the attention of its members to the problems of their particular trade or occupation. The mixed local or district assemblies were thus intended to serve one of the purposes of the French *bourses du travail*. In the Federation, on the other hand, though there were some local unions of a mixed character directly affiliated to the Federation itself, the ordinary units consisted of workers in the same craft, organized in their appropriate national union, which was affiliated to the A.F.L. Corresponding to this difference there was another. The Order was fairly strongly centralized, whereas the A.F.L. left the constituent national unions masters of their own trade affairs. It assisted them to pursue their objects but did not, as the Order might, claim to control them. In practice, it may be noted, the Order also had to make concessions to craft autonomy; it was possible for workers in one occupation in different places to be grouped in a district assembly consisting of that trade; but the arrangements of the Federation to that end were simpler and more effective, and were preferred by many crafts. Since it conceived of itself as purely a wage-earners' organization, the A.F.L. rejected the farmers whom the Order had accepted. Moreover, unlike the Order, it regarded the strike as a necessary and inevitable weapon. Generally, also, the national unions of the Federation tended to be exclusive. Moreover, they did not share the Order's faith in co-operative production.

WORKERS ABROAD

When Powderly was Grand Master Workman a number of such enterprises were set on foot with the help of the Order's funds ; most of them were started in a period of depression and low wages, and were regarded as a means of escaping from the wage system, but when trade revived the persons engaged in them often preferred the relative certainty of wages to the doubtful and deferred advantages of co-operation, which, in any event, required, in order to succeed, more capital than a working-class organization could provide. Finally, the Order had taken part in politics and supported Henry George for the mayoralty of New York, but the Federation stood by the views of its conservative majority and did not attempt direct political action. It was certainly interested in the passing of laws to reduce hours and improve conditions, but it preferred to obtain these benefits at the hands of the existing parties.

The two organizations, therefore, stood for different, but in the end not necessarily irreconcilable, points of view, and co-operation might have been possible if the Order had confined itself to propaganda and politics, leaving the Federation a free field in trade unionism. Since, however, the Order was also a trade-union organization, conflict could hardly be avoided, nor could the question be settled by the one body recognizing those enrolled in the other as of "good standing" in trade matters, for it was possible for a man to be admitted into a mixed local of the Order on conditions which the national unions in the Federation would not consider sufficient. The Order's emphasis on arbitration also, and its dislike of strikes, made it suspect from the point of view of militant trade unionists in the A.F.L. The existence of two rival federations was undesirable, and it

IN THE UNITED STATES

was thus fortunate that the A.F.L. spread itself over most of the field ; but some loss also was entailed, for the outlook of the Federation was narrower, and it did not gain such unskilled labour as the Order lost. Moreover, valuable as the machinery of the A.F.L. was in its restricted sphere, it could not easily express the feeling and hopes of the working class in general, nor link up the workers with the sections which, at the time, were their natural allies in the fight against large-scale monopolistic business.

In the early years of the twentieth century the membership of the A.F.L. grew rapidly, rising from about 548,000 in 1900 to over 2,000,000 in 1906, though there was a decline later. By that time the Federation was much the strongest trade-union organization in the United States, and was regarded as the official representative of the labour movement ; but it had been subject to a good deal of criticism both from within and from without. This criticism, though sometimes extreme and sweeping in statement, was, at least in regard to certain points, well founded. While it would not be true to say of the A.F.L. that its membership consisted entirely of skilled craftsmen, it was certainly dominated by a craft outlook. Not a few of the unions charged high admission fees, some of them as much as £100. Moreover, the Federation could do little to prevent the individual crafts from pursuing their exclusive interests, even at the expense of other crafts. To the opponents of Gompers, who was now getting old, conservative and authoritative, two things seemed urgently necessary. The first was to organize the vast masses of unskilled labour, mainly foreign ; the second was to organize on the basis not of particular crafts but of whole industries ;

WORKERS ABROAD

indeed, if possible, to bring the whole working class into one union, in which the rapidly diminishing difference between skilled and unskilled should have no place, but the common interest of the working class would be defended.

The dislike of the conservatism of Gompers and other leaders, and insistence on the inescapable class conflict, led to the formation in Chicago in 1905 of the Industrial Workers of the World. Its strongest contingent consisted of the Western Federation of Miners, who, however, soon left the I.W.W. and joined the A.F.L. The best-known achievement of the I.W.W. was the organization in 1912 of a strike in the textile town of Lawrence, Massachusetts, where there were thousands of French-Canadians, Irish, Italians, Belgians, Poles and Russians dependent on the mills for their existence. The law had recently reduced the hours of labour from fifty-six to fifty-four in the week, but the employers did not propose to pay, as in the past, the same wage for the shorter week. The obstacles in the way of united action by workers, mostly unorganized and speaking different languages, were enormous, and others were added; the strike committee secretary was arrested for causing the death of a woman whom the police had shot, and a Lawrence business man planted dynamite in a striker's house in order to denounce him. But the difficulties were surmounted, and in the end increases, varying from 5 to 20 per cent., were obtained. These advantages were, unfortunately, nullified later when the millowners increased the speed of the machinery.

In the United States the labour movement was not, as in France and Germany, accompanied by a strong political organization. Socialism as an idea is about as

IN THE UNITED STATES

old in America as in Europe, but the development of a socialist party occurred only fairly late in the nineteenth century and had made very little progress before the War. Broadly, the history of socialism falls into two main divisions, the era of Utopian communities, about which something has been said, and the period following 1872, when the First International was transferred to America. There it survived, after a fashion, until 1876, but seceders from it had already founded in 1874 the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party, which in 1877 became the Socialist Labour Party of America. Its members, the vast majority of whom were foreign born, numbered about 10,000 in 1879, by which time the party contained two factions, one of them hoping to achieve its aims by persuasion and the ballot box, and the other believing that force was inevitable, if only for defence. The party maintained friendly relations with the trade unions, and was especially powerful among German and Jewish workers, but in 1895 it severed its connections with the Knights of Labour and set up a Socialist Trades and Labour Alliance of its own. Groups of radicals and socialists outside the party formed in 1898 a Social Democratic Party, and this united with insurgents against the Socialist Labour Party to found the Socialist Party of America in 1901. From that time onwards the old organization lost most of its strength and influence, while the Socialist Party grew. It worked within the trade unions and was active, to the annoyance of Gompers in the A.F.L. In 1904 it nominated Eugene Debs as candidate in the presidential elections and polled a little over 400,000 votes. In common with other socialist parties, it was troubled by differences on the question of political action and trade

WORKERS ABROAD

unionism. Debs enthusiastically supported the I.W.W., maintaining that the A.F.L. could not be fundamentally opposed to capitalism. The party's official attitude was less definite, for it was prepared to support both the old unionism of the Federation and the new unionism of the I.W.W.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN NORTHERN EUROPE

To trace, even in the barest outline, the awakening of the workers in all the countries of Europe is quite impossible within the limits of this and the following chapter, which aim rather at presenting a brief account of the rise of the movement in three broadly separate regions. It will be observed that in northern Europe the labour movement in the main resembled that of Germany ; that anarchism and syndicalism had a relatively greater influence in the south ; and that Russia, in this as in other matters, travelled on a path of its own.

Belgium

The modern history of Belgium began when the country became independent of Holland in 1830. In a very short time it had opened the first railway line on the Continent, and soon showed some signs of the development which later made it one of the most industrialized areas in Europe. Its industries, some of them ancient, were mainly small-scale and backward ; in 1838, out of seventy-five smelting furnaces only twenty used coke, though, on the other hand, the

WORKERS ABROAD

Cockerill works at Liège in 1840 were among the largest on the Continent and employed about two thousand hands. In the second half of the nineteenth century advance was rapid; the numbers employed in the iron and steel industries rose from 3,000 in 1850 to 31,000 in 1912, and the steam horse-power from 162,000 in 1860 to 1,389,000 in 1900. By that time the agricultural population formed less than 20 per cent. of the whole, and one-fifth of the country's inhabitants were to be found in the four cities of Brussels, Ghent, Liège and Antwerp. As in other countries, industrial development brought with it considerable suffering; old trades painfully postponed their disappearance by accepting appallingly low wages and long hours; women and children were employed in terrible conditions, and commercial crises meant widespread misery. The suffering was not lessened by the fact that a great part of the population, which paid the indirect taxes and was liable for military service, was unenfranchised until 1893. Education was rare; among Flemish workers in 1860, 79 per cent. of the men and 90 per cent. of the women were illiterate. It is thus no wonder that legislation did little for the masses; as late as 1878, in the interests of liberty and the Christian virtues, the Senate threw out a bill to prohibit the labour of children in mines; and that reform was not achieved until 1884. Finally, the law, government and police were anything but friendly to trade unionism; though freedom of association was theoretically recognized in the constitution of 1831, effective combination was not legally possible until 1866, and then only with limitations. Trade unions were enabled to become civil personalities in 1898, but could not thereby join a political party or establish unemploy-

NORTHERN EUROPE

ment benefits ; most of them preferred to be without the doubtful advantages of legal recognition.

As in other countries, the first workers' organizations were benefit clubs, similar in some respects to the trade guilds which had played so important a part in the mediæval history of the country ; but a benefit society, all or most of whose members belonged to the same trade, could gradually become a "society of resistance"—by providing unemployment pay and funds to support workmen travelling in search of work and by limiting apprenticeship. The first effective trade unions were those of the Ghent weavers, founded in 1857, and of the spinners of the same region, formed about the same time. They were societies having to meet in cellars, and hiding their funds, not too successfully, under a cabaret floor, but, with a persistence that recalls the conflicts of the Middle Ages, waging war on their employers. In 1860 the metal trades and the textile workers formed the Ghent Workers' Federation, the first Belgian organization to include more than one trade. It did not last long ; a serious strike, the American Civil War, the cotton famine and bad times brought an end to the spinners' and metal workers' unions, but the weavers survived to become the first section of the International in Ghent. The International, which reached Belgium in 1867, was influential also in Brussels and the textile centre of Verviers, and led to the formation of many new trade unions ; but the controversies which ruined it elsewhere troubled it in Belgium also. Dr. César de Paepe, the leader of the Belgian sections, did his best to reconcile Marxians and Proudhonists, and, after the collapse of the International, was the chief founder of the Belgian Labour Party. To him, as well as to Anseele, Bertrand,

WORKERS ABROAD

and Vandervelde, much of the credit was due for the spread of co-operative trading in the towns, and for the close connection between the town societies and the party. After earlier attempts, from 1848 onwards, had broken down, the number of co-operative enterprises, especially bakeries, multiplied in the eighteen-eighties, and were, as Anseele put it, fortresses from which the workers could bombard capitalist society with potatoes and four-pound loaves. They became centres for popular education, recreation, insurance and medical aid. In the countryside co-operative socialism had little success, for the Church organized a movement of its own, which did something both to improve the farmer's condition and to safeguard his reverence for St. Isidore.

