
MARX
ENGELS
Gesamt-
Ausgabe

MARX/ENGELS GESAMTAUSGABE

17

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Werke
September 1864
bis
September 1867

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524 795

K A R L M A R X
F R I E D R I C H E N G E L S
G E S A M T A U S G A B E
(M E G A)
ERSTE ABTEILUNG
WERKE · ARTIKEL · ENTWÜRFE
BAND 20

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON DER
INTERNATIONALEN MARX-ENGELS-STIFTUNG

K A R L M A R X
F R I E D R I C H E N G E L S
W E R K E · A R T I K E L
E N T W Ü R F E
S E P T E M B E R 1 8 6 4
B I S S E P T E M B E R 1 8 6 7

TEXT

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DIETZ VERLAG BERLIN
INTERNATIONALES INSTITUT FÜR SOZIALGESCHICHTE AMSTERDAM

1992

Internationale Marx-Engels-Stiftung Amsterdam

Der vorliegende Band wurde noch unter der
früheren Redaktionskommission erarbeitet.

Marx, Karl: Gesamtausgabe : (MEGA) / Karl Marx ; Friedrich Engels.
Hrsg. von der Internationalen Marx-Engels-Stiftung. - Berlin : Dietz Verl. GmbH ;
Internationales Institut für Sozialgeschichte Amsterdam
[Sammlung].

Abt. 1, Werke, Artikel, Entwürfe
Bd. 20. Werke, Artikel, Entwürfe September 1864 bis September 1867
Text. - 1992. - 57, 826 S. : 29 Abb., 1 Karte
Apparat. - 1992. - S. 827-2040 : 6 Abb.

I. Abt. ISBN 3-320-00000-4
Bd. 1/20 ISBN 3-320-00012-8

Text und Apparat
Mit 35 Abbildungen und 1 Karte
© Dietz Verlag Berlin GmbH 1992
LSV 0046

Technische Redaktion: Heinz Ruschinski und Waltraud Schulze
Korrektur: Barbara Boehnke, Renate Kröhnert, Eva Mendl
und Sigrid Wittenberg
Einband: Albert Kapr
Typografie: Albert Kapr/Horst Kinkel
Schrift: Timeless-Antiqua und Maxima
Printed in Germany
Satz und Druck: INTERDRUCK Leipzig GmbH
Buchbinderische Verarbeitung: Leipziger Großbuchbinderei GmbH

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Einleitung

Der vorliegende Band enthält Werke, Artikel, Erklärungen, Beschlüsse, Reden sowie Entwürfe, die von Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels oder unter ihrem direkten Einfluß in der Zeit zwischen der Gründungsversammlung der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation (28. September 1864) und dem Erscheinen des ersten Bandes des „Kapitals“ (Mitte September 1867) verfaßt wurden. Er eröffnet eine Gruppe von Bänden der Ersten Abteilung der MEGA, die das Wirken von Marx und Engels in der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation widerspiegeln.

Die Bildung dieser Organisation leitete eine neue Etappe in der Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung ein. Sie entwickelte sich zur ersten internationalen Massenorganisation der Arbeiter. Hatte im Bund der Kommunisten bereits eine kleine politische Vorhut die Lehren von Marx und Engels aufgenommen, so begann in der I.Internationale eine Rezeption von Grundideen des Marxismus durch die sich entfaltende proletarische Massenbewegung. In dem jahrzehntelangen Verselbständigungsprozeß der Arbeiterbewegung erzielte die Internationale Arbeiterassoziation den entscheidenden Durchbruch.

Zu ihrer Gründungszeit war in den fortgeschrittenen Ländern der historische Prozeß der bürgerlichen Umgestaltung in seine abschließende Phase getreten. Die industrielle Revolution, in Großbritannien bereits beendet, setzte sich auch in den USA sowie in Deutschland und Frankreich durch und schritt in anderen Ländern des europäischen Festlandes sichtbar voran. Die internationale Wirtschaftskrise von 1857 und das ihr folgende Anwachsen der Streikbewegung hatte vielen Arbeitern gezeigt, wie wichtig ihre Solidarität im Kampf gegen das Kapital war. Zum politischen Wiedererwachen der Arbeiterbewegung trugen die nationalen und demokratischen Bewegungen der Zeit bei, namentlich der

KARL MARX
FRIEDRICH ENGELS
WERKE • ARTIKEL - ENTWÜRFE
SEPTEMBER 1864
BIS SEPTEMBER 1867

Karl Marx
Address of the International Working Men's Association
(Inaugural Address)

**(31 Address of the
Working Men's International Association,
established September 28,1864,
at a public meeting held at St. Martin's Hall,
s Long Acre, London.**

Working Men,

It is a great fact that the misery of the working masses has not diminished from 1848 to 1864, and yet this period is unrivalled for the development of its industry and the growth of its commerce. In 1850, a moderate organ of
10 the British middle-class, of more than average information, predicted that if the exports and imports of England were to rise 50 per cent., English pauperism would sink to zero. Alas! on April 7th, 1864, the Chancellor of the Exchequer delighted his Parliamentary audience by the statement that the total import and export trade of England had grown in 1863 "to
15 £443,955,000! that astonishing sum about three times the trade of the comparatively recent epoch of 1843!" With all that, he was eloquent upon "poverty." "Think," he exclaimed, "of those who are on the border of that region," upon "wages ... not increased;" upon "human life ... in nine cases out of ten but a struggle of existence!" He did not speak of the people of
20 Ireland, gradually replaced by machinery in the north, and by sheep-walks in the south, though even the sheep in that unhappy country are decreasing, it is true not at so rapid a rate as the men. He did not repeat what then had been just betrayed by the highest representatives of the upper ten thousand in a sudden fit of terror. When the garotte panic had reached a certain
25 height, the House of Lords caused an inquiry to be made into, and a report

Karl Marx

to be published upon, transportation and penal servitude. Out came the murder ||4| in the bulky Blue Book of 1863, and proved it was, by official facts and figures, that the worst of the convicted criminals, the penal serfs of England and Scotland, toiled much less and fared far better than the agricultural labourers of England and Scotland. But this was not all. When, 5 consequent upon the civil war in America, the operatives of Lancashire and Cheshire were thrown upon the streets, the same House of Lords sent to the manufacturing districts a physician commissioned to investigate into the smallest possible amount of carbon and nitrogen, to be administered in the cheapest and plainest form, which on an average might just suffice to 10 "avert starvation diseases." Dr. Smith, the medical deputy, ascertained that 28,000 grains of carbon, and 1,330 grains of nitrogen were the weekly allowance that would keep an average adult ... just over the level of starvation diseases, and he found furthermore that quantity pretty nearly to agree with the scanty nourishment to which the pressure of extreme distress had 15 actually reduced the cotton operatives.* But now mark! The same learned Doctor was later on again deputed by the medical officer of the Privy Council to inquire into the nourishment of the poorer labouring classes. The results of his researches are embodied in the "Sixth Report on Public Health," published by order of Parliament in the course of the present year. 20 What did the Doctor discover? That the silk weavers, the needle women, the kid glovers, the stocking weavers, and so forth, received, on an average, not even the distress pittance of the cotton operatives, not even the amount of carbon and nitrogen "just sufficient to avert starvation diseases."

"Moreover," we quote from the report, "as regards the examined families 25 of the agricultural population, it ||5| appeared that more than a fifth were with less than the estimated sufficiency of carbonaceous food, that more than one-third were with less than the estimated sufficiency of nitrogenous food, and that in three counties (Berkshire, Oxfordshire, and Somersetshire) insufficiency of nitrogenous food was the average local diet." "It 30 must be remembered," adds the official report, "that privation of food is very reluctantly borne, and that, as a rule, great poorness of diet will only come when other privations have preceded it. ... Even cleanliness will have been found costly or difficult, and if there still be self-respectful endeavours to maintain it, every such endeavour will represent additional pangs of 35 hunger." "These are painful reflections, especially when it is remem-

* We need hardly remind the reader that, apart from the elements of water and certain inorganic substances, carbon and nitrogen form the raw materials of human food. However, to nourish the human system, those simple chemical constituents must be supplied in the form of vegetable or animal substances. Potatoes, for instance, contain mainly carbon, while 40 wheaten bread contains carbonaceous and nitrogenous substances in a due proportion.

ADDRESS
AND
PROVISIONAL RULES
OF THE
WORKING MEN'S
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION,

ESTABLISHED SEPTEMBER 28, 1864,

AT A PUBLIC MEETING HELD AT ST. MARTIN'S
HALL, LONG ACRE, LONDON.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

PRINTED AT THE "BEE-HIVE" NEWSPAPER OFFICE,
10, BOLT COURT, FLEET STREET.

1864.

[Karl Marx:] Address and Provisional Rules
of the Working Men's International Association ... [London] 1864.
Titelblatt

Inaugural Address

bered that the poverty to which they advert is not the deserved poverty of idleness; in all cases it is the poverty of working populations. Indeed the work which obtains the scanty pittance of food is for the most part excessively prolonged." The report brings out the strange, and rather unexpected
5 fact, "That of the divisions of the United Kingdom," England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, "the agricultural population of England," the richest division, "is considerably the worst fed;" but that even the agricultural wretches of Berkshire, Oxfordshire, and Somersetshire, fare better than great numbers of skilled indoor operatives of the East of London.

10 Such are the official statements published by order of Parliament in 1864, during the millennium of free trade, at a time when the Chancellor of the Exchequer told the House of Commons that "the average condition of the British labourer has improved in a degree we know to be extraordinary and unexampled in the history of any country or any age." Upon these official
15 congratulations jars the dry remark of the official Public Health Report:—"The public health of a country means the health of its masses, and the masses will scarcely be healthy unless, to their very base, they be at least moderately prosperous."

Dazzled by the "Progress of the Nation" statistics dancing before his
20 eyes, the Chancellor of the Exchequer exclaims in wild ecstasy: "From 1842 to 1852 the taxable income of the country increased by 6 per cent.; in the eight years from 1853 to 1861, it has increased from the basis taken in 1853 20 per cent! the fact is so astonishing to be almost incredible! ... This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power," adds Mr. Gladstone, "is
25 entirely confined to classes of property!"

If you want to know under what conditions of broken health, tainted morals, and mental ruin, that "intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power entirely confined to classes of property" was, and is being produced by the classes of labour, look to the picture hung up in the last "Public
30 Health Report" of the workshops of tailors, printers, and dressmakers! Compare the "Report of the Children's Employment Commission" of 1863, where it is stated, for instance, that: "The potters as a class, both men and women, represent a much degenerated population, both physically and mentally," that "the unhealthy child is an unhealthy parent in his turn,"
35 that "a progressive deterioration of the race must go on," and that "the dégénérescence of the population of Staffordshire would be even greater were it not for the constant recruiting from the adjacent country, and the intermarriages with more healthy races." Glance at Mr. Tremenheere's Blue Book on the "Grievances complained of by the Journeymen Bakers!" And
40 who has not shuddered at the paradoxical statement made by the inspectors of factories, and illustrated by the Registrar General, that the Lanca-

shire operatives, while put upon the distress pittance of food, were actually improving in health, because of their temporary exclusion by the cotton famine from the cotton factory, and that the mortality of the children was decreasing, because their mothers were now at last allowed to give them, instead of Godfrey's cordial, their own breasts. 5

Again reverse the medal! The Income and Property Tax Returns laid before the House of Commons on July 20, 1864, teach us that the persons with yearly incomes, valued by the tax-gatherer at £50,000 and upwards, had, from April 5th, 1862, to April 5th, 1863, ||7| been joined by a dozen and one, their number having increased in that single year from 67 to 80. 10
The same returns disclose the fact that about 3,000 persons divide amongst themselves a yearly income of about £25,000,000 sterling, rather more than the total revenue doled out annually to the whole mass of the agricultural labourers of England and Wales. Open the census of 1861, and you will find that the number of the male landed proprietors of England and Wales 15
had decreased from 16,934 in 1851, to 15,066 in 1861, so that the concentration of land had grown in 10 years 11 per cent. If the concentration of the soil of the country in a few hands proceed at the same rate, the land question will become singularly simplified, as it had become in the Roman Empire, when Nero grinned at the discovery that half the Province of 20
Africa was owned by six gentlemen.

We have dwelt so long upon these "facts so astonishing to be almost incredible," because England heads the Europe of commerce and industry. It will be remembered that some months ago one of the refugee sons of Louis Philippe publicly congratulated the English agricultural labourer on the su- 25
periority of his lot over that of his less florid comrade on the other side of the Channel. Indeed, with local colours changed, and on a scale somewhat contracted, the English facts reproduce themselves in all the industrious and progressive countries of the Continent. In all of them there has taken place, since 1848, an unheard-of development of industry, and an un- 30
dreamed-of expansion of imports and exports. In all of them "the augmentation of wealth and power entirely confined to classes of property" was truly "intoxicating." In all of them, as in England, a minority of the working classes got their real wages somewhat advanced; while in most cases the monetary rise of wages denoted no more a real access of comforts than the 35
inmate of the metropolitan poor-house or orphan asylum, for instance, was in the least benefitted by his first necessities costing £9 15s. 8d. in 1861 against £7 7s. 4d. in 1852. Everywhere the great mass of the working classes were sinking down to a lower depth, at ||8| the same rate at least that those above them were rising in the social scale. In all countries of Europe it has 40
now become a truth demonstrable to every unprejudiced mind, and only

Inaugural Address

denied by those whose interest it is to hedge other people in a fool's paradise, that no improvement of machinery, no appliance of science to production, no contrivances of communication, no new colonies, no emigration, no opening of markets, no free trade, nor all these things put together,
5 will do away with the miseries of the industrious masses; but that, on the present false base, every fresh development of the productive powers of labour must tend to deepen social contrasts and point social antagonisms. Death of starvation rose almost to the rank of an institution, during this intoxicating epoch of economical progress, in the metropolis of the British
10 Empire. That epoch is marked in the annals of the world by the quickened return, the widening compass, and the deadlier effects of the social pest called a commercial and industrial crisis.

After the failure of the revolutions of 1848, all party organisations and party journals of the working classes were, on the Continent, crushed by the
15 iron hand of force, the most advanced sons of labour fled in despair to the Transatlantic Republic, and the short-lived dreams of emancipation vanished before an epoch of industrial fever, moral marasm, and political reaction. The defeat of the continental working classes, partly owed to the diplomacy of the English Government, acting then as now in fraternal
20 solidarity with the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, soon spread its contagious effects to this side of the channel. While the rout of their continental brethren unmanned the English working classes, and broke their faith in their own cause, it restored to the landlord and the money-lord their somewhat shaken confidence. They insolently withdrew concessions already adver-
25 used. The discoveries of new goldlands led to an immense exodus, leaving an irreparable void in the ranks of the British proletariat. Others of its formerly active members were caught by the temporary bribe of greater work and wages, and turned into "political blacks." All ||9| the efforts made at keeping up, or remodelling, the Chartist Movement, failed signally; the
30 press organs of the working class died one by one of the apathy of the masses, and, in point of fact, never before seemed the English working class so thoroughly reconciled to a state of political nullity. If, then, there had been no solidarity of action between the British and the continental working classes, there was, at all events, a solidarity of defeat.

35 And yet the period passed since the revolutions of 1848 has not been without its compensating features. We shall here only point to two great facts.

After a thirty years' struggle, fought with most admirable perseverance, the English working classes, improving a momentaneous split between the
40 landlords and money lords, succeeded in carrying the Ten Hours' Bill. The immense physical, moral, and intellectual benefits hence accruing to the

Karl Marx

factory operatives, half-yearly chronicled in the reports of the inspectors of factories, are now acknowledged on all sides. Most of the continental governments had to accept the English Factory Act in more or less modified forms, and the English Parliament itself is every year compelled to enlarge its sphere of action. But besides its practical import, there was something else to exalt the marvellous success of this working-men's measure. Through their most notorious organs of science, such as Dr. lire, Professor Senior, and other sages of that stamp, the middle class had predicted, and to their heart's content proved, that any legal restriction of the hours of labour must sound the death knell of British industry, which, vampyre like, could but live by sucking blood, and children's blood, too.-In olden times, child murder was a mysterious rite of the religion of Moloch, but it was practised on some very solemn occasions only, once a year perhaps, and then Moloch had no exclusive bias for the children of the poor. This struggle about the legal restriction of the hours of labour raged the more fiercely since, apart from frightened avarice, it told indeed upon the great contest between the blind rule of the supply and demand laws which form the political economy of the middle class, and social production controlled by ||10| social foresight, which forms the political economy of the working class. Hence the Ten Hours Bill was not only a great practical success; it was the victory of a principle; it was the first time that in broad daylight the political economy of the middle class succumbed to the political economy of the working class.

But there was in store a still greater victory of the political economy of labour over the political economy of property. We speak of the co-operative movement, especially the co-operative factories raised by the unassisted efforts of a few bold "hands." The value of these great social experiments cannot be over-rated. By deed, instead of by argument, they have shown that production on a large scale, and in accord with the behests of modern science, may be carried on without the existence of a class of masters employing a class of hands; that to bear fruit, the means of labour need not be monopolised as a means of dominion over, and of extortion against, the labouring man himself; and that, like slave labour, like serf labour, hired labour is but a transitory and inferior form, destined to disappear before associated labour plying its toil with a willing hand, a ready mind, and a joyous heart. In England, the seeds of the co-operative system were sown by Robert Owen; the working men's experiments, tried on the continent, were, in fact, the practical upshot of the theories, not invented, but loudly proclaimed, in 1848.

At the same time, the experience of the period from 1848 to 1864, has proved beyond doubt that, however excellent in principle, and however

Inaugural Address

useful in practice, co-operative labour, if kept within the narrow circle of the casual efforts of private workmen, will never be able to arrest the growth in geometrical progression of monopoly, to free the masses, nor even to perceptibly lighten the burden of their miseries. It is perhaps for
5 this very reason that plausible noblemen, philanthropic middle class spouters, and even keen political economists, have all at once turned nauseously complimentary to the very co-operative labour system they had vainly tried to nip in the bud by deriding it as the Utopia of ||11| the dreamer, or stigmatising it as the sacrilege of the socialist. To save the industrious masses,
10 co-operative labour ought to be developed to national dimensions, and, consequently, to be fostered by national means. Yet, the lords of land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defence and perpetuation of their economical monopolies. So far from promoting, they will continue to lay every possible impediment in the way of the
15 emancipation of labour. Remember the sneer with which, last session, Lord Palmerston put down the advocates of the Irish Tenants' Right Bill. The House of Commons, cried he, is a house of landed proprietors. To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes. They seem to have comprehended this, for in England, Germany, Italy, and
20 France there have taken place simultaneous revivals, and simultaneous efforts are being made at the political reorganisation of the working men's party.

One element of success they possess—numbers; but numbers weigh only in the balance, if united by combination and led by knowledge. Past experience has shown how disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought
25 to exist between the workmen of different countries, and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggles for emancipation, will be chastised by the common discomfiture of their incoherent efforts. This thought prompted the working men of different countries assembled on
30 September 28, 1864, in public meeting at StMartin's Hall, to found the International Association.

Another conviction swayed that meeting.

If the emancipation of the working classes requires their fraternal concurrence, how are they to fulfil that great mission with a foreign policy in
35 pursuit of criminal designs, playing upon national prejudices, and squandering in piratical wars the people's blood and treasure? It was not the wisdom of the ruling classes, but the heroic resistance to their criminal folly by the working classes of England that saved the West of Europe from plunging headlong into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and prop-
40 agation of ||12| slavery on the other side of the Atlantic. The shameless approval, mock sympathy, or idiotic indifference, with which the upper

Karl Marx

classes of Europe have witnessed the mountain fortress of the Caucasus falling a prey to, and heroic Poland being assassinated by, Russia; the immense and unresisted encroachments of that barbarous power, whose head is at St. Petersburg, and whose hands are in every Cabinet of Europe, have taught the working classes the duty to master themselves the mysteries of international politics; to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective Governments; to counteract them, if necessary, by all means in their power; when unable to prevent, to combine in simultaneous denunciations, and to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations.

The fight for such a foreign policy forms part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working classes.

Proletarians of all countries, Unite! |

Karl Marx
Provisional Rules
of the International Working Men's Association

li2| Provisional Rules of the Association.

Considering,

5 That the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves; that the struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of all class-rule;

10 That the economical subjection of the man of labour to the monopolizer of the means of labour, that is, the sources of life, lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence;

That the economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means;

15 That all efforts aiming at that great end have hitherto failed from the want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labour in each country, and from the absence of a fraternal bond of union between the working classes of different countries;

20 That the emancipation of labour is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists, and depending for its solution on the concurrence, practical and theoretical, of the most advanced countries;

25 That the present revival of the working classes in the most industrious countries of Europe, while it raises a new hope, gives solemn warning against a relapse into the old errors and calls for the immediate combination of the still disconnected movements;

For these reasons:—

The undersigned members of the committee, holding its powers by resolution of the public meeting held on Sept. 28, 1864, at St. Martin's Hall,

Karl Marx

London, have taken the steps necessary for founding the Working Men's International Association;

They declare that this International Association and all societies and individuals adhering to it, will acknowledge truth, justice, and morality, as the bases of their conduct towards each other, and towards all men, without regard to colour, creed, or nationality; 5

They hold it the duty of a man to claim the rights of a man and a citizen, not only for himself, but for every man who does his duty. No rights without duties, no duties without rights;

And in this spirit they have drawn up the following provisional rules of the International Association:— 10

1. This association is established to afford a central medium of communication and co-operation between Working Men's Societies existing in different countries, and aiming at the same end: viz., the protection, advancement, and complete emancipation of the working classes. 15

2. The name of the society shall be: "The Working Men's International Association."

3. In 1865 there shall meet in Belgium a General Working Men's Congress, consisting of representatives of such working men's societies as may have joined ||14| the International Association. The Congress will have to proclaim before Europe the common aspirations of the working classes, decide on the definitive rules of the International Association, consider the means required for its successful working, and appoint the Central Council of the Association. The General Congress is to meet once a year. 20

4. The Central Council shall sit in London, and consist of working men belonging to the different countries represented in the International Association. It shall from its own members elect the officers necessary for the transaction of business, such as a president, a treasurer, a general secretary, corresponding secretaries for the different countries, etc. 25

5. On its annual meetings, the General Congress shall receive a public account of the annual transactions of the Central Council. The Central Council, yearly appointed by the Congress, shall have power to add to the number of its members. In cases of urgency, it may convoke the General Congress before the regular yearly term. 30

6. The Central Council shall form an international agency between the different co-operating associations, so that the working men in one country be constantly informed of the movements of their class in every other country; that an inquiry into the social state of the different countries of Europe be made simultaneously, and under a common direction; that the questions of general interest mooted in one society be ventilated by all; and that when immediate practical steps should be needed, as, for instance, 35 40

Provisional Rules of the International Working Men's Association

in case of international quarrels, the action of the associated societies be simultaneous and uniform. Whenever it seems opportune, the Central Council shall take the initiative of proposals to be laid before the different national or local societies.

5 7. Since the success of the working men's movement in each country cannot be secured but by the power of union and combination, while, on the other hand, the usefulness of the International Central Council must greatly depend on the circumstance whether it has to deal with a few national centres of working men's ||15| associations, or with a great number of
10 small and disconnected local societies; the members of the International Association shall use their utmost efforts to combine the disconnected working men's societies of their respective countries into national bodies, represented by central national organs. It is self-understood, however, that the appliance of this rule will depend upon the peculiar laws of each coun-
15 try, and that, apart from legal obstacles, no independent local society shall be precluded from directly corresponding with the London Central Council.

8. Until the meeting of the first Congress, the committee chosen on September 28th, 1864, will act as a Provisional Central Council, try to connect
20 the different national working men's associations, enlist members in the United Kingdom, take the steps preparatory to the convocation of the General Congress, and discuss with the national and local societies the main questions to be laid before that Congress.

9. Each member of the International Association, on removing his domicile from one country to another, will receive the fraternal support of the
25 associated working men.

10. While united in a perpetual bond of fraternal co-operation, the working-men's societies, joining the International Association, will preserve their existent organisations intact.

30 _____

N.B. Persons in England can join the association by paying 1s. per annum, for which a card of membership will be supplied. |

Karl Marx
Manifest an die arbeitende Klasse Europas
(Inauguraladresse der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation)
Übersetzung aus dem Englischen

Der Social-Demokrat.
Nr. 2, 21. Dezember 1864

**Manifest
an die arbeitende Klasse Europa's.**

Arbeiter!

Es ist Thatsache, daß das Elend der arbeitenden Massen nicht abgenommen hat während der Periode 1848-1864, und dennoch steht diese Periode mit ihrem Fortschritt von Industrie und Handel beispiellos da in den Annalen der Geschichte. Im Jahre 1850 weissagte eins der bestunterrichteten Organe der englischen Mittelclassen: steigt Englands Ein- und Ausfuhr um 50 %, so **fällt** der englische Pauperismus auf Null. Nun wohl! Am 7. April 1864 hat der Schatzkanzler Gladstone seine parlamentarische Audienz durch den Nachweis entzückt, daß Großbritanniens Gesamt-Aus- und Einfuhr 1863 nicht weniger als 443 955000£. betrug! „Eine erstaunliche Summe ungefähr dreimal so groß als die Summe des britischen Gesamt-handels in der kaum verschwundenen Epoche von 1843!“ Trotz alledem war er beredt über „Armuth“. „Denkt“, rief er, „an die, welche am Abgrund des Elends schweben!“, an „nicht gestiegene Löhne“, an „das Menschenleben in neun Fällen von zehn ein bloßer Kampf um die Existenz“! Er sprach nicht von dem Volk von Irland, mehr und mehr ersetzt durch Maschinerie im Norden und durch Schaafweiden im Süden, obgleich selbst die Schaafweide in jenem unglücklichen Lande abnehmen - es ist wahr, nicht ganz so rasch als die Menschen. Er wiederholte nicht, was die Repräsentanten der 10 000 Vornehmen so eben verrathen hatten, in einem plötzlichen Schreck-Anfall. Während der Höhe des Garrot-Panics ernannte nämlich das Haus der Lords eine Untersuchungs-Commission über Deportation und Strafarbeit. Ihr Bericht steht in dem umfangreichen Blaubuch von 1863, und beweist durch officiële Zahlen und Thatsachen, daß der Auswurf des Verbrechens, daß die Galeerensclaven Englands und Schottlands

Der Social-Demokrat.

Organ

Allgemeinen deutschen Arbeiter-Vereins.

Redigirt von J. G. u. A. Helfferich und J. G. u. Schmeier.

Jede Nummer enthält ein Heftchen mit dem Inhalt des Monatsheftes.

Berlin, den 21. December 1864.

Alle Anzeigen nehmen nach dem Tarifblatt.

Die schuldig-bekräftigte Angliederung

Der von uns über diese Angelegenheit... Die schuldig-bekräftigte Angliederung...

Die schuldig-bekräftigte Angliederung

Es ist nicht abzusehen, wie die Sache... Die schuldig-bekräftigte Angliederung...

Die schuldig-bekräftigte Angliederung... Die schuldig-bekräftigte Angliederung...

Wie es sich auch verhalten mag... Die schuldig-bekräftigte Angliederung...

Die schuldig-bekräftigte Angliederung... Die schuldig-bekräftigte Angliederung...

Die schuldig-bekräftigte Angliederung... Die schuldig-bekräftigte Angliederung...

Der von dieser Partei im Jahre... Die schuldig-bekräftigte Angliederung...

Manifest an die arbeitende Klasse Europas... Die schuldig-bekräftigte Angliederung...

Die schuldig-bekräftigte Angliederung... Die schuldig-bekräftigte Angliederung...

Der Social-Demokrat. Berlin. Nr. 2, 21. December 1864. Titelseite mit dem Beginn des „Manifestes an die arbeitende Klasse Europas“ von Marx

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viel weniger abgeplackt und viel besser genährt werden, als die Ackerbauer Englands und Schottlands. Aber das war nicht alles. Als der amerikanische Bürgerkrieg die Fabrikarbeiter von Lancashire und Cheshire auf das Pflaster warf, entsandte dasselbe Haus der Lords einen Arzt in jene Manufac-
5 tur-Districte mit dem Auftrag zu untersuchen, welcher kleinste Betrag von Kohlen- und Stickstoff, eingegeben in der wohlfeilsten und ordinairsten Form, durchschnittlich grade ausreichte um „*Hungerkrankheiten abzuwe-*
ren“ ("to avert starvation diseases"). Dr. Smith, der ärztliche Bevollmächtigte, fand aus, daß eine wöchentliche Portion von 28 000 Gran Kohlen-
10 und 1330 Gran Stickstoff einen Durchschnittserwachsenen genau über dem Niveau der Hungerkrankheiten halten werde, und daß dieser Dosis ungefähr die spärliche Nahrung entsprach, wozu der Druck äußerster Noth die Baumwollenarbeiter heruntergebracht hatte. Aber nun merkt auf! Der-
selbe gelehrte Doctor wurde später wieder durch den Medicinalbeamten
15 des Geheimen Raths (Privy Council) beauftragt mit der Untersuchung über den Ernährungsstand des ärmeren Theils der Arbeiterclassen. Die Ergebnisse seiner Forschung sind einverleibt in den „*Sechsten Bericht über den Zu-*
stand der öffentlichen Gesundheit“, veröffentlicht im Lauf des gegenwärtigen Jahres auf Befehl des Parlaments. Was entdeckte der Doctor? Daß Seiden-
20 weber, Nätherinnen, Handschuhmacher, Strumpfwirker und andre Arbeiter Jahr aus Jahr ein im Durchschnitt nicht einmal jene Nothration der unbeschäftigten Baumwollarbeiter erhalten, nicht einmal jenen Betrag von Kohle und Stickstoff, der „*grade hinreicht zur Abwehr von Hungerkrankhei-*
ten“. „Außerdem“, wir citiren den officiellen Bericht, „außerdem zeigte
25 sich in Bezug auf die untersuchten Familien der Ackerbaubevölkerung, daß mehr als % *weniger* als das veranschlagte Minimum von kohlenhaltiger Nahrung, mehr als % *weniger* als das veranschlagte Minimum von stickstoffhaltiger Nahrung erhält und daß in die durchschnittliche Local-Nahrung der drei Grafschaften Berkshire, Oxfordshire und Somersetshire ein
30 unzureichendes Maaß stickstoffhaltiger Lebensmittel eingeht. Man muß erwägen“, fügt der officielle Bericht hinzu, „daß Mangel an Nahrung nur sehr widerstrebend ertragen wird, und daß große Dürftigkeit der Diät in der Regel nur kommt, nachdem Entbehrungen aller Art vorhergingen. Reinlichkeit selbst wird vorher kostspielig und mühevoll, und werden aus
35 Selbstachtung noch Versuche gemacht, um sie aufrecht zu halten, so stellt jeder solcher Versuch eine zusetzliche Hungerqual vor. - Das sind peinliche Betrachtungen, namentlich wenn man sich erinnert, daß die Armuth, wovon hier die Rede, nicht die verdiente Armuth des Müßiggangs ist; es ist in allem Fällen die Armuth von Arbeiterbevölkerungen. Ja die Arbeit, die
40 die armselige Nahrungsration erhält, ist thatsächlich meist über alles Maaß verlängert.“ Der „*Bericht*“ enthüllt die sonderbare und sicher unerwartete

Thatsache, daß „von den vier Abtheilungen des vereinigten Königreichs“, - England, Wales, Schottland und Irland, - „die Ackerbaubevölkerung Englands, der reichsten Abtheilung, *bei weitem die schlechtnährteste ist*“; daß aber selbst die elenden Ackerbautagelöhner von Berkshire, Oxfordshire und Somersetshire besser genährt sind als große Massen der geschickten Handwerker von London. 5

Dies sind offizielle Aufstellungen, auf Parlamentsbefehl veröffentlicht im Jahre 1864, während des tausendjährigen Reichs des Freihandels, zu einer Zeit wo der britische Schatzkanzler das Haus der Gemeinen belehrt, daß „die Durchschnittslage des britischen Arbeiters sich in einem Maaß 10 verbessert hat, wovon wir wissen, daß es außerordentlich und beispielloos in der Geschichte aller Länder und aller Epochen dasteht“. Mißtönend knarrt zwischen diese officiellen Glückwünsungen das dürre Wort des officiellen Gesundheitsberichtes: „die öffentliche Gesundheit eines Landes bedeutet die Gesundheit seiner Masse und wie können die Massen gesund 15 sein, wenn sie bis auf ihre untersten Schichten herab nicht wenigstens erträglich gedeihen?“

Gebendet von der Fortschritts-Statistik des National-Reichthums, die vor seinen Augen tanzt, ruft der Schatzkanzler in wilder Extase:

„Von 1842 bis 1852 wuchs das steuerbare Landeseinkommen um 6 Prozent; in den acht Jahren von 1853 bis 1861 ist es, ausgehend von der Basis von 1853, um 20 Prozent gewachsen. *Die Thatsache ist bis zum Unglaublichen erstaunlich!* - *Dieser berausende Zuwachs von Reichthum und Macht*“, fügt Herr Gladstone hinzu, „*ist gam und gar auf die besitzenden Klassen beschränkt.*“ 20 25

Wenn Ihr wissen wollt, unter welchen Bedingungen gebrochener Gesundheit, befleckter Moral und geistigen Ruins jener „*berausende Zuwachs von Reichthum und Macht, ganz und gar beschränkt auf die besitzenden Klassen*“ producili wurde und producili wird durch *die arbeitenden Klassen*, betrachtet die Schilderung der Arbeitslokale von Druckern, Schneidern 30 und Kleidermacherinnen in dem letzten „*Bericht über den öffentlichen Gesundheitszustand!*“ Vergleicht den „*Bericht der Kommission von 1863 über die Beschäftigung von Kindern*“, wo ihr unter Anderm lest: „Die Töpfer als eine Klasse, Männer und Weiber, repräsentiren eine entartete Bevölkerung, physisch und geistig entartet“; „die ungesunden Kinder werden ihrerseits 35 ungesunde Eltern, eine fortschreitende Verschlechterung der Race ist unvermeidlich“, und dennoch „ist die Entartung (*dégénérescence*) der Bevölkerung der Töpferdistricte verlangsamt durch die beständige Recrutirung aus den benachbarten Landdistricten und die Zwischenheirathen mit gesunden Racen“! Werft einen Blick auf das von Herrn Tremenheere redigirte Blaubuch über die „*Beschwerden der Bäckergesellen!*“ Und wer schau- 40

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dert nicht vor dem Paradoxon, eingetragen in die Berichte der Fabrikinspektoren und beleuchtet durch die Tabellen der General-Registratur, dem Paradoxon, daß zur Zeit wo ihre Nahrungsration sie kaum über dem Niveau der Hungerkrankheit hielt, die Gesundheit der Arbeiter von Lancashire sich verbesserte in Folge ihres zeitweiligen Ausschlusses aus der Baumwollfabrik durch die Baumwollnoth, und daß die Sterblichkeit der Fabrikkinder abnahm, weil es ihren Müttern jetzt endlich freistand, ihnen statt der Opiummixtur die Brust zu reichen.

10 Kehrt die Medaille wieder um! Die *Einkommen- und Eigenthumsteuer-Listen*, am 20. Juli 1864 dem Hause der Gemeinen vorgelegt, zeigen, daß die Personen mit *jährlichen* Einkommen von 50 000 £ und *über* 50 000 £ sich vom 5. April 1862 bis zum 5. April 1863 durch ein Dutzend und Eins recrutirt hatten, indem ihre Anzahl in diesem einen Jahr von 67 auf 80 stieg.

15 Dieselben Listen enthüllen die Thatsache, daß ungefähr *drei tausend* Personen ein jährliches Einkommen von ungefähr 25 *Millionen* £ unter sich theilen, mehr als das Gesamteinkommen, welches der Gesamtmasse der Ackerbauarbeiter von England und Wales jährlich zugemessen wird!

20 *Oeffnet den Census von 1861* und Ihr findet, daß die Zahl der männlichen Grundeigenthümer von England und Wales von 16 934 im Jahr 1851 herabgesunken war zu 15 066 im Jahre 1861, so daß die Concentration des Grundeigenthums in 10 Jahren um 11 Prozent wuchs. Wenn die Concentration des Landes in wenigen Händen gleichmäßig fortschreitet, wird sich die Grund- und Bodenfrage (the landquestion) ganz merkwürdig vereinfachen, wie zur Zeit des römischen Kaiserreichs, als Nero grinzte über die
25 Entdeckung, daß die halbe Provinz von Afrika 6 gentlemen angehörte.

Wir haben so lange verweilt bei diesen „bis zum Unglaublichen erstaunlichen Thatsachen“, weil England das Europa der Industrie und des Handels anführt und in der That auf dem Weltmarkt repräsentirt. Vor wenigen Monaten beglückwünschte einer der verbannten Söhne Louis Philippe's
30 den *englischen* Ackerbauarbeiter öffentlich wegen des Vorzugs seiner Lage über die seiner minder blühenden Genossen jenseits des Kanals. In der That, mit veränderten Localfarben, und in verjüngtem Maaßstab wiederholen sich die englischen Thatsachen in allen industriellen und fortgeschrittenen Ländern des Kontinents. Seit 1848 in ihnen allen unerhörte Ent-
35 wicklung der Industrie und ungeahnte Ausdehnung der Aus- und Einfuhr. In ihnen allen ein wahrhaft „berauschender Zuwachs von Reichthum und Macht“ „ganz und gar beschränkt auf die besitzenden Klassen“. In allen, wie in England, Steigen des *Reallohns*, d.h. der mit dem Geldlohn beschaffbaren Lebensmittel, für eine Minderheit der Arbeiterklasse, während in
40 den meisten Fällen das Steigen des *Geldlohns* keinen wirklichen Zuwachs von Comforts anzeigte, so wenig als etwa der Insasse eines Londoner Ar-

Karl Marx

men- oder Waisenhauses im geringsten besser daran war, weil seine ersten Lebensmittel im Jahre 1861 der Verwaltung 9£ 15sh. 8d. kosteten anstatt der 7£ 7sh. 4d. des Jahres 1851. Ueberall die Massen der Arbeiterklasse tiefer sinkend in denselben Verhältnisse wenigstens als die Klassen über ihnen in der gesellschaftlichen Wagschale aufschnellten. Und so ist es jetzt in allen Ländern Europa's eine Wahrheit, erwiesen für jeden vorurtheilsfreien Geist, und nur geläugnet durch die interessirt klugen Prediger eines Narrenparadieses, daß keine Entwicklung der Maschinerie, keine chemische Entdeckung, keine Anwendung der Wissenschaft auf die Production, keine Verbesserung der Communicationsmittel, keine neuen Colonien, keine Auswanderung, keine Eröffnung von Märkten, kein Freihandel, noch alle diese Dinge zusammengenommen, das Elend der arbeitenden Massen beseitigen können, sondern daß vielmehr umgekehrt, auf der gegenwärtigen falschen Grundlage, jede frische Entwicklung der Productivkräfte der Arbeit dahinstreben muß die socialen Kontraste zu vertiefen und den socialen Gegensatz zuzuspitzen. Während dieser „berauschenden Epoche“ öconomischen Fortschritts hob sich der *Hungertod* beinahe zum Range einer Institution in der Hauptstadt des britischen Reichs. In den Annalen des Weltmarkts ist dieselbe Epoche gekennzeichnet durch die raschere Wiederkehr, den erweiterten Umfang und die tödtlichere Wirkung der gesellschaftlichen Pest, die man *industrielle und commerciale Krise* heißt.

Der Social-Demokrat.
Nr. 3, 30. Dezember 1864

Nach dem Fehlschlag der Revolutionen von 1848 wurden auf dem Continent alle Parteiorganisationen und Parteijournale der arbeitenden Classe von der eisernen Hand der Gewalt unterdrückt, die fortgeschrittensten Söhne der Arbeit flohen in Verzweiflung nach der transatlantischen Republik, und der kurzlebige Traum der Emancipation zerrann vor einer Epoche von fieberhaftem Industrialismus, moralischem Marasmus und politischer Reaction. Die Niederlagen der continentalen Arbeiterclassen, wozu die diplomatische Einmischung des britischen Cabinets, damals wie jetzt, im brüderlichen Bund mit dem Cabinet von St. Petersburg, nicht wenig beitrug, verbreitete ihre ansteckende Wirkung bald diesseits des Canals. Während der Untergang der continentalen Arbeiterbewegung die britische Arbeiterclassen entmannte und ihren Glauben in ihrer eignen Sache brach, stellte er das bereits etwas erschütterte Vertrauen der Landlords und der Geldlords wieder her. Bereits öffentlich angekündigte Concessionen wurden mit absichtlicher Insolenz zurückgezogen. Die Entdeckung neuer Goldlande führte kurz darauf zu einem ungeheuren Exodus, der unersetz-

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liehe Lücken in den Reihen des britischen Proletariats hinter sich ließ. Andre seiner früher thätigsten Glieder, durch den Köder größerer Beschäftigung und augenblicklicher Lohnerhöhung bestochen, „trugen den bestehenden Verhältnissen Rechnung“. Alle Versuche die Chartistenbewegung
5 aufrecht zu erhalten oder neu zu gestalten, scheiterten vollständig, alle Preßorgane der Arbeiterclassen starben, eins nach dem andern, an der Apathie der Masse, und in der That nie zuvor schien die englische Arbeiterclassen so ausgesöhnt mit einem Zustand politischer Nichtigkeit. Hatte daher zwischen den britischen und den continentalen Arbeiterclassen keine
10 Gemeinsamkeit der Action existirt, so existirte jetzt jedenfalls eine Gemeinsamkeit der Niederlage.

Und dennoch war die Periode von 1848 bis 1864 nicht ohne ihre Lichtseite. Hier seien nur zwei große Ereignisse erwähnt.

Nach einem dreißigjährigen Kampf, der mit bewunderungswürdiger Ausdauer geführt ward, gelang es der englischen Arbeiterclassen durch Benutzung eines augenblicklichen Zwiespalts zwischen Landlords und Geldlords, die *Zehnstundenbill* durchzusetzen. Die großen physischen, moralischen und geistigen Vortheile, die den Fabrikarbeitern aus dieser Maaßregel erwachsen und die man in den Berichten der Fabrikinspectoren
15 halbjährig verzeichnet findet, sind jetzt von allen Seiten anerkannt. Die meisten continentalen Regierungen nahmen das englische Fabrikgesetz in mehr oder minder veränderter Form an und in England selbst wird seine Wirkungssphäre jährlich vom Parlament ausgedehnt. Aber von der practischen Wichtigkeit abgesehen, hatte der Erfolg dieser Arbeitermaaßregel
25 eine andre große Bedeutung. Die Mittelclassen hatte durch die notorischsten Organe ihrer Wissenschaft, durch Dr. Ure, Professor Senior und andre Weisen von diesem Schlag, vorhergesagt und nach Herzenslust demonstrirt, daß jede gesetzliche Beschränkung der Arbeitszeit die Todtenglocke der englischen Industrie läuten müsse, einer Industrie, die vampyrmäßig
30 Menschenblut saugen müsse, vor allem Kinderblut. In alten Zeiten war der Kindermord ein mysteriöser Ritus der Religion des Moloch, aber er ward nur bei besonders feierlichen Gelegenheiten practicirt, vielleicht einmal im Jahr, und zu dem hatte Moloch keine besondere Liebhaberei für die Kinder der Armen.

