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The Workers
International

by

R. W. Postgate

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THE WORKERS'
INTERNATIONAL

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

THE BOLSHEVIK THEORY	Grant Richards 7/6
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THE WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL

By

R. W. POSTGATE

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FOREWORD BY THE EDITOR

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

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

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

PREFACE

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

R.W.P.

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I—BRITISH TRADE UNIONS AFFILIATED TO THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL.

On September 8th, 1866, were affiliated :

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

" With 13 others promised " (Beehive).

There also had affiliated already :

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

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

From September, 1866, to September, 1867 :

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

Coachmakers' Friendly Society.

Lancashire, Derbyshire, Yorkshire and Cheshire Block Printers Union.

*Coach Trimmers. (Two Societies, meeting at the *Globe* and the *Crown*.)

United Journeymen Carriers.

From September, 1867, to September, 1868 :

National Association of Operative Plasterers.

*Birmingham Housepainters.

Cigarmakers (Liverpool).

[National Reform League.]

City Women's Men (Shoemakers).

City Men's Men (Shoemakers).

New London Society of Basket Makers.

Portmanteau and Trunk-makers.

Chairmakers.

Hull Co-operative Society.

Hull Blacksmiths.

Later affiliations (there may be others, but these are all I can find) :

Bootclosers (1869).

Amalgamated Society of Engineers (1871).

[Nottingham Labour Protection League] (1872).

Manchester Cordwainers (1872).

Manchester Operative Masons (1872).

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

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

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

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

1. ORDINARY POLITICAL SECTIONS :

Acacias.	†Les Ivryens.
Belleville.	†Malesherbes.
†Couronnes.	†Poissonnière.
†Cercle d'études.	Strasbourg.
École de médecine.	†Ternes.
†Gobelins.	†Vaugirard.
†Hôpital Louis.	†Association Republicaine du
†Montrouge.	6me arrondissement.
Panthéon.	†Brantôme.
†Recollets.	†Combat.
†Sociale des Écoles.	†Est (St. Denis).
†13me Arrondissement.	†La Gare d'Ivry et Bercy.
La Villette.	†La Glacière.
Faubourg Antoine.	†Richard Lenoir.
†Batignolles.	Popincourt.
†Château Rouge.	Roule.
†Duval.	†Stephenson.
†Flourens.	†Faubourg du Temple.
†Grandes Carrières de Mont-	†Vertbois.
martre.	Total 37.

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

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

Total 46.

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

2. TRADE UNION SECTIONS :

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

Not attending during this period :

Block-printers.	Whitesmiths.
Scale-makers.	Building workers.
Saddlers.	Chasers.
Porcelain workers.	Stone-cutters.
Plumbers.	Leather dressers.
Spungers.	Slate quarrymen.
	Total 36.

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

3. CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

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

Total 4.

Grand Total .. 86.

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

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

FRANCE :	Rouen	La Réforme Sociale.
	Paris	La Révolution.

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

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

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

IV—CONGRESSES.

(a) First International.

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

(Marxist)

1873	Geneva
1874	—
1875	—
1876	Philadelphia
1877	—

(Bakuninist).

Geneva.
Brussels.
—
Berne.
Verviers.

(b) Second International.

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

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

(c) Third International.

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

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

V—SECRETARIES OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL :

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

VI—BIBLIOGRAPHY.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CONTEMPORARY PRINTED WORKS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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