After the collapse of the International, Anseele and others founded a Flemish Socialist Labour Party at Ghent, and De Paepe and others in Brussels established a Socialist Party of Brabant; from these a Belgian Socialist Party arose in 1879, and this, when constituted on a wider basis in 1885, became the Labour Party (*Parti Ouvrier*), including not only trade unions, but co-operative and benefit societies. It was soon involved in the conflicts which gave the year 1886 a special importance in the history of Belgian Labour. An unimportant disturbance at Liège was followed in a few days by a colliers' strike for the purpose of raising wages, then about twenty-five to thirty shillings a fortnight on full time and twenty to twenty-four shillings in slack times. This strike spread to the glass workers, and the works and residence of a M. Baudoux were burnt and pillaged, and other damage was done before the troops arrived to restore order. The outbreak does not appear to have been planned, but was a spontaneous outburst

NORTHERN EUROPE

arising directly out of intolerable misery, which the government had ignored. In the ensuing trials the scared authorities inflicted savage sentences in great numbers, and among those sentenced were people who had nothing to do with the violence. A government commission was appointed to investigate the workers' conditions, but its findings were for the most part ignored. The outbreak had, nevertheless, made plain the existence of problems which even a clerical bourgeoisie could not evade for ever; and the merely repressive attitude of the government strengthened the argument of the Labour Party for universal franchise. Like the English Chartists fifty years earlier, it set on foot a campaign for the vote as a means of social reform, and was able to use the strike in the course of the agitation. In 1893 votes were given to men over twenty-five years of age, with extra votes for heads of families, persons of education and the wealthy. In the elections of 1894 twenty-eight socialists were returned to the Chamber of Deputies.

Besides agitating for universal suffrage, the Labour Party gave much help in founding trade unions, being, for example, largely instrumental in forming the Miners' Federation in 1889. Most of the trade unions tended, as time went on, towards centralization, and were linked together in a federation, with a commission drawn from the Labour Party and the national unions to direct it. Some unions preferred, even while basing themselves on the class conflict, to be independent of the Labour Party, and in 1907 the diamond workers and glass workers took the lead in forming a separate commission of independent unions, which, however, does not appear to have been very successful. In 1913 several trades, including

WORKERS ABROAD

the Liège miners, set up a confederation on the lines of the French C.G.T., leaving the individual trade unionist free to join any party he chose. In trade-union affairs, therefore, Belgium partly resembled France and partly Germany. Like Germany it had, in addition to trade unions of the ordinary kind, others founded under the guidance of liberals and ecclesiastics. The liberal unions were, or soon became, insignificant in numbers, but the Christian unions were more formidable rivals. After the troubles of 1886 the Church took a greater interest in the condition of the workers, and, especially under the leadership of Father Rutten, a number of Roman Catholic unions, anti-socialist and disbelieving in the class war, were formed in several towns. In 1908 they were united in a national federation, and in 1912 claimed a membership—according to their rivals grossly exaggerated—of 80,000. The membership of socialist and syndicalist unions in 1913 is said to have been 131,000.

The Netherlands

Though a very densely populated country, the Netherlands did not, in the period before the War, establish a large or strong labour movement. The main reason, no doubt, is that it has few resources in coal and metals and has derived a large part of its wealth from commerce and agriculture, in which the workers are anything but easy to organize. Other hindering factors were the state of the law and deep-seated religious differences. Prohibition of the right to strike was removed in 1872, but, as in other countries, combination was surrounded with difficulties, and, as a result of strikes in 1903, the right

NORTHERN EUROPE

to strike was withdrawn from railway servants by legislation. Protestantism, meanwhile, had long sought to wean the workers from socialist materialism, and in 1878 there was founded an evangelical league, called *Patrimonium*, with a policy of social reform. Several trade unions and a national federation grew up under its aegis; but in 1910 the membership of the federation, which did not altogether repudiate the practice of striking, was under 7,000. The Roman Catholics, who comprise two-fifths of the population, though later in the field, were more successful. The Church, not without alarming the bishops, established a number of unions which, in 1910, contained 32,000 workers. In addition to the purely Protestant and Roman Catholic unions, there were still others with a membership drawn from both confessions.

In the Netherlands, as elsewhere, working-class organization began with benefit societies. Thus the printers' societies between 1840 and 1850 gradually became trade unions, and were united in a federation, or national union, in 1866. Other trades followed suit, and a section of the First International was founded in Amsterdam in 1868. Ten years later a social democratic association, on the basis of the Gotha programme, was set up, and this, after some splitting and reconstruction, became the Social Democratic Labour Party in 1900. A trade-union congress came into existence in 1893, and a trade-union confederation in 1906. The congress showed a tendency towards the syndicalist position, but, after the disastrous strikes of 1903, declined considerably. The federation, linking the unions favourable to social democracy, grew fairly rapidly, and by 1913 had a membership of more than 60,000.

WORKERS ABROAD

Scandinavia

In some respects the economic history of Norway, Sweden and Denmark is not unlike that of the Netherlands. Farming, fishing and commerce continued to occupy the majority of the inhabitants, and industry, though old, entered the phase of large-scale production only very recently. The Scandinavian countries are much more sparsely peopled than Holland and Belgium, but there has been a similar tendency towards concentration in towns. That has made the organization of trade unions easier. In the countryside there is less need of trade unionism because of the relatively wide extension of peasant proprietorship. Denmark especially has shown what a high level of efficiency and contentment can be reached by a nation of intelligent peasants by means of democratic organization and ubiquitous co-operative societies.

In these countries, as in Germany, mediæval guilds survived into the nineteenth century, and were replaced at first by freely formed benefit societies. Trade unions of the modern kind developed mainly in the period following 1870, starting with local unions and ending with federations, or national unions. The next step, of linking different unions in one organization, was taken in the three countries at about the same time ; the Danish trade-union confederation was formed in 1898 ; in the same year the first Swedish trade-union congress was held, and in 1899 the first in Norway. Finally, it may be noted, the trade unions in each country have kept in touch with those in the other two. Congresses in which all three countries were represented commenced as early

NORTHERN EUROPE

as 1886, and in 1907 the conditions were made clear in which the workers of two countries would come to the aid of their fellows in the third during a trade dispute.

In all three countries, despite the existence of some unions not included in the national confederations, a close connection has been maintained with the socialist parties, which, in general, have not had a long history. Scandinavia seems to have become first acquainted with socialism when Marcus Thrane, a Norwegian student who had travelled in Switzerland and France, advocated "Utopian" socialist ideas in a Norwegian journal during the revolutionary year 1848. He refused to regard the current political conflict between the farmers and the bureaucracy as a real struggle between liberals and reactionaries, and demanded a liberal measure which neither would grant—universal suffrage. He also sought to organize farm labourers and leasehold cultivators, and founded a labour journal. In 1850 the movement was strong enough to hold a conference in Christiania. Some of the peasants, against Thrane's advice, took direct action in seizing land and felling timber, and the government in 1851 made numerous arrests and imprisoned the leaders, Thrane included, whereupon the movement collapsed, though its journal survived until 1856. The modern labour movement may be regarded as commencing in 1871, when a section of the First International was founded in Denmark, for, though this was dissolved by the government in 1873, the right of association was conceded in 1874, trade unions began to form, and a social democratic federation was established in 1878. In Sweden the liberals helped to set up educational associations in 1850, and a workers' congress was held in 1879. It was moderate in tone, but by 1889 the

WORKERS ABROAD

workers had shuffled off their dependence and founded a Labour Party. Norway saw the formation of socialist societies in Christiania and Bergen in 1885 and 1886, and founded a Labour Party in the following year. These parties were all similar in spirit to the German S.D.P., that is, they aimed at socialism through parliamentary action and trade-union organization. They recognized the necessity of the strike as a trade-union weapon, but had no belief in the general strike as the unique means of effecting the revolution, though in Sweden a general strike was called in order to demand universal suffrage, and a widespread strike was declared for economic objects in 1909.

Though the trade-union movement as a whole was not so firmly knit as in Germany, it pursued the same general policy—the conclusion of local or district collective agreements, and the application of pressure by a whole union not to all employers at once, but to individuals or sections. This policy was bound to become more difficult when the employers learned to combine, as the Danish employers did in 1898 and the Swedish in 1902. In Sweden both government and employers were notably unfriendly to workers' organizations; the one had been over-ready to use the army in trade disputes; the others did not scruple to blacklist active trade unionists and to incite or compel their men to quit their trade unions. Three employers' organizations were formed, of which the most important included, in 1909, the employers of 1,600,000 workers. The masters took the offensive as early as 1902, and in 1905 locked out 18,000 men for four months, but the great struggle came in 1909. To combat the trade-union tactics the employers initiated a policy of national agreements, which did not suit the

NORTHERN EUROPE

workers well, since the method of calling on the whole union to support part of its membership on strike was no longer possible if all the men were out together. By threatening a national lock-out, therefore, the employers had a good chance of getting their own way, but by 1908, in a period of depression, with the certainty of an attempt to lower wages, the rank and file of the unions were tired of giving way, and the Federation, which could not control them, had no option but to fight. Thus a widespread strike was declared, in the course of which eleven and a quarter million days' work and wages were lost, and the men were beaten. The result, naturally, meant a fall in membership. The Federation, which included over 185,000 in 1908, could count only 108,000 at the end of 1909, and just over 80,000 by the end of 1911. Thus, though beaten, the workers' organizations were not annihilated in Sweden, and recovery had begun before the outbreak of the Great War.