Der Kampf über die gesetzliche Beschränkung der Arbeitszeit wüthete um so heftiger, je mehr er, abgesehen von aufgeschreckter Habsucht, in der That die große Streitfrage traf, die Streitfrage zwischen der blinden Herrschaft der Gesetze von Nachfrage und Zufuhr, welche die politische Oeconomie der Mittelclassen bildet, und der Controle socialer Production durch
40 sociale Ein- und Vorsicht, welche die politische Oeconomie der Arbeiterclassen bildet. Die Zehnstundenbill war daher nicht bloß eine große prakti-

sehe Errungenschaft, sie war der Sieg eines Prinzips. Zum ersten Mal erlag die politische Oeconomie der Mittelclasse in hellem Tageslicht vor der politischen Oeconomie der Arbeiterclasse.

Ein noch größerer Sieg der politischen Oeconomie der Arbeit über die politische Oeconomie des Capitals stand bevor. 5

Wir sprechen von der *Cooperativbewegung* namentlich den Cooperativfabriken, diesem Werk weniger kühnen „*Hände*“ (hands). Der Werth dieser großen socialen Experimente kann nicht überschätzt werden. Durch die That, statt durch Argumente, bewiesen sie, daß Production auf großer Stufenleiter, und im Einklang mit dem Fortschritt moderner Wissenschaft vorgehen kann ohne die Existenz einer Klasse von *Meistern* (masters), die eine Klasse von „*Händen*“ anwendet; daß, um Früchte zu tragen, die Mittel der Arbeit nicht monopolisirt zu werden brauchen als Mittel der Herrschaft über, und Mittel der Ausbeutung gegen den Arbeiter selbst, und daß, wie Sklavenarbeit, wie Leibeigenarbeit, so *Lohnarbeit* nur eine vorübergehende und untergeordnete gesellschaftliche Form ist, bestimmt zu verschwinden vor der *assoeciirten Arbeit*, die ihr Werk mit williger Hand, rüstigem Geist und fröhlichen Herzens verrichtet. In England wurde der Saamen des Cooperativsystems von *Robert Owen* ausgestreut; die auf dem Continent versuchten Arbeiterexperimente waren in der That der nächste praktische Ausgang der Theorieen, die 1848 nicht erfunden, wohl aber laut proclamirt wurden. 10 15 20

Zur selben Zeit bewies die Erfahrung der Periode von 1848 bis 1864 unzweifelhaft, was die intelligentesten Führer der Arbeiterclasse in den Jahren 1851 und 1852 gegenüber der Cooperativbewegung in England bereits geltend machten, daß, wie ausgezeichnet im Prinzip und wie nützlich in der Praxis, cooperative Arbeit, wenn beschränkt auf den engen Kreis gelegentlicher Versuche vereinzelter Arbeiter, unfähig ist, das Wachstum des Monopols in geometrischer Progression aufzuhalten, die Massen zu befreien, ja die Wucht ihres Elends auch nur merklich zu erleichtern. Es ist vielleicht gerade dies der Grund, warum plausible Lords, bürgerlich-philantropische 25 30 35 40
Salbader, und ein paar trockne politische Oeconomen jetzt mit demselben Cooperativsystem schön thun, das sie früher in seinem Keim zu ersticken versucht hatten, das sie verhöhnt hatten als die Utopie des Träumers und verdammt hatten als die Ketzerei des Socialisten. Um die arbeitenden Massen zu befreien, bedarf das Cooperativsystem der Entwicklung auf nationaler Stufenleiter und der Förderung durch nationale Mittel. Aber die Herren von Grund und Boden und die Herren vom Capital werden ihre politischen Privilegien stets gebrauchen zur Vertheidigung und zur Verewigung ihrer öconomischen Monopole. Statt die Emancipation der Arbeit zu fördern, werden sie fortfahren, ihr jedes mögliche Hinderniß in den Weg zu legen. Lord Pal-

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merston sprach aus ihrer Seele, als er in der letzten Parlamentssitzung den Vertheidigern der Rechte der irischen Pächter höhrend zuschrie: „Das Haus der Gemeinen ist ein Haus von Grundeigenthümern!“

Politische Macht zu erobern ist daher jetzt die große Pflicht der Arbeiterclassen. Sie scheinen dies begriffen zu haben, denn in England, Frankreich, Deutschland und Italien zeigt sich ein gleichzeitiges Wiederaufleben und finden gleichzeitige Versuche zur Reorganisation der Arbeiterpartei statt. Ein Element des Erfolges besitzt sie, die *Zahl*. Aber Zahlen fallen nur in die Waagschale, wenn Kombination sie vereint und Kenntniß sie leitet.

Die vergangene Erfahrung hat gezeigt wie Mißachtung des Bandes der Brüderlichkeit, welches die Arbeiter der verschiedenen Länder verbinden und sie anfeuern sollte in allen ihren Kämpfen für Emancipation fest bei einander zu stehen, stets gezüchtigt wird durch die gemeinschaftliche Vereitelung ihrer zusammenhangslosen Versuche. Es war dies Bewußtsein, das die Arbeiter verschiedener Länder, versammelt am 28. September 1864 in dem öffentlichen Meeting zu St. Martins Hall, London, anspornte zur Stiftung der „*internationalen Association*“.

Eine andere Ueberzeugung beseelte jenes Meeting.

Wenn die Emancipation der Arbeiterclassen das Zusammenwirken verschiedener Nationen erheischt, wie jenes große Ziel erreichen mit einer auswärtigen Politik, die frevelhafte Zwecke verfolgt, mit National-Vorurtheilen ihr Spiel treibt und in piratischen Kriegen des Volkes Blut und Gut vergeudet? Nicht die Weisheit der herrschenden Classen, sondern der heroische Widerstand der englischen Arbeiterclassen gegen ihre verbrecherische Thorheit bewahrte den Westen Europa's vor einer transatlantischen Kreuzfahrt für die Verewigung und Propaganda der Sklaverei. Der schamlose Beifall, die Schein-Sympathie oder idiotische Gleichgültigkeit, womit die höheren Classen Europa's dem Meuchelmord des heroischen Polen und der Erbeutung der Bergveste des Kaukasus durch Rußland zusahen; die ungeheueren und ohne Widerstand erlaubten Uebergriffe dieser barbarischen Macht, deren Kopf zu St. Petersburg und deren Hand in jedem Cabinet von Europa, haben den Arbeiterclassen die Pflicht gelehrt, in die Geheimnisse der internationalen Politik einzudringen, die diplomatischen Acte ihrer respectiven Regierungen zu überwachen, ihnen wenn nöthig entgegenzuwirken; wenn unfähig zuvorzukommen, sich zu vereinen in gleichzeitigen Denunziationen, und die einfachen Gesetze der Moral und des Rechts, welche die Beziehungen von Privatpersonen regeln sollten, als die obersten Gesetze des Verkehrs von Nationen geltend zu machen.

Der Kampf für solch eine auswärtige Politik ist eingeschlossen im allgemeinen Kampf für die *Emancipation der Arbeiterclassen*.

Proletarier aller Länder vereinigt Euch!

Karl Marx
To Abraham Lincoln,
President of the United States of America

**[To Abraham Lincoln
President of the United States
of America**

Sir

We congratulate the American People upon your Re-election by a large Majority.

If resistance to the Slave Power was the reserved Watchword of your first election, the triumphant Warcry of your Re-election is, Death to Slavery.

From the commencement of the Titanic American Strife, the Working men of Europe felt instinctively that the Star spangled Banner carried the Destiny of their class. The Contest for the territories which opened the dire epopee, Was it not to decide whether the virgin soil of immense tracts should be wedded to the Labour of the Emigrant, or prostituted by the Tramp of the Slave Driver?

When an Oligarchy of 300,000 Slaveholders dared to inscribe, for the first time in the annals of the World, Slavery on the Banner of Armed Revolt; when on the very spots where hardly a century ago the idea of one great democratic Republic had first sprung up, Whence the first Declaration of The Rights of Man was issued, and the first impulse given to the European Revolution of the 18th Century; When on those very spots counter revolution, with systematic thoroughness, gloried in rescinding "The Ideas entertained at the time of the formation of the old Constitution" and maintained "Slavery to be a beneficent Institution, indeed the only solution of the great problem of the relation of Labour to Capital", and cynically proclaimed property in Man "The corner stone of the new Edifice"; Then the Working Classes of Europe understood at once, Even before the fanatic partisanship of the Upper Classes for the confederate gentry had

To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America

given its dismal warning. That the Slaveholders' Rebellion was to sound the tocsin for a general holy Crusade of Property against Labour, and that for the Men of Labour, with their hopes for the future, even their past conquests were at stake in that tremendous Conflict on the other side of
5 the Atlantic. Everywhere they bore therefore patiently the hardships imposed upon them by the Cotton crisis, opposed enthusiastically the Pro Slavery Intervention, importunities of their "betters", and from most parts of Europe contributed their quota of blood to the good cause.

While the Working Men, the true political power of the North, allowed
10 Slavery to defile their own Republic; while before the Negro, mastered and sold without his concurrence, they boasted it the highest prerogative of the white skinned Laborer to sell himself and choose his own Master; they were unable to attain the true Freedom of Labour or to support their European Brethren in their struggle for Emancipation, but this barrier to prog-
15 ress has been swept off by the red sea of Civil War.

The Working Men of Europe feel sure that as the American War of Independence initiated a new era of ascendancy for the Middle Class, so the American Anti-Slavery War will do for the Working Classes. They consider it an earnest of the epoch to come, that it fell to the lot of *Abraham Lincoln*,
20 the single-minded *Son of the Working Class*, to lead his Country through the matchless struggle for the rescue of an enchained Race and the Reconstruction of a Social World.

Signed on behalf of *The International Working Men's Association*

The Central Council

25	Le Lubez (French) corresponding	G. Eccarius
	Secretary	Fried. Lessner
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	Emile Holtorp (Pole)	K. Kaub
	J. B. Bocquet	Henry Bolleter
30	H. Jung, corresponding	Ludwig Otto
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	George Wm. Wheeler	Georg Lochner
	J. Dénouai	Peter Petersen
35	P. Bordage	Karl Marx, Corresponding
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40	R. Gray	J. Carter

Karl Marx

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D. G. Bagnagatti	Robert Shaw	5
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G. Howell	Blackmoor W.	
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J. Grosmith	B. Lucraft	
	J. Nieass	
	Geo. Odger President of Council	
	William R. Cremer Honorary General Secretary	15

Karl Marx
An den Redakteur des „Beobachters“ zu Stuttgart

I[i] An den Rédacteur des „Beobachters“ zu Stuttgart.

Mein Herr!

Durch seinen Bradforder Strohmann, den Dr. Bronner, hat *Herr Karl Blind*
5 Ihnen einen Schreibebrief von, für und über *Herrn Karl Blind* zugehn las-
sen, wo mitten zwischen andre Curiositäten folgende Stelle einschlüpft:

„Aufjenen alten“, auf das Flugblatt „*Zur Warnung*“ gegen *Vogt* bezüglich-
chen, „*durch allseitige Erklärungen abgemachten Streit*, den die Redaction
wieder hervorgezogen hat, *will ich dabei nicht zurückkommen.*“

10 Er „will“ nicht „zurückkommen“! Welche Großmuth!

Zum Beweis, daß die wichtig thuende Eitelkeit des Herrn Karl Blind
dann und wann den Herrn Karl Blind über die Schranken der reinen Ko-
mik hinaustreibt, erwähnen Sie *meiner Schrift* gegen *Vogt*. Aus der
Blind'schen Antwort müssen Sie und Ihre Leser den Schluß ziehen, daß
15 die in jener Schrift gegen Herrn Karl Blind erhobenen Anklagen „*durch all-*
seitige Erklärungen abgemacht“ sind. In Wahrheit hat der sonst so schreibse-
lige Herr Karl Blind seit der Erscheinung meiner Schrift, also während
4 Jahren, *niemals* gewagt |[2]| mit einem einzigen Sterbenswort, viel weni-
ger mit „allseitigen Erklärungen“ auf den „alten Streit zurückzukommen“.

20 *Herr Karl Blind* hat sich vielmehr dabei beruhigt als „*infamer Lügner*“
(Sieh p. 66, 67 meiner Schrift) gebrandmarkt dazustehn. Herr Karl Blind
hatte öffentlich und wiederholt erklärt, er *wisse* nicht, durch *wen* das Flug-
blatt gegen *Vogt* in die Welt geschleudert worden sei, „*er habe gar keinen*
Antheil an der Sache u.s.w.“. Außerdem veröffentlichte Herr Karl Blind ein
25 Zeugniß des Buchdruckers *Fidelio Hollinger*, flankirt durch ein andres Zeug-
niß des Setzers *Wiehe*, dahin lautend, daß das Flugblatt weder in Hollingers
Druckerei gedruckt sei, noch von Herrn Karl Blind herrühre. In meiner
Schrift gegen *Vogt* findet man nun die *Affidavits* (Aussagen an Eidesstatt)

des Setzers Vögele und des *Wiehe* selbst vor *dem Polizeigericht in Bowstreet, London*, durch welche bewiesen ist, daß derselbe Herr Karl Blind das *Manuscript* des Flugblatts *schrieb*, es bei Hollinger *drucken ließ*, den Probebogen *eigenhändig corrigirte*, zur Widerlegung dieser Thatsachen ein *falsches Zeugniß schmiedete*, für dieses falsche Zeugniß unter Vorhaltungen von 5 Geldversprechungen ||[3](auf Seiten Hollingers, künftigen Dankes von seiner eignen Seite, die *Unterschrift des Setzers Wiehe sich erschlich*, und endlich dies selbstgeschmiedete falsche Schriftstück mit der von ihm selbst erschlichenen Unterschrift des *Wiehe* als sittlich entrüsteten Beweis meiner „*böselichen Erfindung*“ in die *Augsburger Allgemeine* und andre deutsche Zeitun- 10 gen expedirte.

Am Pranger so ausgestellt, schwieg Herr *Karl Blind*. Warum? Weil er (Sieh p.69 meiner Schrift) die von mir veröffentlichten *Affidavits* nur durch *Gegenaffidavits* entkräften konnte, sich jedoch „im bedenklichen Gerichtsbann von England befand“, wo „*mit der Felonie nicht zu spaßen ist*“. 15

In dem erwähnten Schreibebrief an Ihr Blatt finden sich auch abentheuerliche Mittheilungen über Herr *Karl Blind's* amerikanische Emsigkeit. Zur Aufklärung über diesen Punkt erlauben Sie mir einen Auszug aus einem vor einigen Tagen hier eingetroffenen Brief /. *Weydemeyer's* mitzutheilen. /. *Weydemeyer*, wie Sie sich erinnern werden, redigirte früher zusammen mit 20 O.Lüning die *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* zu Frankfurt und war stets einer der tüchtigsten ||[4]j Vorkämpfer der deutschen Arbeiterpartei. Kurz nach Ausbruch des amerikanischen Bürgerkriegs trat er in die Reihen der Föderalisten. Von Fremont nach St.Louis beschieden, diente er erst als Capitain im dortigen Ingenieurcorps, dann als Oberstlieutenant in einem Artillerieregi- 25 ment, und erhielt, als Missouri jüngst aufs Neue von feindlicher Invasion bedroht ward, plötzlich den Auftrag zur Organisirung des 41sten Missouri Freiwilligen Regiments, an dessen Spitze er jetzt als Oberst steht. *Weydemeyer* schreibt von St. Louis, der Hauptstadt Missouris, wo sein Regiment cantonirt ist, wie folgt: 30

„Beiliegend findest Du einen Ausschnitt aus einer hiesigen Zeitung, der ,*Westlichen Post*' worin der literarische Freibeuter *K. Blind* sich einmal wieder gewaltig spreitzt auf Kosten ‚deutscher Republicaner‘. Für hier ist es zwar ziemlich gleichgültig, in welcher Weise er *Lassalle's* Bestrebungen und Agitation entstellt; wer des letzten Schriften gelesen, weiß was er von 35 *Blinds Harlequinaden* zu halten; wer sich die Mühe nicht gegeben, mit jener Agitation etwas bekannter zu werden, mag gläubig die Weisheit und ‚Gesinnungstüchtigkeit‘ des großen Badensers, Verschwörers par excellence, und des Mitglieds aller geheimen Gesellschaften und zukünftigen provisorischen Regierungen bewundern; an seinem ||[5] Urtheil ist nichts gelegen. 40 *Auch haben die Leute im Augenblick hier andre Dinge zu thun, als sich mit*

An den Redakteur des „Beobachters“ zu Stuttgart

Blind'schen Protesten zu befassen. Aber es wäre doch gewiß zweckmäßig dem *gespreizten Gecken* zu Hause einmal tüchtig auf die Finger zu klopfen; und deßhalb schicke ich Dir den Artikel, der nur ein Probestückchen ähnlicher früherer Leistungen ist."

5 Der von J. Weydemeyer übersandte Ausschnitt aus der „*Westlichen Post*“ ist überschrieben: „*Ein republicanischer Protest, London 17 Septbr. 1864*“ und ist die *amerikanische Ausgabe* des „*Republikanischen Protestes*“, den derselbe unvermeidliche *Herr Karl Blind* unter demselben Titel gleichzeitig in die *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung* und dann mit der gewohnten betriebsamen Amer-
io senemsigkeit als Wiederabdruck aus der *Neuen Frankfurter Zeitung* in den Londoner *Hermann* beförderte. Eine Vergleichung der beiden Ausgaben des *Blind'schen* Machwerks würde zeigen, wie derselbe Herr Karl Blind, der zu Frankfurt und London mit biedermännisch-republikanisch-katonischer Leichenbittermiene protestirt, gleichzeitig in dem abgelegenen
15 St. Louis der böartigsten Albernheit und gemeinsten Frechheit frei den Zügel schießen läßt. Eine Vergleichung der zwei Ausgaben [[[6]]] des Protests, wozu hier nicht der Platz, würde außerdem einen neuen drolligen Beitrag gewähren zur Fabrikationsmethode der Schreibebriefe, Circulare, Flugblätter, Proteste, Vorbehalte, Abwehren, Aufrufe, Zurufe und andrer
20 dergleichen kopfschüttelnd feierlicher *Blindscher* Staatsrecepte, denen ebenso wenig zu entlaufen ist, als den Pillen des Herrn *Holloway* oder dem Malzextract des Herrn *Hoff*.

Es liegt mir durchaus fern, einen Mann wie *Lassalle* und die wirkliche Tendenz seiner Agitation einem grotesken *Mazzini-Scapin*, hinter dem
25 nichts steht als sein eigener Schatten, verständlich machen zu wollen. Ich bin im Gegentheil überzeugt, daß Herr *Karl Blind* nur seinen von Natur und *Aesop* ihm auferlegten Beruf erfüllt, wenn er nach dem *toten Löwen* tritt.

Karl Marx

30 2 8 November 1864

1 Modena Villas
Maitland Park
London. \

Karl Marx
An Abraham Lincoln,
Präsident der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika
Übersetzung aus dem Englischen

Der Social-Demokrat.
Nr. 3, 30. Dezember 1864

**An Abraham Lincoln,
Präsident der Vereinigten Staaten
von Amerika.**

Wir wünschen dem amerikanischen Volk Glück zu Ihrer mit großer Majorität erfolgten Wiederwahl! Wenn: Widerstand gegen die Macht der Sklavenhalter die maaßvolle Losung Ihrer ersten Wahl war, so ist: Tod der Sklaverei! der triumphirende Schlachtruf ihrer Wiederwahl. 5

Vom Anfang des amerikanischen Titanenkampfs an, fühlten die Arbeiter Europas instinktmäßig, daß an dem Sternenbanner das Geschick ihrer Klasse hing. Der Kampf um die Territorien, welcher die furchtbar gewaltige Epopöe eröffnete, hatte er nicht zu entscheiden, ob der jungfräuliche Boden unermeßlicher Landstrecken der Arbeit des Einwanderers vermählt, oder durch den Fuß des Sklaventreibers befleckt werden sollte? 10

Als die Oligarchie der 300 000 Sklavenhalter zum ersten Mal in den Annalen der Welt das Wort Sklaverei auf das Banner der bewaffneten Rebellion zu schreiben wagte; als auf dem selbigen Boden, dem kaum ein Jahrhundert vorher zuerst der Gedanke einer großen demokratischen Republik entsprungen war, von dem die erste Erklärung der Menschenrechte ausging und der erste Anstoß zu der europäischen Revolution des 18. Jahrhunderts gegeben wurde; als auf diesem selbigen Boden die Contrerevolution mit systematischer Gründlichkeit sich rühmte, „die zur Zeit des Aufbaues der alten Verfassung herrschenden Ideen“ umzustoßen, und „die Sklaverei als eine heilsame Einrichtung“ - ja als die einzige Lösung des großen Problems der „Beziehungen der Arbeit zum Kapital hinstellte“, und cynisch das Eigenthumsrecht auf den Menschen als den „Eckstein des neuen Gebäudes“ proklamirte; da begriffen die Arbeiter Europa's sofort, selbst noch 15 20 25

An Abraham Lincoln, Präsident der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika

ehe sie durch die fanatische Parteinahme der oberen Classen für den Conföderirten-Adel gewarnt worden, daß die Rebellion der Sklavenhalter die Sturmglocke zu einem allgemeinen Kreuzzug des Eigenthums gegen die Arbeit läuten würde, und daß für die Männer der Arbeit, außer ihren Hoff-
5 nungen auf die Zukunft, auch ihre vergangnen Eroberungen in diesem Riesenkampfe jenseits des Ozeans auf dem Spiele standen. Ueberau trugen sie darum geduldig die Leiden, welche die Baumwollenkrisis ihnen auferlegte, widersetzten sich voll Begeisterung der Intervention zu Gunsten der Sklaverei, welche die höheren und „gebildeten“ Classen mit solchem Eifer
10 herbeizuführen suchten, und entrichteten aus den meisten Theilen Europas ihre Blutsteuer für die gute Sache.

So lange die Arbeiter, die wahren Träger der politischen Macht im Norden, es erlaubten, daß die Sklaverei ihre eigene Republik besudele; so lange sie es dem Neger gegenüber, der ohne seine Zustimmung einen
15 Herrn hatte und verkauft wurde, als das höchste Vorrecht des weißen Arbeiters rühmten, daß er selbst sich verkaufen und seinen Herrn wählen könne - so lange waren sie unfähig, die wahre Freiheit der Arbeit zu erringen oder ihre europäischen Brüder in ihrem Befreiungskampfe zu unterstützen. Dieses Hinderniß des Fortschritts ist von dem Rothen Meere des
20 Bürgerkrieges hinweggeschwemmt worden.

Die Arbeiter Europas sind von der Ueberzeugung durchdrungen, daß, wie der amerikanische Unabhängigkeitskrieg eine neue Epoche der Machtentfaltung für die Mittelklasse einweihte, so der amerikanische Krieg gegen die Sklaverei eine neue Epoche der Machtentfaltung für die Arbeiter-
25 klasse einweihen wird. Sie betrachten es als ein Wahrzeichen der kommenden Epoche, daß Abraham *Lincoln*, dem starksinnigen, eisernen Sohne der Arbeiterklasse, das Loos zugefallen ist, sein Vaterland durch den beispiellosen Kampf für die Erlösung einer geknechteten Race und für die Umgestaltung der socialen Welt hindurch zu führen.

Karl Marx
Draft for a speech on France's attitude to Poland
(Polemics against Peter Fox)

[1] Mr Fox has rolled up a rather phantastic picture of the Foreign Policy of the French Ancient Regime. According to his view, France allied herself with Sweden, Poland, and Turkey in order to protect Europe from Russia. The truth is that France contracted those alliances in the 16th and 17th centuries, at a time when Poland was still a powerful state and when Russia, in the modern sense of the word, did not yet exist. There existed then a Grand Duchy of Muscovy, but there existed not yet a Russian Empire. It was therefore not *against Russia* that France concluded those alliances with the Turks, the Magyars, the Poles, and the Swedes. She concluded them against *Austria* and against the *German Empire*, as a means of extending the power, the influence, and the territorial possessions of France over Germany, Italy, Spain. I shall not enter upon details. It will suffice for my purpose to say, that France used those alliances in the midst of the 17th century to bring about the *treaty of Westphalia*, by which Germany was not only dismembered, one part of it being given to France and the other to Sweden, but every little German prince and Baron obtained the treaty right to sell his country and France obtained a *protectorate* over Germany. After the treaty of Westphalia, in the second part of the 17th century, Louis XIV, the true representative of the old Bourbon policy at the time of its strength, bought the king of England, Charles II, in order to ruin the Dutch republic. His *system of vandalism and perfidy* then carried out against Holland, Belgium, Spain, Germany, and Piedmont,—during about 40 years, cannot be better characterized than by the one fact, that *in a memorandum*, drawn up in 1837 by the Russian chancellery for the information of *the present Czar*, the system of war and diplomacy of L. XIV from the middle to the end of the 17th century *is recommended as the model system* to be followed by Russia.

Modern Russia dates only from the 18th century, and it is therefore from that time alone that resistance to Russia could have entered into the policy of France or any other European state. |

30 ,J|

Draft for a speech on France's attitude to Poland (Polemics against Peter Fox)

[2] I proceed at once to *the time of Louis XV* which Mr Fox has justly pointed out as the epoch when the French Foreign policy was most favourable to Poland and most hostile to Russia.

Now there happened three great events under the regime of L. XV—in
5 regard to Russia and Poland, 1) the socalled *Polish succession war*, 2) *The seven years war*, and 3) *The first partition of Poland*. I shall consider the attitude taken by the French Government in regard to these events.

1) The socalled Polish Succession War.

After the death of *Augustus II* (king of Poland and elector of Saxony), in
10 *Sept. 1733*, one party of the Polish aristocracy wanted to elect his son as king. He was supported by Russia and Austria, because he had promised to the Czarina not to reclaim Courland, formerly a fief of Poland, and because he had promised to the Emperor the guarantee of the pragmatic sanction. The other party, instigated by France, elected *Stanislaus Leszczynski*, who
15 had formerly been made Polish king by Charles XII of Sweden and who was at that time the father-in-law of Louis XV. There broke consequently a war out between France on the one hand, Russia and Austria on the other. This is *the only war which France has ever professedly earned on behalf of Poland*. France made war in Germany and Italy, but as far as her Polish pro-
20 tégé was concerned, limited herself to sending 1500 men to Dantzic, then a Polish town. The war having lasted two years, what was its upshot? A *treaty of peace (Peace of Vienna, Octob. 1735)*, by which the *duchy of Lorraine*, a German fief, was *incorporated into France*, and the Bourbon dynasty planted in *Naples* and *Sicily*, the same dynasty of which king Bomba was the last
25 lively representative. In all other respects this "*war about the throne of Poland*" ended in acknowledging the *Russian candidate*, Augustus III, as king of Poland, but securing to Louis XV' father-in-law the prerogative of being called king, and a very large yearly pension to be paid by Poland. This war, instigated and carried on by France under false pretences, ended in the hu-
30 miliation of Poland, the extension of the Russian power, and great disadvantages to Turkey and Sweden, which France had also driven into a false position, and then left in the lurch. But I shall [3] not enter upon these details.

The conduct of the French Government cannot be excused on the plea
35 that the British Government prevented it during this socalled *Polish succession war* of acting in the right direction. On the contrary. When the Emperor Charles VI appealed to England, the latter clung to the Anglo-French

Alliance which had continued since 1716 and was barren of any good results whatever. At all events: this time the French Government's good designs for Poland were not baffled by England.

Before leaving the subject, I must mention that the *peace between Turkey and Russia*, brought about by French mediation (*Villeneuve*, French ambassador) in 1739, was a great blow to Poland. I quote *Ruinere*: He says: "it annulled the *treaty of the Truth, the only shield that remained to the Poles*" («cet unique bouclier qui restait à la Pologne»), et le nouveau traité, signé à Belgrade, in 1739, déclara dans son dernier article «que toutes les conventions antérieures n'auraient *plus aucune force.* » |

[4] 2) The seven Years' War. (1756-1763.)

I come now to the 7 years war.

Mr. Fox has told you that that war was very unhappy for France, because it deprived her, to the benefit of England, of most of her colonies. But this is not the question before us. What we have to inquire into is, what part 1
France played during that war in regard to Poland and Russia.

You must know that from 1740 to 1748, during the so-called Austrian succession war, France had allied herself with *Frederick II of Prussia* against *Russia, Austria, and England*. During the *seven years' war* she allied herself with *Austria and Russia* against *Prussia and England*, so that, at all events, 20
during this war England was the official enemy, and France the avowed ally of Russia.

It was first in 1756 under the Abbé Bernis, and then again 1758 under the Duke of Choiseul, that France concluded her treaty with Austria (and 25
Russia), against Prussia.

Let us hear *Rulhière*. (*Histoire de l'Anarchie de Pologne* etc. Paris. 1819. 2nd edit.) "When *Count Broglio* arrived in 1752 as ambassador at *Varsovie*, *France had no party in Poland*. People thought of the promises which France had already so often failed to fulfil (auxquelles la France avait déjà si souvent manqué). They had not forgotten that three times since a century, 30
France had rallied around her powerful Polish factions ... but that after having formed them with passion (ardeur), she had always abandoned them with levity (elle les avait chaque fois abandonnées avec légèreté). She had left in distress the majority of those who had trusted to the seductions of her pretended projects for the welfare of the republic" (*t. I, 213*). («Elle 35
avait laissé dans l'infortune la plupart de ceux qui s'étaient livrés à la séduction de ces prétendus projets pour le salut de la république.»)

Draft for a speech on France's attitude to Poland (Polemics against Peter Fox)

"The duke of Broglio, after three years activity, had formed a counter-party against the Czartoryski, won over the Polish court, put into motion the Swedes, the Tartars, the Turks, opened a connection with the Kossacks of the Ukraine" etc. "*Fred. II* contributed to call into life this formidable coalition against the Russians, from which he expected himself his own security. The Russian minister had lost all influence at Warsaw. In one word, in the first months of 1756, at the moment when the hostilities between England and France, first opened in America, were on the point of embracing the whole of Europe, count Broglio had it in his power to form in Poland a confederation which, supported by the subsidies of France, provided by her with arms and munitions, and protected by so many border nations ||5| would have altogether withdrawn Poland from the yoke of Russia and restored to that republic laws, government, and power. But France suspended all the help (secours) she had promised, and upset all the measures of her ambassador." (*Rulh.* 1.1, p. 225.)

The levity with which France abused her influence may be seen—en passant—from the way in which she treated *Sweden*. First she goaded her into a war with Prussia against Russia (in the Austrian succession war), and then into a war with Russia against Prussia, Sweden being both times the victim of those French intrigues, and Russia gaining both times in that quarter.

Well. What were the consequences of the Seven Years War which France carried on as the *ally of Russia* (and Austria) against *Prussia* (and England)?

That the material resources of Poland were exhausted, that Russia founded her supremacy in Germany, that Prussia was made her slave, that Catherine II became the most powerful sovereign in Europe, and that the *first partition of Poland* took place. Such were the *immediate consequences* of the *French policy during the Seven Years' War*.

1) During the seven years' war the *Russian* armies treated Poland as their property, took there their winterquarters etc. I shall quote *Favier*:

"The peril was that Russia, improving the pretext of the war against the king of Prussia, enforced, on the territory of Poland, the passage of her troops, appropriated herself the means of subsistence, and even took her winterquarters in Poland. By allowing her to employ anew those arbitrary means, that vast country was surrendered to the greediness of the Russian generals, the despotism of their court, and all the projects of future usurpations which Russia would be tempted to form, from the facility of exercising all sorts of vexations against a nation divided, insulated, and abandoned." (*Politique de tous les Cabinets de l'Europe* etc 2nd edit, par L.P. Ségur. *Exambassadeur*. Paris 1801.1.1, p. 300.) France discredited herself by giving the Russians such free scope. "That weakness on her part seemed the less

pardonable (excusable) because ... she was then in a position to make the law to Russia and Austria, and not at all to receive it from them." Count Broglio had made in vain proposals to that effect... France allowed Russia to treat Poland like her own property ... *The Polish nation, from that moment, considered France as a mere instrument in the hands of the Courts of Vienna and Petersburg* ... "This was the origin of our ||6| discredit, of our nullity at the time of the election of count Poniatowski, and of the bad success of everything we attempted or favoured since that epoch." (303, 304 I.e. *Ségur*) («la nation polonaise ne vit plus dès-lors la France que comme un instrument des cours de Vienne et de Pétersbourg. Voilà l'origine de notre discrédit, de notre nullité etc») 5 10

France was bound by the *treaty of Oliva* (1660) to protect the Polish Republic.

2) During the 7 years war the Russians used *Poland*, although she was ostensibly neutral, as their basis of operations against *Prussia*. This the Poles 15 *allowed under the diplomatic pressure of France*. It was thus that the Russians were enabled during 7 years to devastate Prussia proper, Silesia, Pomerania, Brandenburg, and even sack Berlin. They in fact ravaged the Prussian monarchy like wild beasts, while the French acted in the same style in Hanover, Westphalia, Saxony, Thuringia etc. Now, Poland was by the *treaty of Wehlau* (1660 or so) obliged to defend Prussia, against Russia. Frederick II insisted upon the fulfilment of this treaty. That he was right in asking the Poles to observe at least a complete neutrality, and not allowing the Russians to use their country etc, is proved by the fact that on all the *diets* kept in Poland since the opening of the seven years' war, it was impossible 20 to come to any resolution, because the *patriotic party* declared the Poles could not deliberate as long as Russian armies occupied the Polish soil, and acted against Prussia. In the last year of the war (1762) the nobility of Posen (Great Poland) had even formed a confederation against the Russians. 25 3C

If f. i. Belgium allowed Prussia to use it during 7 years, despite its neutrality, as a basis of warlike operations against France, would France not be entitled to treat Belgium as an enemy, and, if she could, to incorporate Belgium, or destroy its independence?

3) The immediate upshot of the 7 years' war was a treaty between Prussia 35 § and Russia, by which the king of Prussia professed himself the *vassal of Russia*, but was allowed, in compensation, to share in the *partition of Poland*. That the latter was already convened upon in the treaty of 1764 between Russia and Fred. II is shown by the fact that in the same year Fred. IPs and Chatherine's II ambassadors at Warsaw solemnly *protested* 40 against that "*calumny*", and that a few years later the English resident at

Berlin wrote to his court that Austria, although at first protesting, would be compelled by her proper interests to share in ||7| the partition of Poland.

Mr. *Favier* says: "Our exclusive alliance with the court of Vienna deprived Fred. II of all hope, and reduced him to the necessity of joining that
5 very court which had let loose France upon him, in order to destroy him." The same *Favier* avers that the secret of all the future successes of *Catherine II* and of the first partition of Poland is to be found in the infeodation to her of Prussia. (*Fred. II*)

Such was the result of the French policy during the 7 years' war. It cannot be said that England this time prevented her good designs for Poland,
10 because France was then the ally of Russia, while England stood on the other side.

Erste Theilung Polens.

Now I must say that even if France had acted more energetically during the
15 Polish war which ended in the first partition of Poland than she really did, it would not have made up for the immense services she had rendered to Russia during the seven years' war. The sending of some French officers and subsidies to Poland during the war of the *Confederation of Bar* could in the best case only prolong a useless resistance. It is true that France incited
20 (1768) Turkey to a war against Russia, but only to betray Turkey as usually, and prepare for her the "treaty of *Kudjuk Kainardji*" (1774), from which the supremacy of Russia over Turkey must really be dated.

1770. *Russian Expedition into the Mediterranean*. The then almost dying republic of Venice showed much more courage than France. In that year
25 *Choiseul* still French Foreign minister. It was only at the end of 1770 (beginning of 1771) that he was replaced by the *Duke d'Aiguillon*. "How", says *Favier*, "did it happen that, while France was at peace with England, no step was taken for a convention of neutrality for the Mediterranean? Or why did France alone not oppose this Russian enterprise in a quarter so
30 important for her interests?" The opinion of *Favier* is, that "the *destruction of the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean by the French*, which might have been easily effected, would probably have changed the whole course of events both in Turkey and Poland, and would, moreover, have taught Austria to respect the French Alliance". (*Ségur etc Politique de tous les cabinets etc v. II, p. 174*) But France who had goaded Turkey into the war against Russia, did not move ||8| one finger against the Russian expedition of 1770, the only one which was of any import. (The *Turkish fleet* destroyed in the

narrow bay of Tschesmé.) *The same Choiseul* had English bluster (*Chatham* himself) not allowed to prevent him a year ago from buying Corsica from the Genoese. You must not forget that at that time *North* was minister, and could only keep himself in office by keeping the peace at any price. He was one of the most unpopular ministers. At that time revolutionary, antidynastic movement in England. It is true that *in 1773* (the Russians made then a new naval expedition which, however, remained without any influence upon the war with Turkey) the duke of Aiguillon allowed himself to be prevented by the Engl. Ambassador at Paris, Lord *Stormont*, from attacking the Russian fleet *in the Baltic* (and Mediterranean). At that time the first partition of Poland was already consummated. The true object of the French demonstration was not Poland, but Sweden, and France so far succeeded, that *Gustave III* was not forced by Russia to rescind his *coup d'état* (1772).

Moreover, what sort of fellow this d'Aiguillon was:

Ségur says in his notes to *Favier*:

"When the rumour got first afloat as to the partition which was to give Prussia an increase of territory which Austria was afraid of, the court of Vienna warned France, and gave her to understand that she would oppose herself, if the court of Versailles would support her. L.XV, at that time only occupied by his pleasures, and M. d'Aiguillon by his intrigues, the Austrian cabinet received no re-assuring answer and liked better to concur to the partition of Poland than to maintain alone a war against the Prussians and Russians combined." (147, Note) "Count *Mercy*—Austrian ambassador—has publicly given out (répandu dans le public) that the king of Prussia had communicated to the Austrian minister the answers of the Duke of Aiguillon, by which that minister assured His Prussian Majesty that France was indifferent to all that could be done in Poland and that she would not consider a *casus foederis* (case of war) anything that might be agreed upon, in regard to that subject, by the *courts* of Berlin and Vienna." (243, Note)

Now, although I do not put any confidence whatever in the assurances of the Austrian court, which was then acting with the utmost perfidy, the very fact, that a *French ambassador* of L. XVI (*Ségur*), published this at Paris, shows the estimation L.XV and his d'Aiguillon enjoyed—and were worth enjoying. |

|9| **French Republic.**
V. 21. Sept. 1792 to 11. Nov. 1799

*(le lendemain du 19 Brumaire,
jour où le directoire exécutif est renversé.)*

5 The second partition treaty *between* Russia and Prussia *on* 4 Jan. 1793.

The first crusade against France 1792 had taken such an unfortunate turn, that already in the beginning of winter, the Austrian Netherlands (*Belgium*) were occupied by the French. Prussia withdrew her troops from the field of action; the condition insisted upon by her *on the Congress of*
10 *Verdun* for continuing her participation in the Anti-Jacobin war was that she should be allowed to make with Russia *a second partition of Poland*. Austria was to be compensated by indemnities in the Alsace.

At the end *of* 1793 (*September*) Prussia again withdrew her troops to march them, under the king, to the Polish frontier (to "secure" his Polish
15 possession), because some differences had broken out, in regard to some definitive stipulations, between Prussia and Russia, the latter seeming to turn against Prussia her influence over the expiring diet of the traitors of Targowicze. The result of this second withdrawal of Prussia, to take real possession of her Polish provinces, forces the Austrians to *withdraw from the*
20 *Alsace*.

In the spring of 1794 Kosciuszko's revolutionary rising. Prussia marched at once her troops against Poland. Beaten. In *Sept. 1794*, while forced to retreat from Warsaw, at the same time rising in Posen. Then the king of Prussia declared his intention to withdraw from the contest carried on against
25 France. Austria also, in the autumn 1794, detached a body of troops for Poland, by which circumstance the success of the French arms on the Rhine and so forth was secured. Already towards the end of 1794 Prussia commenced negotiations with France. Withdrew. Consequence: *Holland* succumbed to the French (conquest of Holland through Pichegru).

30 Those diversions facilitated by turns the conquest of Belgium, the success on the Alps, the Pyrenees, the left bank of the Rhine, and, 1795, the conquest of Holland by Pichegru. In the very months of October, *November* (1794) everywhere French successes when Kosciuszko succumbed, Praga was taken by Suworoff etc, immense murdering etc.

35 *Third Partition of Poland signed: 24 Octob. 1795.* \

1101 By the outbreak of the French Revolut. Catherine got the opportunity quietly first to carry on her war with Turkey, while all Europe was turned to the West.

As the Pope had issued bulls for crusades against the infidels, so Catherine II against the Jacobins. Even while *Leopold II* chased the *French Emigrés* from his states and forbade them to assemble on the French frontiers, Catherine, through her agent Romanzoff, provided them with money and quartered them in the frontier provinces, bordering upon France, and ruled by ecclesiastic princes. 5

After the conclusion of her war with Turkey, Catherine II did not commence her hostilities against Poland before she had been informed that the National Assembly had *declared war to Austria*. This news arrived at Vienna on 30 April 1792, and on the 18 May the Russian ambassador Boulgakoff presented a declaration of war to the Polish king Stanislaus. The first in impressing upon England, Austria, and Prussia the dangers of the revolutionary principles, Catherine steadily pursued her own separate interests (in Turkey and Poland) without furnishing a single Cossack or subscribing a single rouble for the "common cause". 10 15

Poland was blotted out under cover of the French Revolution and the Anti-Jacobin war.

Rev. *L.K.Pitt* (a nephew od. cousin of the English minister), chaplain to the Brit. Factory at St. Petersburg writes in a *secret document "Account of Russia during the commencement of the Reign of the Emperor Paul"*: 20

"She (the Czarina) was not perhaps displeased to see every European power exhausting itself in a struggle, which raised in proportion to its violence her own importance ... the state of the newly acquired provinces in Poland was likewise a point which had considerable influence over the political conduct of the Czarina. The fatal effects resulting from an apprehension of revolt on the late seat of conquest, seem to have been felt in a very great degree by the combined powers who in the early period of the revolution, were so near re-instating the regular Government in France. The same dread of revolt deterred likewise the late Empress of Russia from entering on the great theatre of war." 25 30

The question is now: How behaved revolutionary France towards this useful ally.