CHAPTER IX

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN ITALY, SPAIN AND RUSSIA

ITALY in the early nineteenth century was an agglomeration of small states mostly misgoverned by foreigners. Secret societies and ill-planned conspiracies failed to remove these, but, under the leadership of Mazzini, there developed a movement which was both nationalist and liberal, and this, when shorn of its republican character and brought under the control of the reigning house of Sardinia, was ultimately, with foreign help, successful. After a series of acquisitions in 1860 and 1866, the King of Italy was able to reign over the whole country from Rome, which his troops entered in 1870. Below a more or less liberal and parliamentary mask Italian political institutions remained despotic. Some 2½ per cent. of the population was allowed to vote, until, in 1882 and 1895, the franchise was somewhat extended. Property qualifications remained until 1912, and universal male suffrage was not granted until 1919. Meanwhile, with a penal code which, on paper, was more advanced than that of other nations, Italy was, in fact, far behind, thousands of persons being arrested on suspicion and imprisoned, sometimes for years, without trial. Neither judges nor other civil servants, in practice, had either security or independence. Though the "liberals" came into power in

ITALY, SPAIN AND RUSSIA

1876, they "used the immense powers of government as Lowell put it, "in almost every conceivable direction for the private advantage of deputies . . . or rather for that of their local patrons." Under Francesco Crispi a dictatorship dealt with opposition by force and imprisonment, and diverted attention from social problems at home by imperialist gambles in Africa, culminating in the disaster of Adowa in 1896.

The country was poor ; its soil is in many parts thin and infertile, and it has few resources in coal ; but its population increased from about 25,000,000 in 1862 to nearly 35,000,000 in 1911. The very large numbers of Italian emigrants to other countries indicate the incapacity of Italy to support its growing population, and it is no wonder that the mass of Italians at home lived in extraordinary poverty. A large proportion of them consisted of small-scale farmers and agricultural labourers, not infrequently producing corn which they could not afford to eat and wine which they were too poor to drink. Though the abolition of serfdom had begun in Savoy in the eighteenth century, Italy still retained an institution not unlike that with which it was cursed before the days of Cæsar—the large estate which enabled a wealthy landowner to live in luxury on the labour of a land-hungry and overtaxed peasantry. This class was almost universally faithful to the Roman Church, and far behind the peasantry of modern powers in literacy ; it was nevertheless really proletarian and, as a result of its desperate poverty, more amenable than the tillers of the soil further north to trade-union organization. The industries of the country, which were mainly in the north, and especially in Milan, Turin and Genoa, developed considerably in the later part of the nineteenth

WORKERS ABROAD

century, but, as late as 1911, if businesses employing fewer than two persons be left out of account, the average was still under ten. In mining and quarrying the average was twenty-five, in metal works ten, and in textiles twenty.

Trade unions, properly so called, appeared about 1870, but the relatively undeveloped state of industry hindered the formation of strong unions, and the law was markedly hostile. The right of combination was denied until 1890, and even then was beset with dangers. The Crown could dissolve any association at pleasure, and extensive use was made of the power, not only in Crispi's time, but later. A railway strike in 1898 was defeated by calling the men to the colours; and in 1905 agreement by railway servants to cease work was made criminal. Nevertheless trade unions contrived not only to exist but to form federations, or national unions, such as those of the railway workers (1891), the printers (1892), the building trades (1899), and the metal workers (1901). Italian trade unionism was, however, distinguished from that of other countries by its relatively great strength among agricultural workers. Unions of such workers were formed about 1884, to demand higher wages and lower rents. Though dissolved by the government they reappeared and organized some hundreds of strikes. The individual leagues were federated early in the twentieth century and, for a time, enjoyed a measure of success in raising wages. After a decline, the Land-workers' Federation was reconstituted in 1907, and by 1911 it included 153,000 members, but this represented only a small proportion of the small farmers and farm labourers then organized. Their numbers exceeded 412,000, of whom 43,000 were in Roman Catholic associations.

ITALY, SPAIN AND RUSSIA

Meanwhile the organized industrial workers had set up in 1906 an Italian equivalent of the French C.G.T., including local and national unions and local trade councils. The command of the Confederation, which contained 384,000 members in 1911, was much disputed between "reformists" and revolutionary syndicalists. The former were by no means content to rely on political action alone, but the latter, or most of them, were sufficiently dissatisfied to break away and establish a rival confederation in 1912. In addition to the workers enrolled in these two confederations, there were others organized under the leadership of the Church, and based on the principles of the famous papal encyclical of 1891, which deprecates capitalist abuses without impugning the essentials of the existing order, condemns class conflict, and recommends organization on gild lines. Early attempts at mixed associations of employers and employed gave way to the formation of more purely workers' organizations, and, in addition to trade unions, hundreds of co-operative societies and credit banks were founded. In 1912 the Catholic unions contained 140,000 workers, one-third of them being women.

Socialism entered Italy in 1864 when the First International was planted by Giuseppe Montanelli of Pisa and spread in Naples and the south by Bakunin and his disciples. At first the followers of Mazzini co-operated, but, alienated by the anti-patriotism and atheism of Bakunin, most of them withdrew in 1871. In the controversy which ruined the International the Italian sections generally supported Bakunin, but his adherents were mainly in the south, and Marxism spread in the more industrial north. The two factions split in 1876, after which the Bakuninists devoted themselves, without

WORKERS ABROAD

success, to violence and conspiracy. In 1880 the more constitutionally minded socialists of Romagna and Emilia founded a Labour Party, which attracted some young men who, though of the middle and wealthier classes, were opposed to the existing régime. After some controversy it was decided not to exclude such adherents, and thus men like Turati, Bissolati and Labriola were gained for the cause. Eventually an Italian Socialist Party, distinct from the radicals, was founded, and the anarchists were excluded from it in 1892. This development alarmed the government and the bourgeoisie, but the party survived until the less repressive days when Victor Emmanuel III. was on the throne and Giolitti came to power for the second time. By that time it was clear that among Italian, as among other socialists, a battle had to be fought out between "reformists," willing to co-operate with other parties, and the revolutionaries, impatient of such accommodation. At the Imola congress in 1902 Chiesa and Turati carried the day against Labriola and Ferri, spokesmen of the revolutionaries, but in two years the tide turned, and at the Bologna congress Turati, Bissolati, Chiesa and other "reformists" of distinction were cast out, to form an organization of their own. A parallel controversy was at the same time disturbing the trade-union movement, in which opinion was being influenced by a translation, published in 1902, of Sorel's *Socialist Future of Trade Unions*. Thus the General Confederation of Labour was from the beginning attacked by revolutionary syndicalists, who regarded it as too centralized and too "reformist." Eventually, after debating whether to remain in the Confederation in the hope of changing its character, the revolutionaries, who then claimed to

ITALY, SPAIN AND RUSSIA

represent 150,000 workers, decided in 1912 to set up a syndicalist federation.

Spain

Like Italy, nineteenth-century Spain lived mainly by tilling the soil, in some parts abundantly fertile, but in many others poor and dry. Its farming and vine-growing were in general backward, and its rural population was heavily burdened with parasitic landlordism. Unlike Italy, Spain was rich in minerals, which attracted foreign capital then, and have invited foreign conquest since. Spanish industries, metallurgical and textile, were old, but mainly small in scale. Modern industrial development only began in earnest late in the nineteenth century and was mainly concentrated in Catalonia, but conditions were bad enough even earlier to produce working-class associations, and these, added to intolerable agrarian injustice and political oppression, gave rise to revolutionary discontent. Politically, the nineteenth century in Spain was a period of frequent civil war, but after 1876 the country more or less settled down under a monarchy, provided with parliamentary institutions which could not effectively control the Crown. There existed, however, a strong feeling for local liberty, which gave reforming, and ultimately revolutionary, parties a chance to resist the despotism. On the other hand, despotism was supported by two institutions of enormous influence. One was the Roman Church, which in Spain made fewer concessions to the modern spirit than almost anywhere else in the world; its monastic orders were wealthy, and its leaders were naturally loath to lose their power and riches. The other

WORKERS ABROAD

factor was the officer caste in the army. As a machine, the army was inefficiently run and was intolerant of criticism by the public, which paid for the inglorious and unnecessary services of its incompetent bureaucrats ; but the officer caste had a tradition and an itch for interference in politics, and, uninformed, illiberal, and obstinate, instinctively supported reaction. The masses of the people, as might be expected, were uninstructed ; the Church taught letters and intolerance to a small minority of children, and did its best to sabotage state education of the rest. It is thus not astonishing that in 1900, out of a total population of 18,600,000, there were more than 9,000,000 illiterates over six years of age.

Associations of people in the same trade, or of the same class, were known of old in Spanish history, but the guilds and fraternities were dying out in the earlier nineteenth century. A trace of the older form of association is discernible in the first association resembling a modern workers' organization—the weavers' society, founded in 1842 in Catalonia by Munts. This had a patron saint, and was a society for mutual help ; it was at the same time a savings bank and a " society of resistance," or trade union proper. Its membership is said to have reached 2,000, but in 1843 it was suppressed by General Prim. The French revolution of 1848, however, gave a stimulus both to republicanism and to socialism in Spain, and a number of trade unions arose, especially among the cotton workers of Barcelona, where, in 1854, the existing societies formed a federation, and a general strike involving 40,000 workers, the first in Spanish history, was declared. In the same region in 1868 there was established a federation including spinners, weavers and other operatives to the number of 6,000, out of

ITALY, SPAIN AND RUSSIA

70,000 in the cotton industry. In the following year Giuseppe Fanelli, a friend of Bakunin, established a group of the First International in Madrid and another in Barcelona, and in 1871 the Spanish section of the International was formally constituted. In the main it reflected the anarchist dislike of political party organization, but from the beginning there were some, called "authoritarians," who desired a disciplined socialist movement, and they were soon assisted by the orthodox Marxist, Lafargue. Spain therefore reproduced, as other countries did, the controversy which raged in the International as a whole. The government was hostile to both factions alike, and declared the International dissolved in 1872; but the common danger did not draw the two sides together, and the division persists to this day, possibly, as Señor Madariaga has suggested, because it reflects, not only a division in doctrine, but a difference in temperament between socialist, centralizing Madrid on the one hand, and syndicalist, federalist Catalonia on the other.