Let us first hear a French historian, *Lacretelle* (t.XII, p.261 sqq.):

"The Republic", says he "had shown itself very indifferent to the troubles and misfortunes of Poland. It was on the contrary a great motive of security for it to see the Empress of Russia occupy all the forces of her powerful empire for the conquest and dismemberment of that unfortunate country. Very soon the French Republic became aware that Poland freed it of its most ardent enemy, the king of Prussia etc." 35

But republican France actually betrayed Poland. 40

"The Polish agent *Barss* at Paris presented to the government", says

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Oginski, an eye witness, "the plan of the revolution which was preparing in Poland, and which was received with a general enthusiasm and approbation. He enumerated the assistance of every kind which would be necessary for that important and daring enterprise. The *Comité du Salut Public* found
5 his demand very just and promised to do every thing possible; but to promises all the négociation was limited." (*Michel Oginski: Mémoires sur la Pologne etc.*, v. 1788 bis Ende 1815. Paris. 1826. 11, p. 358)

"The comité of public welfare had promised to General Kosciuszko a sum of 3 millions of livres and some officers of artillery; but we did receive
10 neither one single sou nor one single officer" we are told by an aide de camp of *Kosciuszko*, *J. Niemcewicz: Notes sur ma captivité à St. Petersb. en 1794-1796.* Paris. 1843. (V, p. 90)

On 5 April 1795 the directory (which had then replaced the comité du salut public) concluded with Prussia the *Peace of Basel*. By this peace *Holland* I
15 *and the left bank of the Rhine were surrendered to France*. The Northern part of *I Germany*, designed by a line of demarcation, was *neutralized*, Prussia to be indemnified by the secularization of several German bishoprics. That treaty of Basel "by *guaranteeing the respective possessions* of the two contracting powers, and including no clause whatever in regard to the newly in-
20 vaded provinces of Poland, granted their possession to the king of Prussia." *Oginski* tells us that when the Poles were informed of the peace négociations, their agent *Barss* addressed the members of the directory peculiarly friendly to Poland, and asked for a clause obliging the king of Prussia to renounce etc. "He was answered that the condition was not acceptable since
25 it would retard the négociations with Prussia, that France wanted to restore her forces, that the peace with Prussia would not last long, that the Poles should keep themselves ready for new efforts which would be asked from them in the cause of liberty and their country etc." The same *Oginski*, t. II, p. 133, u. 223 tells us: "The treaty concluded between the French Republic
30 and the king of Prussia had made a very bad impression upon the Divan, which pretended that if France had been unable to obtain anything for Poland in her négociations with the Court of Berlin, it was impossible that the Turks alone could act in favour of Poland."

After the *third division* Russia was forced to keep quiet for a few years.
35 The Poles now participated in all the campaigns of the *French Republic*, principally in Italy. (See: *Chodzko: Histoire des Légions Polonaises en Italie, de 1795 à 1802.* Pam. 1829)

Before the conclusion of the *Peace of Campo Formio* (17 October 1797), after a plan mutually agreed upon, and with the consent of Bonaparte, General
40 *Dombrowski* was to march through Croatia and Hungary, into Galicia, and thus make a diversion in favour of Bonaparte, who would have marched

Karl Marx

upon Vienna. *Charles de la Croix*, minister of For. Affairs, (See *Oginski*, t.II, p. 272-8) proposed to *Oginski* "to *insurge Galicia*". *Oginski* was afraid lest the Poles should be treated as mere tools thrown away after having been used. He therefore demanded a positive assurance that those sacrifices would earn for them French assistance for the recovery of their country. 5
Lacroix played then the irritated bully. The French government did not want them; if they had no confidence, they might try their fortune somewhere else etc. He gave *Oginski* a three days' time for considering after which they were to accept or refuse, but without putting *any conditions* whatever. The poor Poles declared ready for whatever the French govern- 10
ment wanted. But that government wanted only their formal acceptance in order to intimidate Austria by it and so to hasten the conclusion of peace. *Armistice at Leoben, 18 April, 1797. Treaty of Campo Formio* in which the Poles were again sacrificed in the same way as they had been in the *treaty of Basel*. 15

In 1799 at last *Suworoff* the effect of the disappearance of Poland made itself felt to the French republic. *Russian armies* appeared in Holland and in *Italy*. *Suworoff* penetrates to the very frontiers of France.

When on 28 July 1799 the French surrendered Mantua to the *Russian* general *Vielhorski*, there was a *secret article* in the capitulation by which the 20
Austrians got back their deserters, viz the Austrian *Poles* who had entered the Legions. After the surrender of Mantua, the 2nd legion fell into the hands of the enemy; the first legion, under *Dombrowski*, joined the great army, and was almost entirely annihilated in the great battles against the Russo-Austrian armies. 25

Consulate.

9. Nov. 1799 (18 Brumaire). *Consulate*. Bonaparte authorizes the formation of new Polish legions, one at Marseilles under *Dombrowski*, one on the Danube under general *Kniaziewicz*. These legions assist at Marengo and Hohenlinden. ||13| See order of the day of Gen. Moreau, where he renders 30
justice "to the stern constancy of Gen. *Kniaziewicz*, and his Polish soldiers".

Treaty of Luneville mit *Oesterreich*, 9 Feb. 1801. No article relating to Poland.

Treaty of Pam, October 1801 with Paul I, of Russia. In this treaty Paul I 35
and Bonaparte promised each other "not to allow that any of their subjects should be allowed to entertain any correspondence, whether direct or indirect, with the internal enemies of the actual governments of the two states,

Draft for a speech on France's attitude to Poland (Polemics against Peter Fox)

there to propagate principles contrary to their respective constitutions, or to foment troubles".

This article related to the Poles on the [one] hand, to the Bourbons and their partisans on the other.

5 In 1801 there appeared in the *Moniteur* a series of articles, written by Bonaparte himself, and justifying the ambition of France, because her conquests were hardly an equivalent for the acquisitions which Russia, Austria, and Prussia had made by the partition of Poland. (*Thiers. Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire t. III, p. 153*)

10 During the peace the Polish legions were treated as an encumbrance. Part of them were, like Mamelucks, given by Bonaparte as a present to the queen of Etruria.

Treaty of Amiens. 2^YMarch 1802. The first consul made embark, by force, for *St. Domingo* part of the Polish legions and made present of the other
15 part to the new *king of Naples*. Threatened by the fire of artillery, they were embarked at Genoa and Livorno to find their graves in *St. Domingo*.

Empire.

May 1804 (crowned 2 Dec. 1804) until 1815.

1806-7. During his war with Prussia, supported by Russia, Nap. sent the
20 remainders of the Polish legions under Dombrowski into Prussian Poland, where they conquered Dantzic for him, and insurged the country.

18 December 1806 Nap. himself in Warsaw, then Prussian. Great enthusiasm of the Poles. In his autobiography *Thomas Ostrowski* (Paris 1836), *president of the Senate* narrates that Nap. at the first audience he gave to the
25 members of the administration, received them with the words: "Gentlemen, I want to-day 200,000 bottles of wine, and as many portions of rice, meat and vegetables. No excuses; if not I leave you to the Russian knout... I want proofs of your devotion; *I stand in need of your blood.*" («j'ai besoin de votre sang».) He enrolled a Polish army. The campaign lasted
30 until 6 May 1807.

25 and 26 June 1807. Fraternisation between Nap. and Alexander on the Niemen.

Treaty of Tilsit, signed 7 July, 1807. (9 July with Prussia.) |

[14] *Art. V* of that treaty proclaimed the foundation of *the duchy of Warsaw* which Nap. cedes "in all *property* and *sovereignty* to the king of Saxony, to be ruled by constitutions, which, while securing the liberties and privileges of the duchy, were compatible with the *tranquillity of the neighbouring states*".

Karl Marx

This duchy was cut out of *Prussian Poland*.

Art. IX cedes to Russia a part of Poland, the circle of Bialistock, recently conquered from Prussia, and which "*shall* be united in perpetuity to the Russian empire, in order to establish the natural limits between Russia and the duchy of Warsaw".

5

Dantzic, on the pretext of being made a free town, was made a French maritime fortress.

Many large estates in the new duchy were made a present of by Nap. to the French generals.

Lelewel calls this justly the *Fourth Division of Poland*.

10

Having beaten the Prussians and the Russians by the assistance of the Poles, Napoleon disposed of Poland as if she was a conquered country and his private property, and he disposed of her to the advantage of Russia.

The duchy of Warsaw was small, without position in Europe. A large civil list; *civil* government by Saxony, *military* by Nap. *Davout* ruled like a Pasha at Warsaw. He made in fact of the duchy a recruiting place for France, a military depot.

(*Sawaszkiwicz. Tableau de l'influence de la Pologne sur les destinées de la révolution. fis. Paris. 1848. 3^m édit.*)

The duchy of Warsaw was for Nap. not only an advanced post against Russia. Nap. had possessed himself of those very points which would serve him as a basis of offensive operations against Prussia and Austria. *Nicholas* acted in his spirit when he fortified those points by a chain of fortresses.

20

(By inserting at the head of the *treaty of Tilsit* the declaration that *only out of courtesy for Alexander* he restored to the king of Prussia *half of his old territories*, Nap. proclaimed that king, and Prussia, a mere appendage to Russia.)

25

By the *secret articles* of the *treaty of Tilsit* the public ones were partly revoked. Thus f. L. only to deceive Austria, the public treaty contained articles for the *integrity of Turkey*. By the secret articles Nap. sacrificed *Turkey and Sweden* to the Czar who surrendered to him *Portugal, Spain, Malta, and the North-African coast*; promised his accession to the continental system, and the surrender of the Ionian islands to France. The *partition of Turkey* was only prevented by the opposition of Austria. All the arrangements for a partition of Turkey were beginning after the conclusion of the ||15| *Tilsit* treaty. In *August 1808* Alexander handed over to Nap. the strong places of Dalmatia, also the protectorate over the Ionian islands; while the *Danubian principalities* were occupied by his troops, Nap. ordered *Marmont*, the French commander in Dalmatia, to prepare the march upon Albania and Macedonia. The *négociations* about the *partition of Turkey* were continued at Petersburg, whither Nap. had sent *Savary*, the head of his gendarmes and

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mouchards. The *Report* on his *négociations -with Romanzow*, the Russ. For. minister, has been recently published. Even *Thibaudeau*, one of Nap.'s senators and admirers, says about the *négociations* of Savary with Alex. I and Romanzow:

5 "Putting aside every diplomatical form, they transacted their business in the impudent and reckless way of robber-chiefs dividing their booty."

According to the *négociations* between Nap. and Alex, at Tilsit, *Sweden* and Denmark were to be forced to join the continental system. Nap. ceded to Alex. *Finland* (which the Russians occupied in 1808, and have ever kept
10 since), and besides Denmark was interested in the robbery of Sweden by making Norway over to her. Thus Nap. succeeded in completely breaking
down this old antagonist of Russia.

27 Sept. 1808. *Nap. and Alex, at the Erfurt Congress.*

Never before had any man done so much to exalt the Russian power as
15 Nap. did from 1807-1812. *From 1808 to 1811 the Poles were consumed by Nap. in Spain.* For the first time in their history they were prostituted as the mercenaries of despotism. Of the army of 90,000, formed in the duchy, so many were dispatched to Spain, that the duchy was denuded of troops when the Austrian archduke Ferdinand invaded it in 1809.

20 1809. April. While Nap. marched upon Vienna, the Archduke Ferdinand upon Warsaw. The Poles invade Galicia, force the archduke to withdraw from Warsaw (1 June); the Russians, Nap.'s allies, enter Galicia *to assist in fact the Austrians against the Poles.*

14 Oct. 1809: The Polish provinces called by the Austrians "*New Galicia*",
25 together with the district of Zamosk, was reunited to the duchy of Warsaw. Nap. left to Austria *old Galicia*, after having separated from it, in order to make it over to Russia, the district of *Tarnopol*, part of *old Podolia*. What we have to think of this *Fifth Partition* (Lelewel) may be seen from a satirical letter of *Czar Alexander I* to *Prince Kourakin*, published at the time in the
30 *gazettes of Petersburg and Moscow*, d.d., *Petersburg 1/13 Nov. 1809*. The Czar writes: "The treaty is being ratified between France and Austria, and consequently our hostile movements against the latter cease simultaneously. According to the principles of that peace, Austria remains, as before, our neighbour by her possession of Galicia, and the Polish provinces, instead |
35 |16| of being united into one single body, are divided for ever between the three crowns. Thus the dreams of a political revolution in Poland have vanished. The present order of things fixes the limits between Poland and Russia who has not only not suffered any loss in this affair, but on the contrary extends her dominion (au sein de la Pologne) in the very heart of Poland."

40 The *Poles* now demanded the restoration of the name of *Poland* for the duchy. The Czar opposed. On *October 20, 1809, Champagny*, minister of I

Foreign affairs, addressed a note, by order of Nap., to the Russ. government, in which it was stated that he approved "the effacing [of] the name of Pole and Poland, not only from every public act, but even from history". This was to prepare his proposal—after his divorce with Josephine—for the hand of the Czar's sister. 5

4 Jan. 1810: Secret convention between Nap.'s ambassador Caulaincourt, and count Romanzoff to this effect:

"Art. 1 the kingdom of Poland shall never be re-established. Art. 2 The name of Poland and Pole shall never be applied to any of the parties that previously constituted that kingdom, and they shall disappear from every public or official act." Besides "the Grand Duchy shall never be aggrandized by the annexation of any of the old Polish provinces; the orders of Polish chivalry shall be abolished; and, finally, all these engagements shall be binding on the king of Saxony, Grand Duke of Warsaw, as on Nap. himself." (*Thiers. Consulat et l'Empire. XI*) 15

It was after the négociations for that convention that Nap. proposed for the hand of Alexander's sister. Nap.'s irritation and wounded self love at the hesitation of the Czar (who delayed declaring himself from middle of December to middle of January, under various pretexts), and the repugnance of the Czar's mother, made Nap. look elsewhere for a wife, and break off négociations. 20

"The Emp. Nap.", says *Crétineau-Joly: Hist, de l'église Romaine en face de la Révolution*, "did not allow his policy to lose itself in a phraseology sentimentally revolutionary. With one stroke of the pen his minister effaced, even from history, the name of Poland, and a treaty which subsequent events rendered null, struck out that name as if it were a geographical superfetation." 25

After his marriage with the daughter of the Austrian Emperor, Nap. had a new opportunity for the restoration of Poland. I quote from a French author, whose history is an apotheosis of Nap. *Norvins* says: "Nap. was enabled, in 1810, to realize, at last, that noble project", viz. the restoration of Poland, "because Austria offered him both the Galicias, but he refused, in order not to have a war with Russia who prepared war against him the very day after the conclusion of the treaty of Tilsit". 30

After what has preceded, it is almost superfluous to say that Nap. made his war of 1812 against Russia not out of any regard for Poland. He was forced into it by Russia who on 19/31 Dec. 1810 allowed the import of colonial commodities in neutral ships, prohibited some French commodities, hardly taxed others, and made not the least concession despite all the diplomatic efforts of Nap. at preventing the war. He must either resign his continental system, or make war against Russia. 40

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28 June, 1812. Day of entry of Nap. at Vilna. On that day the existence of *confederate Poland* (that is Poland united to Lithuania) was proclaimed at the diet of Warsaw, and a *national war*. Nap. told the deputies of Warsaw, that he did not want a *national war*. {*Charras* tells us that by his hatred of such a war etc 100 days.} |

Karl Marx
Provisorische Bestimmungen
der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation
Übersetzung aus dem Englischen

Der Social-Demokrat.
Nr. 10, 18. Januar 1865

Provisorische Bestimmungen der „Internationalen Arbeiter-Association“.

In Erwägung,

daß die Emancipation der Arbeiterclassen durch die Arbeiterclassen selbst erobert werden muß; 5

daß der Kampf für die Emancipation der Arbeiterclassen keinen Kampf für Classenprivilegien und Monopole bedeutet, sondern den Kampf für gleiche Rechte und Pflichten und die Abschaffung aller Classenherrschaft;

daß die ökonomische Unterwerfung des Mannes der Arbeit unter den Monopolisten der Arbeitsmittel, d. h. der Lebensquellen, der Knechtschaft 10 in allen ihren Formen zu Grunde liegt, allem socialen Elend, aller geistigen Degradation und politischen Abhängigkeit;

daß die ökonomische Emancipation der Arbeiterclassen daher das große Ziel ist, dem jede politische Bewegung als Mittel untergeordnet sein muß;

daß alle Strebungen nach diesem großen Ziel bisher gescheitert sind an 15 dem Mangel der Solidarität zwischen den mannichfachen Zweigen der Arbeit in jedem Land und an der Abwesenheit eines brüderlichen Bands der Einigung zwischen den Arbeiterclassen der verschiedenen Länder;

daß die Emancipation der Arbeit weder ein locales, noch ein nationales, sondern ein sociales Problem ist, welches alle Länder umfaßt, worin die 20 moderne Gesellschaft existirt, und seine Lösung abhängt von dem theoretischen und praktischen Zusammenwirken der fortgeschrittensten Länder;

daß das gegenwärtige, gleichzeitige Wiederaufleben der Arbeiterbewegung in den industriellen Ländern Europas einerseits neue Hoffnungen erweckt, andererseits feierlich warnt vor dem Rückfall in die alten Irrthümer, 25 und zur sofortigen Combination der bisher zusammenhangslosen Bewegungen aufruft;

Provisorische Bestimmungen der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation

aus diesen Gründen haben die unterzeichneten Mitglieder des Komités, welches am 28. September 1864 in öffentlichem Meeting, in St. Martins Hall, London, gewählt wurde, die vorläufigen Schritte zur Gründung der *Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation* gethan und folgende provisorische Be-

5 Stimmungen aufgesetzt:

1. Diese Association ist gegründet, um den Arbeitergesellschaften, die in verschiedenen Ländern bestehen, und nach demselben Ziele streben, nämlich dem Schutz, der Förderung und der vollständigen Emancipation der Arbeiterclassen, einen centralen Mittelpunkt der Mittheilung und Mit-

10 Wirkung zu bieten;

2. Der Name dieser Gesellschaft soll sein: *Internationale Arbeiterassoziation*.

3. Im Jahre 1865 wird ein allgemeiner Arbeitercongreß in Belgien statt haben. Er wird bestehen aus den Repräsentanten aller Arbeitergesellschaften, die sich in der Zwischenzeit der Internationalen Association ange-

15 schlossen haben. Der Congreß wird vor Europa die gemeinschaftlichen Strebungen der Arbeiterklassen proclamiren, die definitiven Statuten der Internationalen Association festsetzen, die für ihr erfolgreiches Wirken nothwendigen Mittel berathen und den Centrairath der Association ernennen. Der allgemeine Congreß soll sich jährlich einmal versammeln.

4. Der Centrairath soll in London seinen Sitz haben, und zusammengesetzt sein aus Arbeitern angehörig den verschiedenen in der Internationalen Association repräsentirten Ländern. Er soll aus seiner eigenen Mitte die zur Geschäftsführung nöthigen Beamten ernennen, einen Präsidenten,

25 einen Cassirer, einen General-Secretair, correspondirende Secretaire für die verschiedenen Länder u. s. w.

5. Auf seinen jährlichen Zusammenkünften soll der allgemeine Congreß einen öffentlichen Bericht über die jährlichen Transactionen des Centrairaths erhalten. Der vom Congreß jährlich neu ernannte Centrairath soll ermächtigt sein die Zahl seiner Mitglieder beliebig zu vermehren. Im Noth-

30 fall mag er den allgemeinen Congreß vor dem regelmäßigen jährlichen Termin zusammenrufen.

6. Der Centrairath bildet eine internationale Agentur zwischen den verschiedenen zusammenwirkenden Associationen, so daß die Arbeiter eines

35 Landes beständig über die Bewegungen ihrer Klasse in jedem andern Lande unterrichtet bleiben; daß eine Untersuchung über den gesellschaftlichen Zustand Europas gleichzeitig in den verschiedenen Ländern und unter gemeinschaftlicher Direction veranstaltet wird; daß Fragen von allgemeinem Interesse, angeregt von einer Gesellschaft, in allen andern erörtert

40 werden, und daß, wo unmittelbare practische Schritte wünschenswerth, wie z.B. im Fall internationaler Zwiste, die Action der associirten Gesellschaften

ten gleichzeitig und gleichförmig sei. So oft er es für passend hält, soll der Centrairath die Initiative von Vorschlägen an die verschiedenen nationalen oder localen Gesellschaften ergreifen.

7. Da der Erfolg der Arbeiterbewegung in jedem Lande nur durch die Macht der Einheit und Kombination gesichert werden kann, während andererseits der Nutzen des internationalen Centrairaths größtentheils davon abhängen muß, ob er mit wenigen nationalen Centren der Arbeiterassociationen oder mit einer großen Anzahl kleiner und zerstreuter Localgesellschaften zu verhandeln hat, sollen die Mitglieder der Internationalen Association keine Mühe sparen, um die zerstreuten Arbeitergesellschaften ihrer resp. Länder in nationale und durch Centraiorgane repräsentirte Körper zu vereinen. Es versteht sich jedoch von selbst, daß die Anwendung dieses Paragraphen ganz und gar von den besonderen Gesetzen eines jeden Landes abhängt, und daß, auch von gesetzlichen Hindernissen abgesehen, jede unabhängige Arbeitergesellschaft direct mit dem Londoner Centrairath correspondiren kann.

8. Bis zur Zusammenkunft des ersten Congresses wird das am 28. September 1864 gewählte Comité provisorisch den Centrairath bilden, sich in Verbindung setzen mit den Arbeitergesellschaften verschiedener Länder, Mitglieder im Vereinigten Königreich werben, die vorbereitenden Schritte thun zur Zusammenberufung des allgemeinen Congresses und die Hauptfragen, die diesem Congreß vorgelegt werden sollen, mit den nationalen oder localen Arbeitergesellschaften besprechen.

9. Jedes Mitglied der Internationalen Association wird bei Verlegung seines Domicils von einem Land zum andern den brüderlichen Beistand der associirten Arbeiter erhalten.

10. Obgleich vereinigt zu brüderlicher Corporation, bewahren die der Internationalen Association beitretenen Arbeitergesellschaften ihre Unabhängigkeit und existirende Organisation unversehrt.

Lieber Herr
 Lieber Herr
 21.1.1865

Ich habe den Inhalt des Briefes
 gelesen und bin sehr erfreut
 über die Art und Weise, wie Sie
 die Sache dargestellt haben. Ich
 hoffe, dass Sie die Sache
 weiter verfolgen werden. Ich
 bin sehr dankbar für die
 Mühe, die Sie sich gemacht
 haben. Ich werde die Sache
 weiter verfolgen und Sie
 darüber in Kenntnis setzen.
 Mit besten Grüßen
 Karl Marx

Karl Marx: Draft for a report
 to the Central Council on the attitude
 of German working men's societies
 to the International Working Men's Association.
 Beginn der Niederschrift auf der ersten Seite
 des Briefes von Wilhelm Liebknecht
 an Marx vom 21. Januar 1865

Karl Marx
Draft for a report to the Central Council
on the attitude of German working men's societies
to the International Working Men's Association

I As to the General Federation of German working men's societies, it will declare in one way or other the identity of its purposes with those of the International Association; but the adhesion cannot take place directly, through a formal resolution passed by the [...] of the General German Association, because || such a step would be in contravention to the Prussian laws regulating associations.

From the same reason the Berlin society of printers and composers, which takes the greatest interest in your proceedings, is disabled from adhering to the London society by way of a formal resolution.

10 However, even the latter society is sure to send a deputy to the congress to be convoked by the London committee.

Moreover, you must not forget, that our journal, the organ of the German Federation of working men's societies, has been put at the entire disposal of the International Committee. |

Karl Marx
Über P.-J. Proudhon
Brief an Johann Baptist von Schweitzer

Der Social-Demokrat.
Nr. 16, 1. Februar 1865

Ueber P. J. Proudhon

London, 24. Januar 1865.

Sehr geehrter Herr!

Ich erhielt gestern einen Brief, worin Sie von mir ausführliche Beurtheilung *Proudhon's* verlangen. Zeitmangel erlaubt mir nicht, Ihren Wunsch zu 5 befriedigen. Zudem habe ich *keine* seiner Schriften hier zur Hand. Um ihnen jedoch meinen guten Willen zu zeigen, werfe ich rasch eine kurze Skizze hin. Sie können dann nachholen, zusetzen, ausbessern, kurz und gut damit machen, was Ihnen gutdünkt.

Proudhon's erster Versuche erinnere ich mich nicht mehr. Seine Schul- 10 arbeit über die „*Langue universelle*“ zeigt, wie ungenirt er sich an Probleme wagte, zu deren Lösung ihm auch die ersten Vorkenntnisse fehlten.

Sein erstes Werk: «*Qu'est ce que la Propriété?*» ist unbedingt sein bestes Werk. Es ist epochemachend, wenn nicht durch neuen Inhalt, so doch durch die neue und kecke Art, Altes zu sagen. In den Werken der ihm be- 15 kannten französischen Socialisten und Communisten war natürlich die „*propriété*“ nicht nur mannigfach kritisirt, sondern auch utopistisch „*aufgehoben*“ worden. Proudhon verhält sich in jener Schrift zu St. Simon und Fourier ungefähr wie sich Feuerbach zu Hegel verhielt. Verglichen mit He- 20 gel ist Feuerbach durchaus arm. Dennoch war er epochemachend *nach* He- gel, weil er den *Ton* legte auf gewisse, dem christlichen Bewußtsein unangenehme und für den Fortschritt der Kritik wichtige Punkte, die Hegel in einem mystischen *clair-obscur* ließ.

Wenn ich mich so ausdrücken darf, herrscht in jener Schrift Proudhon's noch starke Muskulatur des Styls. Und ich halte den Styl derselben für ihr 25 Hauptverdienst. Man sieht, daß selbst da, wo nur Altes reproducirt wird, Proudhon selbstständig findet; daß das, was er sagt, ihm selbst neu war und als neu gilt. Herausfordernder Trotz, der das ökonomische „*Allerheiligste*“



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antastet, geistreiche Paradoxie, womit der gemeine Bürgerverstand gefoppt wird, zerreißendes Urtheil, bittere Ironie, dann und wann durchschauend ein tiefes und wahres Gefühl der Empörung über die Infamie des Bestehenden, revolutionärer Ernst - durch alles das elektrisirte «*Qu'est ce que la*
5 *Propriété?*» und gab einen großen Anstoß bei seinem ersten Erscheinen. In einer streng wissenschaftlichen Geschichte der politischen Oekonomie wäre dieselbe Schrift kaum erwähnenswerth. Aber solche Sensationalschriften spielen in den Wissenschaften eben so gut ihre Rolle, wie in der Romanliteratur. Man nehme ζ. B. *Malthus'* Schrift über „*Population*“. In
10 ihrer ersten Ausgabe ist sie nichts als ein „*sensational pamphlet*“, dazu *Plagiat* von Anfang zu Ende. Und doch, wie viel Anstoß gab dies *Pasquill auf das Menschengeschlecht!*

Läge Proudhon's Schrift vor mir, so wäre in einigen Beispielen seine *erste Manier* leicht nachzuweisen. In den Paragraphen, die er selbst für die
15 wichtigsten hielt, ahmt er *Kant's* Behandlung der *Antinomien* nach - es war dies der einzige deutsche Philosoph, den er damals aus Uebersetzungen kannte - und läßt den starken Eindruck zurück, daß ihm, wie Kant, die Lösung der Antinomien für etwas gilt, das *Jenseits* des menschlichen Verstandes fällt, d. h. worüber sein eigener Verstand im Unklaren bleibt.

20 Trotz aller scheinbaren Himmelsstürmerei findet man aber schon in «*Qu'est ce que la Propriété?*» den Widerspruch, daß Proudhon einerseits die Gesellschaft vom Standpunkt und mit den Augen eines französischen Parzellenbauers (später *petit bourgeois*) kritisirt, andererseits den von den Socialisten ihm überlieferten Maßstab anlegt.

25 Das Ungenügende der Schrift war schon in ihrem Titel angedeutet. Die Frage war so falsch gestellt, daß sie nicht richtig beantwortet werden konnte. Die *antiken „Eigenthumsverhältnisse“* waren untergegangen in den *feudalen*, die feudalen in den „*bürgerlichen*“. Die Geschichte selbst hatte so ihre Kritik an den vergangnen *Eigenthumsverhältnissen* ausgeübt. Das,
30 worum es sich für Proudhon eigentlich handelte, war das bestehende *modernbürgerliche Eigenthum*. Auf die Frage, was dies sei, konnte nur geantwortet werden durch eine kritische Analyse der „*Politischen Oekonomie*“, die das Ganze jener *Eigenthumsverhältnisse*, nicht in ihrem *juristischen* Ausdruck als *Willensverhältnisse*, sondern in ihrer realen Gestalt, d. h. als *Productionsverhältnisse*, umfaßte. Indem Proudhon aber die Gesamtheit dieser ökonomischen Verhältnisse in die allgemeine juristische Vorstellung „*das Eigenthum*“ *Ja propriété*“ verflocht, konnte er auch nicht über die Antwort hinaus kommen, die *Brissot* mit denselben Worten in einer ähnlichen Schrift schon vor 1789 gegeben hatte: «*La Propriété, c'est le vol.*»

40 Im besten Fall kommt dabei nur heraus, daß die bürgerlich juristischen Vorstellungen von „*Diebstahl*“ auch auf des Bürgers eignen „*redlichen*“ Er-

werb passen. Andererseits verwickelte sich Proudhon, da der „Diebstahl“ als gewaltsame Verletzung des Eigenthums *das Eigenthum voraussetzt*, in allerlei ihm selbst unklare Hirngespinnste über *das wahre bürgerliche Eigenthum*.

Während meines Aufenthalts in Paris, 1844, trat ich zu Proudhon in persönliche Beziehung. Ich erwähne das hier, weil ich zu einem gewissen Grad mit Schuld bin an seiner „*Sophistication*“, wie die Engländer die Fälschung eines Handels-Artikels nennen. Während langer, oft übernächtiger Debatten inficirte ich ihn zu seinem großen Schaden mit Hegelianismus, den er doch bei seiner Unkenntniß der deutschen Sprache nicht ordentlich studiren konnte. Was ich begann, setzte nach meiner Ausweisung aus Paris Herr *Karl Grün* fort. Der hatte als Lehrer der deutschen Philosophie noch den Vorzug vor mir, daß er selbst nichts davon verstand.

Kurz vor Erscheinen seines zweiten bedeutenden Werkes: „*Philosophie de la Misère* etc.“ kündigte mir Proudhon dieses selbst in einem sehr ausführlichen Brief an, worin u. A. die Worte unterlaufen: «*J'attends votre férule critique.*» Indeß fiel diese bald in einer Weise auf ihn (in meiner Schrift: „*Misère de la Philosophie* etc.“ *Paris* 1847), die unserer Freundschaft für immer ein Ende machte.

Der Social-Demokrat.
Nr. 17, 3. Februar 1865

Aus dem hier Gesagten ersehen Sie, daß Proudhon's: „*Philosophie de la Misère ou système des contradictions économiques*“ eigentlich erst die Antwort enthielt auf die Frage: «*Qu'est ce que la Propriété?*» Er hatte in der That erst nach dem Erscheinen dieser Schrift seine ökonomischen Studien begonnen; er hatte entdeckt, daß die von ihm aufgeworfene Frage nicht beantwortet werden konnte mit einer *Invektive*, sondern nur durch *Analyse* der modernen „*Politischen Oekonomie*“. Er versuchte zugleich das *System* der ökonomischen Categorien dialektisch darzustellen. An die Stelle der unlösbaren „*Antinomien*“ *Kant's* sollte der *Hegel'sche* „*Widerspruch*“ als Entwicklungsmittel treten.

Zur Beurtheilung seines zweibändigen, dickleibigen Werkes muß ich Sie auf meine Gegenschrift verweisen. Ich zeigte darin u. a., wie wenig er in das Geheimniß der wissenschaftlichen Dialektik eingedrungen; wie er andererseits die Illusionen der spekulativen Philosophie theilt, indem er die *ökonomischen Categorien*, *statt als theoretische Ausdrücke historischer, einer bestimmten Entwicklungsstufe der materiellen Produktion entsprechender, Produktionsverhältnisse* zu begreifen, sie in präexistirende, ewige *Ideen* verfaselt

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und wie er auf diesem Umwege wieder auf dem Standpunkt der bürgerlichen Oekonomie ankommt.*)"

Ich zeige weiter noch, wie durchaus mangelhaft und theilweise selbst schülerhaft seine Bekanntschaft mit der „Politischen Oekonomie“, deren
5 Kritik er unternahm, und wie er mit den Utopisten auf eine sogenannte „Wissenschaft“ Jagd macht, wodurch eine Formel für die „Lösung der socialen Frage“ a priori herauspintisirt werden soll, statt die Wissenschaft aus der kritischen Erkenntniß der geschichtlichen Bewegung zu schöpfen, einer Bewegung, die selbst die *materiellen Bedingungen der Emancipation*
10 produciré. Namentlich aber wird gezeigt, wie Proudhon über die Grundlage des Ganzen, den *Tauschwerth*, im Unklaren, Falschen und Halben bleibt, ja die utopistische Auslegung der *Rleardo*'sehen Werth-Theorie für die Grundlage einer neuen Wissenschaft versieht. Ueber seinen allgemeinen Standpunkt urtheile ich zusammenfassend wie folgt:

15 «Chaque rapport économique a un bon et un mauvais côté: c'est le seul point dans lequel M. Proudhon ne se dément pas. Le bon côté, il le voit exposé par les économistes; le mauvais côté, il le voit dénoncé par les socialistes. Il emprunte aux économistes la nécessité des rapports éternels; il emprunte aux socialistes l'illusion de ne voir dans la misère que la misère
20 (au lieu d'y voir le côté révolutionnaire, subversif, qui renversera la société ancienne). Il est d'accord avec les uns et les autres en voulant s'en référer à l'autorité de la science. La science, pour lui, se réduit aux minces proportions d'une formule scientifique; il est l'homme à la recherche des formules. C'est ainsi que M. Proudhon se flatte d'avoir donné la critique et de
25 l'économie politique et du communisme: il est au-dessous de l'une et de l'autre. Au-dessous des économistes, puisque comme philosophe, qui a sous la main une formule magique, il a cru pouvoir se dispenser d'entrer dans des détails purement économiques; au-dessous des socialistes, puisqu'il n'a ni assez de courage, ni assez de lumières pour s'élever, - ne
30 serait-ce que spéculativement - au-dessus de l'horizon bourgeois. Il veut planer en héros de science au-dessus des bourgeois et des prolétaires - *il*

*) «En disant que les rapports actuels - les rapports de la production bourgeoise - sont *naturels*, les économistes font entendre que ce sont là des rapports dans lesquels se crée la richesse et se développent les forces productives conformément aux lois de la nature. Donc ces rapports
35 sont eux-mêmes des *lois naturelles* indépendantes de l'influence du temps. Ce sont des *lois éternelles* qui doivent toujours régir la société. Ainsi il y a eu de l'histoire, mais il n'y en a plus.» (p. 113 meiner Schrift.) (Indem die Nationalökonomten sagen, daß die gegenwärtigen Verhältnisse - die Verhältnisse der bürgerlichen Production - *natürliche* sind, wollen sie damit behaupten, daß dies Verhältnisse sind, innerhalb deren der Reichthum sich erzeugt und
40 die Produktivkräfte sich den Gesetzen der Natur gemäß entwickeln. Folglich sind diese Verhältnisse selber *Naturgesetze*, und als solche unabhängig vom Einfluß der Zeit. Es sind *ewige Gesetze*, welche die Gesellschaft immer beherrschen müssen. Demnach hat es eine Geschichte gegeben, aber giebt es keine mehr.)

n'est que le petit bourgeois, ballotte constamment entre le capital et le travail, entre l'économie politique et le communisme.»)*

(„Jedes ökonomische Verhältniß hat eine gute und eine schlimme Seite: das ist der einzige Punkt, in dem Hr. Proudhon sich nicht selbst ins Gesicht schlägt. Die gute Seite sieht er von den Nationalökonomern hervorgehoben. Die schlimme Seite sieht er von den Socialisten angeklagt. Er entlehnt den Nationalökonomern die Nothwendigkeit der ewigen Verhältnisse; er entlehnt den Socialisten den Wahn, in dem Elend nichts zu sehen, als das Elend (statt darin die revolutionäre, zerstörende Seite zu erblicken, welche die alte Gesellschaft umstürzen wird). Er stimmt mit Diesen und mit Jenen überein, indem er sich dabei auf die Autorität der Wissenschaft bezieht. Die Wissenschaft schrumpft für ihn zu den winzigen Proportionen einer wissenschaftlichen Formel zusammen: er ist der Mann auf der Jagd nach Formeln. Auf diese Weise glaubt Hr. Proudhon die Kritik sowohl der Nationalökonomie als des Kommunismus gegeben zu haben - er steht aber unter der einen, wie unter dem andern. Unter den National-Oekonomern, weil er sich als Philosoph, der eine magische Formel unter den Händen hat, der Mühe überhoben glaubt, in die rein ökonomischen Einzelheiten einzugehen; unter den Socialisten, weil er weder den Muth noch die Geisteshelle hat, sich - und wäre es nur spekulativ - über den bürgerlichen Gesichtskreis zu erheben. Er will als Held der Wissenschaft über die Bourgeoisie und den Proletariern schweben - und er ist nur der *Kleinbürger*, der beständig zwischen dem Kapital und der Arbeit, zwischen der Nationalökonomie und dem Kommunismus hin- und hergeworfen wird.“)

Hart, wie das vorstehende Urtheil klingt, muß ich noch heute jedes Wort desselben unterschreiben. Zugleich aber bedenke man, daß zur Zeit, wo ich Proudhon's Buch für den Codex des Socialismus des Petit Bourgeois erklärte und dies theoretisch nachwies, Proudhon noch als Ultra-Erzrevolutionär von politischen Oekonomisten und von Socialisten zugleich verketzert ward. Deßhalb habe ich später auch nie eingestimmt in das Geschrei über seinen „*Verrath*“ an der Revolution. Es war nicht seine Schuld, wenn er, von Andern wie von sich selbst ursprünglich mißverstanden, unberechtigte Hoffnungen nicht erfüllt hat.

*) I. c. p. 119, 120.

In der „*Philosophie de la Misère*“ springen alle Mängel der Proudhon'schen Darstellungsweise, im Contrast zu «*Qu'est ce que la Propriété?*» sehr ungünstig hervor. Der Styl ist oft, was die Franzosen *ampoulé* nennen. Hochtrabend spekulatives Kauderwelsch, deutsch-philosophisch sein sollend, tritt
5 regelrecht ein, wo ihm die gallische Verstandesschärfe ausgeht. Ein markt-schreierischer, selbstlobhudelnder, ein renomnistischer Ton, namentlich das stets so unerquickliche Gesalbader von, und falsches Geprunke mit „*Wissenschaft*“, gelbt einem fortwährend ins Ohr. Statt der wirklichen Wärme, welche die erste Schrift durchleuchtet, wird sich hier an gewissen
10 Stellen systematisch in eine fliegende Hitze hineindeklamirt. Dazu das unbeholfen-widrige Gelehrthun des Autodidakten, dessen naturwüchsiger Stolz auf originelles Selbstdenken bereits gebrochen ist, und der nun als Parvenu der Wissenschaft mit dem, was er nicht ist und nicht hat, sich spreizen zu müssen wähnt. Dann die Gesinnung des Kleinbürgers, der
15 etwa einen Mann wie *Cabet*, respectabel wegen seiner praktischen Stellung zum französischen Proletariat, unanständig brutal - weder scharf noch tief, noch selbst richtig - angreift, dagegen z. B. einem *Dunoyer* (allerdings „Staatsrath“) gegenüber artig thut, obgleich die ganze Bedeutung jenes *Dunoyer* in dem komischen Ernst bestand, womit er drei dicke, unerträglich
20 langweilige Bände hindurch den Rigorismus predigte, den Helvetius so charakterisirt: «*On veut que les malheureux soient parfaits.*» (Man verlangt, daß die Unglücklichen vollkommen sein sollen.)

Die Februarrevolution kam Proudhon in der That sehr ungelegen, da er just einige Wochen zuvor unwiderleglich bewiesen hatte, daß „*die Aera der*
25 *Revolutionen*“ für immer vorüber sei. Sein Auftreten in der Nationalversammlung, so wenig Einsicht in die vorliegenden Verhältnisse es bewies, verdient alles Lob. *Nach* der Juniinsurrektion war es ein Akt großen Muthes. Es hatte außerdem die günstige Folge, daß Herr *Thiers* in seiner Gegenrede gegen Proudhon's Vorschläge, die dann als besondere Schrift ver-
30 öffentlicht ward, ganz Europa bewies, auf welchem Kleinkinderkatechismus-Piedestal der geistige Pfeiler der französischen Bourgeoisie stand. Herrn *Thiers* gegenüber schwoll *Proudhon* in der That zu einem vorsündfluthlichen Kolosse auf.

Proudhon's Entdeckung des „*Credit gratuit*“ und die auf ihn basirte
35 „*Volksbank*“ (*banque du peuple*) waren seine letzten ökonomischen „Thaten“. In meiner Schrift „*Zur Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie. Heft 1.*“ *Berlin 1859* (p. 59-64) findet man den Beweis, daß die theoretische Grundlage seiner Ansicht aus einer Verkennung der ersten Elemente der bürgerlichen „*Politischen Oekonomie*“, nämlich des Verhältnisses der *Waaren* zum

Geld, entspringt, während der praktische Ueberbau bloße Reproduktion viel älterer und weit besser ausgearbeiteter Pläne war. Daß das Creditwesen, ganz wie es z.B. im Anfang des 18. und später wieder des 19. Jahrhunderts in England dazu diente, das Vermögen von einer Klasse auf die andere zu übertragen, unter bestimmten ökonomischen und politischen Umständen zur Beschleunigung der Emancipation der arbeitenden Klasse dienen kann, unterliegt nicht dem geringsten Zweifel, ist selbstverständlich. Aber das *zinstragende Capital* als die *Hauptform des Capitals* betrachten, aber eine besondere Anwendung des Creditwesens, angebliche Abschaffung des Zinses, zur Basis der Gesellschaftsumgestaltung machen wollen, ist eine durchaus *spießbürgerliche* Phantasie. Man findet diese Phantasie daher in der That auch des Weiteren ausgepatscht bereits bei den *ökonomischen Wortführern der englischen Kleinbürgerschaft des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Proudhon's Polemik mit Bastiat (1850), bezüglich des zinstragenden Capitals, steht tief unter der „*Philosophie de la Misère*“. Er bringt es fertig, selbst von Bastiat geschlagen zu werden und bricht in burleskes Gepolter aus, wo sein Gegner ihm Gewalt anthut.

Vor wenigen Jahren schrieb Proudhon eine Preisschrift - ich glaube von der Lausanner Regierung veranlaßt - über die „*Steuern*“. Hier erlischt auch die letzte Spur von Genialität. Es bleibt nichts als der *petit bourgeois tout pur*.

Was Proudhon's politische und philosophische Schriften angeht, so zeigt sich in allen derselbe widerspruchsvolle, zwieschlächtige Charakter, wie in den ökonomischen Arbeiten. Dabei haben sie nur lokal-französischen Werth. Seine Angriffe gegen Religion, Kirche u. s. w. besitzen jedoch ein großes lokales Verdienst zu einer Zeit, wo die französischen Socialisten es passend hielten, dem bürgerlichen Voltairianismus des 18. und der deutschen Gottlosigkeit des 19. Jahrhunderts durch Religiosität überlegen zu sein. Wenn Peter der Große die russische Barbarei durch Barbarei niederschlug, so that Proudhon sein Bestes, das französische Phrasenwesen durch die Phrase niederzuwerfen.

Als nicht nur schlechte Schriften, sondern als Gemeinheiten, jedoch dem kleinbürgerlichen Standpunkt entsprechende Gemeinheiten, sind zu bezeichnen seine Schrift über den *Coup d'état*, worin er mit L. Bonaparte kokettirt, ihn in der That den französischen Arbeitern mundgerecht zu machen strebt, und seine letzte Schrift gegen *Polen*, worin er dem Czaren zur Ehre kretinartigen Cynismus treibt.

Man hat *Proudhon* oft mit *Rousseau* verglichen. Nichts kann falscher sein. Eher hat er Aehnlichkeit mit *Nie. Linguet*, dessen „*Theorie des Lois Civiles*“ übrigens ein sehr geniales Buch ist.

Proudhon neigte von Natur zur Dialektik. Da er aber nie die wirklich

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wissenschaftliche Dialektik begriff, brachte er es nur zur Sophistik. In der That hing das mit seinem kleinbürgerlichen Standpunkt zusammen. Der Kleinbürger ist wie der Geschichtsschreiber *Raumer* zusammengesetzt aus Einerseits und Andererseits. So in seinen ökonomischen Interessen, und *da-*
5 *her* in seiner Politik, seinen religiösen, wissenschaftlichen und künstlerischen Anschauungen. So in seiner Moral, so in everything. Er ist der lebendige Widerspruch. Ist er dabei, wie Proudhon, ein geistreicher Mann, so wird er bald mit seinen eigenen Widersprüchen spielen lernen und sie je nach Umständen zu auffallenden, geräuschvollen, manchmal scandalösen,
10 manchmal brillanten Paradoxen ausarbeiten. Wissenschaftlicher Charlatanismus und politische Accommodation sind von solchem Standpunkt unzertrennlich. Es bleibt nur noch ein treibendes Motiv, die *Eitelkeit* des Subjekts, und es fragt sich wie bei allen Eiteln nur noch um den Erfolg des Augenblicks, um das Aufsehn des Tages. So erlischt nothwendig der einfache
15 sittliche Takt, der einen Rousseau ζ. B. selbst jedem Schein-Compromiß mit den bestehenden Gewalten stets fern hielt.

Vielleicht wird die Nachwelt die jüngste Phase des Franzosenthums dadurch charakterisiren, daß Louis Bonaparte sein Napoleon war und Proudhon sein Rousseau-Voltaire.

20 Sie müssen nun selbst die Verantwortlichkeit dafür übernehmen, daß Sie, so bald nach dem Tode des Mannes, die Rolle des Todtenrichters mir aufgebürdet.

Ihr ganz ergebener
Karl Marx.

Friedrich Engels
Herr Tidmann.
Altdänisches Volkslied

Der Social-Demokrat.
Nr. 18, 5. Februar 1865

Herr Tidmann. Altdänisches Volkslied.

Früh am Morgen, da ward es Tag,
Herr Tidmann kleidet' sich vor dem Bett,
Und er zog an sein Hemd so schön.
Das loben alle die Süderleut.

Er zog an sein Hemd so schön,
Sein seidner Rock war herrlich und grün,
Bockslederne Stiefel schnürt er ans Bein.
Das loben alle die Süderleut.

Bockslederne Stiefel schnürt' er ans Bein
Vergoldete Sporen schnallte er drein,
So zog er hin zum Süderharder Thing.
Das loben alle die Süderleut.

So zog er hin zum Süderharder Thing,
Die Steuer verlangt' er von jedem Edeling;
Sieben Scheffel Roggen von jedes Mannes Pflug.
Das loben alle die Süderleut.

Sieben Scheffel Roggen von jedes Mannes Pflug,
Das vierte Schwein aus dem Mastungswald -
Auf da stund der alte Mann.
Das loben alle die Süderleut.

Auf da stund der alte Mann:
Keiner von uns das geben kann
Und ehe die Steuer zahlen wir -
Das loben alle die Süderleut.

Herr Tidmann. Altdänisches Volkslied

„Und ehe die Steuer zahlen wir,
Bleibt jeder Mann am Thing hier -
Ihr Süderharder Bauern steht zusammen im Ring!"
Das loben alle die Süderleut.

5 „Ihr Süderharder Bauern steht zusammen im Ring,
Herr Tidmann darf lebend nicht kommen vom Thing!"
Den ersten Schlag der alte Mann schlug.
Das loben alle die Süderleut.

10 Den ersten Schlag der alte Mann schlug,
Herrn Tidmann nieder zu Boden er schlug,
Da liegt Herr Tidmann, von ihm rinnt das Blut.
Das loben alle die Süderleut.

Da liegt Herr Tidmann, von ihm rinnt das Blut,
Doch frei geht der Pflug im schwarzen Grund,
15 Frei gehn die Schweine im Mastungswald.
Das loben alle die Süderleut.

Dies Stück mittelalterlichen Bauernkriegs spielt in der Süderharde (Harde ist Gerichtsbezirk) nördlich von Aarhus in Jutland. Auf dem Thing, der Gerichtsversammlung des Bezirks, wurden außer den gerichtlichen auch
20 Steuer- und Verwaltungssachen erledigt, und wie mit dem Aufkommen des Adels dieser den Edelingen, d. h. den freien Bauern gegenübertrat, zeigt das Lied ebensowohl wie die Art und Weise, wie die Bauern der Adelsarroganz ein Ziel zu setzen wußten. In einem Lande wie Deutschland, wo die besitzende Klasse ebensoviel Feudaladel wie Bourgeoisie und das Proletariat
25 ebensoviel oder mehr Ackerbau-Proletarier als industrielle Arbeiter enthält, wird das kräftige alte Bauernlied grade am Platze sein.

Friedrich Engels.

Karl Marx

An die Redaktion des „Social-Demokraten“.
Entwurf für eine gemeinsam mit Friedrich Engels
abgegebene Erklärung

I An die Redaction des „Social-Demokrat“. Erklärung.

N. 16 Ihres Blatts verdächtigt Herr M. Hess von Paris aus die ihm ganz und gar unbekanntem *französischen Mitglieder des Londoner Centralcomites* der internationalen Arbeiterassociation mit den Worten: „Es ist in der That nicht abzusehn, was es verschlägt, *wenn sich auch einige Freunde des Palais-Royal in der Londoner Gesellschaft befänden*, da sie eine öffentliche ist u. s.w.“

In früherer Nummer, bei Beplauderung des Blatts: „*L'Association*“, insinuirte derselbe Herr M. H. Aehnliches gegen die *Pariser Freunde* des Londoner Comités. Wir erklären seine Insinuationen für abgeschmackte Verläumdung.

Im Uebrigen freut es uns durch diesen Zwischenfall unsre Ueberzeugung bestätigt zu sehn, daß das Pariser Proletariat dem Bonapartismus in beiden Gestalten, der Tuileriengestalt und der Gestalt des Palais Royal, nach wie vor unversöhnlich gegenübersteht und keinen Augenblick mit dem Plan umging seine historische (oder sollen wir sagen statt „*seine historische Ehre*“, „sein historisches Erstgeburtsrecht als Träger der Revolution“?) Ehre für ein Gericht Linsen zu verkaufen. Wir empfehlen den deutschen Arbeitern dieß Muster.

London und Manchester. |

Friedrich Engels
Die preußische Militärfrage
und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei

Die
preussische Militärfrage
und die
deutsche Arbeiterpartei.

Von
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1865.

[3] Die Debatte über die Militärfrage ist bisher lediglich zwischen der Regierung und Feudalpartei auf der einen, und der liberalen und radikalen Bourgeoisie auf der anderen Seite geführt worden. Jetzt, wo die Krisis herannaht, ist es an der Zeit, daß auch die Arbeiterpartei sich ausspricht.

5 Zu der Kritik der militärischen Thatsachen, um die es sich handelt, können wir nur von den vorliegenden thatsächlichen Verhältnissen ausgehen. Wir können der preußischen Regierung nicht zumuthen, anders zu handeln, als vom preußischen Standpunkt aus, solange die jetzigen Verhältnisse in Deutschland und Europa bestehen. Ebenso wenig muthen wir der
10 Bourgeois-Opposition zu, von einem andern als von dem Standpunkt ihrer eigenen Bourgeois-Interessen auszugehen.

Die Partei der Arbeiter, die in allen Fragen zwischen Reaction und Bürgerthum außerhalb des eigentlichen Konflikts steht, hat den Vortheil, solche Fragen ganz kaltblütig und unparteiisch behandeln zu können. Sie
15 allein kann sie wissenschaftlich behandeln, historisch, als ob sie schon vergangen, anatomisch, als ob sie schon Cadaver wären.

I.

Wie es mit der preußischen Armee nach dem früheren System aussah, darüber können nach den Mobilmachungs-Ver||4jsuchen von 1850 und 1859
20 keine zwei Meinungen sein. Die absolute Monarchie war seit 1815 durch die öffentliche Zusage gebunden: keine neuen Steuern zu erheben und keine Anleihen auszuschreiben ohne vorherige Genehmigung der künftigen Landesvertretung. Diese Zusage zu brechen, war unmöglich; keine Anleihe ohne solche Genehmigung versprach den geringsten Erfolg. Die Steuern
25 waren aber im Ganzen so eingerichtet, daß bei steigendem Landesreichthum ihr Ertrag keineswegs in demselben Verhältniß stieg. Der Absolutismus war arm, sehr arm, und die außerordentlichen Ausgaben in

Folge der Stürme von 1830 waren hinreichend, ihn zur äußersten Sparsamkeit zu nöthigen. Daher die Einführung der zweijährigen Dienstzeit, daher ein Ersparnißsystem in allen Zweigen der Armeeverwaltung, das die für eine Mobilmachung bereit zu haltenden Ausrüstungsgegenstände nach Quantität und Qualität auf das allerniedrigste Niveau reduzierte. Trotzdem sollte Preußens Stellung als Großmacht behauptet werden; hierzu bedurfte man, für den Beginn eines Kriegs, einer möglichst starken ersten Feldarmee, und schlug daher die Landwehr ersten Aufgebots dazu. Man sorgte also dafür, daß gleich beim ersten drohenden Kriegsfall eine Mobilmachung nöthig wurde, und daß mit dieser das ganze Gebäude zusammenbrach. Der Fall trat 1850 ein und endete mit dem vollständigsten Fiasco Preußens.

1850 kam man bloß dahin, die materiellen Mängel des Systems kennen zu lernen; die ganze Sache war vorüber, ehe die moralischen Blößen hervortreten konnten. Die von den Kammern bewilligten Fonds wurden benutzt, um den materiellen Mängeln soweit möglich abzuhelfen. Soweit möglich; denn es wird unter allen Umständen unmöglich sein, das Material der Art bereit zu halten, daß in 14 Tagen die eingezogenen Reserven, und nach 14 Tagen das ganze erste Aufgebot der Landwehr schlagfertig ausgerüstet sein kann. Man vergesse nicht, daß die Linie höchstens 3 Jahrgänge, Reserve und erstes Aufgebot aber zusammen 9 Jahrgänge zählten, also für 3 schlagfertige Liniensoldaten in 4 Wochen mindestens 7 Eingezogene auszurüsten waren. Nun kam der italienische Krieg von 1859, und damit eine neue allgemeine Mobilmachung. Auch hier traten noch materielle Mängel genug hervor, sie traten aber weit zurück gegen die moralischen Blößen des Systems, welche jetzt erst, bei der längeren Dauer des mobilen Standes, aufgedeckt wurden. Die Landwehr war vernachlässigt worden, das ist unläugbar; die Cadres ihrer Bataillone existirten größtentheils nicht und mußten erst geschaffen werden; unter den bestehenden Offizieren waren viele für den Felddienst untauglich. Aber selbst wenn dies Alles anders gewesen wäre, so blieb doch immer die Thatsache, daß die Offiziere ihren Leuten nicht anders als ganz fremd sein konnten, fremd namentlich nach der Seite ihrer militärischen Befähigung, und daß diese militärische Befähigung bei den meisten zu gering war, als daß Bataillone mit solchen Offizieren mit Vertrauen gegen erprobte Truppen gesandt werden konnten. Wenn die Landwehroffiziere sich im dänischen Krieg sehr gut geschlagen haben, so vergesse man nicht, daß es ein großer Unterschied ist, ob ein Bataillon % Linien- und % Landwehroffiziere besitzt, oder umgekehrt. Dazu kam aber ein entscheidender Punkt. Es stellte sich sofort heraus, was man hätte vorherwissen können: daß man mit der Landwehr zwar schlagen, namentlich zur Vertheidigung des eignen Landes schlagen,

aber unter keinen Umständen demonstrieren kann. Die Landwehr ist eine so defensive Institution, daß mit ihr eine Offensive selbst erst in Folge einer zurückgeschlagenen Invasion möglich ist, wie 1814 und 1815. Ein aus meist verheiratheten Leuten von 26 bis 32 Jahren bestehendes Aufge-
5 bot läßt sich nicht Monate lang an den Grenzen müßig aufstellen, während täglich die Briefe von Hause einlaufen, daß Frau und ||6| Kinder darben; denn auch die Unterstützungen für die Familien der Einberufenen zeigten sich als über alle Begriffe ungenügend. Dazu kam noch, daß die Leute nicht wußten, gegen wen sie sich schlagen sollten, gegen Franzosen oder
10 Oestreicher - und keiner von Beiden hatte damals Preußen etwas zu Leide gethan. Und mit solchen, durch monatelanges Müßigsteheri demoralisirten Truppen sollte man fest organisirte und kriegsgewohnte Armeen angreifen?

Daß eine Aenderung eintreten mußte, ist klar. Preußen mußte unter den gegebenen Verhältnissen eine festere Organisation der ersten Feldarmee
15 haben. Wie ist diese hergestellt worden?

Man ließ die einberufenen 36 Landwehrregimenter der Infanterie einstweilen bestehen, und verwandelte sie allmählig in neue Linienregimenter. Nach und nach wurde auch die Cavalerie und Artillerie soweit vermehrt, daß sie diesem stärkeren Stand der Fußtruppen entsprachen, und endlich
20 wurde die Festungsartillerie von der Feldartillerie getrennt, welches letztere jedenfalls eine Verbesserung war, namentlich für Preußen. Mit einem Wort, die Infanterie wurde verdoppelt, die Cavalerie und Artillerie ungefähr um die Hälfte erhöht. - Um diesen verstärkten Armeebestand aufrecht zu erhalten, wurde vorgeschlagen, die Dienstzeit in der Linie von 5
25 auf 7 Jahre auszudehnen - 3 Jahre bei den Fahnen (bei der Infanterie), 4 in der Reserve - dagegen die Verpflichtung zum zweiten Aufgebot der Landwehr um 4 Jahre abzukürzen, und endlich die jährliche Rekrutirung von der bisherigen Zahl von 40 000 auf 63 000 zu erhöhen. Die Landwehr wurde inzwischen ganz vernachlässigt.

30 Die Vermehrung der Bataillone, Schwadronen und Batterien, wie sie hiermit festgesetzt war, entsprach fast genau der Ver||7|mehrung der Bevölkerung Preußens von 10 Mill. 1815 auf 18 Mill. 1861; da Preußens Reichthum inzwischen rascher gewachsen ist als seine Bevölkerung, und da die andern europäischen Großstaaten ihre Heere seit 1815 in weit größerem
35 Maße verstärkt haben, so war eine solche Vermehrung der Cadres sicher nicht zu hoch gegriffen. Dabei erschwerte der Vorschlag von allen Lasten des Dienstpflichtigen nur die der jüngsten Altersklassen, die Reservepflicht, erleichterte dagegen die Landwehrpflicht in den ältesten Jahresklassen im doppelten Verhältniß, und hob thatsächlich das zweite Aufge-
40 bot fast ganz auf, indem nun das erste Aufgebot so ziemlich die früher dem zweiten angewiesene Stellung erhielt.

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Dagegen ließ sich wider den Entwurf einwenden:

Die allgemeine Wehrpflicht - beiläufig die einzige demokratische Institution, welche in Preußen, wenn auch nur auf dem Papier, besteht - ist ein so enormer Fortschritt gegen alle bisherigen militärischen Einrichtungen, daß wo sie einmal, wenn auch nur in unvollkommener Durchführung, bestanden hat, sie auf die Dauer nicht wieder abgeschafft werden kann. Es gibt nur zwei klar bestimmte Grundlagen für unsere heutigen Heere: entweder Werbung - und diese ist veraltet und nur in Ausnahmefällen wie England möglich - oder allgemeine Wehrpflicht. Alle Conscripttionen und Ausloosungen sind eben nur sehr unvollkommene Formen der letzteren. 10 •\$
Der Grundgedanke des preußischen Gesetzes von 1814: daß jeder Staatsbürger, der körperlich dazu fähig ist, auch verpflichtet ist, während seiner waffenfähigen Jahre persönlich die Waffen zur Vertheidigung des Landes zu führen - dieser Grundgedanke steht hoch über dem Princip des Stellvertreter-Kaufs aller Conscriptionsländer, und wird nach fünfzigjährigem 15
Bestehen sicher nicht den sehnsüchtigen Wünschen der Bourgeoisie nach Einführung des ||8| „Menschenfleisch-Handels“, wie die Franzosen sagen, zum Opfer fallen.

Ist aber die preußische Wehrverfassung einmal auf allgemeine Dienstpflicht, ohne Stellvertretung begründet, so kann sie nur dadurch in ihrem 20 i.
eigenen Geist und wohlthätig fortgebildet werden, daß ihr Grundprincip immer mehr verwirklicht wird. Sehen wir, wie es damit steht.

1815 auf 10 Millionen Einwohner 40000 Ausgehobene, macht 4 aufs Tausend. 1861 auf 18 Millionen 63 000 Ausgehobene, macht 3½, aufs Tausend. Also ein Rückschritt, wenn auch ein Fortschritt gegenüber dem 25
Stand der Dinge bis 1859, wo bloß 2% aufs Tausend ausgehoben wurden. Um nur den Procentsatz von 1815 wieder zu erreichen, müßten 72 000 Mann ausgehoben werden. (Wir werden sehen, daß allerdings jedes Jahr ungefähr diese Zahl oder mehr in das Heer eintritt.) Aber ist die kriegerische Stärke des preußischen Volkes mit einer jährlichen Rekrutirung 30
von 4 aufs Tausend der Bevölkerung erschöpft?

Die Darmstädter Allgemeine Militärzeitung hat wiederholte Male aus den Statistiken der deutschen Mittelstaaten nachgewiesen, daß in Deutschland *vollkommen die Hälfte* der zur Rekrutirung kommenden jungen Leute diensttauglich ist. Nun betrug die Anzahl der im Jahre 1861 zur Rekrutirung 35
kommenden jungen Männer, nach der Zeitschrift des Preuß. statistischen Bureaus (März 1864) - 227 005. Dies gäbe jährlich 113 500 diensttaugliche Rekruten. Wir wollen von diesen 6500 als unabhkömmlich oder moralisch unfähig streichen, so bleiben immer noch 107 000 übrig. Warum dienen von diesen nur 63 000 oder höchstens 72-75 000 Mann? 40 |

Der Kriegsminister v. Roon theilte in der Session 1863 ||9| der Militär-

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Commission des Abgeordnetenhauses folgende Aufstellung mit über die Aushebung von 1861:

	Gesamtzahl der Bevölkerung (Zählung von 1858)	17 758 823	
	Zwanzigjährige Militärflichtige, Klasse 1861	217 438	
5	Aus früheren Jahren übernommene Militärflichtige, über die noch nicht endgültig entschieden	<u>348 364</u>	565 802
	Davon sind:		
	1) Unermittelt geblieben	55 770	
10	2) In andere Kreise gezogen oder dort gestellungspflichtig geworden	82 216	
	3) Ohne Entschuldigung ausgeblieben	10960	
	4) Als dreijährige Freiwillige eingetreten	5 025	
	5) Zum einjährigen Freiwilligen-Dienst berechtigt	14811	
	6) Als Theologen zurückgestellt oder befreit	1638	
15	7) Seedienstpflichtig	299	
	8) Als moralisch unfähig gestrichen	596	
	9) Augenfällig unbrauchbar von der Bezirks-Commission entlassen	2 489	
	10) Dauernd unbrauchbar von der Bezirks-Commission entlassen	15 238	
20	11) Zur Ersatzreserve übergetreten:		
	a. Unter 5 Fuß nach dreimaliger Konkurrenz	8 998	
	b. Unter 5' 1" 3'''	9553	
	c. Zeitig unbrauchbar » »	46761	
	d. Wegen häusl. Verhältn. » »	4213	
25	e. Disponibel nach fünfmaliger Konkurrenz	291	69 816
	12) Zum Train designirt, außer den zum Train Ausgehobenen		6774
	13) Auf ein Jahr zurückgestellt:		
	a. Zeitig unbrauchbar	219136	
	b. Wegen häusl. Verhältnisse	10013	
30	c. Wegen Ehrenstrafen und Untersuchung	1087	230236 495 868
	Bleiben zur Aushebung		69934
	Wirklich ausgehoben		<u>59459</u>
		Bleiben disponibel	10475

35 So unvollkommen diese Statistik ist, so unklar sie Alles dadurch macht, daß in jeder Position von 1 bis 13 die Leute der Altersklasse 1861 mit den aus den beiden früheren Altersklassen verfügbar gebliebenen Leuten zusammen geworfen werden, so erhält sie doch einige sehr kostbare Einverständnisse. I

40 |10| Es wurden eingestellt als Rekruten 59459 Mann. Als dreijährige Freiwillige traten ein 5025. Zum einjährigen Dienst waren berechtigt 14811; da man es bekanntlich mit der Tauglichkeit der einjährigen Freiwilligen gar nicht so genau nimmt, weil sie nichts kosten, so dürfen wir annehmen, daß mindestens die Hälfte, also 7400, wirklich eintraten. Dies ist sehr gering gerechnet; die Klasse von Leuten, die zum einjährigen Dienst

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qualificiren, besteht ohnehin meistens aus tauglichen Leuten; solche, die von vornherein unbrauchbar sind, geben sich gar nicht erst die Mühe zu qualificiren. Doch nehmen wir 7400 an. Danach traten in die Armee ein im Jahre 1861 zusammen 71884 Mann.

Sehen wir weiter. Als Theologen wurden zurückgestellt oder befreit 5
1638 Mann. Warum die Herren Theologen nicht dienen sollen, ist nicht abzusehen. Im Gegentheil, ein Jahr Armeedienst, Leben in der freien Luft, und Berührung mit der Außenwelt kann ihnen nur nutzen. Stellen wir sie also flott ein; % der Gesamtzahl aufs laufende Jahr, davon drei Viertel untauglich, macht immer 139 Mann, welche mitzunehmen sind. 10

Es wurden entlassen 18 551 Mann, weil sie das Maaß nicht hatten. Wohl- gemerkt, nicht des Dienstes überhaupt, sondern „zur Reserve entlassen“. Im Kriegsfall sollen sie also doch Dienst thun. Nur der Paradedienst des Friedens soll ihnen erlassen bleiben, dazu sind sie nicht ansehnlich genug. Man gesteht also zu, daß diese kleinen Leute ganz gut zum Dienst brauch- 15
bar sind, und will sie selbst für den Nothfall benutzen. *Daß* diese kleinen Leute ganz gute Soldaten sein können, beweist die französische Armee, in der Leute bis zu 4 Fuß 8 Zoll herab dienen. Wir schlagen sie also unbe- dingt zu den militärischen Ressourcen des Landes. Die obige Zahl schließt ||11| bloß diejenigen ein, welche definitiv, nach dreimaliger Con- 20
kurrenz wegen Körperkurze zurückgewiesen wurden; es ist also eine Zahl, die sich jährlich wiederholt. Wir streichen die Hälfte als aus andern Rück- sichten unbrauchbar, es bleiben uns also 9275 kleine Kerle, welche ein ge- wandter Offizier sicher bald in prächtige Soldaten umarbeiten würde.

Ferner finden wir zum Train designirt, *außer* den zum Train ausgehobe- 25
nen Leuten, 6774. Der Train gehört aber auch zur Armee, und es ist nicht abzusehen, weßwegen diese Leute nicht die kurze sechsmonatige Dienst- zeit beim Train mitmachen sollen, was sowohl für sie wie für den Train besser wäre.

Wir haben also: 30

Wirklich in Dienst getretene Leute	71884	
Theologen	139	
Taugliche Leute, die das Maß nicht haben	9 275	
Zum Train designirte Leute	<u>6 774</u>	
Zusammen	88 072 Mann,	35

welche nach dem *eigenen Eingeständniß* der von Roonschen Statistik jedes Jahr in die Armee eintreten könnten, wenn man mit der allgemeinen Wehrpflicht Ernst machte.

Nehmen wir nun die Unbrauchbaren vor.

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	Es werden auf ein Jahr zurückgestellt als	
	zeitig unbrauchbar	219136 Mann.
	Nach dreimaliger Konkurrenz, als ditto,	
	in die Reserve verwiesen	46761 »
5	Als dauernd unbrauchbar gestrichen <i>nur</i>	17727 »
	Zusammen	283 624 Mann,

so daß die wegen *wirklicher* körperlicher Gebrechen *dauernd* untauglichen Leute noch nicht 7 % der sämtlichen, wegen Untauglichkeit vom Dienst ausgeschlossenen Mannschaft, noch nicht 4 % der gesammten, jährlich vor
10 die Ersatzcommissionen |[12] kommenden Leute bilden. Beinahe 17% der zeitig Untauglichen werden jährlich, nach dreimaliger Konkurrenz, in die Reserve verwiesen. Es sind also 23jährige Leute, Leute in einem Alter, wo die Körperconstitution bereits anfängt sich zu setzen. Wir werden sicher nicht zu hoch greifen, wenn wir annehmen, daß von diesen ein Drittel
15 nach erreichtem 25. Lebensjahre zum Dienst ganz brauchbar ist, macht 15 587 Mann. Das Mindeste, was man von diesen Leuten erwarten kann, ist, daß sie zwei Jahre lang jedes Jahr bei der Infanterie drei Monate Dienst thun, um wenigstens die Rekrutenschule durchzumachen. Dies käme gleich einer Vermehrung der Friedensarmee um 3897 Mann.

20 Nun ist aber das ganze medizinische Prüfungswesen der Rekruten in Preußen in eine eigenthümliche Bahn gelenkt worden. Man hatte immer mehr Rekruten als man einstellen konnte, und man wollte doch den Schein der allgemeinen Wehrpflicht beibehalten. Was war bequemer, als sich die besten Leute in der gewünschten Zahl auszusuchen, und den Rest
25 unter irgend welchem Vorwande für untauglich zu erklären? Unter diesen Verhältnissen, welche, wohlgermt, seit 1815 in Preußen bestanden haben und noch bestehen, hat der Begriff der Untauglichkeit dort eine ganz abnorme Ausdehnung erhalten, wie dies am besten bewiesen ist durch die Vergleichung mit den deutschen Mittelstaaten. In diesen, wo die Conscriptio
30 tion und Ausloosung besteht, lag kein Grund vor, mehr Leute für untauglich zu erklären, als wirklich untauglich waren. Die Verhältnisse sind dieselben wie in Preußen; in einzelnen Staaten, Sachsen ζ. B., noch schlechter, weil dort der Prozentsatz der industriellen Bevölkerung größer ist. Nun ist wie gesagt in der Allgemeinen Militär-Zeitung aber und aber-
35 mais nachgewiesen worden, daß in den Mittelstaaten eine *volle Hälfte* der zur Gestellung kommenden Leute brauchbar ist, und das muß in Preußen auch |[13] der Fall sein. Sobald ein ernsthafter Krieg ausbricht, wird die Vorstellung von der Diensttauglichkeit in Preußen eine plötzliche Revolution erleben, und man wird dann, zu seinem Schaden zu spät, erfahren,
40 wie viel brauchbare Kräfte man sich hat entgehen lassen.

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Nun aber kommt das Wunderbarste. Unter den 565 802 Dienstpflichtigen, über die zu entscheiden ist, sind:

Unermittelt geblieben	55 770 Mann.	
In andere Kreise gezogen <i>oder</i> dort gestellungspflichtig geworden	82216»	5
Ohne Entschuldigung ausgeblieben	10 960»	
Zusammen	148 946 Mann.	

Also trotz der gerühmten preußischen Controle - und wer je in Preußen militärpflichtig war, weiß, was es damit zu sagen hat - verschwinden volle 27 % der Dienstpflichtigen in jedem Jahr? Wie ist das möglich? Und wo bleiben die 82216 Mann, welche aus der Liste gestrichen werden, weil sie „in andere Kreise gezogen, oder dort gestellungspflichtig geworden“ sind? Braucht man heutzutage bloß von Berlin nach Potsdam zu ziehen, um von der Dienstpflicht frei zu kommen? Wir wollen annehmen, daß hier - Homer schlummert ja bisweilen - die Herren Beamten in ihrer Statistik einfach einen Bock geschossen haben, nämlich daß diese 82216 Mann unter der Gesamtsumme von 565 802 *zweimal* figuriren: erstens in ihrem Heimathskreise und zweitens in dem Kreise, wohin sie ausgewandert sind. Es wäre sehr zu wünschen, daß dies festgestellt würde, wozu die Militärcommission der Kammer die beste Gelegenheit hat, denn eine Reduction der wirklichen Militärpflichtigen auf 483 586 würde alle Prozentsätze bedeutend ändern. Nehmen wir indeß an, daß dem so ist, so bleiben immer noch 66 730 Mann, welche ||14| jährlich verschwinden und verdunsten, ohne daß die preußische Controle und Polizei sie unter den Helm bringen kann. Das sind beinahe 14 % der Dienstpflichtigen. Hieraus folgt, daß die ganze Erschwerung der Freizügigkeit, welche unter dem Vorwand der Militärpflichts-Controle in Preußen herrscht, *vollständig überflüssig* ist. Die wirkliche Auswanderung aus Preußen ist notorisch *sehr gering*, und steht in gar keinem Verhältniß zu der Zahl der verdunsteten Rekruten. Diese beinahe 67 000 Mann wandern auch gar nicht alle aus. Der größte Theil bleibt entweder ganz im Inlande, oder geht nur auf kurze Zeit ins Ausland. Ueberhaupt sind alle Präventiv-Maßregeln gegen Entziehung von der Militärpflicht unnütz, und treiben höchstens zur Auswanderung an. Die Masse der jungen Leute kann ohnehin nicht auswandern. Man lasse nur die Leute richtig und ohne Gnade nach dienen, die sich der Einstellung entzogen haben, so braucht man den ganzen Plunder von Plackerei und Schreiberei nicht, und bekommt mehr Rekruten als vorher.

Wir wollen übrigens, um ganz sicher zu gehen, nur dasjenige als erwiesen annehmen, was aus Herrn von Roon's eigener Statistik hervorgeht: nämlich, daß, die einjährigen Freiwilligen ungerechnet, 85000 junge Leute

jährlich eingestellt werden können. Nun ist der Stand der jetzigen Friedensarmee ungefähr 210000 Mann.- Bei zweijähriger Dienstzeit geben 85000 Mann jährlich zusammen 170000 Mann, wozu Offiziere, Unteroffiziere und Kapitulanten, 25 bis 35 000 Mann, kommen, macht zusammen
5 195 bis 205 000 Mann, mit den einjährigen Freiwilligen 202 bis 212 000 Mann. Mit zweijähriger Dienstzeit der Infanterie und Fußartillerie (von der Cavalerie sprechen wir später) können also selbst nach der eigenen Statistik der Regierung sämtliche Cadres der reorganisirten Armee auf den vollen Friedensstand ||15| gebracht werden. Bei *wirklicher* Durch-
10 führung der allgemeinen Wehrpflicht würde man, bei zweijähriger Dienstzeit höchst wahrscheinlich 30 000 Mann mehr haben; man könnte also, um doch die Zahl von 200-210000 Mann nicht zu überschreiten, einen Theil der Leute schon nach 1-1½ Jahr entlassen. Eine solche frühere Entlassung als Prämie für Dienstetifer würde der ganzen Armee mehr nützen als sechs
15 Monate längerer Dienstzeit.

Der Kriegsfuß würde sich wie folgt stellen:

4 Jahrgänge des Reorganisationsplans ergeben à 63 000 Mann 252 000 Reservisten. 3 Jahrgänge à 85 000 ergeben 255000 Reservisten. Also sicher ebenso günstig wie der Reorganisationsplan. (Da es sich hier
20 nur um das *Verhältniß* handelt, macht es nichts aus, daß wir von den Abgängen der Reserve-Altersklassen hier ganz absehen.)

Hier liegt der schwache Punkt des Reorganisationsplans. Unter dem Schein, auf die ursprüngliche allgemeine Wehrpflicht zurückzugreifen, welche allerdings ohne eine Landwehr als große Armeereserve nicht bestehen kann, macht er- vielmehr eine Schwenkung nach dem französisch-österreichischen Cadresystem hin, und bringt dadurch eine Unsicherheit in
25 die preußische Wehrverfassung, die von den schlimmsten Folgen sein muß. Man kann nicht beide Systeme vermischen, man kann nicht die Vortheile beider zugleich haben. Es ist unläugbar, und nie bestritten worden, daß ein Cadresystem mit langer Dienst- und Präsenzzeit der Armee für
30 den Anfang des Kriegs große Vortheile gewährt. Die Leute kennen sich besser; selbst die Beurlaubten, denen der Urlaub meist nur auf kürzere Zeit auf einmal zugemessen wird, sehen sich während der ganzen Urlaubszeit als Soldaten an und sind stets auf dem Sprunge, zu den Fahnen einbe-
35 rufen zu werden - was die preußischen Reservisten sicher ||16| nicht sind; die Bataillone haben dadurch unbedingt mehr Halt, wenn sie zum ersten Mal ins Feuer kommen. Dagegen ist einzuwenden, daß wenn man hierauf am meisten sieht, man ebensogut das englische System der zehnjährigen Dienstzeit bei den Fahnen annehmen kann; daß den Franzosen ihre algie-
40 rischen Feldzüge, die Kriege in der Krim und in Italien sicher weit mehr genützt haben als die lange Dienstzeit; und daß man endlich, bei diesem

System, nur einen Theil des waffenfähigen Materials ausbilden kann, also lange nicht alle Kräfte der Nation in Thätigkeit bringt. Außerdem gewöhnt sich der deutsche Soldat erfahrungsmäßig sehr leicht ans Feuer, und drei tüchtige, mit mindestens wechselndem Glück durchgeführte Gefechte bringen ein sonst gutes Bataillon schon so weit, wie ein ganzes Jahr Extra- 5 Dienstzeit. Für einen Staat wie Preußen ist das Cadressystem eine Unmöglichkeit. Mit dem Cadressystem brächte Preußen es auf eine Armee von *höchstens* 3-400000 Mann, bei einem Friedensstande von 200000 M. So viel aber hat es, um als Großmacht sich zu halten, schon für die erste Feldarmee zum Ausrücken nöthig, d.h. es bedarf, mit Festungsbesatzungen, Er- 10 satzmannschaften, u. s. w. für jeden ernsthaften Krieg 5-600000 Mann. Wenn die 18 Millionen Preußen im Krieg ein annähernd ebenso zahlreiches Heer aufstellen sollen wie die 35 Mill. Franzosen, 34 Mill. Oestreicher, und 60 Mill. Russen, so kann das nur durch allgemeine Dienstpflicht, kurze aber angestrenzte Dienstzeit, und verhältnißmäßig lange Landwehr- 15 Verpflichtung geschehen. Man wird bei diesem System immer von der Schlagfertigkeit und selbst von der Schlachtüchtigkeit der Truppe, im ersten Augenblicke des Kriegs, etwas zu opfern haben; Staat und Politik werden einen neutralen, defensiven Charakter erhalten; man wird sich aber auch erinnern dürfen, daß die übermüthige Offensive des Cadressystems von 20 Jena nach Tilsit, und die bescheidne Defensive des Landwehrsystems | [17] mit allgemeiner Dienstpflicht von der Katzbach nach Paris geführt hat. Also: Entweder Conscription und Stellvertretung mit 7-8jähriger Dienstzeit, wovon etwa die Hälfte bei den Fahnen, und dann keine spätere Landwehrverpflichtung; oder aber, allgemeine Dienstpflicht mit 5, höchstens 25 6jähriger Dienstzeit, wovon 2 bei den Fahnen, und dann Landwehrverpflichtung in preußischer oder schweizerischer Art. Aber daß die Masse des Volks erst die Last des Conscriptionssystems und nachher noch die des Landwehrsystems tragen soll, das kann keine europäische Nation mitmachen, nicht einmal die Türken, die doch in ihrer kriegerischen Barbarei im 30 Ertragen noch das Meiste leisten. Viele ausgebildete Leute bei kurzer Dienstzeit und langer Verpflichtung, oder wenige bei langer Dienstzeit und kurzer Verpflichtung - das ist die Frage; aber man muß entweder das Eine oder das Andre wählen.

William Napier, der den englischen Soldaten natürlich für den ersten 35 der Welt erklärt, sagt in seiner Geschichte des Halbinselkriegs, daß der englische Infanterist nach dreijähriger Dienstzeit nach allen Seiten vollständig ausgebildet sei. Nun muß man wissen, daß die Elemente, aus denen sich die englische Armee zu Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts zusammensetzte, die niedrigsten waren, aus denen überhaupt ein Heer gebildet 40 werden kann. Die heutige englische Armee ist aus viel bessern Elementen

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gebildet, und auch diese sind noch unendlich schlechter, in moralischer und intellectueller Beziehung, als die Elemente der preußischen Armee. Und was die englischen Offiziere mit jenem Lumpengesindel in drei Jahren fertig brachten, das sollte man in Preußen mit dem so äußerst bildsa-
5 men, theilweise schon so gebildeten, von vorn herein moralisch geschulten Rekruten-Rohstoff nicht in 2 Jahren machen können?

Allerdings muß der Soldat jetzt mehr lernen. Aber das ist ||18| nie ernstlich gegen die zweijährige Dienstzeit eingewandt worden. Man hat sich stets auf die Anerziehung des *wahren Soldatengeistes* gestützt, der erst im
10 dritten Dienstjahr herauskomme. Dies ist, wenn die Herren ehrlich herausprechen, und wenn wir von der oben zugegebenen größeren Tüchtigkeit der Bataillone absehn wollen, weit mehr ein politisches als ein militärisches Motiv. Der wahre Soldatengeist soll sich am inneren Düppel mehr bewähren als am äußeren. Wir haben nie gesehen, daß der einzelne preußi-
15 sehe Soldat im dritten Dienstjahre etwas mehr gelernt hat als sich langweilen, den Rekruten Schnäpse auspressen, und über seine Vorgesetzten schlechte Witze reißen. Wenn die meisten unsrer Offiziere nur ein Jahr als Gemeine oder Unteroffiziere gedient hätten, so könnte ihnen dies unmöglich entgangen sein. - Der „wahre Soldatengeist“, soweit er politischer
20 Natur ist, geht erfahrungsmäßig und sehr rasch zum Teufel und zwar auf Nimmerwiederkehren. Der militärische bleibt, auch nach 2 Dienstjahren.

Zwei Jahre Dienstzeit reichen also, bei unsern Soldaten, vollständig hin, sie für den Infanteriedienst auszubilden. Seitdem die Feldartillerie von der
25 Festungsartillerie getrennt ist, gilt von der Fußartillerie dasselbe; einzelne Schwierigkeiten, welche sich hier zeigen mögen, werden sich heben lassen, sei es durch noch größere Theilung der Arbeit, sei es durch die ohnehin wünschenswerthe Vereinfachung des Feldartillerie-Materials. Eine größere Einstellung von Kapitulantem würde ebenfalls keine Schwierigkeiten fin-
30 den; aber diese Klasse von Leuten ist ja grade in der preußischen Armee gar nicht gern gesehen, sofern sie sich nicht zu Unteroffizieren eignen - welch ein Zeugniß *gegen* die lange Dienstzeit! Nur bei der Festungsartillerie und mit ihrem so sehr mannichfaltigen Material, und beim Genie mit seinen vielseitigen Arbeitszweigen, die doch nie ganz getrennt werden kön-
35 nen, werden intelligente Kapitulantem werth||19|voll, aber auch selten sein. Die reitende Artillerie wird die Dienstzeit der Cavalerie nöthig haben.

Was die Cavalerie betrifft, so braucht eine geborene Reiterei nur kurze, eine erzogene dagegen unbedingt lange Dienstzeit. Wir haben wenig geborene Reiterei, und brauchen daher die vierjährige Dienstzeit des Reorganisationsplanes sicher. Die Reiterei hat zu ihrer einzigen wahren Kampfform
zo den geschlossenen Angriff mit der blanken Waffe, zu dessen Durchführung

der höchste Muth und das vollste Vertrauen der Leute auf einander gehört. Die Leute müssen also wissen, daß sie sich auf einander und auf ihre Führer verlassen können. Dazu gehört lange Dienstzeit. Aber ohne Vertrauen des Reiters auf sein Pferd taugt die Cavalerie auch nichts; der Mann muß eben reiten können, und um diese Sicherheit in der Beherrschung des Pferdes - d.h. so ziemlich jedes Pferdes, das ihm zugetheilt wird - erlangen zu können, dazu gehört auch lange Dienstzeit. In dieser Waffe sind Kapitulanten unbedingt wünschenswerth, je achtere Landsknechte, desto besser, so lange sie nur Spaß am Handwerk haben. Man wird uns von oppositioneller Seite vorwerfen, das heiße eine Reiterei von lauter Miethlingen schaffen, die zu jedem Staatsstreich die Hand bieten würde. Wir antworten: mag sein. Aber die Cavalerie wird unter bestehenden Verhältnissen immer reaktionär sein (man vergleiche die badischen Dragoner 1849), grade wie die Artillerie immer liberal sein wird. Das liegt in der Natur der Sache. Ein paar Kapitulanten mehr oder weniger ändern daran nichts. Und beim Barrikadenkampf in großen Städten, namentlich die Haltung der Infanterie und Artillerie dabei, entscheidet aber heut zu Tage das Schicksal aller Staatsstreiche.

Nun gibt es aber, außer der Vermehrung der Kapitulanten, noch andere Mittel, die Schlagfähigkeit und den inneren Zusammenhang einer Armee mit kurzer Dienstzeit zu heben. Hierzu gehören u. A. Uebungslager, wie der Kriegsminister von Roon sie selbst als ein Ausgleichsmittel der kürzeren Dienstzeit bezeichnet hat. Ferner ein rationeller Betrieb der Ausbildung, und in dieser Beziehung ist in Preußen noch sehr viel zu thun. Der ganze Aberglaube, daß bei kurzer Dienstzeit die übertriebene Präcision des Parademarsches, das „stramme“ Exerciren, und das lächerlich hohe Aufheben der Beine - „frei aus dem Hüftgelenk“ ein Loch in die Natur stoßen - nöthig seien, um die kurze Dienstzeit aufzuwiegen - dieser ganze Aberglaube beruht auf lauter Uebertreibung. Man hat sich das in der preußischen Armee so lange vorgeredet, bis es zuletzt zu einem unzweifelbaren Axiom geworden ist. Was hat es für einen Vortheil, wenn die Leute bei den Gewehrgriffen das Gewehr mit einer Vehemenz gegen die Schulter schlagen, daß sie beinahe umfallen, und doch ein höchst unmilitärisches Schüttern durch die ganze Front geht, wie man es bei keiner andern Armee sieht? - Endlich ist als ein Aequivalent der verkürzten Dienstzeit - und als das wesentlichste, anzusehn eine bessere körperliche Erziehung der Jugend. Nur muß man dann auch zusehen, daß wirklich etwas geschieht. Man hat zwar in allen Dorfschulen Barren und Reck aufgestellt, aber damit können unsere armen Schullehrer noch wenig anfangen. Man setze in jeden Kreis mindestens einen ausgedienten Unteroffizier hin, der sich zum Turnlehrer qualificirt, und gebe ihm die Leitung des Unterrichts im Tur-

nen; man Sorge dafür, daß mit der Zeit der Schuljugend das Marschieren in Reih und Glied, die Bewegungen eines Zugs und einer Kompagnie, die Vertrautheit mit den betreffenden Kommandos beigebracht werden. In 6-8 Jahren wird man reichlich dafür bezahlt werden und - mehr und stärkere Rekruten haben. |

|21| Bei der obigen Kritik des Reorganisationsplans haben wir uns, wie gesagt, lediglich an die thatsächlich vorliegenden politischen und militärischen Verhältnisse gehalten. Zu diesen gehört die Voraussetzung, daß unter den jetzigen Umständen die gesetzliche Feststellung der zweijährigen Dienstzeit für die Infanterie und Fußartillerie die höchste zu erreichende Verkürzung der Dienstzeit war. Wir sind sogar der Meinung, daß ein Staat wie Preußen den größten Bock begehen würde - sei an der Regierung welche Partei da wolle - wenn er die normale Dienstzeit augenblicklich noch mehr verkürzte. Solange man die französische Armee auf der einen, die russische auf der andern Seite hat, und die Möglichkeit eines combinirten Angriffs Beider zu gleicher Zeit, braucht man Truppen, die die ersten Elemente der Kriegsschule nicht erst vor dem Feind zu lernen haben. Wir nehmen daher keinerlei Rücksicht auf die Phantasien von einem Milizheer mit sozusagen gar keiner Dienstzeit; wie man sich die Sache vorstellt, ist sie heute für ein Land von 18 Millionen Einwohnern und sehr exponirten Grenzen unmöglich, und selbst für andere Verhältnisse nicht in dieser Weise möglich.