With the restoration of autocracy in 1874 the International was suppressed. By that time it claimed 674 sections, with a membership of 300,000, and though it could not exist in the open it is believed to have kept alive underground. Certainly in Andalusia, especially in times of famine, there were outbreaks of pillage and assassination, and a dread influence was exerted by the secret society of the Black Hand. In Catalonia anarchism of a more deliberate but still bloody kind prevailed, particularly from 1884 onwards. The outbreaks were doubtless the desperate acts of individuals, and possibly of foreigners; but in 1890 and again in 1902 the masses in Barcelona showed their trust in the revolutionary general strike. From 1881 onwards, profiting by the

WORKERS ABROAD

existence of a somewhat less repressive régime, the anarchists organized in the open, but their Spanish Workers' Federation, from which Marxists were excluded, was soon divided against itself and gave rise to new and dissident federations. Anarchism, nevertheless, remained powerful and, in the early twentieth century, was influenced by French syndicalism, with which it had points of contact. Marxian socialism, which was less successful, owed much to the endeavours of Pablo Iglesias, a printer, imprisoned for five years for leading the Madrid printers' strike of 1882, and later president of the General Union, which by 1913 had 147,000 members. Meanwhile the Socialist Labour Party, founded in 1879, was active politically, and, though as late as 1907 it had no representatives in parliament, it was more successful in the municipalities. Though mainly concerned with politics it supported strikes, especially those of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Bilbao, where socialism was possibly stronger than anywhere else in the country.

Even in clerical Spain there have been churchmen with an interest in social problems, but such remedial action as the Church has been able to take has been mainly confined to the country districts and the peasantry, for whom it founded a large number of savings banks, co-operative societies, and even trade unions of a kind. This Catholic Action, in which the Jesuit Father Vincent played a notable part, had naturally to face the opposition not only of socialists and syndicalists, but of liberals, who feared it as a new sort of clericalism, and also of wealthy Catholics, to whom it appeared to be too near to revolution to be Christian. The state also concerned itself with social conditions, and in 1903 set up the

ITALY, SPAIN AND RUSSIA

Institute for Social Reforms, consisting of eighteen persons appointed by the state and six each chosen by employers and employed. The thirty, representing various shades of political and religious belief, worked well together. Unfortunately, the admirable results of their deliberations were very rarely put into practice.

Russia

During the greater part of the nineteenth century Russia seemed of all countries the most likely to produce social revolution and the least likely to develop a labour movement. Its vast peasant masses, almost entirely illiterate, had been falling into serfdom at the period when France and England were climbing out of it; but, however subject they may have been to their lords, they never lost the feeling that the lands they tilled should rightly be theirs, and, when driven to desperation by famine and the exactions of landlords and tax collectors, they rose in revolt again and again, much as English peasants had done in the fourteenth, and German peasants in the sixteenth, century. The formidable rising under Pugachev in 1774 is the best known, but by no means the only, instance; there were no fewer than 556 peasant outbreaks during the reign of Nicolas I. (1825-55). The institutions of government were a compound of Asiatic autocracy and European bureaucracy, mitigated by popular participation in local government during the later nineteenth century. Parliamentary institutions were conceded only in 1905, after revolution, but they never struck roots. Neither in Czarist times nor since has the function of opposition been understood in Russia.

WORKERS ABROAD

and the modern bolshevik, like the Czarist official, fails to distinguish between opposition and treason. Consequently, the most permanent of Russian institutions, changing its name from time to time, is the more or less secret political police. The Czar and his bureaucrats were not, at least at times, without some enlightenment and goodwill ; but the bureaucratic machine, though always slow, was rarely sure ; its regulations, when not ill-informed, were apt to be late, or, if not, could be avoided ; and since the mass of the people had neither an effective remedy nor a real share in governing themselves, Russian history became one everlasting cycle of rebellion, repression and rebellion again.

It was in these violent and savage conditions that the Russian labour movement arose, when the industrial development of the country had reached an appropriate stage. Industries, and even a kind of factory production, had been established by the demoniac energy of Peter the Great, and survived under his successors ; but these enterprises were artificial and exceptional, and not until comparatively late in the nineteenth century could a normal capitalism flourish. One fundamental requirement, a sufficient supply of wage labour, was not available until after the Emancipation Laws of 1861. These made nominally free two kinds of serf ; in the first place the domestic serfs, who had no land under the old régime and were not given any under the new, and, secondly, the ordinary peasants, who obtained collective ownership, through their village communities, of some of the lands they had cultivated before. A large proportion of the first and some of the second were drawn to industry and the towns. Such workers maintained a connection with their families and villages, being responsible for their

ITALY, SPAIN AND RUSSIA

share in taxation and often returning at harvest time, but an industrial proletariat began to form, and a clash of interest between employer and employed developed at the same time. Foreign capital was attracted to Russia and enabled railway construction to be undertaken, especially after 1868. Ludwig Knoop before his death in 1894 laid the foundation of a large-scale cotton manufacture; Thornton contributed largely to the development of the woollen, and Hughes to that of the iron, industry. Thus the number of mine and factory workers, estimated at a little over 1,300,000 in 1887, was 2,373,000 in 1900. The pay and conditions of factory workers were in general very bad, for though the bureaucracy issued admirable regulations, no employer who was prepared to put his hand deep enough into his pocket needed to observe them.

Of themselves neither this body of exploited workers nor the morass of misery in the villages would have overturned the bureaucracy, for neither wage-earners nor peasants had the necessary leaders, organization and opportunity. Certainly the industrial workers often struck, but nothing like a trade union appears to have been known before 1878, when a Northern Russian Workers' Union was founded in St. Petersburg; but it disappeared after its organizer had been hanged in 1882. As for the peasants, despite their sporadic outbreaks against particular landlords, they did not conceive of a government without the Czar and his officials. There existed, however, an "intelligentsia" familiar with the political and economic ideas of the West, hostile to the government, but harried and hampered by press censorship and police espionage. Some of them attempted to enlighten and co-operate with the peasants in a vaguely socialist

WORKERS ABROAD

movement called (from *Narod*, "people") *Narodnichestvo*. Outside Russia the intelligentsia tended more and more towards Marxism, and in 1883 Plekhanov, an exile in Switzerland, founded a Marxist propaganda association, the Labour Emancipation Group, which in 1888 established a Social Democratic League to unite Russian socialists outside their own country. Groups or circles of workers were formed in Moscow, St. Petersburg and other cities, and connection was at last established between revolutionary socialists and the workers. The spearhead of the workers' movement at this period was in Poland, where in 1892 a Jewish Workers' General Union, known as the Bund, was formed, and chiefly from this, together with the Labour Emancipation Group, there arose in 1898 the Russian Socialist Party. This, like other socialist parties, was divided almost from its birth into two factions; the Bolsheviks, or majority, and Mensheviks, or minority, existed as early as 1903, though the Bolsheviks did not break away until later.

The government, aware of the danger arising from the workers' grievances and from socialist agitation, attempted, since the formation of trade unions was inevitable, to divert the workers into unions which would be content with respectable leaders in whom the police could have confidence; but even these unions became discontented, and it was a demonstration organized by the leader of one of them, Father Gapon, which precluded the revolution of 1905. By that time the Czar was at war with Japan, and war, as in the past, revealed the incompetence of the government; thus, the defeats of the Crimean War led to the emancipation of the serfs and those of the Japanese war to the granting of parliamentary government. The year opened with the

ITALY, SPAIN AND RUSSIA

massacre, lasting for several hours, of a peaceful procession to the Winter Palace to petition the Czar. After Red Sunday, when the Czar forfeited for ever the loyalty of the mass of his subjects, there was an unprecedented outburst of strikes, involving hundreds of thousands of workers before the year was out. The peasants also, seething with discontent, are said to have burned 2,000 landlords' houses. The government bowed to the storm, and in October proclaimed the establishment of constitutional government and a wide franchise, but its promises were never fully kept. Count Witte, the first prime minister, was dismissed as soon as he had performed his function of getting loans from other powers to prop up the despotism; the bureaucrats rallied; agrarian and social problems were evaded; and the Duma was dissolved and dissolved again until an amenable one was found.

In the period following, Stolypin hoped to solve the peasant problem by "betting on the strong," that is, by breaking down the traditional communism and giving freer rein to individualism. The local and provincial authorities did indeed spend more money in seeking to provide education and medical services for the peasantry and making agriculture more scientific and productive. At the same time the co-operative movement, which had begun in the later nineteenth century, was stimulated by the revolution, though hindered by the government. Meanwhile, little power as the Duma had, and overweighted as the representation of the landlords was, political parties were able to maintain some kind of existence. The more important of them were the "Cadets"—that is, constitutional democrats or liberals, the successors of Narodnichestvo, appealing chiefly to the

WORKERS ABROAD

peasantry—and the Social Democrats, in two factions. The Bolsheviki who separated from the minority in 1910 were themselves disunited. Lenin and a minority believed in the possibility of a socialist revolution, while Trotsky, Kamenev, and others held that the bourgeois revolution had first to be completed. In addition there were the monarchist reactionaries, with no respectable support and no programme but privilege; this they sought to recover and maintain by forming criminal gangs, the “Black Hundreds,” to organize Jew-baiting and to use violence against the left.

CHAPTER X

REVOLUTION AND REACTION

IN the forty-three years between the Commune and the Great War the labour movement grew in strength, extent and influence. Five continents came to know it; it thrived in the new societies of America and the Antipodes, and touched the ancient empires of the East. In New Zealand, as in London and Paris, it had shared not only in political agitation, but in government; what had been regarded as a sign of ruin and revolution in 1871 was fast becoming recognized as a condition of progress and prosperity in 1914. The disunity which followed the collapse of the First International was to some extent overcome by the foundation of a second in 1889. This was less hampered from without and more harmonious within than its predecessor, but was by no means unanimous, for it contained a revisionist right, a Marxian centre and a revolutionary left. Its congresses, meeting at intervals of several years, had little binding influence on the separate socialist parties adhering to it, but it gave valuable help in setting up an International Trade Union Federation in 1903, the main business of which was to keep touch between trade unionists in European countries and in America and to exchange information. It also gave material support to trade-union struggles, as, for instance, in Sweden in 1909.