Nach allem Vorhergegangenen: waren die Grundzüge des Reorganisationsplans für ein Abgeordnetenhaus annehmbar, das sich auf den preußischen Standpunkt stellt? Wir sagen, aus militärischen und politischen Gründen: die Vermehrung der Cadres in der durchgeführten Weise, die Verstärkung der Friedensarmee auf 180-200000 Mann, die Zurückschiebung der Landwehr ersten Aufgebots in die große Armeereserve oder zweite Feldarmee resp. Festungsbesatzung, war annehmbar auf die Bedingung hin: *daß die allgemeine Dienstpflicht streng durchgeführt, daß die Dienstzeit auf zwei Jahre bei der Fahne, drei in der Reserve, und bis zum 3 6. Jahr in der Landwehr gesetzlich festgesetzt, und endlich daß die* ||22| *Cadres der Landwehr ersten Aufgebots wiederhergestellt wurden.* Waren diese Bedingungen zu erlangen? Nur Wenige, die den Debatten gefolgt sind, werden läugnen, daß dies unter der „neuen Aera“ und selbst vielleicht noch später möglich war.

Wie benahm sich nun die bürgerliche Opposition? |

[23] II.

Die preußische Bourgeoisie, die als der entwickeltste Theil der ganzen deutschen Bourgeoisie hier ein Recht hat, diese mit zu repräsentiren, fristet ihre politische Existenz durch einen Mangel an Muth, der in der Geschichte, selbst dieser wenig couragirten Klasse, seines Gleichen nicht findet, und nur durch die gleichzeitigen auswärtigen Ereignisse einigermaßen entschuldigt wird. Im März und April 1848 hatte sie das Heft in der Hand; aber kaum begannen die ersten selbstständigen Regungen der Arbeiterklasse, als die Bourgeoisie sofort Angst bekam und sich unter den Schutz derselben Bureaukratie und desselben Feudaladels zurückflüchtete, die sie eben noch mit Hilfe der Arbeiter besiegt hatte. Die Periode Manteuffel war die unvermeidliche Folge. Endlich kam - ohne Zuthun der bürgerlichen Opposition - die „neue Aera“. Der unverhoffte Glücksfall verdrehte den Bürgern die Köpfe. Sie vergaßen ganz die Stellung, die sie sich durch ihre wiederholten Verfassungsrevisionen, ihre Unterwerfung unter die Bureaukratie und die Feudalen (bis zur Wiederherstellung der feudalen Provinzial- und Kreisstände), ihr fortwährendes Zurückweichen von Position zu Position selbst gemacht hatten. Sie glaubten jetzt wieder das Heft in der Hand zu haben, und vergaßen ganz, daß sie selbst alle die ihnen feindlichen Mächte wiederhergestellt hatten, die, seitdem erstarkt, ganz wie vor 1848 die wirkliche ||24| Staatsgewalt in Besitz hielten. Da kam die Armee-Reorganisation wie eine brennende Bombe zwischen sie gefahren.

Die Bourgeoisie hat nur zwei Wege, sich politische Macht zu verschaffen. Da sie eine Armee von Offizieren ohne Soldaten ist, und sich diese Soldaten nur aus den Arbeitern schaffen kann, so muß sie entweder sich die Allianz der Arbeiter sicher stellen, oder sie muß den ihr nach Oben gegenüber stehenden Mächten, namentlich dem Königthum, die politische Macht stückweise abkaufen. Die Geschichte der englischen und französischen Bourgeoisie zeigt, daß kein anderer Weg existirt.

Nun hatte die preußische Bourgeoisie - und zwar ohne allen Grund - alle Lust verloren, eine aufrichtige Allianz mit den Arbeitern zu schließen. Im Jahre 1848 war die, damals noch in den Anfängen der Entwicklung und Organisation begriffene, deutsche Arbeiterpartei bereit, für sehr billige Bedingungen die Arbeit für die Bourgeoisie zu thun, aber diese fürchtete die geringste selbstständige Regung des Proletariats mehr als den Feudaladel und die Bureaukratie. Die um den Preis der Knechtschaft erkaufte Ruhe schien ihr Wünschenswerther als selbst die bloße *Aussicht* des Kampfes mit der Freiheit. Seitdem war dieser heilige Schrecken vor den Arbeitern bei den Bürgern traditionell geworden, bis endlich Herr Schulze-De-

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litzsch seine Sparbüchsen-Agitation begann. Sie sollte den Arbeitern be-
weisen, daß sie kein größeres Glück haben könnten als Zeitlebens, und
selbst in ihren Nachkommen, von der Bourgeoisie industriell ausgebeutet
zu werden; ja daß sie selbst zu dieser Ausbeutung beitragen müßten, in-
5 dem sie durch allerhand industrielle Vereine sich selbst einen Nebenver-
dienst und damit den Kapitalisten die Möglichkeit zur Herabsetzung des
Arbeitslohns verschafften. Obwohl nun die industrielle Bourgeoisie sicher
neben den Cavalerie-Lieutenants die ungebildetste Klasse deutscher Na-
tion ist, so war doch bei einem geistig so entwickelten Volk ||25| wie dem
10 deutschen eine solche Agitation von vornherein ohne alle Aussicht auf
dauernden Erfolg. Die einsichtigeren Köpfe der Bourgeoisie selbst mußten
begreifen, daß daraus nichts werden konnte, und die Allianz mit den Ar-
beitern fiel abermals durch.

Blieb das Feilschen mit der Regierung um politische Macht, wofür baa-
15 res Geld - aus der Volkstasche natürlich - bezahlt wurde. Die *wirkliche*
Macht der Bourgeoisie im Staate bestand nur in dem, noch dazu sehr ver-
clusulirten - Steuerbewilligungsrecht. Hier also mußte der Hebel ange-
setzt werden, und eine Klasse, die sich so vortrefflich aufs Abdingen ver-
stand, mußte hier sicher im Vortheil sein.

20 Aber nein. Die preußische bürgerliche Opposition - ganz im Gegensatz
namentlich zu dem klassischen Bürgerthum Englands im 17. und 18. Jahr-
hundert - verstand die Sache dahin: daß sie Macht erfeilsche *ohne* Geld
dafür zu zahlen.

Vom rein-bürgerlichen Standpunkt aus, und unter voller Berücksichti-
25 gung der Verhältnisse, unter denen die Armee-Reorganisation vorgebracht
wurde, was war da die richtige Politik der bürgerlichen Opposition? Sie
mußte es wissen, wenn sie ihre Kräfte kannte, daß sie, die eben noch aus
der Manteuffelschen Erniedrigung - und wahrlich ohne ihr eigenes Zu-
thun - emporgehoben worden war, sicher nicht die Macht hatte, die *fakti-*
30 *sehe* Durchführung des Planes zu hindern, die ja auch ins Werk gesetzt
wurde. Sie mußte wissen, daß mit jeder fruchtlos hingegangenen Session
die neue, faktisch bestehende Einrichtung schwerer zu beseitigen war; daß
also die Regierung von Jahr zu Jahr weniger bieten würde, um die Zustim-
mung der Kammer zu erlangen. Sie mußte wissen, daß sie noch lange nicht
35 soweit war, Minister ein- und absetzen zu können, daß also, je länger der
Konflikt dauerte, je weniger zu Compromissen geneigte Minister sie sich
gegenüber haben würde. Sie mußte endlich wissen, daß es vor Allem ihr
eignes ||26| Interesse war, die Sache nicht auf die Spitze zu treiben. Denn
ein ernstlicher Konflikt mit der Regierung mußte, bei dem Entwicklungs-
40 stände der preußischen Arbeiter, nothwendig eine unabhängige Arbeiterbe-
wegung ins Leben rufen, und ihr damit wieder für den äußersten Fall das

Dilemma vorführen: entweder eine Allianz mit den Arbeitern, aber diesmal unter weit ungünstigeren Bedingungen als 1848; oder aber: auf die Kniee vor der Regierung, und: pater peccavi!

Die liberale und fortschrittliche Bourgeoisie mußte demnach die Armee-Reorganisation, mit sammt der davon unzertrennlichen Erhöhung des Friedensstandes einer unbefangenen sachlichen Prüfung unterwerfen, wobei sie wahrscheinlich zu ungefähr denselben Resultaten gekommen wäre wie wir. Sie durfte dabei nicht vergessen, daß sie die vorläufige Einführung der Neuerung doch nicht hindern, und ihre schließliche Feststellung nur verzögern konnte, so lange der Plan so viel richtige und brauchbare Elemente enthielt. Sie mußte also vor allen Dingen sich hüten, von vorn herein in eine direkt feindliche Stellung gegen die Reorganisation zu kommen; sie mußte im Gegentheil diese Reorganisation und die dafür zu bewilligenden Gelder benutzen, um sich dafür von der „neuen Aera“ möglichst viel Aequivalente zu kaufen, um die 9 oder 10 Millionen neuen Steuern in möglichst viel politische Gewalt für sich selbst umzusetzen.

Und was war da nicht Alles noch zu thun! Da war die ganze Manteuffelsche Gesetzgebung über die Presse und das Vereinsrecht; da war die ganze, aus der absoluten Monarchie unverändert übernommene Polizei- und Beamten-gewalt; die Beseitigung der Gerichte durch Kompetenzconflikte; die Provinzial- und Kreisstände; vor Allem die unter Manteuffel herrschende Auslegung der Verfassung, gegenüber welcher eine neue constitutionelle Praxis festzustellen war; die Verkümmernng der städtischen Selbstregierung durch die Bureaukratie, und noch hundert andere Dinge, die jede andere Bourgeoisie in gleicher Lage gern mit einer Steuervermehrung von % Thaler pr. Kopf erkaufte hätte, und die Alle zu haben waren, wenn man einiger Maßen geschickt verfuhr. Aber die bürgerliche Opposition dachte anders. Was die Preß-, Vereins- und Versammlungsfreiheit anging, so hatten Manteuffel's Gesetze gerade dasjenige Maß festgestellt, worin die Bürger sich behaglich fühlten. Sie konnten ungehindert gelind gegen die Regierung demonstrieren; jede Vermehrung der Freiheit brachte ihnen weniger Vortheil als den Arbeitern, und ehe die Bourgeoisie den Arbeitern Freiheit zu einer selbstständigen Bewegung gab, ließ sie sich lieber etwas mehr Zwang von Seiten der Regierung anthun. Ebenso war es mit der Beschränkung der Polizei- und Beamten-gewalt. Die Bourgeoisie glaubte, durch das Ministerium der „neuen Aera“ die Bureaukratie sich schon unterworfen zu haben, und sah es gern, daß diese Bureaukratie freie Hand gegen die Arbeiter behielt. Sie vergaß ganz, daß die Bureaukratie weit stärker und lebenskräftiger war, als irgend ein bürgerfreundliches Ministerium. Und dann bildete sie sich ein, daß mit dem Fall Manteuffels das tausend-jährige Reich der Bürger eingetreten sei, und daß es sich nur noch darum

handle, die reife Ernte der bürgerlichen Alleinherrschaft einzuheimsen, ohne einen Pfennig dafür zu zahlen.

Aber die vielen zu bewilligenden Gelder, nachdem schon die paar Jahre seit 1848 soviel Geld gekostet, die Staatsschuld so vermehrt und die Steuern so erhöht hatten! - Meine Herren, Sie sind die Deputirten des jüngsten constitutionellen Staats der Welt, und Sie wissen nicht, daß der Constitutionalismus die theuerste Regierungsform der Welt ist? fast noch theurer als der Bonapartismus, der - après moi le déluge - die ||28| alten Schulden durch immer neue deckt und so in zehn Jahren die Ressourcen eines Jahr-

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hunderts discountirt? Die goldenen Zeiten des gefesselten Absolutismus, die Ihnen noch immer vorschweben, kommen nie wieder.

Aber die Verfassungsklauseln wegen Forterhebung einmal bewilligter Steuern? - Jedermann weiß, wie verschämt die „neue Aera“ im Geldfordern war. Dadurch, daß man, für wohlverbriefte Gegenconcessionen, die Ausgaben für die Reorganisation ins Ordinarium setzte, dadurch war noch wenig vergeben. Es handelte sich um die Bewilligung neuer Steuern, wodurch diese Ausgaben zu decken waren. Hier konnte man knausern, und dazu konnte man sich kein besseres Ministerium wünschen als das der neuen Aera. Man behielt doch das Heft in der Hand, soweit man es vorher

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besaß, und man hatte sich neue Machtmittel auf andern Gebieten erobert.

Aber die Stärkung der Reaktion, wenn man ihr Hauptwerkzeug, die Armee, verdoppelte? - Dies ist ein Gebiet, wo die Fortschrittsbürger mit sich selbst in die unauflöslichsten Konflikte gerathen. Sie verlangen von Preußen, es soll die Rolle des deutschen Piemont spielen. Dazu gehört eine starke schlagfertige Armee. Sie haben ein Ministerium der „neuen Aera“, das im Stillen dieselben Ansichten hegt, das beste Ministerium, das sie, unter den Umständen, haben können. Sie *verweigern* diesem Ministerium die verstärkte Armee. - Sie führen tagtäglich, von Morgen bis Abend, Preußens Ruhm, Preußens Größe, Preußens Machtentwicklung auf der

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Zunge; aber sie *verweigern* Preußen eine Armee-Verstärkung, die nur im richtigen Verhältniß zu derjenigen steht, welche die übrigen Großmächte seit 1814 bei sich eingeführt haben. - Weßhalb das Alles? Weil sie fürchten, diese Verstärkung werde nur der Reaktion zu Gute kommen, werde den heruntergekommenen Of||29|fiziersadel heben und überhaupt der feudalen und bürokratisch-absolutistischen Partei die Macht geben, mit einem Staatsstreich den ganzen Konstitutionalismus zu begraben.

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Zugegeben, daß die Fortschrittsbürger Recht hatten, die Reaktion nicht zu stärken, und daß die Armee der sicherste Hinterhalt der Reaktion war. Aber gab es denn je eine bessere Gelegenheit, die Armee unter die Kontrolle der Kammer zu bringen, als grade diese Reorganisation, vorgeschlagen von dem bürgerfreundlichsten Ministerium, das Preußen in ruhigen

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Zeiten je erlebt hatte? Sobald man sich bereit erklärte, die Armeeverstärkung unter gewissen Bedingungen zu bewilligen, war es da nicht grade möglich, über die Kadettenhäuser, die Adelsbevorzugung und alle anderen Klagepunkte ins Reine zu kommen und Garantien zu erlangen, welche dem Offizierkorps einen mehr bürgerlichen Charakter gaben? Die „neue Aera“ war sich nur über Eins klar: daß die Armeeverstärkung durchgesetzt werden müsse. Die Umwege, auf denen sie die Reorganisation ins Leben schmuggelte, bewiesen am besten ihr böses Gewissen und ihre Furcht vor den Abgeordneten. Hier mußte mit beiden Händen zugegriffen werden; eine solche Chance für die Bourgeoisie war in hundert Jahren nicht wieder zu erwarten. Was ließ sich nicht Alles im Detail aus diesem Ministerium herauschlagen, wenn die Fortschrittsbürger die Sache nicht knauserig, sondern als große Spekulanten auffaßten!

Und nun gar die praktischen Folgen der Reorganisation auf das Offizierkorps selbst! Es mußten Offiziere für die doppelte Anzahl Bataillone gefunden werden. Die Kadettenhäuser reichten bei weitem nicht mehr aus. Man war so liberal wie noch nie vorher in Friedenszeiten; man offerirte die Lieutenantsstellen gradezu als Prämien an Studenten, Auscultatoren und alle gebildeten jungen Leute. Wer die preußische Armee nach der Reorganisation wieder sah, kannte das Offizierkorps nicht mehr. ||30| Wir sprechen nicht von Hörensagen, sondern von eigener Anschauung. Der spezifische Lieutenantsdialekt war in den Hintergrund gedrängt, die jüngeren Offiziere sprachen ihre natürliche Muttersprache, sie gehörten keineswegs einer geschlossenen Kaste an, sondern repräsentirten mehr als je seit 1815 alle gebildeten Klassen und alle Provinzen des Staats. Hier war also die Position durch die Nothwendigkeit der Ereignisse schon gewonnen; es handelte sich nur noch darum, sie zu behaupten und auszunutzen. Statt dessen wurde alles das von den Fortschrittsbürgern ignorirt und fortgeredet, als ob alle diese Offiziere adlige Kadetten seien. Und doch waren seit 1815 nie mehr bürgerliche Offiziere in Preußen als grade jetzt.

Beiläufig gesagt, schreiben wir das flotte Auftreten der preußischen Offiziere vor dem Feind im schleswig-holsteinischen Kriege hauptsächlich dieser Infusion frischen Blutes zu. Die alte Klasse Subalternoffiziere allein hätte nicht gewagt, so oft auf eigene Verantwortung zu handeln. In dieser Beziehung hat die Regierung Recht, wenn sie der Reorganisation einen wesentlichen Einfluß auf die „Eleganz“ der Erfolge zuschreibt; in welcher anderen Hinsicht die Reorganisation den Dänen furchtbar war, ist für uns nicht ersichtlich.

Endlich der Hauptpunkt: die Erleichterung eines Staatsstreichs durch die Verstärkung der Friedensarmee? - Es ist ganz richtig, daß Armeen die Werkzeuge sind, womit man Staatsstreiche macht, und daß also jede Ar-

meeverstärkung auch die Durchführbarkeit eines Staatsstreichs vermehrt. Aber die für einen Großstaat erforderliche Armeestärke richtet sich nicht nach der größeren oder geringeren Aussicht auf Staatsstreiche, sondern nach der Größe der Armeen der anderen Großstaaten. Hat man A gesagt, 5 so muß man auch B sagen. Nimmt man ein Mandat als preußischer Abgeordneter an, schreibt man Preußens Größe und europäische Machtstellung auf seine Fahne, so muß man auch zustimmen, daß ||31| die Mittel hergestellt werden, ohne welche von Preußens Größe und Machtstellung keine Rede sein kann. Können diese Mittel nicht hergestellt werden, ohne Staats- 10 streiche zu erleichtern, desto schlimmer für die Herren Fortschrittmänner. Hätten sie sich nicht 1848 so lächerlich feig und ungeschickt benommen, die Periode der Staatsstreiche wäre wahrscheinlich längst vorbei. Unter den obwaltenden Umständen aber bleibt ihnen nichts übrig als die Armeeverstärkung in der einen oder andern Form schließlich doch anzuerkennen 15 und ihre Bedenken wegen Staatsstreichen für sich zu behalten.

Indeß hat die Sache doch noch andere Seiten. Erstens war es immer gerathener, mit einem Ministerium der „neuen Aera“ über die Bewilligung dieses Staatsstreich-Instruments zu verhandeln, als mit einem Ministerium Bismarck. Zweitens macht selbstredend jeder weitere Schritt zur wirkli- 20 chen Durchführung der allgemeinen Wehrpflicht die preußische Armee ungeschickter zum Werkzeug für Staatsstreiche. Sobald unter der ganzen Volksmasse das Verlangen nach Selbstregierung und die Nothwendigkeit des Kampfes gegen alle widerstrebenden Elemente einmal durchgedrungen war, mußten auch die 20- und 21jährigen jungen Leute von der Bewegung 25 erfaßt sein und selbst unter feudalen und absolutistischen Offizieren mußte ein Staatsstreich immer schwerer mit ihnen durchzuführen sein. Je weiter die politische Bildung im Lande fortschreitet, je mißliebiger wird die Stimmung der eingestellten Rekruten werden. Selbst der jetzige Kampf zwischen Regierung und Bourgeoisie muß davon bereits Beweise geliefert 30 haben.

Drittens ist die zweijährige Dienstzeit ein hinreichendes Gegengewicht gegen die Vermehrung der Armee. In demselben Maße wie die Armeeverstärkung für die Regierung die materiellen Mittel zu Gewaltstreichen vermehrt, in demselben Maß verringert die zweijährige Dienstzeit die morali- 35 sehen Mittel dazu. Im ||32| dritten Dienstjahr mag das ewige Einpauken absolutistischer Lehren und die Gewohnheit des Gehorchens momentan und für die Dauer des Dienstes bei den Soldaten etwas fruchten. Im dritten Dienstjahr, wo der einzelne Soldat fast nichts Militärisches mehr zu lernen hat, nähert sich unser allgemeiner Wehrpflichtiger schon einiger Maßen 40 dem auf lange Jahre eingestellten Soldaten des französisch-österreichischen Systems. Er bekommt etwas vom Berufssoldaten, und ist als solcher in al-

len Fällen weit leichter zu verwenden, als der jüngere Soldat. Die Entfernung der Leute im dritten Dienstjahre würde die Einstellung von 60-80000 Mann mehr sicher aufwiegen, wenn man vom Staatsstreich-Gesichtspunkte ausgeht.

Nun aber kommt noch ein anderer, und der entscheidende Punkt dazu. 5
Wir wollen nicht läugnen, daß Verhältnisse eintreten könnten - dazu kennen wir unsere Bourgeoisie zu gut - unter denen selbst ohne Mobilisirung, mit dem einfachen Friedensstand der Armee ein Staatsstreich dennoch möglich wäre. Das ist aber nicht wahrscheinlich. Um einen großen Coup zu machen, wird man fast immer mobil machen müssen. Und da tritt die 10
Wendung ein. Die preußische Friedensarmee mag unter Umständen ein reines Werkzeug in den Händen der Regierung, zur Verwendung im Innern, werden; die preußische Kriegerarmee sicher nie. Wer je Gelegenheit hatte, ein Bataillon erst auf Friedensfuß und dann auf Kriegsfuß zu sehen, kennt den ungeheuren Unterschied in der ganzen Haltung der Leute, im 15
Charakter der ganzen Masse. Die Leute, die als halbe Knaben in die Armee eingetreten waren, kommen jetzt als Männer wieder zu ihr zurück; sie bringen einen Vorrath von Selbstachtung, Selbstvertrauen, Sicherheit und Charakter mit, der dem ganzen Bataillon zu Gute kommt. Das Verhältniß der Leute zu den Offizieren, der Offiziere zu den Leuten, wird gleich ein 20
anderes. Das Bataillon gewinnt militärisch ganz bedeutend, aber politisch wird es - ||33| für absolutistische Zwecke - völlig unzuverlässig. Das konnte man noch beim Einmarsch in Schleswig sehen, wo zum großen Erstaunen der englischen Zeitungscorrespondenten die preußischen Soldaten überall an den politischen Demonstrationen offen theilnahmen und ihre 25 U
durchaus nicht orthodoxen Gesinnungen ungescheut aussprachen. Und dies Resultat - die politische Verderbniß der mobilen Armee für absolutistische Zwecke - verdanken wir hauptsächlich der Manteuffel'schen Zeit und der „neuesten“ Aera. Im Jahre 1848 war es noch ganz anders.

Das ist eben eine der besten Seiten an der preußischen Wehrverfassung, 30
vor wie nach der Reorganisation: daß mit *dieser* Wehrverfassung Preußen weder einen unpopulären Krieg führen, noch einen Staatsstreich machen kann, der Dauer verspricht. Denn selbst wenn die Friedensarmee sich zu einem kleinen Staatsstreich gebrauchen ließe, so würde doch die erste Mobilmachung und die erste Kriegsgefahr genügen, um die ganzen „Errun- 35
genschaften“ wieder in Frage zu stellen. Ohne die Ratifikation der Kriegerarmee wären die Heldenthaten der Friedensarmee beim „innern Düppel“ von nur kurzer Bedeutung; und diese Ratifikation wird je länger je schwerer zu erlangen sein. Reaktionäre Blätter haben gegenüber den Kammern die „Armee“ für die wahre Volksvertretung erklärt. Sie meinten damit natürlich nur die Offiziere. Wenn es je dahin käme, daß die Herren von der 40

Kreuzzeitung einen Staatsstreich machten, wozu sie die *mobile* Armee nöthig haben, sie würden ihr blaues Wunder erleben an dieser Volksvertretung, darauf können sie sich verlassen.

Darin aber liegt am Ende auch nicht die Hauptgarantie gegen den
5 Staatsstreich. Die liegt darin: daß keine Regierung, durch einen Staatsstreich, eine Kammer zusammenbringen kann, die ihr neue Steuern und Anleihen bewilligt; und daß, selbst ||34| wenn sie eine dazu willige Kammer fertig brächte, kein Banquier in Europa ihr auf solche Kammerbeschlüsse hin Kredit geben würde. In den meisten europäischen Staaten
10 wäre das anders. Aber Preußen steht nun einmal seit den Versprechungen von 1815 und den vielen vergeblichen Manövern bis 1848, Geld zu bekommen, in dem Rufe, daß man ihm ohne rechtsgültigen und unantastbaren Kammerbeschluß keinen Pfennig borgen darf. Selbst Herr Raphael von Erlanger, der doch den amerikanischen Conföderirten geborgt hat, würde
15 einer preußischen Staatsstreich-Regierung schwerlich baares Geld anvertrauen. Das hat Preußen einzig und allein der Bornirtheit des Absolutismus zu verdanken.

Hierin liegt die Stärke der Bourgeoisie: daß die Regierung, wenn sie in Geldnoth kommt - und das muß sie früher oder später sicher - genöthigt
20 ist, *selbst sich an die Bourgeoisie um Geld zu wenden*, und diesmal nicht an die politische Repräsentation der Bourgeoisie, die am Ende weiß, daß sie zum Bezahlen da ist, sondern an die hohe Finanz, die an der Regierung ein gutes Geschäft machen will, die die Kreditfähigkeit einer Regierung an demselben Maßstabe mißt wie die jedes Privatmannes, und der es total
25 gleichgültig ist, ob der preußische Staat viel oder wenig Soldaten braucht. Diese Herren discontiren nur Wechsel mit drei Unterschriften, und wenn neben der Regierung nur das Herrenhaus, ohne das Abgeordnetenhaus, darauf unterschrieben hat, oder ein Abgeordnetenhaus von Strohmännern, so sehen sie das für Wechselreiterei an und danken für das Geschäft.

30 Hier hört die Militärfrage auf, und die Verfassungsfrage fängt an. Einerlei, durch welche Fehler und Verwickelungen, die bürgerliche Opposition ist jetzt einmal in die Stellung gedrängt: sie muß die Militärfrage durchfechten, oder sie verliert den Rest von politischer Macht, den sie noch besitzt. Die Regie||35|rung hat bereits ihr ganzes Budgetbewilligungsrecht in
35 Frage gestellt. Wenn nun die Regierung früher oder später doch ihren Frieden mit der Kammer machen *muß*, ist es da nicht die beste Politik, einfach auszuharren, bis dieser Zeitpunkt eintritt?

Nachdem der Conflict einmal soweit getrieben, - unbedingt - ja. Ob mit dieser Regierung auf annehmbare Grundlagen ein Abkommen zu
40 schließen, ist mehr als zweifelhaft. Die Bourgeoisie hat sich durch Ueberschätzung ihrer eigenen Kräfte in die Lage versetzt, daß sie an dieser Mili-

tärfrage erproben muß, ob sie im Staate das entscheidende Moment, oder gar nichts ist. Siegt sie, so erobert sie zugleich die Macht, Minister ab- und einzusetzen, wie das englische Unterhaus sie besitzt. Unterliegt sie, so kommt sie auf verfassungsmäßigem Wege nie mehr zu irgend welcher Bedeutung.

Aber der kennt unsre deutschen Bürger schlecht, der der Ansicht wäre, daß eine solche Ausdauer zu erwarten steht. Die Courage der Bourgeoisie in politischen Dingen steht immer in genauem Verhältniß zu der Wichtigkeit, die sie in dem gegebenen Land in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft einnimmt. In Deutschland ist die soziale Macht der Bourgeoisie weit geringer als in England und selbst in Frankreich; sie hat sich weder mit der alten Aristokratie alliirt wie in England, noch diese mit Hülfe der Bauern und Arbeiter vernichtet wie in Frankreich. Die Feudalaristokratie ist in Deutschland noch immer eine Macht, eine der Bourgeoisie feindliche und obendrein mit den Regierungen verbündete Macht. Die Fabrik-Industrie, die Basis aller sozialen Macht der modernen Bourgeoisie, ist in Deutschland weit weniger entwickelt als in Frankreich und England, so enorm auch ihre Fortschritte seit 1848 sind. Die kolossalen Kapitalansammlungen in einzelnen Händen, die in England und selbst Frankreich häufig vorkommen, sind in Deutschland seltener. Daher ||36| kommt der kleinbürgerliche Charakter unserer ganzen Bourgeoisie. Die Verhältnisse, in denen sie lebt, die Gesichtskreise, die sie sich bilden kann, sind kleinlicher Art; was Wunder daß ihre ganze Denkweise ebenso kleinlich ist! Woher soll da der Muth kommen, eine Sache bis aufs Aeüßerste durchzufechten? Die preußische Bourgeoisie weiß sehr gut, in welcher Abhängigkeit sie, für ihre eigne industrielle Thätigkeit, von der Regierung steht. Conzessionen und Verwaltungscontrole drücken wie ein Alp auf sie. Bei jeder neuen Unternehmung kann die Regierung ihr Schwierigkeiten in den Weg legen. Und nun gar auf dem politischen Gebiet! Während des Konflikts über die Militärfrage kann die Bourgeoiskammer nur verneinend auftreten, sie ist rein auf die Defensive verwiesen; indessen geht die Regierung angreifend vor, interpretirt die Verfassung auf ihre Weise, maßregelt die liberalen Beamten, annullirt die liberalen städtischen Wahlen, setzt alle Hebel der bürokratischen Gewalt in Bewegung, um den Bürgern ihren Unterthanenstandpunkt klar zu machen, nimmt thatsächlich eine Position nach der andern, und erobert sich so eine Stellung, wie sie selbst Manteuffel nicht hatte. Inzwischen geht das budgetlose Geldausgeben und Steuer-Erheben seinen ruhigen Gang, und die Armee-Reorganisation gewinnt mit jedem Jahr ihres Bestehens neue Stärke. Kurz, der in Aussicht stehende endliche Sieg der Bourgeoisie erhält von Jahr zu Jahr einen revolutionärerem Charakter, und die täglich sich mehrenden Detailsiege der Regierung auf allen

Gebieten erhalten mehr und mehr die Gestalt vollendeter Thatsachen. Dazu kommt eine von Bourgeoisie wie Regierung vollständig unabhängige Arbeiterbewegung, die die Bourgeoisie zwingt, entweder den Arbeitern sehr fatale Konzessionen zu machen, oder gefaßt zu sein, im entscheidenden Augenblick ohne die Arbeiter agiren zu müssen. Sollte die preußische Bourgeoisie unter diesen Umständen den Muth haben, auszuharren bis aufs j|37| Aeüßerste? Sie müßte sich seit 1848 wunderbar verbessert haben - in ihrem eignen Sinn - und die Compromißsehnsucht, die sich in der Fortschrittspartei seit Eröffnung dieser Session tagtäglich ausseufzt, spricht nicht dafür. Wir fürchten, die Bourgeoisie wird auch diesmal keinen Anstand nehmen, sich selbst zu verrathen. |

|38| III.

„Welches ist nun die Stellung der Arbeiterpartei zu dieser Armee-Reorganisation und zu dem daraus entstandenen Konflikt zwischen Regierung und bürgerlicher Opposition?“

Die arbeitende Klasse gebraucht zur vollen Entfaltung ihrer politischen Thätigkeit ein weit größeres Feld als es die Einzelstaaten des heutigen zersplitterten Deutschlands darbieten. Die Vielstaaterei wird für das Proletariat ein Bewegungs-Hinderniß sein, aber nie eine berechnete Existenz, ein Gegenstand des ernsthaften Denkens. Das deutsche Proletariat wird nie sich mit Reichsverfassungen, preußischen Spitzen, Trias und dergleichen befassen, außer um damit aufzuräumen; die Frage, wie viel Soldaten der preußische Staat braucht, um als Großmacht fortzuvegetiren, ist ihm gleichgültig. Ob die Militärlast durch die Reorganisation sich etwas vermehrt oder nicht, wird der Arbeiterklasse, *als Klasse*, wenig ausmachen. Dagegen ist es ihr durchaus nicht gleichgültig, ob die allgemeine Wehrpflicht vollständig durchgeführt wird oder nicht. Je mehr Arbeiter in den Waffen geübt werden, desto besser. Die allgemeine Wehrpflicht ist die nothwendige und natürliche Ergänzung des allgemeinen Stimmrechts; sie setzt die Stimmenden in den Stand, ihre Beschlüsse gegen alle Staatsstreich-Versuche mit den Waffen in der Hand durchzusetzen. |

|39| Die mehr und mehr conséquente Durchführung der allgemeinen Wehrpflicht ist der einzige Punkt, der die Arbeiterklasse Deutschlands an der preußischen Armee-Reorganisation interessirt.

35 Wichtiger ist die Frage: wie sich die Arbeiterpartei zu stellen hat bei dem daraus entstandenen Konflikt zwischen Regierung und Kammer?

Der moderne Arbeiter, der Proletarier, ist ein Produkt der großen industriellen Revolution, welche namentlich in den letzten hundert Jahren in

allen, civilisirten Ländern die ganze Produktionsweise, zuerst der Industrie und nachher auch des Ackerbaus, total umgewälzt hat, und in Folge deren an der Produktion nur noch zwei Klassen betheiligt sind: die der Kapitalisten, welche sich im Besitz der Arbeitshilfsmittel, der Rohmaterialien und der Lebensmittel befinden, und die der Arbeiter, welche weder Arbeitshilfsmittel, noch Rohmaterialien, noch Lebensmittel besitzen, sondern sich diese letzteren mit ihrer Arbeit von den Kapitalisten erst kaufen müssen. Der moderne Proletarier hat also direkt nur mit *einer* Gesellschaftsklasse zu thun, die ihm feindlich gegenübersteht, ihn ausbeutet; mit der Klasse der Kapitalisten, der Bourgeois. In Ländern, wo diese industrielle Revolution vollständig durchgeführt ist, wie in England, hat der Arbeiter wirklich auch nur mit Kapitalisten zu thun, denn auch auf dem Lande ist der große Gutspächter nichts als ein Kapitalist; der Aristokrat, der nur die Grundrente seiner Besitzungen verzehrt, hat mit dem Arbeiter absolut keine gesellschaftlichen Berührungspunkte.

Anders in Ländern, wo diese industrielle Revolution erst in der Durchführung begriffen ist, wie in Deutschland. Hier sind aus den früheren feudalen und nachfeudalen Zuständen noch eine Menge gesellschaftlicher Elemente haften geblieben, welche, um uns so auszudrücken, das gesellschaftliche Mittel (medium) ||40| trüben, dem sozialen Zustand Deutschlands jenen einfachen, klaren, klassischen Charakter nehmen, der den Entwicklungsstand Englands auszeichnet. Wir finden hier in einer sich täglich mehr modernisirenden Atmosphäre und unter ganz modernen Kapitalisten und Arbeitern die wunderbarsten vorsündfluthlichen Fossilien lebendig umherwandeln: Feudalherren, Patrimonialgerichte, Krautjunker, Stockprügel, Regierungsräthe, Landräthe, Innungen, Kompetenzkonflikte, Verwaltungsstrafmacht u. s. w. Und wir finden, daß im Kampf um die politische Macht alle diese lebenden Fossilien sich zusammenschaaren gegen die Bourgeoisie, die, durch ihren Besitz die mächtigste Klasse der neuen Epoche, im Namen der neuen Epoche ihnen die politische Herrschaft abverlangt.

Außer der Bourgeoisie und dem Proletariat produciti die moderne große Industrie noch eine Art Zwischenklasse zwischen Beiden, das Kleinbürgerthum. Dies besteht theils aus den Resten des früheren halbmittelalterlichen Pfahlbürgerthums, theils aus etwas emporgekommenen Arbeitern. Es findet seine Stellung weniger in der Produktion als in der Vertheilung der Waaren; der Detailhandel ist sein Hauptfach. Während das alte Pfahlbürgerthum die stabilste, ist das moderne Kleinbürgerthum die am meisten wechselnde Klasse der Gesellschaft; der Bankerott ist bei ihm eine Institution geworden. Es nimmt Theil durch seinen kleinen Kapitalbesitz an der Lebenslage der Bourgeoisie, durch die Unsicherheit seiner Existenz an der

des Proletariats. Widerspruchsvoll wie sein gesellschaftliches Dasein ist seine politische Stellung; im Allgemeinen jedoch ist die „reine Demokratie“ sein korrektester Ausdruck. Sein politischer Beruf ist der, die Bourgeoisie in ihrem Kampf gegen die Reste der alten Gesellschaft und namentlich gegen ihre eigene Schwäche und Feigheit voranzutreiben und diejenigen Freiheiten erkämpfen zu helfen, - Preßfreiheit, Vereins- und Versammlungsfreiheit, allgemeines Wahlrecht, lokale Selbstregierung - |41| ohne welche, trotz ihrer bürgerlichen Natur, eine schüchterne Bourgeoisie wohl fertig werden kann, ohne welche die Arbeiter aber nie ihre Emancipation erobern können.

Im Laufe des Kampfes zwischen den Resten der alten, vorsündfluthlichen Gesellschaft und der Bourgeoisie kommt überall irgend einmal der Moment, wo beide Kämpfenden sich an das Proletariat wenden und seine Unterstützung nachsuchen. Dieser Moment fällt gewöhnlich mit demjenigen zusammen, in dem die Arbeiterklasse selbst anfängt, sich zu regen. Die feudalen und bürokratischen Repräsentanten der untergehenden Gesellschaft rufen den Arbeitern zu, mit ihnen auf die Aussauger, die Kapitalisten, die einzigen Feinde des Arbeiters loszuschlagen; die Bourgeois weisen die Arbeiter darauf hin, daß sie beide zusammen die neue Gesellschaftsepoche repräsentiren und daher jedenfalls der untergehenden *alten* Gesellschaftsform gegenüber gleiches Interesse haben. Um diese Zeit kommt dann die Arbeiterklasse allmählig zum Bewußtsein, daß sie eine eigene Klasse mit eigenen Interessen und mit einer eigenen unabhängigen Zukunft ist; und damit kommt die Frage, die nach einander in England, in Frankreich und in Deutschland sich aufgedrängt hat: wie hat sich die Arbeiterpartei gegenüber den Kämpfenden zu stellen?

Dies wird vor Allem davon abhängen, was die Arbeiterpartei, d.h. derjenige Theil der arbeitenden Klasse, welcher zum Bewußtsein der gemeinsamen Interessen der Klasse gekommen ist, im Interesse der Klasse für Ziele erstrebt?

Soweit bekannt, stellen die avancirtesten Arbeiter in Deutschland die Forderung: Emancipation der Arbeiter von den Kapitalisten durch Uebertragung von Staats-Kapital an associirte Arbeiter, zum Betrieb der Produktion für gemeinsame Rechnung und ohne Kapitalisten, und als Mittel zur Durchsetzung dieses |42| Zwecks: Eroberung der politischen Macht durch das allgemeine direkte Wahlrecht.

Soviel ist nun klar: Weder die feudal-bürokratische Partei, die man kurzweg die *Reaktion* zu nennen pflegt, noch die liberal-radikale Bourgeoispartei wird geneigt sein, diese Forderungen freiwillig zuzugestehen. Nun wird aber das Proletariat eine Macht von dem Augenblick an, wo sich eine selbstständige Arbeiterpartei bildet, und mit einer Macht muß man

rechnen. Beide feindliche Parteien wissen das und werden also im gegebenen Augenblicke geneigt sein, den Arbeitern scheinbare oder wirkliche Concessionen zu machen. Auf welcher Seite können die Arbeiter die größten Zugeständnisse erwirken?

Der reaktionären Partei ist bereits die Existenz von Bourgeois und Proletariern ein Dorn im Auge. Ihre Macht beruht darauf, daß die moderne gesellschaftliche Entwicklung wieder todt gemacht oder wenigstens gehemmt werde. Sonst verwandeln sich allmählig alle besitzenden Klassen in Kapitalisten, alle unterdrückten Klassen in Proletarier, und damit verschwindet die reaktionäre Partei von selbst. Die Reaktion will, wenn sie consequent ist, allerdings das Proletariat aufheben, aber nicht dadurch, daß sie zur Association fortschreitet, sondern indem sie die modernen Proletarier wieder in Zunftgesellen und ganz oder halb leibeigene bäuerliche Hintersassen zurückverwandelt. Ist unsern Proletariern mit einer solchen Verwandlung gedient? Wünschen sie sich wieder unter die väterliche Zucht des Zunftmeisters und des „gnädigen Herrn“ zurück, wenn so etwas möglich wäre? Sicherlich nicht. Es ist ja gerade erst die Lostrennung der arbeitenden Klasse von all dem früheren Scheinbesitz und den Scheinprivilegien, die Herstellung des nackten Gegensatzes zwischen Kapital und Arbeit, die überhaupt die Existenz einer einzigen großen Arbeiterklasse mit gemeinsamen Interessen, einer Arbeiterbewegung, einer Arbeiterpartei möglich gemacht hat. Und dazu ist eine solche Zurückschraubung der Geschichte eine reine Unmöglichkeit. Die Dampfmaschinen, die mechanischen Spinn- und Webstühle, die Dampfpflüge und Dreschmaschinen, die Eisenbahnen und elektrischen Telegraphen und die Dampfpressen der Gegenwart lassen keinen solchen absurden Rückschritt zu, im Gegentheil, sie vernichten allmählig und unerbittlich alle Reste feudaler und zünftiger Zustände und lösen alle von früher überkommenen kleinen gesellschaftlichen Gegensätze auf in den einen weltgeschichtlichen Gegensatz von Kapital und Arbeit.