WORKERS ABROAD

Nevertheless, the labour movement had hardly begun the vast changes in social and human life, which it seemed its destiny to bring about. Despite state ownership of railways in various countries, despite insurance systems and factory codes, despite widespread municipal socialism, the structure of society was essentially almost as capitalist as it had ever been, and beneath the uneasy peace which prevailed among the great powers the unsubdued forces of acquisitive imperialism and of diplomatic and dynastic intrigue still raged. Socialism had no effect whatever on international relations. Thus, though they watched the approach of all but inevitable war, the leaders of the labour movement could do no more to prevent it than they could in 1870. Once again a general strike was suggested, but on July 29, 1914, at Brussels the general secretary of the German trade-union confederation declared it impossible in his country. Jaurès, the veteran leader of French socialism, striving hard for peace, and with a prophetic understanding of the revolutions and dictatorships which war would bring, was assassinated on the 31st, and at his funeral on August 4th all the speeches were patriotic, for Germany had declared war the day before. The government came to an understanding with the C.G.T., and in about a fortnight two socialists were given ministerial posts. Everywhere political differences were sunk in a united determination to save the sacred soil of France. Similarly, east of the Rhine, the Social Democratic deputies in the Reichstag on August 4th made plain the party's attitude in the words of Haase: "To-day we have to decide not for or against war, but on the means of defending the country. . . . In the hour of danger we do not leave the Fatherland in the lurch." The various kinds of trade union, except the yellow ones,

REVOLUTION AND REACTION

drew together, and a truce was declared in political conflict and between employers and employed.

Neither in France nor in Germany, however, was it possible to keep this spirit alive year after year. Marx and Engels had indeed regarded a war of defence as justifiable, and the socialists of 1914 were by no means universally pacifists. On the other hand, a European war meant the slaughter and starvation of workers and the sundering of that working-class unity which it is the purpose of socialism to attain. The inevitable surrender of the shorter working day and other improvements for which the trade unions had fought so hard; the effect of long hours and short rations; family and personal losses; and the realization that similar calamities were probably happening behind the opposite front, all tended in time to lessen the willingness to make sacrifices. By 1915 the old suspicion of co-operation in achieving the purposes of bourgeois government had arisen again, both in France and in Germany.

The majority of French socialists held to the truce established at the outbreak of the War, but the minority, which grew as time passed, demanded the beginning of negotiations for a peace without victors or vanquished. In Germany, as early as December 1914, Karl Liebknecht earned the disapproval of his party by voting in the Reichstag against war credits, and in the following year twenty-three out of a hundred Social Democrat deputies voted against the party's acceptance of the budget. Thereafter a split in the party developed, and the Spartacists, who came into existence at the beginning of 1916, attempted, by propaganda and fomenting strikes, to hinder the prosecution of the war. The less extreme dissentients from the majority policy constituted themselves into an

WORKERS ABROAD

independent S.D.P., and found some support among the trade unions. Socialists in general were ready for an honourable peace, as indeed were others more to the right, and by the united efforts of socialists and trade unionists a peace conference was called at Stockholm in 1917, for the double purpose of trying to bring peace nearer and beginning to reconstitute the International. The German delegation presented a memorandum in favour of peace without indemnities or annexations, and the Conference declared for peace on the basis of national self-determination; but only Germans and neutrals were present, the French and British governments having refused passports. In Italy the socialists and, for some time, other parties also were against intervention; but Benito Mussolini, editor of the socialist *Avanti*, decided that Italy ought to join the Allies; expelled from the party and his editorial chair, he founded the *Popolo d'Italia* to spread his views, and the Fascisti to break the heads unconvinced by his rhetoric.

In some belligerent countries, as, for instance, Germany and Italy, the number of trade unionists tended to fall during the war years, but elsewhere it rose remarkably. In Switzerland the numbers increased from 251,000 in 1915 to 304,000 in 1916, and 369,000 in 1917, and there were very large increases in the Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands, doubtless because of increased industrial and commercial activity. If the war years and those immediately following be taken as a whole they constitute a period of stupendous trade-union growth in Europe generally. In Belgium the Labour Party and independent unions, which had included 123,000 members in 1914, counted nearly 630,000 in 1920; between the same dates the membership of the Italian Labour Con-

REVOLUTION AND REACTION

federation rose from about 321,000 to more than 2,200,000; the French C.G.T., which possibly had 600,000 members before the War, counted 1,360,000 in 1919; the German free unions had fallen to 1,235,000 in 1917, but numbered more than 9,000,000 in 1920. Moreover, widespread strikes indicated that these immense associations were neither timid nor inactive. That was, no doubt, partly the result of currency inflation, of which all countries had more or less experience, and which made organization necessary in order to secure higher money wages in accord with rising commodity prices. But it was also clear that the collapse of the Czarist régime in Russia, followed by the fall of the Hohenzollern empire in Germany, and of the Habsburgs in Austria-Hungary, had awakened new life and hope in the labour movements of other countries. For the first time in history the proletarian act of expropriating the expropriators had been visibly and successfully practised.

The Russian Revolution

The wide publicity given to industrial and agricultural development in the U.S.S.R. has probably helped to spread an erroneous impression that little or no progress was made during the last years of the old régime. There is room to believe that the standard of living was improving, and it is possible that, given a period of peace, the Russian Empire could have been brought gradually to something like the condition of the western powers. On the other hand, the progress was slow, and the outbreak of war brought it to an end. Trade declined and almost disappeared; the government was heading for

WORKERS ABROAD

bankruptcy, having a budget deficit equal to about 75 per cent. of its revenue in 1915 and 1916. The cessation of grain export meant that there was more corn for Russians ; but poor transport interfered with its distribution, and industrial goods became scarce and poor. Rising prices bred discontent, not only among the workers but among the middle classes ; reverses at the front suggested incompetence or treachery ; it was made clear that the government had no confidence in the people ; the fatuous subjection of the royal family to the infamous monk Rasputin alienated even monarchists and militarists ; and the troops, ill-armed and ill-led, were deserting and ready for mutiny. In February 1917 there was an insurrection, and a committee of the Duma took charge ; the monarchy collapsed without a struggle.

The stage was therefore set for the erection of republican government, with adult suffrage, agrarian reforms, recognition of trade unions, state education and other liberal institutions—that is, for the usual benefits of democratic change ; and it might be argued, as Marx had argued in 1848, that for the time being it was prudent and necessary for the workers to help in carrying such a revolution through. The Bolsheviks, nevertheless, while claiming strict Marxian orthodoxy, thought otherwise, and were prepared, even before capitalism was fully grown, to mobilize the grave-diggers ; but their chance had not yet come. The Petrograd soviet (council) of workers' and soldiers' deputies gained more and more influence, and similar soviets sprang up by the hundred elsewhere. The majority of their members supported the government, and six socialists took office in April ; but the government was opposed from two quarters, the extreme Bolshevik left and the extreme militarist

REVOLUTION AND REACTION

right. The former revolted unsuccessfully in July, the latter in August ; but the spread of Bolshevik influence in the soviets and the army, coupled with widespread suspicion of the high command, enabled the Bolsheviks in October 1917 to seize the government, which they have since held. Unlike the Mensheviks, they had opposed the war from the beginning, and, at a considerable sacrifice, they made a separate peace with Germany, only to find that to a foreign war there succeeded an internal one, of British, Americans, Japanese and Russians against Russians. While this raged, peasants expropriated landlords, workers seized factories, and Lenin signed unread and unavailing laws by the dozen ; but gradually, out of civil war, indiscipline and chaos, a new order was being shaped, in a fashion and on a scale of which the world had not dreamed.

It is hopeless, except in large volumes, to describe its awful symmetry, and to trace its kaleidoscopic changes and vast improvisations. To the initial expropriations, in 1917-18, there succeeded a phase of state capitalism, with a vast bureaucracy under a Supreme Economic Council. This failed to solve the problem of production, and the workers were losing faith in bolshevism ; strikes broke out in Petrograd, and the sailors of Kronstadt mutinied, only to be mercilessly suppressed in March 1921. The peasantry, meanwhile, obstinately refused to accept the Bolshevik order, and it was by no means unlikely that they and the town workers would overthrow the dictatorship exercised over them in their own name. Lenin, facing the facts, sounded a retreat, and in 1921 initiated the "New Economic Policy" which permitted private trading and the granting of concessions to foreign capitalist enterprises. Eventually the advance

WORKERS ABROAD

towards communism was resumed, with the forcing of collective and co-operative organization upon the peasants and the successful planning of immensely increased industrial production by the first "five-year plan." The level of consumption to which the masses have been thereby raised, though still low by western standards, was very much higher than that of Czarist times, and it must be admitted that workers and peasants have been given, in trade union, co-operative and local government affairs, very wide scope for their interest and activity. The bad old policy of Russification of the many nationalities has also been abandoned, but the system has required the suppression of all political parties but one, and the unabated use of terrorism to maintain its monopoly of power.

Germany

The revolution in Germany came about a year after the Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia. By August 1918 it was clear to the high command that the war was to be lost, and that the military dictatorship could not stand. When the reactionaries of the navy determined on a last desperate attempt at victory, the sailors mutinied, and the civil population sided with them in October and early November. Within a week Kurt Eisner proclaimed the Bavarian Republic in Munich, and on the same day, November 7th, the German socialists demanded the Kaiser's abdication. During these revolutionary days there was a chance of the Spartacists emulating the Bolsheviks, but even had Liebknecht been as daring and unscrupulous as Lenin he would probably have failed, for the right, the centre and the socialists

REVOLUTION AND REACTION

were far stronger than in Russia. In fact, the majority and the independent socialists united to carry through a democratic, and to prevent a bolshevik, revolution, and the saddler, Ebert, assumed the chief civil power on November 9th. Early in January there was an attempt to organize a revolutionary general strike in Berlin, which was suppressed by military force, Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg being brutally murdered while under arrest. In the general election, which followed shortly after, the socialist parties polled over 45 per cent. of the votes cast, and were thirty-six seats short of a majority; but they, with the democrats and the Catholic centre, founded the Weimar Republic, which, in the following months, had still to use troops to suppress Spartacists and Communists in Munich, Leipzig, Dresden and elsewhere. It had also to accept the peace terms imposed by the Allies, and thereby laid up for itself the unmerited hostility of all who resented the injustice of those conditions.