Dagegen hat die Bourgeoisie gar keine andere geschichtliche Stellung, als die erwähnten riesenhaften Produktivkräfte und Verkehrsmittel der modernen Gesellschaft nach allen Seiten hin zu vermehren und aufs Höchste zu steigern, durch ihre Credit-Associationen auch die Produktionsmittel, welche aus früheren Zeiten mit überliefert sind, namentlich den Grundbesitz, sich in die Hände zu spielen, alle Produktionszweige mit modernen Hilfsmitteln zu betreiben, alle Reste feudaler Produktionen und feudaler Verhältnisse zu vernichten, und so die ganze Gesellschaft zurückzuführen auf den einfachen Gegensatz einer Klasse von Kapitalisten und einer Klasse von besitzlosen Arbeitern. In demselben Maße, wie diese Vereinfachung der gesellschaftlichen Klassengegensätze stattfindet, wächst die

Deutscher Bundestag
tato»*»

Die preußische Militärfrage und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei · III

Macht der Bourgeoisie, aber in noch größerem Maße wächst auch die Macht, das Klassenbewußtsein, die Siegesfähigkeit des Proletariats; nur durch diese Machtvergrößerung der Bourgeoisie bringt es das Proletariat allmählig dahin, die Majorität, die überwiegende Majorität im Staate zu
5 werden, wie es dies in England bereits ist, aber noch keineswegs in Deutschland, wo Bauern aller Art auf dem Lande und kleine Meister, Kleinkrämer u. s. w. in den Städten ihm noch die Stange halten.

Also: Jeder Sieg der Reaktion hemmt die gesellschaftliche ||44| Entwicklung, entfernt unfehlbar den Zeitpunkt, wo die Arbeiter siegen kön-
10 nen. Jeder Sieg der Bourgeoisie über die Reaktion dagegen ist nach einer Seite hin zugleich ein Sieg der Arbeiter, trägt zum endlichen Sturz der Kapitalistenherrschaft bei, rückt den Zeitpunkt näher heran, wo die Arbeiter über die Bourgeoisie siegen werden.

Man nehme die Stellung der deutschen Arbeiterpartei 1848 und jetzt. Es
15 gibt in Deutschland noch Veteranen genug, die an den ersten Anfängen der Gründung einer deutschen Arbeiterpartei vor 1848 mitgewirkt, die nach der Revolution an ihrem Ausbau halfen, so lange die Zeitverhältnisse es erlaubten. Sie Alle wissen, welche Mühe es kostete, selbst in jenen aufgeregten Zeiten eine Arbeiterbewegung zu Stande zu bringen, sie im
20 Gange zu halten, reaktionär-zunftmäßige Elemente zu entfernen und wie die ganze Sache nach ein paar Jahren wieder einschlieft. Wenn jetzt eine Arbeiterbewegung so zu sagen von selbst entstanden ist, woher kommt das? Daher, weil seit 1848 die große Bourgeois-Industrie in Deutschland unerhörte Fortschritte gemacht, weil sie eine Masse kleiner Meister und
25 sonstiger Zwischenleute zwischen dem Arbeiter und dem Kapitalisten vernichtet, eine Masse Arbeiter in direkten Gegensatz zum Kapitalisten gestellt, kurz ein bedeutendes Proletariat da geschaffen hat, wo es früher nicht oder nur in geringem Maße bestand. Eine Arbeiterpartei und Arbeiterbewegung ist durch diese industrielle Entwicklung eine Nothwendig-
30 keit geworden.

Damit ist nicht gesagt, daß nicht Momente eintreten können, wo es der Reaktion gerathen erscheint, den Arbeitern Concessionen zu machen. Aber diese Concessionen sind stets ganz eigener Art. Sie sind nie politischer Natur. Die feudal-bureaukratische Reaktion wird weder das Stimm-
35 recht ausdehnen, noch die Presse, das Vereins- und Versammlungsrecht befreien, noch die Macht der Bureaukratie beschränken. ||45| Die Concessionen, die sie macht, sind stets direkt gegen die Bourgeoisie gerichtet und der Art, daß sie die politische Macht der Arbeiter durchaus nicht vermehren. So wurde in England das Zehnstunden Gesetz für die Fabrikarbeiter
40 gegen den Willen der Fabrikanten durchgeführt. So wäre von der Regierung in Preußen die genaue Einhaltung der Vorschriften über die Arbeits-

zeit in den Fabriken - welche jetzt nur auf dem Papier bestehen - ferner das Coalitionsrecht der Arbeiter u.s.w. zu fordern und möglicher Weise zu erlangen. Aber es ist bei allen diesen Concessionen von Seiten der Reaction [feststehend, daß sie erlangt werden ohne irgend einen Gegendienst von Seiten der Arbeiter, und mit Recht, denn indem die Reaction den 5 Bourgeois das Leben sauer macht, hat sie schon ihren Zweck erreicht, und die Arbeiter sind ihr keinen Dank schuldig, danken ihr auch nie.

Nun gibt es noch eine Art von Reaction, welche in letzter Zeit großen Erfolg gehabt hat und bei gewissen Leuten sehr in Mode kommt; es ist die Art, welche man heutzutage Bonapartismus nennt. Der Bonapartismus ist 10 die nothwendige Staatsform in einem Lande, wo die Arbeiterklasse, auf einer hohen Stufe ihrer Entwicklung in den Städten, aber an Zahl überwogen von den kleinen Bauern auf dem Lande, in einem großen revolutionären Kampf von der Kapitalistenklasse, dem Kleinbürgerthum und der Armee besiegt worden ist. Als in Frankreich in dem Riesenkampfe vom Juni 15 1848 die Pariser Arbeiter besiegt waren, hatte sich zugleich die Bourgeoisie an diesem Siege vollständig erschöpft. Sie war sich bewußt, keinen zweiten solchen Sieg ertragen zu können. Sie herrschte noch dem Namen nach, aber sie war zu schwach zur Herrschaft. An die Spitze trat die Armee, der eigentliche Sieger, gestützt auf die Klasse, aus der sie sich vorzugsweise re- 20 krutirte, die kleinen Bauern, welche Ruhe haben wollten vor den Städtekrawallern. Die Form dieser Herrschaft war selbstredend der militärische Despotismus, ihr natürlicher Chef, der angestammte Erbe desselben, Louis Bonaparte.

Gegenüber den Arbeitern wie den Kapitalisten zeichnet sich der Bona- 25 partismus dadurch aus, daß er sie verhindert auf einander loszuschlagen. Das heißt, er schützt die Bourgeoisie vor gewaltsamen Angriffen der Arbeiter, begünstigt ein kleines friedliches Plänkelgefecht zwischen beiden Klassen, und entzieht im Uebrigen den Einen wie den Andern jede Spur politischer Macht. Kein Vereinsrecht, kein Versammlungsrecht, keine 30 Preßfreiheit; ein allgemeines Wahlrecht unter solchem bureaukratischen Druck, daß Oppositionswahlen fast unmöglich sind; eine Polizeiwirtschaft, wie sie selbst in dem polizirten Frankreich bisher unerhört war. Daneben wird ein Theil der Bourgeoisie wie der Arbeiter direkt *gekauft*; der eine durch colossale Creditswindeleien, wodurch das Geld der kleinen 35

Kapitalisten in die Tasche der großen gelockt wird; der andere durch colossale Staatsbauten, die neben dem natürlichen, selbstständigen Proletariat ein künstliches, imperialistisches, von der Regierung abhängiges Proletariat in den großen Städten concentriren. Endlich wird dem Nationalstolz geschmeichelt durch scheinbar heroische Kriege, die aber stets mit hoher 40 obrigkeitlicher Erlaubniß Europas gegen den jeweiligen allgemeinen Sün-

denbock geführt werden, und nur unter solchen Bedingungen, daß der Sieg von vorn herein gesichert ist.

Das Höchste, was unter einer solchen Regierung für die Arbeiter wie für die Bourgeoisie herauskommt, ist, daß sie sich vom Kampfe ausruhen, daß
5 die Industrie sich - unter sonst günstigen Umständen - stark entwickelt, daß also die Elemente eines neuen und heftigeren Kampfes sich ausbilden, und daß dieser Kampf ausbricht, sobald das Bedürfniß eines solchen Ruhepunktes nicht mehr existirt. Es wäre die höchste Höhe der Thorheit, mehr zu erwarten für die Arbeiter von einer Regierung, ||47| die gerade bloß dazu
10 existirt, die Arbeiter gegenüber der Bourgeoisie im Zaume zu halten. -

Kommen wir nun auf den uns speciell vorliegenden Fall. Was kann die Reaktion in Preußen der Arbeiterpartei bieten?

Kann diese Reaktion der Arbeiterklasse einen wirklichen Antheil an der politischen Macht bieten? - Unbedingt nein. Erstens ist es in der neueren
15 Geschichte, weder Englands noch Frankreichs, je vorgekommen, daß eine reaktionäre Regierung dies gethan hätte. Zweitens handelt es sich in dem gegenwärtigen Kampf in Preußen ja gerade darum, ob die Regierung alle wirkliche Macht in sich vereinigen, oder sie mit dem Parlament theilen soll. Und die Regierung wird wahrlich nicht alle Mittel aufbieten, der
20 Bourgeoisie die Macht zu entreißen, bloß um diese Macht nachher dem Proletariat zu schenken!

Die Feudalaristokratie und die Bureaukratie können ihre wirkliche Macht in Preußen behalten auch ohne parlamentarische Vertretung. Ihre traditionelle Stellung am Hof, in der Armee, im Beamtenthum garantirt
25 ihnen diese Macht. Sie dürfen sogar keine besondere Vertretung wünschen, denn Adels- und Beamtenkammern, wie Manteuffel sie hatte, sind heutzutage auf die Dauer in Preußen doch unmöglich. Sie wünschen daher auch die ganze Kammerwirthschaft zum Teufel.

Dagegen können Bourgeoisie und Arbeiter eine wirkliche geregelte politische Macht nur durch parlamentarische Vertretung ausüben; und diese parlamentarische Vertretung ist nur dann etwas werth, wenn sie mitzureden und mitzubeschließen hat, mit andern Worten, wenn sie „den Knopf auf dem Beutel“ halten kann. Das ist ja aber gerade, was Bismarck eingestandener Maßen verhindern will. Wir fragen: ist es das Interesse der Arbeiter,
30 beiter, daß dies Parlament aller Macht beraubt werde, dies Parlament, in das sie selbst durch Erringung des allgemeinen direkten Wahlrechts einzutreten und worin sie einst die Majorität ||48| zu bilden hoffen? Ist es ihr Interesse, alle Hebel der Agitation in Bewegung zu setzen, um in eine Versammlung zu kommen, die schließlich doch nichts zu sagen hat?
40 Sicherlich nicht.

Wenn nun aber die Regierung das bestehende Wahlgesetz umstieße,

und das allgemeine direkte Wahlrecht octroyirte? Ja, *wenn!* Wenn die Regierung einen solchen Bonapartistischen Streich machte, und die Arbeiter gingen darauf ein, so hätten sie ja damit schon von vorn herein der Regierung das Recht zuerkannt, durch eine neue Octroyirung, sobald es ihr beliebte, das allgemeine direkte Wahlrecht auch wieder aufzuheben, und was wäre da das ganze allgemeine direkte Wahlrecht werth? 5

Wenn die Regierung das allgemeine direkte Wahlrecht oktroyirte, so würde sie es von vornherein so verklausuliren, daß es eben kein allgemeines direktes Wahlrecht mehr wäre.

Und was selbst das allgemeine direkte Wahlrecht angeht, so braucht man nur nach Frankreich zu gehen, um sich zu überzeugen, welche zahmen Wahlen man damit zu Stande bringen kann, sobald man eine zahlreiche stupide Landbevölkerung, eine wohlorganisirte Bureaukratie, eine gut gemaßregelte Presse, durch Polizei hinreichend niedergehaltene Vereine, und gar keine politischen Versammlungen hat. Wie viel Vertreter der Arbeiter bringt denn das allgemeine direkte Stimmrecht in die französische Kammer? Und doch hat das französische Proletariat vor dem deutschen eine weit größere Konzentration und eine längere Erfahrung im Kampf und in der Organisation voraus. 10 I

Dies bringt uns noch auf einen andern Punkt. In Deutschland ist die Landbevölkerung doppelt so stark wie die Städtebevölkerung, d. h. es leben % vom Ackerbau, % von der Industrie. Und da der große Grundbesitz in Deutschland die Regel, und der kleine Parzellenbauer die Ausnahme ist, so heißt das mit andern Worten: daß wenn % der Arbeiter ||49| unter dem Kommando des Kapitalisten stehn, so Stenn % unter dem Kommando des Feudalherrn. Die Leute, welche in einem fort über die Kapitalisten herfallen, aber gegen die Feudalen kein Wörtchen des Zorns haben, mögen sich dies zu Gemüthe führen. Die Feudalen beuten in Deutschland doppelt so viel Arbeiter aus wie die Bourgeois; sie sind in Deutschland ganz ebenso direkte Gegner der Arbeiter wie die Kapitalisten. Das ist aber noch lange nicht Alles. Die patriarchalische Wirthschaft auf den alten Feudalgütern bringt eine angestammte Abhängigkeit des ländlichen Tagelöhners oder Häuslers von seinem „gnädigen Herrn“ zu Wege, die dem Ackerbauproletarier den Eintritt in die Bewegung der städtischen Arbeiter sehr erschwert. Die Pfaffen, die systematische Verdummung auf dem Lande, der schlechte Schulunterricht, die Abgeschlossenheit der Leute von aller Welt, thun den Rest. Das Ackerbauproletariat ist derjenige Theil der Arbeiterklasse, dem seine eignen Interessen, seine eigne gesellschaftliche Stellung am schwersten und am letzten klar werden, mit andern Worten, derjenige Theil, der am längsten ein bewußtloses Werkzeug in der Hand der ihn ausbeutenden, bevorzugten Klasse bleibt. Und welche Klasse ist dies? In Deutschland, 20 | f % % 25 j '. -| 30 35 ... I 40

nicht die Bourgeoisie, sondern der *Feudaladel*. Nun hat selbst in Frankreich, wo doch fast nur freie grundbesitzende Bauern existieren, wo der Feudaladel aller politischen Macht längst beraubt ist, das allgemeine Stimmrecht die Arbeiter nicht in die Kammer gebracht, sondern sie fast ganz
5 davon ausgeschlossen. Was würde das Resultat des allgemeinen Stimmrechts in Deutschland sein, wo der Feudaladel noch eine wirkliche soziale und politische Macht ist, und wo zwei Ackerbautagelöhner auf einen industriellen Arbeiter kommen? Die Bekämpfung der feudalen und bürokratischen Reaktion - denn beide sind bei uns jetzt untrennbar - ist in
10 Deutschland gleichbedeutend mit dem Kampf für ||50| geistige und politische Emancipation des Landproletariats - und solange das Landproletariat nicht in die Bewegung mit hineingerissen wird, solange kann und wird das städtische Proletariat in Deutschland nicht das Geringste ausrichten, solange ist das allgemeine direkte Wahlrecht für das Proletariat keine Waffe,
15 sondern ein *Fallstrick*.

Vielleicht wird diese sehr offenherzige, aber nöthige Auseinandersetzung die Feudalen ermutigen, für das allgemeine directe Wahlrecht aufzutreten. Um so besser.

Oder sollte die Regierung nur deswegen die Presse, das Vereinsrecht, das
20 Versammlungsrecht der bürgerlichen Opposition gegenüber verkümmern (wenn überhaupt an den jetzigen Zuständen noch viel zu verkümmern ist), um den Arbeitern ein Geschenk mit einer freien Presse, freiem Vereins- und Versammlungsrecht zu machen? In der That, geht nicht die Arbeiterbewegung ruhig und ungestört ihren Gang?

Da liegt ja gerade der Hase im Pfeffer. Die Regierung *weiß*, und die Bourgeoisie weiß auch, daß die ganze jetzige deutsche Arbeiterbewegung nur *geduldet* ist, nur solange lebt, wie es der Regierung *beliebt*. Solange der Regierung damit gedient ist, daß diese Bewegung besteht, daß der bürgerlichen Opposition neue, unabhängige Gegner erwachsen, solange wird sie
30 diese Bewegung dulden. Von dem Augenblick an, wo diese Bewegung die Arbeiter zu einer selbstständigen Macht entwickelt, wo sie dadurch der Regierung gefährlich wird, hört die Sache sofort auf. Die Art und Weise, wie den Fortschrittlern die Agitation in Presse, Vereinen und Versammlungen gelegt worden ist, möge den Arbeitern zur Warnung dienen. Dieselben Ge-
35 setze, Verordnungen und Maßregeln, welche da in Anwendung gebracht worden sind, können jeden Tag gegen sie angewandt werden, und ihrer Agitation den Garaus machen; sie werden es, sobald diese Agitation gefährlich wird. Es ist von der höch||51|sten Wichtigkeit, daß die Arbeiter in diesem Punkte klar sehen, daß sie nicht derselben Täuschung verfallen wie
40 die Bourgeoisie unter der neuen Aera, wo sie ebenfalls nur *geduldet* war, aber bereits im Sattel zu sein glaubte. Und wenn Jemand sich einbilden

sollte, die jetzige Regierung würde die Presse, das Vereinsrecht und Versammlungsrecht von den jetzigen Fesseln befreien, so gehörte er eben zu den Leuten, mit denen nicht mehr zu sprechen ist. Und ohne Preßfreiheit, Vereins- und Versammlungsrecht ist keine Arbeiterbewegung möglich.

Die bestehende Regierung in Preußen ist nicht so einfältig, daß sie sich selbst den Hals abschneiden sollte. Und wenn es dahin käme, daß die Reaktion dem deutschen Proletariat einige politische Scheinkonzessionen hinwerfen sollte, um es damit zu ködern - dann wird hoffentlich das deutsche Proletariat antworten mit den stolzen Worten des alten Hildebrandsliedes: 5 10

Mit gêrû seal man geba infâhan, ort widar orte.

„Mit dem Speere soll man Gabe empfangen, Spitze gegen Spitze.“

Was die *sozialen* Konzessionen betrifft, die die Reaktion den Arbeitern machen könnte - Verkürzung der Arbeitszeit in den Fabriken, bessere Handhabung der Fabrikgesetze, Coalitionsrecht u.s.w. - so beweist die Erfahrung aller Länder, daß die Reaktion solche Anträge stellt, ohne daß die Arbeiter ihr das Geringste als Entgelt zu bieten haben. Die Reaktion hat die Arbeiter nöthig, die Arbeiter aber nicht die Reaktion. So lange die Arbeiter also in ihrer eignen selbstständigen Agitation auf diesen Punkten bestehen, so können sie darauf rechnen, daß der Moment eintreten wird, wo reaktionäre Elemente dieselben Forderungen aufstellen, bloß um die Bourgeoisie zu chicaniren; und damit gewinnen die Arbeiter Erfolge gegenüber der Bourgeoisie, ohne der Reaktion irgend welchen Dank schuldig zu sein. -1 15 20

[52] Wenn aber die Arbeiterpartei von der Reaktion Nichts zu erwarten hat, als kleine Konzessionen, die ihr ohnehin zufließen, ohne daß sie darum betteln zu gehen braucht - was hat sie dann von der bürgerlichen Opposition zu erwarten? 25

Wir haben gesehen, daß Bourgeoisie und Proletariat beides Kinder einer neuen Epoche sind, daß sie Beide in ihrer gesellschaftlichen Thätigkeit daraufhinarbeiten, die Reste des aus früherer Zeit überkommenen Gerumpels zu beseitigen. Sie haben zwar unter sich einen sehr ernsten Kampf auszumachen, aber dieser Kampf kann erst ausgefochten werden, wenn sie einander allein gegenüberstehen. Erst dadurch daß der alte Plunder über Bord fliegt, wird „klar Schiff zum Gefecht“ gemacht - nur daß diesmal das Gefecht nicht zwischen zwei Schiffen, sondern am Bord des Einen Schiffs, zwischen Offizieren und Mannschaft geschlagen wird. 30 35

Die Bourgeoisie kann ihre politische Herrschaft nicht erkämpfen, diese politische Herrschaft nicht in einer Verfassung und in Gesetzen ausdrücken, ohne gleichzeitig dem Proletariat Waffen in die Hand zu geben. Ge- 40

genüber den alten, durch Geburt unterschiedenen Ständen muß sie die Menschenrechte, gegenüber dem Zunftwesen die Handels- und Gewerbe-
 freiheit, gegenüber der bürokratischen Bevormundung die Freiheit und
 die Selbstregierung auf ihre Fahne schreiben. Consequenter Weise muß sie
 5 also das allgemeine direkte Wahlrecht, Preß-, Vereins- und Versammlungs-
 freiheit und Aufhebung aller Ausnahmsgesetze gegen einzelne Klassen der
 Bevölkerung verlangen. Dies ist aber auch Alles, was das Proletariat von ihr
 zu verlangen braucht. Es kann nicht fordern, daß die Bourgeoisie aufhöre
 Bourgeoisie zu sein, aber wohl daß sie ihre eigenen Prinzipien consequent
 10 durchführe. Damit bekommt das Proletariat aber auch alle die Waffen in
 die Hand, deren es zu seinem endlichen Siege bedarf. Mit der Preßfreiheit,
 dem Versammlungs- und Vereinsrechte ||53| erobert es sich das allgemeine
 Stimmrecht, mit dem allgemeinen direkten Stimmrecht, in Vereinigung
 mit den obigen Agitationsmitteln, alles Uebrige.

15 Es ist also das Interesse der Arbeiter, die Bourgeoisie in ihrem Kampfe
 gegen alle reaktionären Elemente zu unterstützen, *solange sie sich selbst treu
 bleibt*. Jede Eroberung, die die Bourgeoisie der Reaktion abzwingt, kommt,
 unter dieser Bedingung, der Arbeiterklasse schließlich zu gut. Diesen rich-
 tigen Instinkt haben die deutschen Arbeiter auch gehabt. Sie haben, mit
 20 vollem Recht, in allen deutschen Staaten, überall für die radikalsten Kan-
 didaten gestimmt, die Aussicht zum Durchkommen hatten.

Aber wenn nun die Bourgeoisie sich selbst untreu wird, ihre eigenen
 Klassen-Interessen und die daraus folgenden Prinzipien verräth?

Dann bleiben den Arbeitern zwei Wege übrig!

25 Entweder die Bourgeoisie gegen ihren Willen voranzutreiben, sie soweit
 möglich zu zwingen, das Wahlrecht auszudehnen, die Presse, die Vereine
 und Versammlungen zu befreien, und damit dem Proletariat ein Gebiet zu
 schaffen, auf dem es sich frei bewegen und sich organisiren kann. Dies ha-
 ben die englischen Arbeiter seit der Reformbill von 1832, die französi-
 30 sehen Arbeiter seit der Julirevolution 1830 gethan, und gerade durch und
 mit dieser Bewegung, deren nächste Ziele rein bürgerlicher Natur waren,
 ihre eigene Entwicklung und Organisation mehr als durch irgend ein ande-
 res Mittel gefördert. Dieser Fall wird immer eintreten, denn die Bourgeoi-
 sie, bei ihrem Mangel an politischem Muth, wird sich von Zeit zu Zeit
 35 überall untreu.

Oder aber, die Arbeiter ziehen sich ganz von der bürgerlichen Bewegung
 zurück und überlassen die Bourgeoisie ihrem Schicksale. Dieser Fall trat
 in England, Frankreich und Deutschland nach dem Scheitern der europä-
 ischen Arbeiterbewegung ||54| von 1848-50 ein. Er ist nur möglich nach
 40 gewaltsamen und momentanen fruchtlosen Anstrengungen, nach denen
 die Klasse Ruhe bedarf. Im gesunden Zustand der Arbeiterklasse ist er un-

möglich; er käme ja einer vollständigen politischen Abdankung gleich, und deren ist eine ihrer Natur nach muthige Klasse, eine Klasse, die Nichts zu verlieren und Alles zu gewinnen hat, auf die Dauer unfähig.

Selbst in dem äußersten Fall, daß die Bourgeoisie, aus Furcht vor den Arbeitern, sich unter der Schürze der Reaktion verkriechen, und an die Macht der ihr feindlichen Elemente um Schutz gegen die Arbeiter appelliren sollte - selbst dann wird der Arbeiterpartei nichts übrig bleiben, als die von den Bürgern verrathene Agitation für bürgerliche Freiheit, Preßfreiheit, Versammlungs- und Vereinsrecht trotz der Bürger fortzuführen. Ohne diese Freiheiten kann sie selbst sich nicht frei bewegen; sie kämpft in diesem Kampf für ihr eigenes Lebenselement, für die Luft, die sie zum Athmen nöthig hat.

Es versteht sich von selbst, daß in allen diesen Fällen die Arbeiterpartei nicht als der bloße Schwanz der Bourgeoisie, sondern als eine durchaus von ihr unterschiedene, selbstständige Partei auftreten wird. Sie wird der Bourgeoisie bei jeder Gelegenheit ins Gedächtniß rufen, daß die Klasseninteressen der Arbeiter denen der Kapitalisten direkt entgegengesetzt, und daß die Arbeiter sich dessen bewußt sind. Sie wird ihre eigene Organisation gegenüber der Parteiorganisation der Bourgeoisie festhalten und fortbilden, und mit der letzteren nur unterhandeln wie eine Macht mit der andern. Auf diese Weise wird sie sich eine achtungsgebietende Stellung sichern, die einzelnen Arbeiter über ihre Klasseninteressen aufklären, und bei dem nächsten revolutionären Sturm - und diese Stürme sind ja jetzt von so regelmäßiger Wiederkehr wie die Handelskrisen und Aequinoctialstürme - zum Handeln bereit sein. |

[55] Daraus folgt die Politik der Arbeiterpartei in dem preußischen Verfassungskonflikt von selbst.

Die Arbeiterpartei vor Allem organisirt erhalten, soweit es die jetzigen Zustände zulassen;

die Fortschrittspartei vorantreiben zum *wirklichen* Fortschreiten, soweit das möglich; sie nöthigen, ihr eigenes Programm radikaler zu machen und daran zu halten; jede ihrer Inconsequenzen und Schwächen unnachsichtlich züchtigen und lächerlich machen;

die eigentliche Militärfrage gehen lassen wie sie geht, in dem Bewußtsein, daß die Arbeiterpartei auch einmal ihre eigene, *deutsche* „Armee-Organisation“ machen wird;

der Reaktion aber auf ihre heuchlerischen Lockungen antworten: „Mit dem Speere soll man Gabe empfangen“, „Spitze gegen Spitze“. |

Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels
Erklärung.
An die Redaktion des „Social-Demokraten“

Erklärung

An die Redaction des „Social-Demokraten“.

Die Unterzeichneten versprochen ihre Mitarbeit am „Social-Demokrat“
5 und erlaubten die Veröffentlichung ihrer Namen als Mitarbeiter unter dem
ausdrücklichen Vorbehalt, daß das Blatt im Geist des ihnen mitgetheilten
kurzen Programms redigirt werde. Sie verkannten keinen Augenblick die
schwierige Stellung des „Social-Demokrat“ und machten daher keine für
den Meridian von Berlin unpassenden Ansprüche. Sie forderten aber wie-
10 derholt, daß dem Ministerium und der feudal-absolutistischen Partei ge-
genüber eine wenigstens eben so kühne Sprache geführt werde als gegen-
über den Fortschrittlern. Die von dem „Social-Demokrat“ befolgte Taktik
schließt ihre weitere Bethheiligung an demselben aus. Die Ansicht der Un-
terzeichneten vom königlich preußischen Regierungsocialismus und der
15 richtigen Stellung der Arbeiterpartei zu solchem Blendwerk findet sich be-
reits ausführlich entwickelt in No. 73 der „Deutschen Brüsseler Zeitung“ vom
12. September 1847, in Antwort auf N. 206 des damals in Köln erscheinenden
„Rheinischen Beobachter“, worin die Allianz des „Proletariats“ mit der
„Regierung“ gegen die „liberale Bourgeoisie“ vorgeschlagen war. Jedes
20 Wort unsrer damaligen Erklärung unterschreiben wir noch heute. |

Friedrich Engels
Notiz über „Die preußische Militärfrage
und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei“

I In diesen Tagen erscheint bei O.Meißner in Hamburg eine Broschüre von *Fr. Engels*: „*Die preußische Militärfrage und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei*“. Sie verdankt ihren Ursprung einer Aufforderung von Seiten eines sogenannt „sozial-demokratischen“ Blattes an den Verfasser, sich über diesen Gegenstand in diesem Blatt auszusprechen. Eine eingehende Behandlung des Gegenstandes erforderte jedoch mehr Raum als einer Zeitung zu Gebote stand; und die bismarckophile Richtung, die die neueste „Sozial-Demokratie“ genommen, machte es außerdem den Leuten von der „Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung“ unmöglich, an den Organen *dieser* „Sozialdemokratie“ mitzuarbeiten. Unter diesen Umständen erscheint die genannte Arbeit *selbstständig* in Broschürenform // und entwickelt den Standpunkt den die „Sozialdemokraten“ von 1848 sowohl der Regierung wie der Fortschrittspartei gegenüber einnehmen. /

Karl Marx
Notizen zum Konflikt in der Section de Paris

11865

21 Febr. (Tuesday) Beschluß des Central Council den Le Lubez herüberzuschicken, reist ab.

Wednesday. 22 Feb. (Abends.) Lubez reist ab.

Paris 23 Febr. Einladung zu *meeting* des Lefort bei Fribourg etc. (Sieh *Letter of Fribourg*). *Antwort des Lefort in Schily's Brief*, (p. 2)

24 Febr. Abend. *Meeting on Fribourg etc.*

24 Feb. Morgen: *Lefort besucht Schily mit Lubez* - Schily geht nun, Lefort zunächst in der Nähe lassend, zu Fribourg, where they found different friends, amongst others a friend of Lefort's. All were decidedly against his intrusion. Schily then went away to fetch him, and did not conceal from him that he considered his claim, such as formulated by him, untenable, (p.2.) Betrogen der Lefort bei der Gelegenheit. (I.e.) Schritte gethan entgegenkommend gegen Lefort. (2,3.)

24 Feb. Abend: *Meeting*. Le Lubez nicht da; ging zur Lefortschen Soirée. (3,4.)

Schilderung dieses meeting vom 24. Feb. (p. 4, 5, 6.)|

Karl Marx
Resolutions of the Central Council
on the conflict in the Section de Paris
(Original draft)

I Ich schlage dem Subcommittee folgende Resolutions vor:

1) The present Paris branch Administration, consisting of citizens Tolain, Fribourg, and Limousin, is confirmed in its functions by the London Central Council, which also expresses its thanks for their zeal and activity;

2) The adjunction of citizen *Pierre Vinçard* to the Paris branch Administration is thought desirable;

3) While thanking citizen Lefort for the part he took in the foundation of the International Society, and earnestly wishing for his collaboration, as *homme de conseil*, with the Paris branch Administration; the London Central Council, at the same time, consider themselves not entitled to impose citizen Lefort in any official capacity upon the Paris branch Administration;

4) Citizen *Victor Schily* is appointed the Paris *delegate* of the London Central Council. || In this character he has to act only with the Paris branch Administration. He will exercise that *droit de surveillance* which the Paris branch themselves have thought proper to acknowledge as a necessary attribute of the Central Council under the present political conjuncture. |

Karl Marx
Resolutions of the Central Council
on the conflict in the Section de Paris

I) *Resolution.* Whereas citizen Tolain has several times tendered his resignation, and the Central Council has as often refused to accept it, the said Council now leaves it to citizen Tolain and the Paris Administration to reconsider, whether or not under present circumstances, this resignation
5 be opportune. The Central Council confirms beforehand whatever resolution the administration may come to on this point.

II) *Resolution.* In deference to the wishes of a meeting of 32 members of the working men's international Association held at Paris Feb. 24, and in obedience to the principles of popular sovereignty and selfgovernment, the
10 Central Council cancels its resolution relating to the appointment of an official vindicator for the French press. At the same time the Council seizes this opportunity of expressing its high esteem for citizen Lefort, in particular as one of the initiators of the Working Men's International Society and in general for his approved public character, and further it protests that it
15 does not sanction the principle that none but an *ouvrier* is admissible as an official in our society.

III) *Resolution:* The Council resolves that the present Administration with the addition of citizen Vinçard be confirmed.

IV) *Resolution:* The Central Council earnestly requests the Administration at Paris to come to an understanding with citizens Lefort and Beluze,
do tion at Paris to come to an understanding with citizens Lefort and Beluze, so as to admit them, and the group of ouvriers they represent, to be represented in the administration by three members, but the council while emitting such a wish, has no power nor design to dictate.

K)The Administration at Paris having expressed its readiness to ac-
25 knowledge a direct delegation from the Central Council, the Council accordingly appoints citizen Schily to be its delegate to the said Administration.J

Karl Marx

/ *Privatinstruction an Schily.*

„In case no compromise be arrived at, the Council declare that the group Lefort, after *having taken out their cards of membership*, will have the Power under our Statutes (see § 7) to form a local branch Society."

They to be held out in terrorem, but confidentially, to Fribourg et Co., in order to induce them to make the necessary concessions, supposed Lefort and Beluze (the director of the Banque du Peuple) are earnest in inducing their group to become members. |

Karl Marx
Inhaltsanzeige von Friedrich Engels' Broschüre
„Die preußische Militärfrage
und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei“

Hermann.
Nr. 324, 18. März 1865

**Die preußische Militärfrage
und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei.
Von Friedrich Engels.
(Hamburg, Otto Meißner.)**

5 Diese sehr bedeutende Brochure zerfällt in drei Abschnitte.

In dem ersten unterwirft der Verfasser die preußische Armee-Reorganisation einer militärisch wissenschaftlichen Kritik. Den Hauptfehler findet er darin, daß der Reorganisationsplan „unter dem Schein, auf die ursprüngliche *allgemeine Wehrpflicht* zurückzugreifen, welche ohne eine
10 *Landwehr* als große Armeereserve nicht bestehen kann, vielmehr eine Schwenkung nach dem *französisch-österreichischen Cadresystem* macht“.

Der zweite Abschnitt kritisirt in scharfen Zügen die Behandlung der Militärfrage durch die *bürgerliche Opposition*. Der Verfasser kommt zu dem Schlüsse: „Einerlei, durch welche Fehler und Verwicklungen, die bürgerliche
15 Opposition ist jetzt einmal in die Stellung gedrängt: sie muß die Militärfrage durchfechten, oder sie verliert den Rest von politischer Macht, den sie noch besitzt... Sollte die preußische Bourgeoisie den Muth haben, auszuharren bis aufs Aeüßerste? Sie müßte sich seit 1848 wunderbar verbessert haben und die Compromißsehnsucht, die sich in der Fortschrittspartei
20 seit Eröffnung dieser Session tagtäglich ausseufzt, spricht nicht dafür.“

In dem dritten Abschnitt untersucht der Verfasser die Stellung „der Arbeiterpartei zu dieser Armee-Reorganisation“ und den „daraus entstandenen Verfassungs-Conflict“. Seine Antwort ist zusammengefaßt in den folgenden Sätzen:

25 „Die mehr und mehr conséquente Durchführung der allgemeinen Wehrpflicht ist der einzige Punkt, der die Arbeiterklasse Deutschlands an der preußischen Armee-Reorganisation interessirt.“

Karl Marx

Die Politik, welcher die Arbeiterklasse in dem Verfassungs-Conflict zu folgen hat, ist „die Arbeiterpartei vor Allem organisirt erhalten so gut es die jetzigen Zustände zulassen; die Fortschrittspartei vorantreiben zum *wirklichen* Fortschreiten, so weit es möglich; der Reaction aber auf ihre heuchlerischen Lockungen antworten: Mit dem Speere soll man Gabe empfangen, Spitze gegen Spitze“.

Karl Marx
Notiz über Friedrich Engels' Broschüre
„Die preußische Militärfrage
und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei“

Londoner Anzeiger.
Nr. 12, 17. März 1865

Die preußische *Militärfrage* und die deutsche *Arbeiterpartei*. Von *Friedrich Engels*. (Hamburg. Otto Meißner.) Wir können unseren Lesern diese Brochure, welche die jetzt in Deutschland brennendsten Fragen mit großer Schärfe, Unparteilichkeit und Sachkenntniß behandelt, aufs Beste empfehlen. Die alte Organisation der preußischen Armee, die Zwecke ihrer Reorganisation, die Entstehung des preußischen Verfassungskonflikts, die Führung der Opposition durch die Fortschrittspartei, die gleichzeitigen Wirren zwischen der Fortschrittspartei und der Arbeiterpartei, alles dies wird hier kurz, aber originell und erschöpfend dargestellt.

Karl Marx
Erklärung über die Ursachen des Bruchs
mit dem „Social-Demokraten“

Berliner Reform.
Nr. 67, 19. März 1865

Erklärung.

Seinem Nachwort zur Austritts-Erklärung der Herren *Rüstow* und *Herwegh* (No. 31 des „*Social-Demokrat*“) einverleibt Herr v. Schweitzer einen von London in die „*Neue Frankfurter Zeitung*“ spedirten Artikel zum Beweis, „wie *inconsequent* und *innerlich haltlos* das Verfahren der Herren *Marx* und *Engels* ist“. Er versucht Fälschung der Thatsachen. Daher folgendes **Tat-** 5
sächliche.

Am *11. November 1864* kündigte Herr V. Schweitzer die Stiftung des „*Social-Demokrat*“, *Organ des Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeiter-Vereins*, mir schriftlich an und sagte bei dieser Gelegenheit u. A. : 10

„Wir haben uns an etwa 6-8 bewährte Mitglieder der Partei oder derselben wenigstens nahestehende Männer gewandt, um sie für die Mitarbeiter-schaft zu gewinnen und es steht ziemlich außer Zweifel, daß diese Herren zusagen werden. Allein *für ungleich wichtiger* halten wir es, daß *Sie, der Begründer der Deutschen Arbeiterpartei* (diese Worte sind von Hrn. v. Schweitzer 15 selbst unterstrichen) *und ihr erster Vorfechter*, uns Ihre Mitwirkung *angedeihen* lassen. *Wir hegen die Hoffnung, daß Sie einem Verein*, der, wenn auch nur indirekt *auf Ihre eigene Wirksamkeit zurückzuführen* ist, nach dem großen Verluste, der ihn betroffen, in seinem schweren Kampfe zur Seite stehen werden.“ 20%

Diesem Einladungsschreiben lag ein *Prospectus* bei „*als Manuscript gedruckt*“. Statt daß in diesem *Prospectus*, wie Herr v. Schweitzer jetzt der „*Neuen Frankfurter Zeitung*“ nachlügt, „Lassalle's Worte als die maßgebenden standen“, oder „Lassalle's Namen auf die Fahne geschrieben“ war, figurirte Lassalle hier weder mit Wort noch Namen. Der *Prospectus* enthielt 25- nur drei Punkte: „Solidarität der Völkerinteressen“, „das ganze gewaltige Deutschland - Ein freier Volksstaat“, „Abschaffung der Kapitalherrschaft“. Mit ausdrücklicher Berufung auf *diesen Prospectus* sagten Engels und ich die Mitarbeit zu.

Erklärung über die Ursachen des Bruchs mit dem „Social-Demokraten“

Am 19. November 1864 schrieb mir Hr. v. Schweitzer: „Sollten Sie in Betreff der Ausgabe des Prospectus noch etwas zu bemerken haben, so müßte dies *umgehend* geschehen.“ Ich bemerkte nichts.

Hr. v. Schweitzer frag ferner an, ob „wir (die Redaction) hier und da
5 einen Artikel von Ihnen erwarten dürfen und ob es uns zugleich *erlaubt, dies unsern Lesern anzukündigen*“. Engels und ich verlangten vorher die Gesellschaft zu kennen, worin wir öffentlich figuriren sollten. Hr. v. Schweitzer zählte sie nun auf, hinzuschreibend: „Wenn Sie an einem oder dem andern dieser Herren Anstoß nehmen sollten, so wird sich das hoffentlich
10 durch die Erwägung erledigen, daß ja zwischen den Mitarbeitern eines Blattes keine gar strenge Solidarität besteht.“

Am 28. November schrieb Hr. V. Schweitzer: „Ihre und Engels' Zusage hat *in der Partei*, so weit dieselbe überhaupt *eingeweiht ist, die freudigste Sensation hervorgerufen*.“

15 Die zwei ersten Probenummern enthielten schon mancherlei Bedenkliches. Ich remonstrirte. Und *unter anderm* sprach ich meine Entrüstung darüber aus, daß aus einem Privatbriefe, den ich auf die Nachricht von Lassalle's Tod der Gräfin Hatzfeldt schrieb, ein paar Trostworte herausgerissen, mit meiner Namensunterschrift veröffentlicht und schamlos dazu
20 *mißbraucht* worden seien, eine servile Lobhudelei Lassalle's „*ein- und auszuläuten*“. Er antwortete am 30. Dezember: „Sehr geehrter Herr! Haben Sie *Geduld* mit uns - die Sache wird schon *nach und nach besser gehen*, unsere Position ist sehr schwierig. Gut Ding will Weile haben, und *so hoffe* ich, daß *Sie sich beruhigen und eine Zeit lang zusehen*.“ Dies schon am 30sten De-
25 zember 1864, als nur noch die ersten Probenummern in meiner Hand!

Anfangs Januar 1865, nach Confiscation einer der ersten Nummern des „Social-Demokrat“, beglückwünschte ich Hrn. v. Schweitzer zu diesem Ereigniß, hinzufügend, er müsse offen mit dem Ministerium brechen.

Auf die Nachricht von *Proudhon's* Tod bat er um einen Artikel über
30 Proudhon. Ich entsprach seinem Wunsch mit umgehender Post, ergriff jedoch diese Gelegenheit, um jetzt in seinem eigenen Blatt, „selbst jeden *Scheincompromiß* mit der bestehenden Gewalt“, als Verletzung „des einfachen sittlichen Taktes“ und Proudhon's Kokettiren mit L. Bonaparte nach dem Staatsstreich als eine „Gemeinheit“ zu charakterisiren. Gleichzeitig
35 sandte ihm *Engels* die Uebersetzung eines altdänischen Bauernliedes, um in einer Randglosse die Nothwendigkeit des Kampfes wider das Krautjunckerthum den Lesern des „Social-Demokrat“ ans Herz zu legen.

Während desselben Monats *Januar* jedoch hatte ich von Neuem gegen Hrn. v. Schweitzer's „Taktik“ zu protestiren. Er antwortete *am 4. Februar*:
40 „*Unsere Taktik* betreffend, bitte ich Sie zu bedenken, wie schwierig unsere Stellung ist. Wir müssen durchaus erst zu *erstarken* suchen u. s. w.“

Karl Marx

Ende Januar veranlaßte eine Insinuation der Pariser Correspondenz des „Social-Demokrat“ Engels und mich zu einer Erklärung, worin es u. A. hieß, wir freuten uns, unsere Ansicht bestätigt zu finden, daß „das Pariser Proletariat dem Bonapartismus in beiderlei Gestalt - der Gestalt der Tuilerien und derjenigen des Palais Royal - nach wie vor unversöhnlich gegenübersteht und keinen Augenblick daran gedacht hat, sein historisches Erstgeburtsrecht als Vorkämpfer der Revolution um ein Gericht Linsen zu verschachern“. Die Erklärung schloß mit den Worten: „Wir empfehlen den deutschen Arbeitern dies Muster.“ 5

Der Pariser Correspondent hatte unterdessen in Nr. 21 des „Social-Demokrat“ seine frühere Angabe berichtigt und entzog unserer Erklärung so den unmittelbaren Vorwand. Wir nahmen daher Hr. v. Schweitzer's Druckverweigerung hin. Zugleich aber schrieb ich ihm: „wir würden anderswo unsere Ansicht über das Verhältniß der Arbeiter zur Preuß. Regierung ausführlich aussprechen.“ Endlich machte ich einen letzten Versuch, ihm an 10 einem *praktischen Beispiel, der Coalitionsfrage*, die Erbärmlichkeit seiner „Taktik“, war sie anders redlich gemeint, klar zu machen. Er erwiderte am 15. Februar:

„Wenn Sie mir, wie im letzten Schreiben, über *theoretische (!) Fragen* Aufklärung geben wollen, so würde ich solche *Belehrung* von Ihrer Seite 20 *dankbar* entgegennehmen. Was aber die *praktischen Fragen momentaner Taktik* betrifft, so bitte ich Sie zu bedenken, daß, um diese Dinge zu beurtheilen, man im Mittelpunkt der Bewegung stehen muß. Sie thun uns daher Unrecht, wenn Sie *irgendwo und irgendwie Ihre Unzufriedenheit mit unserer Taktik aussprechen*. Dies' dürften Sie nur dann thun, wenn Sie die 25 Verhältnisse genau kennten. Auch vergessen Sie nicht, daß der Allgemeine Arbeiter-Verein ein consolidirter Körper ist und bis zu einem gewissen Grade an *seine Traditionen* gebunden bleibt. Die Dinge in concreto schleppen eben immer irgend ein *Fußgewicht* mit sich herum.“

Auf dies Schweitzer'sche Ultimatum antwortete Engels' und meine öffentliche Austrittserklärung. 30

London, 15. März 1865.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
Memorandum to Hermann Jung about the conflict
in the Section de Paris

[[1]] *Subcommittee Sitting 4 March*, he wanted already to move his resolution, according to which the Paris Administration was to be composed as follows: Fribourg, Vinçard, Limousin, 3 members to be designated by Lefort, Schily as a sort of *umpire*.

5 *Subcommittee Sitting. 6 March*. He reproduces that motion.

Sitting of the Central Council. 7 March. He allowed the appointment of Schily to pass *without division*, that is he *accepted* it, speaking in a parliamentary sense.

After this had taken place, he writes in hot-haste to Paris, even before he
10 had the *Resolutions* in his hand. He expected, as he said (14 March), that the *Paris Administration* would *protest* against Schily. As by Resolution V [*Resolution V. The Administration at Paris having expressed its readiness to acknowledge a direct delegation* from the Central Council, the Council accordingly appoints Citizen Schily to be its delegate to the said Administration.)

15 Schily was only accredited to *that* Administration, his [[2]] appointment could only be protested against by them.

Having failed with them, Lubez conspires with the brothers of his lodge, to declare Schily's appointment the cause of their withdrawal.

He puts himself in this awkward position: He protests against the Paris
20 Administration in the name of Lefort, and he protests against Schily in the name of the Paris Administration which *represents* the French branch etc.

On the remark of Mr. Fox (last sitting of Central Council) that his forgetfulness of Schily's nationality on 4 and 6 March, and his vivid recollection of it on March 14 could only be accounted for by his wish to revenge himself because of the slight he thought Mr. Lefort was put to, he accepted *this plain* explanation.

His *mean* insinuating:

1⁽¹⁾) as if the introductory words of Resolution V had been inserted as a catch-vote on false pretences. These words rest upon facts, Mr. *Schily's open*
30 *letter*, brought over by Lubez, read on February 28 in presence of Tolain

etc, secondly Mr. *Schily's* report, communicated to the Subcommittee, lastly the *resolutions passed by the meeting of 24th February* at Paris. The words were only inserted to avoid even the appearance of dictatorship on the part of the Central Council. |

I [3] I 2nd) There had on March 7 time been killed by personal altercations in order to hurry the acceptance of the 3 last Resolutions, carry them by surprise. 5

3rd) Mr. Schily was no *ouvrier*. Rejected as *principle* by Resolution II. Schily had only to act *privately* with the Paris administration; Lefort was to act upon the *public stage* before the world in the name of the Association. 10
The cases *not analogous*.

As to Lefort.

He asks us to appoint him Defender General in the French Press. We do so because we suppose him to act in understanding, and in concurrence with Tolain etc. This nomination so obtained he turns afterwards *against* us 15 into a legal title. On Tolain's letter, and *before* Lubez was sent to Paris, we *cancel* this appointment, as far as Mr. Lefort's *name* and *public position* is concerned. (We reduce it to this: he is allowed to write articles *not* signed by *himself*, but by *an ouvrier* - a thing which he might have done without our consent.) That such is the case, results from an angry letter he then 20 wrote to Lubez, but he yielded. The Paris meeting of February 24th committed only this blunder: that it *protested* against a resolution that had ceased to exist. And *upon this* Mr. Lefort, or his friends at London, feign to forget that he had already given up the post he was named |[4]| to. He even menaces us to *warn all democrats against us*, forgetting that *we* can warn 25 *against* him, if necessary.

He and his man Lubez say that he is not moved by personal ambition. He only wants a political guarantee. Well. We appoint *Vinçard*, a man who represents more guarantees than Lefort et Le Lubez put together. Having 30 been appointed, Mr. *Vinçard* turns into a non-entity for Lefort and Lubez. The only thing they could say against his proposal by Tolain etc, afterwards confirmed by us, is this: that it was not at the right time communicated to Lefort. Thus this miserable point of etiquette is their last pretence of opposition etc. 35

International Character of the society endangered, and Power of the Council to appoint ambassadors.

The class character of this movement. Républicains formalistes.

40

67/6
 The resolution was by the Paris
 committee of the Paris section
 accepted and passed unanimously
 in the meeting of the Paris section
 on the 12th of March, 1848.
 The resolution was to be sent to
 the French Government and
 the sitting of the Council of the
 Paris section on the 12th of March, 1848:
 1) In case of compromise between the Council section that the
 group defect, after having taken out their cards of members
 stop, with the Paris section, and the Paris section
 agreed to form a local branch society.
 2) In the sitting of the Council of the Paris section on the 12th of March 1848 the Paris section
 was changed into a Resolution, because no compromise could
 be arrived at. This was the only Resolution passed.
 The only other Resolution passed that had to be
 considered later on (the Paris section) the whole of the Resolution.

Memorandum to Hermann Jung about the conflict in the Section de Paris

I[5]I 1) Pas de *résolution* contre Schily; Marx déclare la nomination de Möns. Schily comme non-avenue, qu'il l'avait seulement acceptée parcequ'elle a passé *unanimentement*.

2) The instructions given to Le Lubez to communicate to the French administration and Lefort (in the sitting of Council 7th March), run thus: „*In case no compromise be arrived at, the Council declare that the group Lefort, after having taken out their cards of membership, will have the Power, under our statutes (see § 7), to form a local branch society.*”

In the sitting of the Council of March 14 this Private Instruction was changed *into a Resolution*, because no compromise could be arrived at. This was *the only Resolution passed*.

(There was the other Resolution passed that Lubez had to communicate literally to both sides the whole of the Resolutions.)

Karl Marx
Note to Hermann Jung
about Ernest Jones's letter to the Central Council

I *Ernest Jones* writes to Marx (d.d. March 16, Manchester), that he will support the delegation sent to the Manchester Conference. The middle class had sent to him and Hooson to sign the Circular convening the Manchester Conference. He had not accepted it at the date of the letter. Er schreibt ausserdem: "We are going to hold district meetings in Manchester to organise the Manhood Suffrage movement in support of the London one."

Give *Mr. Cremer* (privately) the address of *E. Jones*, 55, Cross Street, *Manchester*. I

Karl Marx
Erklärung an die Redaktion der „Berliner Reform“

I An die Redaction der (Berliner) „Reform“.

Aus den hierhin mir nachgeschickten N.68 der „*Reform*“ und N.37 des „*Social-Demokrat*“ ersehe ich, daß Herr v. Schweitzer verlegne und verlogne Versuche macht, um sich aus selbstbereiteten „holden Hindernissen“ her-
5 auszuwinden. Habeat sibi! Ich erlaube ihm jedoch nicht, meine Erklärung vom 15. März, worin ich ihn einfach sich selbst schildern lasse, in eine *Erklärung über Lassalle* zu verdrehn. Die ungefähr fünfzehn Jahre umfassende und in meinem Besitz befindliche Correspondenz Lassalle's mit mir entzieht es ganz und gar der Macht der Schweitzer und Consorten, unser per-
10 sönliches Verhältniß zu entstellen, oder die Motive || meiner neutralen Haltung zur Lassalleschen Agitation zu verdächtigen. Was andererseits das Verhältniß der theoretischen Arbeiten *Lassalle's* zu den meinigen betrifft, so ist das Sache wissenschaftlicher Kritik. Zur Erörterung über den einen oder den andern Punkt bietet sich später vielleicht die Gelegenheit. Unter
15 allen Umständen aber verbietet mir die Pietät Derartiges zum Gegenstand der Zeitungspolemik mit Sykophanten zu machen.

Zalt-Bommel 28. März 1865.

Karl Marx |

Karl Marx
Der „Präsident der Menschheit“

Rheinische Zeitung.
Nr. 102, 12. April 1865

Der „Präsident der Menschheit“.

Bei meiner Rückkehr von Holland nach London präsentirt mir der „*Social-Demokrat*“ in Nr. 39 einen von Hrn. *Bemh. Becker* eigenhändig gebackenen Asa-Fötida-Kuchen, größtentheils aus Vogt'schen Verläumdungskrumen zusammengesetzt. Die gerichtlich dokumentirte Widerlegung der Vogt'schen Lügenmärchen findet man in meiner Schrift „Herr Vogt. London, 1860“. Ganz wider seine Gewohnheit jedoch, begnügt sich Hr. *Bernhard Becker*, der „*Präsident der Menschheit*“, diesmal nicht bloß mit Abschreiberei. Zum ersten Mal in seinem Leben versucht er, auch etwas Eigenes zu geben. 5 10

„Ja, Marx“, sagt der „*Präsident der Menschheit*“, „versetzte durch Dronke für 1000 Thlr. ein *Manuscript*, welches der preußische Polizei-Commissar Stieber, der in London unter den Flüchtlingen herumspionirte, auslöste.“ Und dreimal im Lauf seines selbstmündlichen Präsidialvortrags kehrt unser *Bernhard Becker* mit stets wachsender Heiterkeit zurück zu dieser „*Thatsache*“. 15

Seite 124 meines „*Herr Vogt*“, sage ich in einer Note: „Ich selbst hatte *Bangya* mit seinem damaligen Freunde, dem jetzigen General *Tun*, 1850 in London kennen gelernt. Der Verdacht, den mir seine Mogeleyen mit allen möglichen Parteien, Orleanisten, Bonapartisten u. s. w., und sein Umgang mit Polizisten jeder Rationalität' einflößten, schlug er einfach nieder durch Vorzeigung eines ihm von *Kossuth* eigenhändig ausgefertigten Patents, worin er früher schon provisorischer Polizei-Präsident zu Komorn unter *Klapka*, zum Polizei-Präsidenten in partibus bestallt war. Geheimer Polizeichef im Dienste der Revolution, mußte er sich natürlich die Züge zur Polizei im Dienste der Regierungen „offen“ halten. Im Laufe des Sommers 1852 entdeckte ich, daß er ein *Manuscript*, das ich ihm zur Besorgung an einen Buchhändler in Berlin anvertraut, unterschlagen und einer deutschen Regierung in die Hände gespielt hatte. Nachdem ich über diesen Vorfall 20 25

Der „Präsident der Menschheit“

und andere, mir längst auffällige Eigenthümlichkeiten des Mannes an einen Ungarn (Szemere) zu Paris geschrieben, und durch die Intervention einer dritten genau unterrichteten Person das Mysterium Bangya völlig gelöst worden war, sandte ich eine *öffentliche Denunciation, unterzeichnet mit*
5 *meinem Namen, Anfang 1853 der Newyorker Criminalzeitung zu.*“

Der „Präsident der Menschheit“ hat offenbar die ausführliche, von mir vor 12 Jahren in der „Newyorker Criminalzeitung“ veröffentlichte Denunciation Bangya's, der damals noch zu London hauste, *nicht* gelesen. Er hätte sonst wohl seine Dichtung dem Thatbestande etwas näher angeschmiegt.
10 So überläßt er sich ganz dem Spiel seiner holden Phantasie, und was lag der näher, als die angenehme Ideenassociation von *London* und *Versetzen* ? Doch stehe ich dafür, daß *Bernhard Becker* niemals seine Manuscripte versetzt hat.

Der „Präsident der Menschheit“ geruhte ferner hinzuzufügen:

15 „daß Marx beim Entstehen des Wiener ‚Botschafters‘, des *officiösen Organs der österreichischen Regierung*, mich (eben denselbigen *Bernhard Becker*) als Correspondenten für denselben gewinnen wollte, indem er mir den officiösen Charakter des auftauchenden Blattes, das, wie er sagte, ihm zugeschiedt worden war, verschwieg und im Gegentheil betonte, daß ich ganz
20 rothe Artikel hineinliefern dürfe.“

Herr *Bernhard Becker*, der damals noch nicht „Präsident der Menschheit“ war, auch die unverbrüchliche Gewohnheit besaß, „ganz blasse Artikel“ in den Londoner „*Hermann*“ zu kritzeln, überraschte mich (ich hatte ihn vorher nur ein oder zweimal zufällig gesehn), - kurz bevor er sich aus sicheren Gründen still aus London wegstahl, eines schönen Abends mit einem
25 leibhaftigen Besuche in meinem Hause. Er winselte mir kläglich sein Mißgeschick vor und frag an, ob ich ihm Correspondenzen zur Hülfe aus bitterer Noth verschaffen könne? Ich erwiderte, Herr *Kolatschek* habe vor wenigen Tagen Herrn *S. Borkheim*, politischem Flüchtling und Kaufmann in der
30 City, die Gründung eines neuen, angeblich „sehr liberalen“ Wiener Blattes angezeigt, ihm Probenummern zugeschickt und ihn ersucht, einen Londoner Correspondenten zu werben. Auf *Bernhard Becker's* heißen Wunsch versprach ich, mich für ihn an Herrn *Borkheim*, der Flüchtlingen stets gern gefällig ist, in dieser Angelegenheit zu wenden. *Bernhard Becker* schrieb auch,
35 so viel ich mich erinnere, einen oder mehrere Probeartikel nach Wien. Und *sein* fehlgeschlagener Versuch, Correspondent des *Botschafters* zu werden, beweist *meine* Allianz mit der *österreichischen Kanzlei*! Herr *Bernhard Becker* glaubt offenbar, daß weil die Gräfin Hatzfeldt ihm ein Amt, der Herrgott ihm auch den dazu nöthigen Verstand gegeben hat!

40 „Systematisch“, erzählt *Bernhard Becker* weiter, „bearbeitete Liebknecht nun die Gräfin Hatzfeldt, an welche auch Marx *Telegramme* und Briefe schickt, *um sie gegen den Verein aufzureizen.*“

Karl Marx

Herr *Bernhard Becker* wähnt, ich nehme die ihm testamentarisch überkommene Wichtigkeit ganz so „systematisch“ ernsthaft wie er selbst! Meine Briefe an die Gräfin Hatzfeldt nach dem Tode Lassalle's bestanden aus einem Condolenzschreiben, aus Antworten auf verschiedene, mir wegen der beabsichtigten Lassalle-Broschüre gestellte Fragen und aus Erörterungen über eine mir abverlangte und in der That erfolgte Abwehr wider einen Verläumder Lassalle's. Zur Vermeidung von Mißverständnissen hielt ich es jedoch für zweckmäßig, die Gräfin in einem Brief vom 22. *Dezember* 1864 zu erinnern, daß ich mit Lassalle's Politik *nicht* übereinstimmte. Damit schloß unsere Correspondenz, worin keine Silbe über den *Verein*. Die 10 Gräfin hatte mich u. a. ersucht ihr *umgehend* zu schreiben, ob die Zugabe gewisser Portraits zur beabsichtigten Brochure mir passend schiene. Ich antwortete durch Telegraph: *Nein!* Dieß *eine* Telegramm setzt Herr *Bernhard Becker*, der ein eben so großer Grammatiker, wie Dichter und Denker ist, in den Plural. 15

Er erzählt, ich habe mich auch später an einer wider ihn in's Werk gesetzten Agitation theiligt. Der einzige Schritt meinerseits in dieser allwichtigen Angelegenheit war dieser: Man hatte mir aus Berlin geschrieben, *Bernhard Becker* werde von gewisser Seite her verfolgt, weil er den „*Social-Demokrat*“ und den „*Verein*“ nicht zur Agitation für die Einverleibung 20 Schleswig-Holsteins in Preußen mißbrauchen lassen wolle. Man hatte mich gleichzeitig ersucht, Herrn *Klings* in Solingen, auf den man mir wegen früherer Verbindung einen gewissen Einfluß zu schrieb, und Herrn *Philipp Becker* in Genf, diese „Intrigue“ zur Warnung mitzutheilen. Ich that beides, das eine durch einen Barmer Freund, das andre durch meinen 25 Freund *Schily* in Paris, der befangen wie ich war in dem Wahne es sei dem „*Präsidenten der Menschheit*“ etwas menschliches passirt und er habe sich wirklich einmal anständig aufgeführt. Er verdreht jetzt natürlich den Thatbestand ins grade Gegentheil - als Dialektiker.

Der „*Präsident der Menschheit*“ ist aber nicht nur groß als Dichter, Den- 30 ker, Grammatiker und Dialektiker. Er ist obendrein *Patholog* reinsten Wassers. Meine anderthalbjährige Karbunkelkrankheit, die zufällig noch 6 Monate nach Lassalle's Tod fort dauerte, diese blutrothe Krankheit erklärt er aus „blassem Neide über Lassalle's Größe“. Aber, fügt er emphatisch hinzu, „er *wagte* es nicht gegen Lassalle aufzutreten, denn er wußte recht 35 wohl, der würde ihn mit seiner Riesenkeule *gleich* dem *Bastiat-Schulze* mausetodt geschlagen haben“.

Nun preißt Lassalle grade in dieser seiner letzten Schrift über „*Bastiat-Schulze*“ meine „*Kritik der Pol. Oekonomie. Berlin 1859*“ über Gebühr, nennt sie „*Epochemachend*“ ein „*Meisterwerk*“ und stellt sie mit den Werken 40 A. Smiths und Ricardo's in gleiche Linie. Hieraus schließt Herr *Bernhard*

Der „Präsident der Menschheit“

Becker mit dem ihm eigenthümlichen Denkvermögen, daß Lassalle mich *gleich* Schulze-Bastiat todtmachen konnte. Lassalle hatte übrigens auch ganz andre Vorstellungen von dem was ich „wage“. Als ich ihm bei einer hier nicht zu erörternden Gelegenheit schrieb, Engels und ich würden aus

5 Gründen, die ich aufzählte, zu einem öffentlichen Angriff auf ihn gezwungen sein, antwortete er ausführlich in einem in diesem Augenblick vor mir liegenden Briefe, worin er erst seine Gegengründe aufstellt, und dann mit der Wendung abschließt: „Bedenket das Alles, bevor ihr laut und öffentlich sprecht. Auch die Theilung und Spaltung unserer Würde für unsre ohnehin

10 nicht große specielle Partei ein beklagenswerthes Ereigniß sein!“

Herr *Bernhard Becker* findet einen vollkommenen *Widerspruch* darin, daß ich von einer internationalen Winkelassociation, worin er, *Bernhard Becker*, figurirt haben soll, nichts wissen wollte, während ich mich doch mit großem Eifer an der vergangenen September von den Chefs der Londoner Tra-

15 des Union gestifteten internationalen Association betheilige.

Die *Unterscheidungsgabe* des Herrn *Bernhard Becker* hält offenbar seinem Schlußvermögen die Stange. Seine Association, rühmt er, brachte es zu einer Blüthe von ganzen „400 Mann“, während unsere Association so unbescheiden ist, schon jetzt in England allein zehntausend Mitglieder zu

20 zählen. Es ist in der That unerlaubt, daß sich so etwas gewissermaßen hinter dem Rücken des „Präsidenten der Menschheit“ zutrage.

Alles in Allem erwogen und namentlich den nur ganz kurz von mir angedeuteten Fähigkeitschwarm des Herrn *Bernhard Becker*, findet man seine Beschwerde kaum gerechtfertigt, daß man einem Manne wie ihm zu

25 viel auf einmal habe aufbürden wollen; daß man ihm nicht nur die Autokratieverrichtung als sein Hauptfach, sondern „nebenbei“ auch das kleinere Amt aufocroyirt: „Eier und Butter für's Haus zu kaufen.“ Doch scheint eine bessere Hausordnung unter seinen zwieschlächtigen Funktionen zuläßbar. In Zukunft mache man es zu seinem Hauptgeschäft „Eier und But-

30 ter für's Haus zu kaufen“ und lasse ihn dahingegen nur ganz „nebenbei“ die Menschheit verpräsidiren.

London,

8.

April

1865.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
Berichtigung.
An den Redakteur des „Weißen Adlers“

Berichtigung.

Nachdem die in N.30 Ihres Blatts erwähnten zwei Anträge der Herren Beales und Leveson auf dem Londoner Polenmeeting vom 1. März angenommen worden waren, stellte *Herr Peter Fox* (Engländer), im Namen der „Internationalen Arbeiterassociation“ den Antrag, „Daß ein integrales und unabhängiges Polen eine unentbehrliche Bedingung eines demokratischen Europa's ist, und daß so lange diese Bedingung unerfüllt bleibt, revolutionäre Triumphe auf dem Continent nur kurzlebige Vorspiele verlängerter Perioden der Herrschaft der Conterrevolution sein können.“ 5

Nach einer kurzen historischen Skizze der Uebel, die Europa in Folge des Verlusts der Freiheit Polens befielen, und der Erobrungspolitik Rußlands, wies Herr P. Fox nach, daß die Haltung der *liberalen* Partei in dieser Frage nicht zusammenfalle mit der der *demokratischen* Gesellschaft, in deren Namen er spreche. Das Motto des konservativen Europa's sei: Ein geknechtetes Europa mit einem geknechteten Polen als Basis. Das Motto der „Internationalen Arbeiterassociation“ sei dagegen: Ein freies Europa gestützt auf ein freies und unabhängiges Polen. 15

Herr Eccarius (deutscher Arbeiter, Vicepräsident der „Internationalen Arbeiterassociation“) unterstützte den Antrag und setzte ausführlich Preußens Theilnahme an den verschiednen Theilungen Polens auseinander. Er schloß mit den Worten: „*Der Untergang der preussischen Monarchie* ist die *conditio sine qua non* für Deutschland's Herstellung und Polens Wiederherstellung.“ I 20

I *Herr Le Lubez*, französisches Mitglied der „Internationalen Arbeiterassociation“ sprach ebenfalls für den Antrag, der *einstimmig und unter anhaltendem Beifallsruf des Meeting's* angenommen ward. 25

Die *Daily News* und ein paar andre „liberale“ Londoner Tagesblätter *unterdrückten* diesen Theil des Berichts aus Aerger über den Triumph der „In-

Berichtigung · An den Redakteur des „Weißen Adlers“

temationalen Arbeiterassociation“, ohne deren Mitwirkung, nebenbei bemerkt, das Polenmeeting zu St. Martin's Hall überhaupt nicht stattgefunden hätte. Ich ersuche Sie im Namen der „Internationalen Arbeiterassociation“ um Aufnahme dieser Berichtigung.

London etc.

H. Jung, correspondirender Secretar
der „Int. Arbeiterass.“ für die Schweiz. |

Karl Marx
To Andrew Johnson,
President of the United States of America

The Bee-Hive Newspaper.
Nr. 188, 20. Mai 1865

To Andrew Johnson, President of the United States.

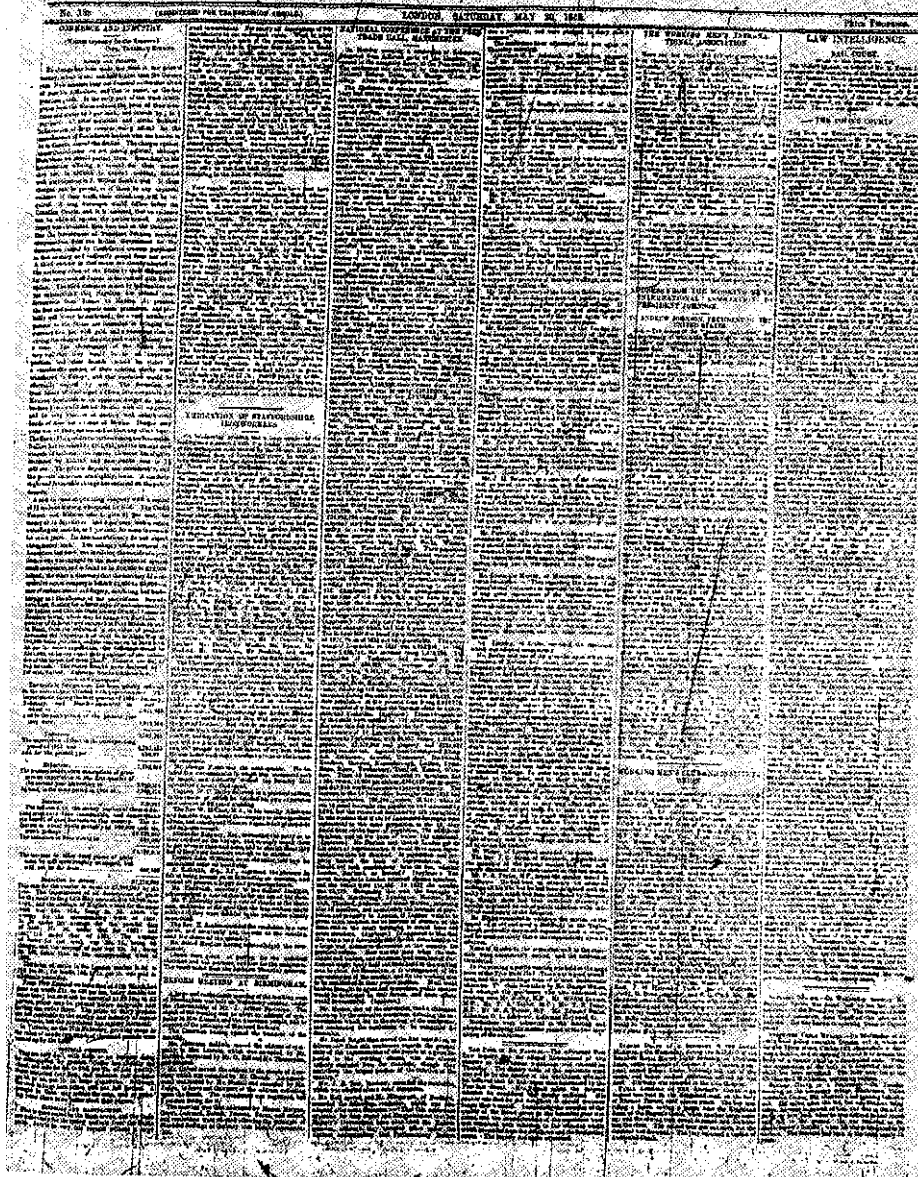
Sir,—The demon of the "peculiar institution," for the supremacy of which the South rose in arms, would not allow his worshippers to honourably succumb in the open field. What he had begun in treason, he must needs end 5
in infamy. As Philip II.'s war for the Inquisition bred a Gerard, thus Jefferson Davis's pro-slavery war, a Booth.

It is not our part to cull words of sorrow and horror, while the heart of two worlds heaves with emotion. Even the sycophants who, year after year, and day by day, stuck to their Sisyphus work of morally assassinating Abraham Lincoln, and the great Republic he headed, stand now aghast at this 10
universal outburst of popular feeling, and rival with each other to strew rhetorical flowers on his open grave. They have now at last found out that he was a man, neither to be browbeaten by adversity, nor intoxicated by success, inflexibly pressing on to his great goal, never compromising it by 15
blind haste, slowly maturing his steps, never retracing them, carried away by no surge of popular favour, disheartened by no slackening of the popular pulse, tempering stern acts by the gleams of a kind heart, illuminating scenes dark with passion by the smile of humour, doing his titanic work as humbly and homely as Heaven-born rulers do little things with the grandil- 20
oquence of pomp and state; in one word, one of the rare men who succeed in becoming great, without ceasing to be good. Such, indeed, was the modesty of this great and good man, that the world only discovered him a hero after he had fallen a martyr.

To be singled out by the side of such a chief, the second victim to the infernal gods of slavery, was an honour due to Mr. Seward. Had he not, at a 25
time of general hesitation, the sagacity to foresee and the manliness to foretell "the irrepressible conflict?" Did he not, in the darkest hours of that

BEE-HIVE NEWSPAPER.

A JOURNAL OF GENERAL INTELLIGENCE ADVOCATING INDUSTRIAL INTERESTS



The Bee-Hive Newspaper. London.
Nr. 188, 20. Mai 1865. Titelseite mit der Adresse
„To Andrew Johnson, President of the United States of America“
von Marx

To Andrew Johnson, President of the United States of America

conflict, prove true to the Roman duty to never despair of the Republic and its stars? We earnestly hope that he and his son will be restored to health, public activity, and well deserved honours within much less than "90 days."

After a tremendous civil war, but which, if we consider its vast dimensions, and its broad scope, and compare it to the Old World's 100 years' wars, and 30 years' wars, and 23 years' wars, can hardly be said to have lasted 90 days, Yours, Sir, has become the task to uproot by the law what has been felled by the sword, to preside over the arduous work of political reconstruction and social regeneration. A profound sense of your great mission will save you from any compromise with stern duties. You will never forget that, to initiate the new era of the emancipation of labour, the American people devolved the responsibilities of leadership upon two men of labour—the one Abraham Lincoln, the other Andrew Johnson.

Signed, on behalf of the International Working Men's Association, London, May 13th, 1865, by the Central Council—Charles Kaub, Edwin Coulson, F. Lessner, Carl Pfaender, N. P. Hansen, Karl Schapper, William Dell, George Lochner, George Eccarius, John Osborne, P. Petersen, A.Janks, H.Klimosch, John Weston, H.Bolleter, B.Lucraft, J.Buckley, Peter Fox, N. Salvatella, George Howell, Bordage, A. Valltier, Robert Shaw, J. H. Longmaid, W. Morgan, G. W. Wheeler, J. D. Nieass, W. C. Worley, D.Stainsby, F. de Lassassie, J.Carter, Emile Holtorp, Secretary for Poland; Carl Marx, Secretary for Germany; H. Jung, Secretary for Switzerland; E.Dupont, Secretary for France; J.Whitlock, Financial Secretary; G.Odger, President; W. R. Cremer, Hon. Gen. Secretary.

Karl Marx
An Andrew Johnson,
Präsident der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika
Übersetzung aus dem Englischen

Oberrheinischer Courier.
Nr. 140, 15. Juni 1865

An den Präsidenten der Vereinigten Staaten Hrn. Andrew Johnson.

Herr Präsident!

Der Dämon der Sklaverei, welcher dem Süden die Waffen in die Hand gedrückt hatte, damit der „eigenthümlichen Einrichtung“ („peculiar institution“) die Oberherrschaft erkämpft werde, hat seinen Anbetern nicht die ehrliche Niederlage in offenem Feld gegönnt. Was er mit Verrath begonnen, mußte er mit Infamie enden. 5

Wie Philipps II. Krieg für die Inquisition einen Gerard, so erzeugte des Jefferson Davis Krieg für die Sklaverei einen Booth. 10

Wir verschmähen es, Worte der Trauer und des Abscheus zu drechseln, während das Herz zweier Welten im Schmerz zusammenzuckt. Selbst die Sykophanten, denen Jahr für Jahr und Tag für Tag die Sysiphusarbeit oblag, Abraham Lincoln und die große Republik, der er vorstand, moralisch zu meucheln, sie blicken jetzt mit staunendem Grauen auf diesen allgemeinen, gewaltigen Ausbruch des Volksgefühls und wetteifern mit einander, Rednerblumen auf sein offenes Grab zu streuen. Jetzt haben sie endlich entdeckt, daß er ein Mann war, weder zu beugen vom Unglück, noch zu blenden vom Glück; unaufhaltsam vorwärts drängend auf dem Weg zum großen Ziel; niemals durch blinde Hast den Erfolg gefährdend; 20 langsam überlegend vor jedem Schritt, aber nie einen Schritt rückwärts machend; durch keine Brandung der Volksgunst vorangerissen; durch keine Ebbe des Staatsschatzes entmuthigt; Handlungen der Strenge durch Milde des Herzens sänftigend; düstre Scenen der Leidenschaft durch ein launiges Lächeln erleuchtend; sein Titanenwerk so bescheiden und einfach 25 verrichtend wie Herrscher von Gottesgnaden kleinliche Geschäfte mit dem

An Andrew Johnson, Präsident der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika

anspruchsvollen Pomp des Staatsceremoniels betreiben - mit Einem Wort, Einer jener seltenen Männer, denen es gelingt groß zu werden, ohne daß sie aufhören, gut zu sein. Ja, so bescheiden war dieser Mann, daß die Welt ihn erst als Helden erkannte, nachdem er als Märtyrer gefallen war.

5 Neben einem solchen Führer zum zweiten Opfer für die höllischen Götter der Sklaverei auserlesen zu werden, war eine Ehre, die Hr. Seward gebührte. Hatte er nicht zu einer Zeit allgemeiner Unklarheit und Unentschlossenheit die Scharfsicht, den „unabwendbaren Kampf vorherzusehen, und die Mannhaftigkeit, ihn vorherzusagen? Erwies er sich nicht in
10 den schwärzesten Stunden jenes Kampfes treu der Römerpflicht, niemals zu verzweifeln an der Republik und ihren Sternen? Wir hoffen von ganzer Seele, daß Er und sein Sohn binnen weniger als „neunzig Tagen“ der Gesundheit, dem öffentlichen Leben und der wohlverdienten Ehre zurückgegeben werden.

15 Nach einem furchtbaren Bürgerkrieg, der aber, wenn wir seine ungeheure Ausdehnung und seine mächtigen Ziele ins Auge fassen, und ihn mit den hundertjährigen, den dreißigjährigen, den dreiundzwanzigjährigen Kriegen der alten Welt vergleichen, kaum „neunzig Tage“ gedauert zu haben scheint - ist es, Hr. Präsident, Ihre Aufgabe geworden, durch das Ge-
20 setz zu entwurzeln, was das Schwert gefällt hat, dem schweren Werk des staatlichen Umbaus und der gesellschaftlichen Neugeburt vorzustehen. Das Bewußtsein Ihrer großen Mission wird Sie vor jedem Compromiß mit der strengen Pflicht bewahren.

Sie werden niemals vergessen, daß das amerikanische Volk, um die neue
25 Aera der Emancipation der Arbeit einzuweisen, zwei Söhnen der Arbeit die Verantwortlichkeit der Leitung übertragen hat: erst Abraham Lincoln und dann Andrew Johnson.

Im Namen und Auftrag der „internationalen Arbeiter-Association“. Folgen die Unterschriften.

Karl Marx
Draft for the final passage of „Value,
price and profit"

I 1) A general rise in the rate of wages will, broadly speaking, produce a general fall in the rate of profits, leaving the values of commodities unaltered.

2) Under very exceptional circumstances, only a general rise of wages could be realised. If obtained, it could only last under very exceptional circumstances. The general tendency of production, upon its present basis, is not to raise, but to lower wages. Even if a general rise in the rate of wages should obtain for any longer period, it would not abolish, but only mitigate the slavery of the wages' labourer, that is, of the mass of the people.

3) Trades' Unions work well as far as they counteract, if even temporarily, the tendency to a fall in the general rate of wages, and as far as they tend to shorten and regulate the time of labour, in other words the || extent of the working day. They work well as far as they are a means of organising the working class as a class. They fail accidentally, by an injudicious use of their power, and they fail generally, by accepting the present relations of capital and labour as permanent, instead of working for their abolition. |

Karl Marx
Value, price and profit

|1| *Read to the Central Council on Tuesday,
(20th June 1865).*

Citizens,

Before entering into the subject matter, allow me to make a few preliminary
5 nary remarks.

There reigns now on the Continent a real epidemy of strikes and a general clamour for a rise of wages. The question will turn up, on our Congress. You, as the head of the International Association, ought to have settled convictions upon this paramount question. For my own part, I
10 considered it therefore my duty to enter fully into the matter, even at the peril of putting your patience to a severe test.

Another preliminary remark I have to make in regard to citizen Weston. He has not only proposed to you, but publicly defended, in the interest of the working class, as he thinks, opinions he knows to be most unpopular
15 with the working class. Such an exhibition of moral courage, all of us must highly honour. I hope that, despite the unvarnished style of my paper, at its conclusion he will find me to agree with what appears to me the just idea lying at the bottom of his theses, which, however, in their present form, I cannot but consider theoretically false and practically dangerous.

20 I shall now at once proceed to the business before us.

1)

Citizen Weston's argument rested in fact upon two premises:

7th) That the *amount of national production* is a *fixed thing*, a *constant* quantity or magnitude, as the mathematicians would say;

25 2nd) That the *amount of real wages*, that is to say of wages as measured by the quantity of the commodities they can buy, is a *fixed* amount, a *constant* magnitude.

Now, his first assertion is evidently erroneous. Year after year, you will find, that the value and mass of production increase, that the productive powers of the national labour increase, and that the amount of money, necessary to circulate this increasing production, continuously changes. What is true at the end of the year, and for different years compared with each other, is true for every average day of the year. The amount or magnitude of national production changes continuously. It is not a *constant*, but a *variable* magnitude, and, apart from changes in population, it must be so, because of the continuous change in the *accumulation of capital* and the *productive powers of labour*. It is perfectly true that, if a *rise in the general rate of wages* should take place to-day, that rise, whatever its ulterior effects might be, would, by itself, not *immediately* change the amount of production. It would, in the first instance, proceed from the existing state of things. But if *before* the rise of wages the national production was *variable* and not *fixed*, it will continue to be variable, and not fixed, *after* that rise of wages.

But suppose the amount of national production to be *constant* instead of *variable*. Even then what our friend Weston considers a logical conclusion would still remain a gratuitous assertion. If I have a given number, say 8, the *absolute* limits of this number do not prevent its parts to change their *relative* limits. If profits were 6 and wages 2, wages might increase to 6 and profits decrease to 2, and still the total amount remain 8. Thus the fixed amount of production would by no means prove the fixed amount of wages. How then does our friend Weston prove this fixity? By asserting it.

But even conceding him his assertion, it would cut two sides, while he presses it only in one direction. If the amount of wages is a constant magnitude, then it can be neither increased, nor diminished. If then, in enforcing a temporary rise of wages, the working men act foolishly, the capitalists, in enforcing a temporary fall of wages, would act not less foolishly. Our friend Weston does not deny that, under certain circumstances, the workingmen *can* enforce a rise of wages, but, their amount being naturally fixed, there must follow a reaction. On the other hand, he knows also that the capitalists *can* enforce a fall of wages, and, indeed, continuously try to enforce it. According to the principle of the constancy of wages, a reaction ought to follow in this case not less than in the former. The workingmen, therefore, reacting against the attempt at, or the act of, lowering wages, would act rightly. They would, therefore, act rightly in enforcing *a rise of wages*, because every *reaction* against the lowering of wages is an *action* for raising wages. According to citizen Weston's own principle of the *constancy of wages*, the workingmen ought, therefore, under certain circumstances, to combine and struggle for a rise of wages.

If he denies this conclusion, he must give up the premise from which it

Handwritten section header, possibly 'Value'.

First paragraph of handwritten text, discussing economic concepts.

Main body of handwritten text, consisting of several paragraphs with dense cursive script.

flows. He must not say that the amount of wages is a *constant quantity*, but that, although it can not and must not *rise*, it can and must *fall*, whenever capital pleases to lower it. If the capitalist pleases to feed you upon potatoes instead of upon meat, and upon oat instead of upon wheat, you must
5 accept his will as a law of political economy, and submit to it. If in one country the rate of wages is higher than in another, in the United St. f. i. than in England, you must explain this difference in the rate of wages by a difference between the will of the American capitalist and the will of the English capitalist, a method which certainly would very much simplify not
10 only the study of economical phenomena, but of all other phenomena.

But even then, we might ask, *why* the will of the American capitalist differs from the will of the English capitalist? And to answer this question, you must go beyond the domain of *will*. A parson may tell me that god wills one thing in France, and another thing in England. If I summon him to explain
15 me this duality of will, he might have the brass to answer me that god wills to have one will in France and another will in England. But our friend Weston is certainly the last man to make an argument of such a complete negation of all reasoning.

The *will* of the capitalist is certainly to take as much as possible. What
20 we have to do, is not to talk about his *will*, but to inquire into his *power*, the *limits of that power*, and the *character of those limits*. |

|2|2)

The address citizen Weston read to us, might have been compressed into a nutshell.

25 All his reasoning amounted to this: If the working class forces the capitalist class to pay 5sh. instead of 4sh. in the shape of money wages, the capitalist will return, in the shape of commodities, 4sh. worth instead of 5sh. worth. The working class would have to pay 5sh. for what, before the rise of wages, they bought with 4sh. But why is this the case? Why does the capitalist
30 only return 4sh. worth for 5sh.? Because the amount of wages is fixed. But why is it fixed at 4sh. worth of commodities? Why not at 3, or 2, or any other sum? If the limit of the amount of wages is settled by an economical law, independent alike of the will of the capitalist and the will of the workingman, the first thing citizen Weston had to do, was, to state that law and
35 prove it. He ought then, moreover, to have proved, that the amount of wages, actually paid at every given moment, always corresponds exactly to the necessary amount of wages, and does never deviate from it. If, on the other hand, the given limit of the amount of wages, is founded on the *mere*

will of the capitalist, or the limits of his avarice, it is an arbitrary limit. There is nothing necessary in it. It may be changed *by* the will of the capitalist, and may, therefore, be changed *against* his will.

Citizen Weston illustrated his theory, by telling you that when a bowl contains a certain quantity of soup, to be eaten by a certain number of persons, an increase in the broadness of the spoons, would produce no increase in the amount of soup. He must allow me to find this illustration rather spoony. It reminded me somewhat of the simile employed by Mene-nius Agrippa. When the Roman plebeijans struck against the Roman patri-cians, the patrician Agrippa told them, that the patrician belly fed the ple-beijan members of the body politick. Agrippa failed to show that you feed the members of one man by filling the belly of an other. Citizen Weston, on his part, has forgotten, that the bowl from which the workmen eat, is filled with the whole produce of the national labour, and that what prevents them fetching more out of it, is neither the narrowness of the bowl, nor the scantiness of its contents, but only the smallness of their spoons.

By what contrivance is the capitalist enabled to return 4sh. worth for 5sh.? By raising the price of the commodity he sells. Now, does a rise, and more generally, a change in the prices of commodities, do the prices of commodities themselves, depend on the mere will of the capitalist? Or are, on the contrary, certain circumstances wanted to give effect to that will? If not, the ups and downs, the incessant fluctuations of market prices would become an insolvable riddle.