Though theoretically Marxist, the German socialists made no deliberate attempt to overthrow the capitalist organization, and in practice both they and the trade unions used the opportunity of the revolution to carry through a reformist programme which the employers, in view of the increased political importance of labour, might be expected to accept. As early as November 1918 the General Committee of the Trade Unions agreed to co-operate with the chief employers' federation on the basis of a programme containing the following points: the complete recognition and freedom of trade unions; the drafting of collective agreements; the establishment of works committees to supervise their fulfilment; and the introduction of an eight-hour day. In fact, a statute of 1920 constituted works councils and a National

WORKERS ABROAD

Economic Council ; the former were to be concerned chiefly with shop conditions, dismissals, sickness, accident and the like, and had powers to nominate a director on the boards of the enterprises with which they were connected. Though at first suspicious of works councils, as a separate and not very necessary form of organization in which non-unionists might be concerned, the trade unions soon established connections with them. The National Economic Council was, in appearance at least, a sort of parliament of industry, agriculture and commerce, with 326 members representing various occupations and groups and balancing the interests of labour, capital and consumers. Its constitutional position, however, was not clear ; its functions were almost entirely advisory, and its powers to examine and approve economic and industrial proposals for the Reichstag were not wholly made good.

The same underlying principle, of co-operation between capitalists and workers, was manifested more effectively in a scheme of arbitration and conciliation, set up in 1918 and re-organized in 1923, whereby a collective agreement might, in the last resort, be imposed even on firms who were not a party to it. The trade unions, who trusted in collective agreements before the war, accepted the system and worked it actively, and, on that account possibly, the relations of capital and labour were much more harmonious in these years in Germany than in England. At the same time, the relations of labour with both employers and the government were improved by the setting up of an extensive scheme of unemployment insurance, begun in 1922 and made national in scale in 1927.

On the other hand, the eight-hour day was a cause of

REVOLUTION AND REACTION

conflict. Soon after its establishment it began to be whittled away, and the industrial leaders, especially the steel magnate, Thyssen, were strenuously opposed to it. By 1923 it had, for all practical purposes, been lost ; but it was in large part restored again by an Act which came into operation in 1928, after the iron and steel magnates had failed to shake the government by a threat to close down their works. The restoration, in principle, of the eight-hour day may be regarded as a victory for the forces of labour ; but the condition of the trade-union movement was far from satisfactory. The old divisions between free, Hirsch-Duncker and Christian unions still survived, and other groups, communist, syndicalist and yellow or " scab " unions, added to the disunity. The membership almost everywhere was declining after 1922 ; in that year the free unions had 11,350,000 members, but by the end of 1925 only a little over 6,000,000 remained. The main cause, no doubt, was depression ; 28 out of every hundred trade unionists were unemployed in 1923, and 22.6 in 1926. With the deep depression which set in three years later, added to a sense of injustice and inferiority resulting from the treatment of Germany by the Versailles powers, and to the errors of the Republic itself, there arose conditions which made possible the rise of Hitler and the realization of the old aim of some German industrialists, the complete destruction of the labour movement which Marx and Lassalle had founded.

In Austria, meanwhile, the Emperor had abdicated on November 12, 1918, and the empire fell apart. In the Hungarian part of it a short-lived soviet republic was set up in the spring. In Austria itself the Social Democrats, who were the strongest party, filled the most

WORKERS ABROAD

important government posts in March 1919, but the middle classes and the peasantry showed an increasing hostility to socialist ideas, the main strongholds of which were Vienna and Linz, and by October 1920 the strongest party in the country as a whole was the Christian Social Party. This encountered trouble from the growing forces of the fascist Heimwehr and, especially from 1933 onwards, from the Austrian Nazis, who were inspired, subsidized and armed from Germany. Much might be said in favour of one of their objects, the *Anschluss*, or establishment of close relationships with Germany. In the past the Social Democrats had argued strongly for arrangements to that end, which, however, had been prevented by French fears of a stronger Germany. With the triumph of Hitler the Social Democrats naturally decided against the *Anschluss*, and at the same time they opposed the subjection of Austria to Italy, by whom Dollfuss was maintained. The exposure by the S.D.P. of the illegal export of arms by Italy to Hungary through Austria was probably an important, if not the sole, reason for the determination of Mussolini and Dollfuss to destroy Austrian social democracy, a purpose in large part achieved by force of arms in 1934. The driving underground of the one political force sincerely directed towards the preservation of Austrian independence in the end profited neither Mussolini nor Dollfuss. The latter was murdered by the Nazis a few months later, in July 1934. In less than four years from that event, with no effective hindrance on the part of the great powers pledged to maintain Austrian independence, the Italian hold on the country and its government was completely loosened, and German Nazism extended itself to the Italian frontier.

REVOLUTION AND REACTION

Italy and Spain

In Italy, where intervention in the War had never been universally popular, the peace brought widespread discontent. Political dissatisfaction sprang from the smallness of the concessions made to Italian imperialist desires, and economic discontent from the rise in prices resulting from currency inflation and animosity against capitalist speculators. Industrial labour, intent on raising its standard of living, and the peasants, claiming the fulfilment of promises that their war-time sacrifices should be rewarded with agrarian reforms, were in the mood for revolution. The success of the revolutionaries in Russia also inspired some socialists in Italy, though there was never any serious communist menace. The bourgeois were nevertheless scared by a serious outbreak of strikes early in 1920, and by the occupation of factories, over which the red flag was hoisted, during the summer of the same year. Since the factories were useless without raw materials and capital to keep them going, and these could not be seized, the movement quickly and inevitably failed. The peasants, even earlier, had taken to seizing lands on uncultivated large estates, and the government was compelled partially to regularize their acts.

There was, however, little likelihood that these activities would be combined in a successful revolution, for the socialists were hopelessly divided in outlook; the communists broke away in 1921, and in the following year the remainder of the party split into a reformist and a revolutionary wing. In competition with them, since March 1919, there was the Fascist Party, which then pronounced for a republic and against capitalism, and

WORKERS ABROAD

declared itself in favour of disarmament, open diplomacy and freedom of religion, opinion and the press. With the unofficial but real help of the police and, it is said, of Giolitti, who thought he could use the Fascists for his purposes and destroy them at his convenience, gangs of Fascist bravos acted with such success that, with the connivance of the Crown, they were able to march on Rome and found the dictatorship of Mussolini in October 1922. There followed the suppression of the republican and socialist ideals which Mussolini had professed in 1920, and the erection of what is called a corporative state, in which trade unions of a kind are allowed to exist alongside of employers' organizations, the admittedly conflicting interests of capital and labour being theoretically reconciled in composite bodies under the guidance and authority of the state. The corporative structure existed, for many years, only on paper ; and, in so far as it has been translated into fact, it has resulted not in representing and reconciling, but in suppressing the interests and claims of the workers, whose bondage is as real in the Italian corporations as in the German labour front.

In Spain, which had not entered the War, dissatisfaction with professional and corrupt politicians was as acute as in Italy, and there was also a feeling of inferiority arising out of inglorious and expensive warfare in Africa. Eleven months after Mussolini's capture of the Italian state, Primo de Rivera, with the consent of Alfonso XIII., set up what was declared to be a temporary dictatorship—at first for a month, then for three months, and finally for an indefinite period. During his tenure of power he achieved some useful, if superficial, reforms, but his was the first of the post-War dictatorships to fall, partly

REVOLUTION AND REACTION

because he was a man of less energy and competence than Lenin and Mussolini, and partly because his situation was in several respects more difficult. In the first place, while Italian nationalism expresses itself in a demand for a powerful unitary state, many Spaniards, and especially Catalans and Basques, are averse to uniformity and centralization. In the second place, Spanish capitalism, relatively new and crude, tends to adopt towards the labour it employs the cruelly contemptuous attitude of master to slave, and so do its minions. A writer, having no sympathy with bolshevism, but possessing, as press attaché at the British Embassy in Madrid, adequate information, wrote : " A true account of the actions of the Barcelona police, for instance, would fill a volume and horrify. For my part, I cannot blame the workmen of that city for many of the things which they have done in recent times to defend their rights as men and their liberty as citizens." A common measure was to deport the workers' leaders to other provinces ; after a strike at Huelva several men were sent to Toledo : " They have walked under the escort of the Civil Guard through four Spanish provinces. One of them has internal trouble, and suffers horribly. No accusation has been brought against them ; their crime consisted solely in having been elected officials on the committees of workmen's associations." It follows that the hatred of the workers against capitalism in Spain burns with a ferocity hardly to be understood in such countries as our own ; and also that the national feeling of the Catalan and the workers' outraged sense of humanity and justice were both directed against the common enemy, the dictatorship.

As a result of republican and socialist co-operation

WORKERS ABROAD

in the local government elections of 1931 the dictatorship fell, and Alfonso XIII., to save bloodshed, left the country. In the government of the Republic which followed, a predominantly socialist administration was established in December, and this helped to carry through the expulsion of the Jesuits, the registration and restriction of other religious bodies, and an agrarian law which provided for the confiscation of royal estates and the nationalizing of other large estates, with compensation which the landlords naturally regarded as insufficient. Legislation of this sort alienated the right, while severe repression of disorder antagonized the violent and impatient left—the Communists, the Iberian Anarchist Federation (F.A.I.), and the syndicalist National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T.). Their opposition was not diminished, and that of the socialists was added, when, after the elections of 1933, the centre came into power, turned towards the right, and was not disposed to carry through the changes without which the Republic seemed to the left worthless. Revolution broke out among the Catalans and the oppressed miners of Asturias in 1934. For the time the revolution was suppressed; but in the elections of 1936 the republican followers of Azaña, the communists, anarchists, syndicalists and socialists all united victoriously in a popular front. Whether, given more favourable conditions, the vast differences in their views could have been overcome, and their object, of securing the reforms for which they regarded the Republic as having been founded, could have been achieved, is uncertain. The right, in any event, gave them no chance. Enlisting Mohammedan barbarians in the defence of Catholic civilization, and foreign arms for the maintenance of domestic privilege, it commenced

REVOLUTION AND REACTION

in the summer of 1936 the inhuman war still raging in Spain.

The Democracies

In the countries which have preserved the representative form of government, one effect of the Russian revolution has been to intensify and give a new form to differences which existed previously, both in the political and the industrial sections of the labour movement. Marxian socialism, in Germany and other countries, had accepted the belief in universal suffrage and was thus committed to the realization of socialism, as and when that was possible, by persuasion and political action. However "reformist" such a course might appear, it could be defended as being in accord with the Communist *Manifesto* of 1848. "The first step in the revolution by the working class," says that famous document, "is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to establish democracy. The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, *by degrees*, all capital from the bourgeoisie." In effect, the triumph of bolshevism meant omitting this first step and proceeding directly to a revolution made and maintained by a minority, calling itself the real representative of the proletariat, and ready to shoot any proletarian not admitting the claim. What Marx had feared in his contest with Bakunin had come about; the Russian section had made itself the exponent of international communism, though its ideas were now very different from those of Bakunin. For democratic action the Bolsheviks expressed an open contempt; and in 1919 they founded a Third International, to take the place of the Second, which came to an end

WORKERS ABROAD

with the outbreak of the War. Socialists in other countries had thus to make up their minds as to how far they accepted the Russian version of Marxism and whether they would join the Third International. In the same way, the trade unions had to decide whether they would join the "red" international trade union confederation founded in 1921.

Certain factors made strongly for alliance with the Bolsheviks. The post-War governments actively supported reactionary intervention in Russia, under Koltchak and Denikin, and there was therefore some ground for lending working-class support to the other side. Secondly, the War and the short boom which followed it gave ample opportunities to profiteers to make enormous fortunes, and it might well appear that revolutionary action would be necessary if, in the inevitable depression, working-class conditions were to be adequately protected against the strengthened vested interests of capital. To many minds co-operation with bourgeois parties and acceptance of bourgeois democracy, suspect before the War, were more dangerous than ever afterwards. Thirdly, the spectacular success of the Bolsheviks impressed people temperamentally favourable to action and impatient of deliberation. On the other hand, impressive as the Bolshevik successes might be, the more cautious and constructive social democracy of Germany had succeeded also, and its action and experience might be considered a better guide to western nations. Moreover, the Russian communists went far to ruin their influence by the virulence of their attacks on the Second, and on the "two and a half," International, and by the authoritarian attitude which they adopted towards the labour movement in other countries. Lenin, Trotsky,

REVOLUTION AND REACTION

Zinoviev and others, like modern popes, claiming plenitude of authority for their dogmatic interpretation of Marx, delivering speeches and multiplying telegrams and encyclicals *ex cathedra*, antagonized those who from the first disliked their intolerance and terrorism.

In the French Socialist Party the minority, opposed to co-operation with the government, had been growing steadily, and became the majority in 1918. In the following year the party rejected a motion in favour of joining the Third International, but, early in 1920, it agreed to give up the attempt to reconstitute the Second. In December of the same year, at the Tours Congress, the left succeeded in carrying a resolution to join the Third International immediately. Since the minority would not give way, the party, united since 1905, split into two parts, the socialists and the communists, the latter constituting themselves into a party in December 1921. The discipline and conduct of that party were by no means satisfactory to Moscow, and the attempts to make them so in 1923 drove out Frossard, the outstanding advocate of communism at the Tours Congress. The division in the political party was soon followed by disruption in the trade-union movement, whose ranks, at the end of the War, were swollen with workers tired of military discipline, disturbed by rising prices and taxation, and angered by the ostentatious luxury of the wealthy. At the Lyons Congress in 1919 the C.G.T. reiterated the principles of the Amiens charter and made few concessions to the more revolutionary members. In the spring of 1920 it sanctioned a strike of railwaymen, miners and dockers, which, being ill-supported and firmly resisted, failed, and thereby reduced the prestige of the revolutionary syndicalists who had agitated for it. They

WORKERS ABROAD

were, however, encouraged by the victory of the communists at the Tours Congress, and carried on a strong opposition to the C.G.T. from within. Eventually, separation could no longer be avoided and the forces of trade unionism were weakened by the existence of two rival confederations.

Without tracing in detail the history of parties and trade unions in other countries, it may be said briefly that Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Scandinavia all reproduced, more or less acutely, the differences which divided the labour movement in France. In general, the parties and the trade unions remained "reformist" in their outlook, none the less so in Denmark and Sweden because they shared in political power and, in the latter country, even ruled alone for a time, whereas in Norway, where the social democrats remained in opposition, there were early adherents of the Third International. In each instance, however "reformist" the trade-union movement as a whole might be, there was a revolutionary left wing, syndicalist or communist in sympathy. It should further be noted that between these two opponents of "reformism" themselves there was a wide, if in pure theory not unbridgeable, gulf.

The labour movement in the United States, as in Italy, remained for some time opposed to the War as a capitalist conflict which could bring only misery to the working class, Nevertheless the orders which poured in for armaments and other manufactures stimulated American industries, and, when German attacks on American shipping brought the United States into the War on the side of the allies, Gompers and the leaders of the A.F.L. were ready to co-operate with the govern-

REVOLUTION AND REACTION

ment. The I.W.W. continued to oppose the War, and was paid for its consistency with its own principles by a persecution which has left an indelible stain on the public justice of the United States. With the entry into the War the trade unions gained in prestige, by participation in a commission for arbitration and conciliation in industrial disputes established in 1917, and in the War Labor Board set up in 1918. They also gained in numbers, though Gompers and the A.F.L. have been accused by their opponents of doing little or nothing to organize the workers during this period, and the increase in membership gave added importance to the unskilled and semi-skilled workers from whom the new recruits were largely drawn.

The strange respectability of the A.F.L. did not last long, for soon after the end of the War the government resumed its ordinary attitude of suspicion and hostility to the claims of labour, and this, together with jealousy and disunion among the unions themselves, brought about the victory of the Steel Trust and the mine-owners over their workers in the winter of 1919-20.

In carrying on such conflicts, it is now recognized, American employers have long used methods which prove beyond all doubt their real, if unadmitted, belief in the class conflict. One of them is a spy system in connection with which American firms are said to pay £16,000,000 a year to private detective agencies for services in breaking up or crippling trade unions, reporting the activities of members, who are promptly dismissed, arranging for the employers to be supplied with the minutes of union meetings and the like. Another is the hiring of thugs to kidnap and maltreat trade-union organizers and officials and to assist in the police function

WORKERS ABROAD

of battering and shooting members of peaceful processions ; some firms have found it convenient to supply themselves with tear-gas shells and guns to fire them. A less direct, if more open, method of attack used by employers is to establish company unions, which provide their workers with the name of an association and the ritual of union business while removing them from the danger of pursuing real trade union objects. Finally, the employers have been able to some degree to substitute for white labour—in textile factories, motor works and furnaces—submissive and ill-paid negroes ; they have also, by moving their plants and factories from the towns to the country or from the northern to the southern states, been able to draw on an abundant supply of cheap unorganized labour.

How strongly entrenched the employers were became evident after the depression of 1929, which to some Americans was almost as ominous as the dread inscription on the wall at Belshazzar's feast. President Roosevelt, for whom the bulk of American trade unionists cast their votes, undertook what he regarded as salutary, but in no way revolutionary, legal and administrative changes for the purpose of restoring prosperity and saving the existing economic order. The National Industrial Recovery Act, which in some respects may be compared with the industrial legislation of the Weimar Republic, allowed the President to give legal force to collective agreements between employers and employed and provided that the latter should be free to form unions, without compulsion to join company unions or keep out of other unions. Employers nevertheless continued to found company unions and to impose the "yellow dog contract" almost at pleasure. The law was dead enough,

REVOLUTION AND REACTION

in fact, before the Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional in 1935.

Meanwhile, the left wing of the Socialist Party, after giving up the attempt to make the party bow to the East, separated in 1919 and founded two communist parties. Much as they despised the conservative A.F.L. and what seemed its alliance with Roosevelt, the communists regarded the existing unions as too valuable to destroy, and as capable of redemption. They therefore attempted to change them from within and to found new unions where the workers were not organized; in new unions and in the old they wished to awaken a revolutionary spirit, and to broadcast the idea of industrial unionism. For this purpose they founded a Trade Union Education League, later the Trade Union Unity League; and it is claimed that by 1933 the unions affiliated to it had a membership of more than 100,000.

The division everywhere to be found in the free labour movements was not in itself the result of the Russian revolution, but sprang directly from the philosophy of those movements, which makes freedom of opinion and organization an essential element in any social order worth having. It was nevertheless apt to be a source of weakness at a time when reaction was growing in strength, not only in the dictatorships, but in countries claiming to be democratically governed. American industrialists kept their workers down by methods essentially similar to those used by Fascists and Nazis to subdue citizens, and it was relatively easy to mobilize the prejudices of Main Street against "reds" and "radicals." In France armed bodies, such as the *Action Française*, the *Camelots du Roi*, the *Croix de feu*, and the *Jeunesse Patriote*, inspired by the success of Mussolini and Hitler, were prepared to

WORKERS ABROAD

exploit, in the interests of the reaction, popular dissatisfaction with financial and political instability and increasing taxation. What might have developed into a successful attack on the Republic was arrested by the government on February 6, 1934, and really broken by a combination of socialists, communists and syndicalists throughout France in the short strike of February 12th, and this co-operation in the face of a fascist danger paved the way to reunion of the industrial movement by a fusion of the two rival trade union confederations early in 1936. A union of the political parties was not possible, and was not necessary, so long as united action was possible in a crisis. That was achieved in the united front in 1936, whereby a hundred and fifty socialists and seventy-two communist deputies were returned to the Chamber. This unity still remains, as well as its counterpart in international relations, the agreement between France and the U.S.S.R. made in the same year. The future will show whether it has come in time to save the labour movement in those parts of Europe where it still lives, and whether, as there is some hope, the rising of the unconquerable and liberating spirit of France will once more proclaim the opening of the prison to them that are bound.

A NOTE ON BOOKS

MOST of the topics of the preceding chapters can be further studied by means of books in English, but in this, as in other, fields the student acquainted with French and German has a great advantage. Some of the books most useful to him are included in the following list, which makes no pretence to be a full bibliography.

No study of the labour movement can be of much value if not based on some knowledge of economic history, and the beginner is therefore recommended to acquire that first by means of, e.g. A. Birnie, *Economic History of Europe*, and Kirkland, *History of American Economic Life*. For special studies relating to particular countries he may be referred to J. H. Clapham, *Economic Development of France and Germany, 1815-1914*; H. Sée, *L'Évolution Commerciale et Industrielle de la France sous l'Ancien Régime*, and *La Vie Économique de la France sous la Monarchie Censitaire*; L. Dechesne, *Histoire Économique et Sociale de la Belgique*; W. H. Dawson, *Evolution of Modern Germany*; W. Sombart, *Die deutsche Volkswirtschaft im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*; and P. Drachmann, *Industrial Development and Commercial Policies of the three Scandinavian Countries*.

The history of socialist theory has been written several times. A handy summary exists in Kirkup, *History of Socialism*. In this field no student should omit A. Menger, *The Right to the Whole Produce of Labour*. Two books

WORKERS ABROAD

which the student will find as interesting as they are useful are W. H. Dawson, *German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle*, and F. R. Salter, *Karl Marx and Modern Socialism*. Books on Marx are legion; by far the most interesting biography is that by E. H. Carr. An admirable introduction to Marx's thought is A. D. Lindsay, *Introduction to Karl Marx's Capital*. Every student worth his salt will, of course, go to the fountain head, and he will be more likely to repeat that operation if he starts not with *Capital* but with the *Communist Manifesto* and the historical works noted below. In commencing a study of Marx's great opponents he can do no better than to read R. D. W. Brogan, *Proudhon*, and E. H. Carr, *Bakunin*. On Rodbertus, see E. C. K. Gonner, *Social Philosophy of Rodbertus*; on the Roman Church and social movements and problems, F. Nitti, *Catholic Socialism*. Naturally, the history of socialist theory can best be studied against a background of the history of economic theory in general, by means, e.g. of Gide and Rist, *History of Economic Doctrines*, or A. Gray, *The Development of Economic Doctrine*.

The history of the labour movement in France can be studied in a number of extraordinarily interesting books, of which three will be found especially useful—Dolléans, *Histoire du Mouvement Ouvrier, 1830-1871*; Weill, *Histoire du Mouvement Social en France*; and P. Louis, *Histoire du Socialisme en France*. M. Louis has also provided, in two small volumes, convenient and useful summaries of French and European trade union history, *Histoire du Mouvement Syndical en France* and *Histoire du Mouvement Syndical en Europe*. Readers with an interest in the earlier history of labour may be referred to H. Hauser, *Ouvriers du Temps Passé*; M. St. Léon,

A NOTE ON BOOKS

Le Compagnonnage; and G. Martin, *Les Associations Ouvrières au XVIII^e Siècle*. A good general survey of the events of 1848 in France will be found in G. Bouniols, *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848*; an account of revolution and reaction in France and Germany in F. Ponteil, *1848*; texts of Louis Blanc and Émile Thomas, with an Introduction in English, in Sir C. Marriott, *The French Revolution of 1848 in its Economic Aspects*; an enlightening account of the relief works in D. C. McKay, *The National Workshops*; and a masterly commentary on the whole movement in Karl Marx, *Class Struggles in France*. His *Civil War in France* deals with the Commune, of which there is a vivid account in Jellinek, *The Paris Commune of 1871*.

On the topics of chapters V. to X., besides some of the books already named, the following will be found useful: Leroy-Beaulieu and others, *Le Socialisme à l'Étranger*; G. D. H. Cole, *The World of Labour*; Destrée and Vandervelde, *Le Socialisme en Belgique*; B. G. de Montgomery, *British and Continental Labour Policy*; R. T. Ely, *The Labor Movement in America*; R. Marjolin, *L'Évolution du Syndicalisme aux États-Unis*; S. P. Turin, *From Peter the Great to Lenin*; Makeev and O'Hara, *Russia*; L. Lawton, *Economic History of Soviet Russia*; Quigley and Clark, *Republican Germany*; P. Umbreit, *Die deutschen Gewerkschaften im Kriege* (Carnegie Foundation).

INDEX

- Albert, 42.
 American Federation of Labor,
 122-126, 128, 174.
 Amiens Congress, 108.
 Amsterdam Congress, 106.
 Anarchists (Spain), 170.
 Apprentices, 11.
 Babeuf, 25, 26.
 Bakunin, M., 74, 75, 76, 103, 143,
 147, 171.
 Basle Congress, 74, 76.
 Bebel, A., 73, 77, 92, 100.
 Bernstein, E., 101.
 Bismarck, 51, 54, 67, 77, 80, 91,
 92, 93, 95.
 Blanc, L., 38, 40, 43, 47, 48, 67.
 Blanqui, 69, 79, 103.
 Bolsheviks, 154, 160, 172.
 Boulanger, 82.
Bourse du Travail, 88-90, 107,
 123.
 Briand, 106, 108, 109.
 Brousse, P., 103.
 Brussels Congress, 74.
 Cabet, 38, 53, 116.
 C.G.T., 107-110, 156, 159, 173.
 Chapelier Law, 23, 27.
 Communism, 53, 162.
 Communist Alliance, 103.
 Communists (U.S.A.), 177.
 Communities (American), 116.
Compagnonnage, 12-15, 33.
 Dreyfus, 82.
 Duncker, F. G., 65.
 Education (France), 85.
 Eisnach, 73.
 Engels, F., 66, 69, 78, 79, 100,
 102, 157.
 Erfurt, 100.
 Fanelli, G., 147.
 Fascism (French), 177.
 Fascists, 167.
 Fourier, 37-38, 53.
 Frankfurt, 101.
 Freemasonry, 13.
 Galliffet, 105.
Garde Mobile, 47.
 Geneva Congress, 71, 72, 73.
 Gilds, 10.
 Gompers, S., 122, 125, 126, 174,*
 175.
 Gotha, 92, 99, 135.
 Guesde, J., 102, 106.
 Hegel, 52.
 Hirsch, M., 65.
 Iglesias, P., 148.
 International, First, 69-76, 77,
 127, 132.
 International, Second, 155.
 International, Third, 171-172,
 173.
 International T.U. Federation,
 155.
 I.W.W., 126, 128.
 Jaurès, 103, 156.
 Journeymen (French), 11.
 Kautsky, K., 100, 102.
 Knights of Labour, 121-125.
 Kreuznach, 102.
 Labour Party (Belgian), 132.
 Labour Party (French), 103.

INDEX

- Lafargue, P., 102, 103, 147.
 Lassalle, F., 65, 66-68, 102.
 Lausanne Congress, 74.
 Lenin, 53, 161.
 Levasseur, 84.
 Liebknecht, K., 157, 162, 163.
 Liebknecht, W., 73, 75, 77, 100.
 List, F., 53.
Livret, 27.
 Luxembourg Commission, 42-48.
 Lyons Congress, 173.

 Mably, 19.
 McGuire, P. J., 122.
 Marx, K., 39, 41, 47, 53, 54, 55-58, 65, 66, 70, 71, 74, 75, 76, 81, 84, 101, 160, 171.
 Mazzini, G., 70, 71, 143.
 Mensheviks, 161.
 Meslier, 18.
 Millerand, 105, 108.
 Montanelli, G., 143.
 Morelly, 19.
 Mussolini, B., 158, 166, 168.

 Napoleon III., 58-59, 61, 62.
Narodnichestvo, 152-153.
 National Guard, 42, 47, 48.
 National Industrial Recovery Act, 176.
 National Labour Union, 120.
 National Workshops, 42, 43, 47, 48.

 Paepe, C. de, 131.
 Paris Commune, 76-81.
 Physiocrats, 18.
 Proudhon, P.-J., 38-39, 41, 73, 111.

 Revisionism, 101.
 Robespierre, 24, 25.
 Rodbertus, J. K., 54-55.
 Rousseau, J. J., 19-21.

 St. Simon, 35-37.
 Say, J. B., 35.
 Schulze-Deletzsch, 64-65, 73.

 Sismondi, 35.
 Smith, Adam, 35.
 Social Democracy, 66, 73.
 Social Democracy in Austria, 165-166.
 Social Democratic Labour Party (Dutch), 135.
 Social Insurance, 93.
 Socialist Labour Party (America), 127.
 Socialist Labour Party (Flemish), 132.
 Socialist Revolutionary Labour Party, 103.
 Socialist Revolutionary Party, 103.
 Socialist Workers' Federation, 103.

 Sorel, 110, 144.
 Spartacists, 157, 163.
 Stevens, U. S., 121.
 Strasser, A., 122.
 Sweden, strike in, 135-139.
 Syndicalism, 106-111.

 Thomas, E., 44, 45, 46.
 Thrane, M., 137.
 Thuenen, J. H. von, 53.
 Tolain, 61, 71, 72.
Tour de France, 12, 14.
 Tours Congress, 173.
 Trade Unionism (Belgian), 131.
 Trade Unionism (French), 86-90.
 Trade Unionism (German), 95-98, 163-165.
 Trade Unionism (Italian), 142-143.
 Trade Unionism (Russian), 151-152.
 Turgot, 11, 18, 23.

 Vaillant, 103, 106.
 Viviani, 106, 108.

 War Labor Board, 175.
 Weitling, W., 53, 69.
 Zollverein, 50.

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