As we suppose, that no change whatever has taken place either in the productive powers of labour, or in the amount of capital and labour employed, or in the value of the money, wherein the values of products are estimated, but *only a change in the rate of wages*, how could that *rise of wages* affect the *prices of commodities*? Only by affecting the actual proportion between the demand for, and the supply of, these commodities.

It is perfectly true, that considered as a whole, the working class spends, 30 and must spend, its income upon *necessaries*. A general rise in the rate of wages would therefore produce a rise in the demand and, consequently, in the *market prices of necessaries*. The capitalists who produce these necessa- : ries, would be compensated for the risen wages by the rising market prices of their commodities. But how with the other capitalists who do *not* pro- 35 duce necessaries? And you must not fancy them a small body. If you consider that % of the national produce are consumed by % of the popula-tion—a member of the H. o. C. stated it recently to be but % of the population—you will understand what immense proportion of the national produce must be produced in the shape of luxuries, or be *exchanged* for 40 luxuries, and what immense amount of the necessaries themselves must be

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wasted upon flunkeys, horses, cats, and so forth, a waste we know from experience to become always much limited with the rising prices of necessaries.

Well, what would be the position of those capitalists who do *not* produce
5 necessaries? For the *fall in the rate of profit*, consequent upon the general rise of wages, they could not compensate themselves by a *rise in the prices of their commodities*, because the demand for those commodities would not have increased. Their income would have decreased, and from this decreased income they would have to pay more for the same amount of
10 higher priced necessaries. But this would not be all. As their income had diminished, they would have less to spend upon luxuries, and, therefore, their mutual demand for their respective commodities would diminish. Consequent upon this diminished demand, the prices of their commodities would fall. In these branches of industry, therefore, the *rate of profit would*
15 *fall*, not only in the simple proportion to the general rise in the rate of wages, but in the compound ratio of the general rise of wages, the rise in the prices of necessaries, and the fall in the prices of luxuries.

What would be the consequence of this *difference* in the *rates of profit* for capitals employed in the different branches of industry? Why, the consequence that generally obtains, whenever, from whatever reason, the *average rate of profit* comes to differ in different spheres of production. Capital and labour would be transferred from the less remunerative to the more remunerative branches, and this process of transfer would go on, until the supply in the one department of industry would have risen proportionately to the
25 increased demand, and would have sunk, in the other departments, according to the decreased demand. This change was effected, the *general rate of profit* would again be *equalised* in the different branches. As the whole derangement originally arose from a mere change in the proportion of the demand for, and the supply of, different commodities, the cause ceasing, the
30 effect would cease, and *prices* would return to their former level and equilibrium. Instead of being limited to some branches of industry, *the fall in the rate of profit*, consequent upon the rise of wages, would have become *general*. According to our supposition, there would have taken place no change in the productive powers of labour, nor in the aggregate amount of
35 production, but *that given amount of production would have changed its form*. A greater part of the produce would exist in the shape of necessaries, a lesser part in the shape of luxuries, or, what comes to the same, a lesser part would be exchanged for Foreign luxuries, and be consumed in its original form, or, what again comes to the same, a greater part of the native
40 produce would be exchanged for Foreign necessaries instead of for luxuries. The general rise in the rate of wages would, therefore, after a tempo-

rary disturbance of market prices, only result in a general fall of the rate of profit, without any permanent change in the prices of commodities.

If I am told, that in the previous argument, I assume the whole surplus wages to be spent upon necessaries, I shall answer that I have made the supposition most advantageous to the opinion of citizen Weston. If the surplus wages were spent upon articles formerly not entering into the consumption of the workingmen, the real increase of their purchasing power would need no proof. Being, however, only derived from an advance of wages, that increase of their purchasing power, must exactly correspond to the decrease of the purchasing power of the capitalists. 'The *aggregate demand* for commodities would, therefore, not *increase*, but the constituent parts of that demand would *change*. The increasing demand on the one side would be counterbalanced by the decreasing demand on the other side. Thus, the aggregate demand remaining stationary, no change whatever could take place in the market prices of commodities.

You arrive, therefore, at this dilemma: Either the surplus wages are equally spent upon all articles of consumption. Then the expansion of demand on the part of the working class must be compensated by the contraction of demand on the part of the capitalist class. Or the surplus wages are only spent upon some articles whose market prices will temporarily rise. Then the consequent rise in the rate of profit in some, and the consequent fall of the rate of profit in other branches of industry, will produce a change in the distribution of capital and labour, going on until the supply is *brought* up to the increased demand in the one department of industry, and brought down to the diminished demand in the other.

On the one supposition, there will occur no change in the prices of commodities. On the other supposition, after some fluctuations of market prices, the exchangeable values of commodities will subside to their former level. On both suppositions, the general rise in the rate of wages will ultimately result in nothing else but a general fall in the rate of profit. |

[3] To stir up your powers of imagination, citizen Weston requested you to think of the difficulties which a general rise of English agricultural wages from 9 to 18sh. would produce. Think, he exclaimed, of the immense rise in the demand for necessaries and the consequent fearful rise in their prices! Now, all of you know, that the average wages of the American agricultural labourer amount to more than double that of the English agricultural labourer, although the prices of agricultural produce are lower in the Un. States than in the Un. Kingdom, although the general relations of capital and labour obtain in the U. St. the same as in England, and although the annual amount of production is much smaller in the U. St. than in England. Why then does our friend ring this alarum bell? Simply to shift

the real question before us. A sudden rise of wages from 9 to 18sh. would be a sudden rise to the amount of 100%. Now we are not at all discussing the question whether the general rate of wages in England could suddenly be increased by 100%. We have nothing at all to do with the *magnitude* of
5 the rise, which in every practical instance must depend on, and be suited to, given circumstances. We have only to enquire, how a general rise in the rate of wages, even if restricted to one per cent, will act.

Dismissing friend Weston's fancy rise of 100 %, I propose calling your attention to the real rise of wages that took place in Great Britain from 1849
10 to 1859.

You are all aware of the Ten Hour's Bill or rather Ten and a half Hours' Bill, introduced since 1848. This was one of the greatest economical changes we have witnessed. It was a sudden and compulsory rise of wages, not in some local trades, but in the leading industrial branches, by which
15 England sways the markets of the world. It was a rise of wages under circumstances singularly unpropitious. Dr. Ure, Prof. Senior, and all the other official economical mouthpieces of the middle class, *proved*, and I must say upon much stronger grounds than those of our friend Weston, that it would sound the death knell of English industry. They proved, that it not only
20 amounted to a simple rise of wages, but to a rise of wages, initiated by, and based upon, a diminution of the quantity of labour employed. They asserted that the 12th hour you wanted to take from the capitalist, was exactly the only hour from which he derived his profit. They threatened with a decrease of accumulation, rise of prices, loss of markets, stinting of production, consequent reaction upon wages, ultimate ruin. In fact, they declared
25 Maximilian Robespierre's Maximum laws to be a small affair compared to it, and they were right in a certain sense. Well, what was the result? A rise in the money wages of the factory operatives despite the curtailing of the working day, a great increase in the number of factory hands employed, a
30 continuous fall in the prices of their products, a marvellous development in the productive powers of their labour, an unheard of progressive expansion of the markets for their commodities. At Manchester, on the meeting, in 1861, of the Society for the advancement of science, I heard myself Mr. *Newman* confess, that he, Dr. Ure, Senior, and all other official propound-
35 ers of economical science had been wrong, while the instinct of the people had been right. I mention Mr. W. Newman, not Professor Francis Newman, because he occupies an eminent position in economical science, as the contributor to, and editor of, Mr. *Thomas Tooke's: "History of Prices"*, that magnificent work which traces the history of prices from 1793 to 1856. If
40 our friend Weston's fixed ideas of a fixed amount of wages, a fixed amount of production, a fixed degree of the productive power of labour, a fixed and

permanent will of the capitalists, and all his other fixedness and finality, were correct, Prof. Senior's woeful forebodings would have been right, and Robert Owen who, already in 1816, proclaimed a general limitation of the working day the first preparatory step to the emancipation of the working class, and, actually, in the teeth of the general prejudice, inaugurated it, on his own hook, in his own cotton factory at New Lanark, would have been wrong.

In the very same period, during which the Introduction of the Ten Hours' Bill, and the rise of wages, consequent upon it, occurred, there took place in Great Britain, for reasons which it would be out of place to enumerate here, *a general rise in agricultural wages.*

Although it is not required for my immediate purpose, in order to not mislead you, I shall make some preliminary remarks.

If a man got 2sh. wages weekly, and if his wages rose to 4sh., the *rate of wages* would have risen by 100%. This would seem a very magnificent thing, if expressed as a rise in the *rate of wages*, although the *actual amount of wages*, 4 shillings weekly, would still remain a wretchedly small, a starvation pittance. You must not, therefore, allow yourselves to be carried away by the high sounding per cents of the *rate* of wages. You must always ask, what was their *original* amount?

Moreover, you will understand, that if there were 10 men, receiving each 2sh. per week, 5 men receiving each 5sh., and 5 men receiving 11sh. weekly, these 20 men together would receive 100sh. or 5/. weekly. If then a rise, say by 20 %, upon the *aggregate* sum of their weekly wages took place, there would be an advance from 5/. to 6/. Taking the average, we might say that the *general rate of wages* had risen by 25 %, although in fact the wages of the 10 men had remained stationary, the wages of the one lot of 5 men had risen from 5 to 6sh. **only**, and the wages of the other lot of 5 men, from 55sh. to 75sh. One half of the men would not have improved at all their positions, **Y**, would have improved it in an inperceptible degree, and only % would have bettered it really. Still, reckoning by the *average*, the total amount of the wages of those 20 men would have increased by 25 %, and as far as the aggregate capital that employs them, and the prices of the commodities they produce, are concerned, it would be exactly the same as if all of them had equally shared in the average rise of wages. In the case of agri- 35
cultural labour, the standard wages being very different in the different counties of England and Scotland, the rise affected them very unequally.

Lastly, during the period when that rise of wages took place, counteracting influences were at work, such as the new taxes, consequent upon the Russian war, the extensive demolition of the dwelling houses of the agri- 40
cultural labourers, and so forth.

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Having premised so much, I proceed to state that from 1849 to 1859 there took place a *rise of about 40 %* in the average rate of the agricultural wages of Great Britain. I could give you ample details in proof of my assertion, but, for the present purpose, think it sufficient to refer you to the con-

5 scientific and critical paper, read in 1860, by the late *Mt. John C. Morton*, at the London Society of Arts, on "*The Forces used in agriculture*". Mr. Morton gives the returns from bills and other authentic documents, which he had collected from about 100 farmers residing in 12 Scotch and 35 English counties.

10 According to our friend Weston's opinion, and taken together with the simultaneous rise in the wages of the factory operatives there ought to have occurred a tremendous rise in the prices of agricultural produce during the period of 1849-1859. But what is the fact? Despite the Russian war, and the consecutive unfavourable harvests from 1854-1856, the average price

15 of wheat, which is the leading agricultural produce of England, fell from about *3l.* per qr for the years 1838 to 1848 to about *2l. 10sh.* per qr for the years 1849 to 1859. This constitutes a fall in the price of wheat of more than 16 %, simultaneously with an average rise of agricultural wages, of 40%. During the same period, if we compare its end with its beginning,

20 1859 with 1849, there was a decrease of official pauperism from 934419 to 860470, the difference being $||4|$ 73 949, a very small decrease, I grant, and which in the following years was again lost, but still a decrease.

It might be said that, consequent upon the abolition of the cornlaws, the import of Foreign corn was more than doubled during the period from

25 1849 to 1859, as compared to the period from 1838 to 1848. And what of that? From citizen Weston's standpoint, one would have expected that this sudden, immense, and continuously increasing demand upon Foreign markets, must there have sent up the prices of agricultural produce to a frightful height, the effect of increased demand remaining the same, whether it

30 came from without or from within. What was the fact? Apart from some years of failing harvests, during all that period the ruinous fall in the price of corn formed a standing theme of declamation in France, the Americans were again and again compelled to burn their surplusproduce, and Russia, if we were to believe Mr. Urquhart, prompted the civil war in the U. St., be-

35 cause her agricultural exports were crippled by the Yankee competition in the markets of Europe.

Reduced to its abstract form, citizen Weston's argument would come to this:

Every rise of demand occurs always on the basis of a given amount of

40 production. It can, therefore, *never increase the supply of the articles demanded*, but can *only enhance their money prices*. Now the most common ob-

Karl Marx

ervation shows, that an increased demand will in some instances leave the market prices of commodities altogether unchanged and will in other instances cause a temporary rise of market prices, followed by an increased supply, followed by a reduction of the prices *to* their original level, and in many cases, *below* their original level. Whether the rise of demand spring from surplus wages, or from any other cause, does not at all change the conditions of the problem. From citizen Weston's standpoint the general phenomenon was as difficult to explain as the phenomenon occurring under the exceptional circumstances of a rise of wages. His argument had therefore no peculiar bearing whatever upon the subject we treat. It only expressed his perplexity at accounting for the laws, by which an increase of demand produces an increase of supply, instead of an ultimate rise of market prices. 10

3)

On the second day of the debate, our friend Weston clothed his old assertion into new forms. He said: Consequent upon a general rise in money wages, more currency will be wanted to pay the same wages. The currency being *fixed*, how can you pay, with this fixed currency, increased money wages? First the difficulty arose from the fixed amount of commodities accruing to the workingman, despite his increase of money wages; now it arises from the increased money wages, despite the fixed amount of commodities. Of course, if you reject his original dogma, his secondary grievance will disappear. 20

However, I shall show, that this currency question has nothing at all to do with the subject before us. 25,j

In your country, the mechanism of payments is much more perfected than in any other country of Europe. Thanks to the extent and concentration of the banking system, much less currency is wanted to circulate the same amount of values, and to transact the same or a greater amount of business. F. i., as far as wages are concerned, the English factory operative, pays his wages weekly to the shopkeeper, who sends them weekly to the banker, who returns them weekly to the manufacturer, who again pays them away to his workingmen, and so forth. By this contrivance the yearly wages of an operative, say of 52/., may be paid by one single sovereign, turning every week round in the same circle. Even in England this mechanism is less perfect than in Scotland, and is not everywhere equally perfect, and, therefore, we find f. i., that in some agricultural districts, as compared to the manufacturing districts, much more currency is wanted to circulate a much smaller amount of values. 30| 35|

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If you cross the Channel, you will find that the *money wages* are much lower than in England, but that they are circulated in Germany, Italy, Switzerland and France, by a *much larger amount of currency*. The same sovereign will not be so quickly intercepted by the banker, or return to the industrial capitalist, and, therefore, instead of one sovereign circulating yearly, you want perhaps 3 sovereigns to circulate yearly wages to the amount of **25*l.*** Thus by comparing continental countries to England, you will see at once, that low money wages may require a much larger currency for their circulation than high money wages, and that this is in fact a merely technical point, quite foreign to our subject.

According to the best calculations I know, the yearly income of the working class of this country may be estimated at 250 Millions of *l.* This immense sum is circulated by about 3 Mill. *l.* Suppose a rise of wages of 50% to take place. Then instead of 3 millions of currency 4½ millions would be wanted. As a very considerable part of the workingman's daily expenses is laid out in silver and copper, that is to say in mere tokens, whose relative value to gold is arbitrarily fixed by law, like that of inconvertible money paper, a rise of money wages by 50 %, would, in the extreme case, require an additional circulation of sovereigns, say to the amount of one million. One million, now dormant, in the shape of bullion or coin, in the cellars of the Bank of E., or of private bankers, would circulate. But even the trifling expense, resulting from the additional minting or the additional wear and tear of that million, might be spared, and would actually be spared, if any friction should arise from the want of the additional currency. All of you know, that the currency of this country is divided into two great departments. One sort, supplied by banknotes of different descriptions, is used in the transactions between dealers and dealers, and the larger payments from consumers to dealers, while another sort of currency, metallic coin, circulates in the retail trade. Although distinct, these two sorts of currency intermix with each other. Thus gold coin, to a very great extent, circulates even in larger payments for all the odd sums under 5/. If to-morrow **4*l.*** notes, or 3/. notes, or **2*l.*** notes were issued, the gold coin filling these channels of circulation, would at once be driven out of them and flow into those channels, where they would be needed from the increase of money wages. Thus the additional million required by an advance of wages by 50 %, would be supplied without the addition of one single sovereign. The same effect might be produced, without one additional banknote, by an additional Bill circulation, as was the case in Lancashire for a very considerable time.

» 40 If a general rise in the rate of wages f.i., of 100 %, as citizen Weston supposed it to take place in agricultural wages, would produce a great rise in

the prices of necessaries, and according to his views, require an additional amount of currency not to be procured, a *general fall in wages* must produce the same effect, on the same scale, in an opposite direction. Well! All of you know that the years 1858 to 1860 were the most prosperous years for the cotton industry, and that peculiarly the year 1860 stands in that respect unrivalled in the annals of commerce, while at the same time all other branches of industry were most flourishing. The wages of the cotton operatives, and of all the other workingmen connected with their trade, stood in 1860 higher than ever before. The American crisis came, and those aggregate wages were suddenly reduced to about % of their former amount. This would have been in the opposite direction a rise of 300 %. If wages rise from 5 to 20, we say that they rise by 300 %; if they fall from 20 to 5, we say that they fall by 75 %, but the amount of rise in the one, and the amount of fall in the other case would be the same, viz. 15sh. This then was a sudden change in the rate of wages unprecedented, and at the same time extending over a number of operatives which, if we count all the operatives, not only directly engaged in, but indirectly dependent upon, the cotton trade, was larger by one half than the number of agricultural labourers. Did the price of wheat fall? It *rose* from the annual average of 47sh. 8d. per qr during the three years of 1858 to 1860 to the annual average of 55sh. 10d. per qr. during the three years 1861-63. As to the currency, there were coined in the mint in 1861 $\text{£}8\,673\,232$ against $\text{£}3\,378\,102$ in 1860. ||5| That is to say, there were coined $\text{£}5\,295\,130$ more in 1861 than in 1860. It is true, the banknote circulation was in 1861 by $\text{£}131\,9000$ less than in 1860. Take this off. There remains still an overplus of currency for the year 1861, as compared to the prosperity year 1860, to the amount of $\text{£}3\,976\,130$, or about 4 Mill. £ ., but the bullion reserve in the Bank of England had simultaneously decreased not quite in the same, but in an approaching proportion.

Compare the year 1862 to 1842. Apart from the immense increase in the value and amount of commodities circulated, in 1862 the capital paid in regular terms, for shares, loans, etc, for the railways in England and Wales, amounted alone to $\text{£}320\,000\,000$, a sum that would have appeared fabulous in 1842. Still the aggregate amounts of currency in 1862 and 1842, were pretty nearly equal, and generally you will find a tendency to a progressive diminution of currency in the face of an enormously increasing value not only of commodities, but of monetary transactions generally. From our friend Weston's standpoint, this is an unsolvable riddle.

Looking somewhat deeper into this matter, he would have found, that quite apart from wages, and supposing them to be fixed, the value and mass of the commodities to be circulated, and generally, the amount of

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monetary transactions to be settled, vary daily; that the amount of bank-notes issued, varies daily; that the amount of payments realised without the intervention of any money, by the instrumentality of bills, cheques, book credits, clearing houses, varies daily; that, as far as actual metallic currency
5 is required, the proportion between the coin in circulation and the coin and bullion in reserve, or sleeping in the cellars of banks varies daily; that the amount of bullion absorbed by the national circulation, and the amount being sent abroad, for international circulation, vary daily. He would have found, that his dogma of a fixed currency is a monstrous error,
10 incompatible with the every day's movement. He would have enquired into the laws, which enable the currency to adapt itself to circumstances so continually changing, instead of turning his misconception of the laws of currency into an argument against a rise of wages.

4)

15 Our friend Weston accepts the Latin proverb, that "repetitio est mater studiorum", that is to say, that repetition is the mother of study, and consequently, he repeated his original dogma again under the new form, that the contraction of currency, resulting from an enhancement of wages, would produce a diminution of capital and so forth. Having already discarded his
20 currency crotchet, I consider it quite useless to enter upon the imaginary 'consequences he fancies to flow from his imaginary currency mishap. I shall proceed at once to reduce his *one and the same dogma*, repeated in so many different shapes, *to its simplest theoretical expression*.

The uncritical way, in which he has treated his subject, will become evident from one single remark. He pleads against a rise of wages or against
25 high wages as the result of such a rise. Now, I ask him, what is high wages, and what is low wages? Why constitute f.i. 5sh. weekly low, and 20sh. weekly, high wages? If 5 is low as compared to 20, 20 is still lower as compared to 200. If a man was to lecture on the thermometer, and commenced
•X by declaiming on high and low degrees, he would impart no knowledge whatever. He must first tell me how the freezing point is found out, and how the boiling point, and how these standard points are settled by natural laws, not by the fancy of the sellers or makers of thermometers. Now, in regard to wages and profits, citizen Weston has not only failed to deduct such
35 standard points from economical laws, but he has not even felt the necessity to look after them. He satisfied himself by the acceptance of the popular slang terms of low and high as something having a fixed meaning, although it is self-evident that wages can only be said to be high or low as
Ψ compared to a standard by which to measure their magnitudes.
γ

He will be unable to tell me, why a certain amount of money is given for a certain amount of labour? If he should answer me, this was settled by the law of supply and demand, I should ask him, in the first instance, by what law supply and demand themselves are regulated? Aye, such an answer would at once put him out of court. The relations between the supply and demand of labour undergo perpetual changes, and with them the market prices of labour. If the demand overshoots the supply, wages rise; if the supply overshoots the demand, wages sink although it might, in such circumstances, be necessary to *test* the real state of demand and supply by a strike f.i., or any other method. But if you accept supply and demand as the law regulating wages, it would be as childish as useless to declaim against a rise of wages, because, according to the supreme law you appeal to,, a periodical rise of wages is quite as necessary and legitimate as a periodical fall of wages. If you do *not* accept supply and demand as the law regulating wages, I again repeat the question, why a certain amount of money is given for a certain amount of labour?

But to consider matters more broadly: you would be altogether mistaken in fancying, that the value of labour or of any other commodity whatever, is ultimately fixed by supply and demand. Supply and demand regulate nothing but the temporary *fluctuations* of market prices. They will explain you why the market price of a commodity rises above, or sinks below its *value*, but they can never account for that *value* itself. Suppose supply and demand to equilibrate, or as the Economists call it, to cover each other. Why, the very moment these opposite forces become equal, they paralyse each other, and cease to work in the one or the other direction. At the moment 25 when supply and demand equilibrate each other, and therefore cease to act, the *market price* of a commodity coincides with its *real value*, with the standard price, round which its market prices oscillate. In inquiring into the nature of that *value*, we have therefore nothing at all to do with the temporary affections of market prices by supply and demand. The same holds 30 true with wages as with the prices of all other commodities.

Reduced to their simplest theoretical expression, all our friend's arguments dissolve themselves into this one single dogma: "*The prices of commodities are determined or regulated by wages.*"

I might appeal to practical observation to bear witness against this anti- 35 quated and exploded fallacy. I might tell you, that the English factory operatives, miners, shipbuilders and so forth, whose labour is relatively high-priced, undersell, by the cheapness of their produce, all other nations, while the English agricultural labourer f.i., whose labour is relatively low-priced, is undersold by almost every other nation, because of the dearness 40- of his produce. By comparing article with article in the same country, and

the commodities of different countries, I might show, apart from some exceptions more apparent than real that, on an average, the high-priced labour produces the low-priced, and the low-priced labour produces the high-priced commodities. This, of course, would not prove, that the high price of labour in the one, and its low price in the other instance are the respective causes of those diametrically opposed effects, but at all events it would prove that the prices of commodities are not ruled by the prices of labour. However, it is quite superfluous for us to employ this empirical method. |

[6] It might, perhaps, be denied that citizen Weston has put forward this dogma: "*The prices of commodities are determined or regulated by wages.*" In point of fact he has never formulated it. He said on the contrary, that profit and rent form also constituent parts of the prices of commodities, because it is out of the prices of commodities that not only the workingman's wages, but also the capitalist's profits, and the landlord's rents must be paid. But how, in his idea, are prices formed? First by wages. Then an additional percentage is joined to the price on behalf of the capitalist, and another additional percentage on behalf of the landlord. Suppose the wages of the labour employed in the production of a commodity, to be 10. If the rate of profit was 100 % upon the wages advanced, the capitalist would add ten, and if the rate of rent was also 100 % upon the wages, there would be added 10 more, and the aggregate price of the commodity would amount to 30. But such a determination of prices would be simply their determination by wages. If wages, in the above case, rose to 20, the price of the commodity would rise to 60, and so forth. Consequently, all the superannuated writers on Political Economy, who propounded the dogma that wages regulate prices, have tried to prove it by treating profit and rent *as mere additional percentages upon wages*. None of them was of course able to reduce the limits of those percentages to any economic law. They seem on the contrary to think profits settled by tradition, custom, the will of the capitalist, or some other equally arbitrary and inexplicable method. If they assert, that they are settled by the competition between the capitalists, they say nothing. That competition is sure to equalise the different rates of profit in different trades, or reduce them to one average level, but it can never determine that level itself, or the general rate of profit.

What do we mean in saying that the prices of commodities are determined by wages? Wages being but a name for the price of labour, we mean that the prices of commodities are regulated by the price of labour. As "*price*" is exchangeable value—and in speaking of value, I speak always of exchangeable value,—is exchangeable *value expressed in money*, the proposition comes to this, that "*the value of commodities is determined by the value of labour*", or that "*the value of labour is the general measure of value*".

But how then is the "*value of labour*" itself determined? Here we come to a standstill. Of course, to a standstill, if we try reasoning logically. Yet, the propounders of that doctrine make short work of logical scruples. Take our friend Weston f.i. First he told us that wages regulate the prices of commodities, and that, consequently, when wages rise, prices must rise. Then he turned round to show us that a rise of wages will be no good, because the prices of commodities had risen, and because wages were indeed measured by the prices of the commodities upon which they are spent. Thus we begin by saying that the value of labour determines the value of commodities, and we wind up by saying that the value of commodities determines the value of labour. Thus we move to and fro in the most vicious circle, and arrive at no conclusion at all.

On the whole, it is evident, that by making the value of one commodity, say labour, corn, or any other commodity, the general measure and regulator of value, we only shift the difficulty, since we determine one value by another value which on its side wants to be determined.

The dogma that "wages determine the prices of commodities", expressed in its most abstract terms, comes to this, that "value is determined by value", and this tautology means that, in fact, we know nothing at all about value. Accepting this premise, all reasoning about the general laws of Political Economy turns into mere twaddle. It was, therefore, the great merit of Ricardo that, in his work "*On the Principles of Pol. Econ.*", published in 1817, he fundamentally destroyed the old, popular, and worn out fallacy that "wages determine prices", a fallacy which A. Smith and his French predecessors had spurned in the really scientific parts of their researches, but which, nevertheless, they reproduced in their more exoterical and vulgarising chapters.

6)

Citizens, I have now arrived at a point, where I must enter upon the real development of the question. I cannot promise to do this in a very satisfactory way, because, to do so, I should be obliged to walk over the whole field of Political Economy. I can, as the French would say, but "*effleurer* la question", touch upon the main points.

The first question we have to put is, What is the *value* of a commodity? How is it determined?

On first sight, it would seem, that the value of a commodity is a thing quite *relative*, and not to be settled without considering one commodity in its relations to all other commodities. In fact, in speaking of the value, the

value in exchange of a commodity, we mean the proportional quantities in which it exchanges with all other commodities. But then arises the question, how are the proportions in which commodities exchange with each other, regulated?

We know from experience that these proportions vary infinitely. Taking one single commodity, wheat f.L, we shall find that a qr of wheat exchanges in almost countless variations of proportion with different commodities. Yet, *its value remaining always the same*, whether expressed in silk, gold, or any other commodity, it must be something distinct from, and independent of, these *different rates of exchange* with different articles. It must be possible to express it in a very different form these various equations with various commodities.

Besides: If I say, a qr of wheat exchanges with iron in a certain proportion, or the value of a qr of wheat is expressed in a certain amount of iron, I say that the value of wheat and its equivalent in iron are equal to *some third thing*, which is neither wheat nor iron, because I suppose them to express the same magnitude in two different shapes. Either of them, the wheat and the iron, must therefore, independently of the other, be reducible to this third thing which is their common measure.

To elucidate this point, I shall recur to a very simple geometrical illustration. In comparing the areas of triangles of all possible forms and magnitudes, or comparing triangles with rectangles, or any other rectilinear figure, how do we proceed? We reduce the area of any triangle whatever to an expression quite different from its visible form. Having found from the nature of the triangle, that its area is equal to half the product of its base by its height, we can then compare the different values of all sorts of triangles, and of all rectilinear figures whatever, because all of them may be dissolved into a certain number of triangles.

The same mode of procedure must obtain with the values of commodities. We must be able to reduce all of them to an expression common to all and distinguishing them only by the proportions in which they contain that same and identical measure. |

[7] As the *exchangeable values* of commodities are only *social functions* of those things, and have nothing at all to do with their *natural* qualities, we must first ask: What is the common *social substance* of all commodities? It is *Labour*. To produce a commodity, a certain amount of labour must be bestowed upon it, or worked up in it. And I say not only *Labour*, but *Social Labour*. A man who produces an article for his own immediate use, to consume it himself, creates a *product*, but not a *commodity*. As a self-sustaining producer, he has nothing to do with society. But to produce a *commodity*, a man must not only produce an article satisfying some *social* want, but his

labour itself must form part and parcel of the total sum of labour, expended by society. It must be subordinate to the *Division of Labour within Society*. It is nothing without the other divisions of labour, and, on its part, is required to *integrate* them.

If we consider *commodities as values*, we consider them exclusively under the single aspect of *realised, fixed*, or if you like, *crystallised social labour*. In this respect they can *differ* only by representing greater or smaller quantities of labour, as f. i. a greater amount of labour may be worked up in a silken handkerchief than in a brick. But how do we measure *quantities of labour*? By the *Time the labour lasts*, in measuring the labour by the hour, the day etc. Of course, to apply this measure, all sorts of labour are reduced to average or simple labour as their unity.

We arrive, therefore, at this conclusion: A commodity has a *value*, because it is a *crystallisation of social labour*. The *greatness* of its value, or its *relative* value, depends upon the greater or less amount of that social substance contained in it; that is to say, on the relative mass of labour necessary for its production. The *relative values of commodities* are, therefore, determined by the *respective quantities or amounts of labour, worked up, realised, fixed in them*. The *correlative* quantities of commodities, which can be produced in the *same time of labour*, are *equal*. Or the value of one commodity is to the value of an other commodity, as the quantity of labour fixed in the one, is to the quantity of labour, fixed in the other.

I suspect that many of you will ask: Does then, indeed, there exist such a vast or any difference whatever between determining the values of commodities by *wages*, and determining them by the *relative quantities of labour* necessary for their production? You must, however, be aware that *reward* for labour, and *quantity* of labour, are quite disparate things. Suppose f. i. *equal quantities of labour* to be fixed in one quarter of wheat and one ounce of gold. I resort to this example because it was used by *Benjamin Franklin* in his first essay published in 1731, and entitled: "*A modest Inquiry into the nature and necessity of a Paper Currency*", where he, one of the first, hit upon the true nature of value. Well! We suppose, then, that one quarter of wheat and one ounce of gold are *equal values*, or *equivalents*, because they are *crystallisations of equal amounts of average labour*, of so many days', or so many weeks' labour, respectively fixed in them. In thus determining the relative values of gold and corn, do we refer in any way whatever to the *wages* of the agricultural labourer and the miner? Not a bit. We leave it quite *indeterminate* how their day's or their week's labour was paid, or even whether wages labour was employed at all. If it was, wages may have been very unequal. The labourer whose labour is realised in the quarter of wheat, may receive 2 bushels only, and the labourer employed in mining, may receive one half

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of the ounce of gold. Or supposing their wages to be equal, they may deviate in all possible proportions from the values of the commodities produced by them. They may amount to $\frac{1}{2}$, %, %, %, or any other proportional part of the one quarter of corn or the one ounce of gold. Their *wages* can, of course, not *exceed*, not be *more* than the values of the commodities they produced, but they can be *less* in every possible degree. Their *wages* will be *limited* by the *values* of their products, but the *values of their products* will not be limited by their wages. And above all, values, the relative values of corn and gold f.i., will have been settled without any regard whatever to the value of the labour employed, that is to say, to *wages*. To determine the values of commodities by the *relative quantities of labour fixed in them*, is, therefore, a thing quite different from the tautological method of determining the values of commodities by the value of labour, or by *wages*. This point, however, will be further elucidated, in the progress of our inquiry. |

[8] In calculating the exchangeable value of a commodity, we must add to the quantity of labour *last* employed, the quantity of labour *previously* worked up in the raw material of the commodity, and "the labour bestowed on the implements, tools, machinery, and buildings with which such labour is assisted". F.i. the value of a certain amount of cotton yarn is the crystallisation of the quantity of labour added to the cotton during the spinning process, the quantity of labour previously realised in the cotton itself, the quantity of labour realised in the coal, oil, and other auxiliary matter used, the quantity of labour fixed in the steam engine, the spindles, the factory building, and so forth. Instruments of production, properly so called, such as tools, machinery, buildings, serve again and again, for a longer or shorter period, during repeated processes of production. If they were used up at once like the raw material, their whole value would at once be transferred to the commodities they assist in producing. But as a spindle f.i. is but gradually used up, an average calculation is made, based upon the average time it lasts, and its average waste or wear and tear during a certain period, say a day. In this way, we calculate how much of the value of the spindle is transferred to the yarn daily spun, and how much, therefore, of the total amount of labour, realised in a lb of yarn, f.i., is due to the quantity of labour, previously realised in the spindle. For our present purpose, it is not necessary to dwell any longer upon this point.

It might seem that if the value of a commodity be determined by the *quantity of labour bestowed upon its production*, the lazier a man, or the clumsier a man, the more valuable his commodity, because the greater the time of labour required for finishing the commodity. This, however, would be a sad mistake. You will recollect that I used the word "*Social Labour*", and many points are involved in this qualification of "*Social*". In saying that the

value of a commodity is determined by the *quantity of labour* worked up or crystallised in it, we mean *the quantity of labour necessary* for its production in a given state of society, under certain social average conditions of production, with a given social average intensity and average skill of the labour employed. When, in England, the powerloom came to compete with the handloom, only half the former time of labour was wanted to convert a given amount of yarn into a yard of cotton, or cloth. The poor handloom weaver now worked 17 and 18 hours daily, instead of the 9 or 10 hours he had worked before. Still the product of 20 hours of his labour represented now only 10 social hours of labour, or 10 hours of labour socially necessary for the conversion of a certain amount of yarn into textile stuffs. His product of 20 hours had, therefore, no more value than his former product of 10 hours.

If, then, the quantity of socially necessary labour, realised in commodities, regulates their exchangeable values, every increase of the quantity of labour wanted for the production of a commodity, must augment its value, as every diminution must lower it.

If the respective quantities of labour, necessary for the production of the respective commodities, remained constant, their relative values also would be constant. But such is not the case. The quantity of labour necessary for the production of a commodity changes continuously with the changes in the productive powers of the labour employed. The greater the productive powers of labour, the more produce is finished in a given time of labour, and the smaller the productive powers of labour, the less produce is finished in the same time. If f.i. in the progress of population, it should become necessary to cultivate less fertile soils, the same amount of produce would be only attainable by a greater amount of labour spent, and the value of agricultural produce would, consequently, rise. On the other hand, if, with the modern means of production, a single spinner converts into yarn, during one working day, many thousand times the amount of cotton which he could have spun during the same time with the spinning wheel, it is evident that every single pound of cotton will absorb many thousand times less of spinning labour than it did before, and, consequently, the value added by spinning to every single lb of cotton, will be thousand times less than before. The value of yarn will sink accordingly.

Apart from the different natural energies and acquired working abilities of different peoples, the Productive Powers of Labour must principally depend:

[9] ist) Upon the *natural* conditions of labour, such as fertility of soil, mines, and so forth;

2nd) Upon the progressive improvement of the *Social Powers of Labour*,

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such as are derived from Production on a grand scale, Concentration of Capital and Combination of Labour, Subdivision of labour, machinery, improved methods, appliance of chemical and other natural agencies, shortening of time and space by means of communication and transport, and every other contrivance by which science presses natural agencies into the service of labour, and by which the Social, or Cooperative Character of Labour is developed.

The greater the productive powers of labour, the less labour is bestowed upon a given amount of produce. Hence the smaller the value of this produce. The smaller the productive powers of labour, the more labour is bestowed upon the same amount of produce. Hence the greater its value. As a general law we may, therefore, set it down that:

The values of commodities are directly as the times of labour employed in their production, and are inversely as the productive powers of the Labour employed.

Having till now only spoken of *Value*, I shall add a few words about *Price*, which is a peculiar form assumed by value.

Price, taken by itself, is nothing but the *monetary expression of value*. The values of all commodities of this country f.i. are expressed in gold prices, while, on the continent, they are mainly expressed in silver-prices. The value of gold or silver, like that of all other commodities, is regulated by the quantity of labour necessary for getting them. You exchange a certain amount of your national products, in which a certain amount of your national labour is crystallised, for the produce of the gold and silver producing countries, in which a certain quantity of *their* labour is crystallised. It is in this way, in fact by barter, that you learn to express in gold and silver the values of all commodities, that is, the respective quantities of labour bestowed upon them. Looking somewhat closer into the *monetary expression of value*, or what comes to the same, the *conversion of value into price*, you will find that it is a process by which you give to the *values* of all commodities an *independent and homogeneous form*, or by which you express them as quantities of *equal*, social labour. So far as it is but the monetary expression of value, price has been called *natural price* by *A. Smith*, "*prix nécessaire*" by the French physiocrats.

What then is the relation between *value* and *market prices*, or between *natural prices* and *market prices*?

You all know that the *market price* is the *same* for all commodities of the same kind, however the conditions of production may differ for the individual producers. The market prices express only the *average amount of social labour*, necessary under the average conditions of production, to supply the market with a certain mass of a certain article. It is calculated upon the whole lot of a commodity of a certain description.

So far the *market price* of a commodity coincides with its *value*. On the other hand, the oscillations of market prices, rising now over, sinking now under the value or natural price, depend upon the fluctuations of supply and demand. The deviations of market prices from values are continuous, but as *A. Smith* says:

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"The natural price is the central price to which the prices of commodities are continually gravitating. Different accidents may sometimes keep them suspended a good deal above it, and sometimes force them down even somewhat below it. But whatever may be the obstacles which hinder them from settling in this centre of repose and continuance, they are constantly tending towards it."

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I cannot now sift this matter. It suffices to say, that *if* supply and demand equilibrate each other, the market prices of commodities will correspond to their natural prices, that is to say to their values, as determined by the respective quantities of labour required for their production. But supply and demand *must* constantly tend to equilibrate each other, although they do so only by compensating one fluctuation by another, a rise by a fall, and vice versa. If, instead of considering only the daily fluctuations, you analyse the movement of market prices for longer periods, as Mr. Tooke f.i. has done in his "*History of Prices*", you will find that the fluctuations of market prices, their deviations from values, their ups and downs, paralyse and compensate each other, so that, apart from the effect of monopolies, and some other modifications I must now pass by, all descriptions of commodities are, on the average, sold at their respective *values* or natural prices. The average periods during which the fluctuations of market prices compensate each other, are different for different kinds of commodities, because with one kind it is easier to adapt supply to demand than with the other.

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If then, speaking broadly, and embracing somewhat longer periods, all descriptions of commodities sell at their respective values, it is nonsense to suppose that profit, not in individual cases, but that the constant and usual profits of different trades, spring from *surcharging* the prices of commodities, or selling them at a price over and above their *value*. The absurdity of this notion becomes evident, if it be generalised. What a man would constantly win as a seller, he would as constantly lose as a purchaser. It would not do to say, that there are men who are buyers without being sellers, or consumers without being producers. What these people pay to the producers, they must first get from them for nothing. If a man first takes your money and, afterwards returns that money in buying your commodities, you will never enrich yourselves, by selling your commodities too dear to that same man. This sort of transaction might diminish a loss, but would never help in realising a profit.

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To explain, therefore, the *general nature of profits*, you must start from the theorem that, on an average, commodities are *sold at their real values*, and that *profits* are *derived from selling them at their values*, that is, in proportion to the quantity of labour realised in them. If you cannot explain profit
5 upon this supposition, you cannot explain it at all. This seems paradox and contrary to the everyday's observation. It is also paradox that the earth moves round the sun, and that water consists of two highly inflammable gases. Scientific truth is always paradox, if judged by everyday's experience, which catches only the delusive appearances of things. |

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[10] 7) (The Labouring Power.)

Having now, as far as it could be done in such a cursory manner, analysed the nature of *Value*, of the *Value of any commodity whatever*, we must turn our attention to the specific *Value of Labour*. And here again I must startle you by a seeming paradox. All of you feel sure that what they daily sell, is
15 their Labour; that, therefore, Labour has a Price, and that, the price of a commodity being only the monetary expression of its value, there must certainly exist such a thing as the *Value of Labour*. However, there exists no such thing as the *Value of Labour* in the common acceptance of the word. We have seen that the amount of necessary labour crystallised in a com-
20 modify constitutes its value. Now, applying this notion of value, how could we define, say the value of a 10 hours' working day? How much labour is contained in that day? Ten hours' labour. To say that the value of a 10 hours' working day is equal to 10 hours' labour, or the quantity of labour contained in it, would be a tautological and, moreover, a nonsensical
25 expression. Of course, having once found out the true but hidden sense of the expression: "*Value of Labour*", we will be able to interpret this irrational and seemingly impossible application of value, in the same way, that having once made sure of the real movement of the celestial bodies, we shall be able to explain their apparent or merely phenomenal movements.

30 What the working man sells is not directly his *Labour*, but his *Labouring Power*, the temporary disposal of which he makes over to the capitalist. This is so much the case that, I do not know whether by the English Law, but certainly by some Continental Laws, the *Maximum time* is fixed, for which a man is allowed to sell his labouring power. If allowed to do so for any pe-
35 riod whatever, slavery would be immediately restored. Such a sale, if it comprised his lifetime f.i., would make him at once the lifelong slave of his employer.

One of the oldest economists and most original philosophers of England,

Karl Marx

Thomas Hobbes, has already in his *Leviathan* instinctively hit upon this point, overlooked by all his successors. He says: "*The value, or worth of a man, is, as in all other things, his price: that is, so much as would be given for the Use of his Power.*"

Proceeding from this basis, we shall be able to determine the *value of labour*, as that of all other commodities.

But before doing so, we might ask, how does this strange phenomenon arise, that we find on the market a set of buyers, possessed of land, machinery, raw materials, and the means of life, all of them, save land in its crude state, the *products of labour*, and, on the other hand, a set of sellers, who have nothing to sell except their labouring power, their working arms and brains? That the one set buys continually, in order to make a profit and enrich themselves, while the other set continuously sells, in order to gain their lives? The inquiry into this question would be an inquiry into what the economists call: *The Previous or Original Accumulation*, but which ought to be called the *Original Expropriation*. We would find that this so-called *Original Accumulation* means nothing but a series of historical processes resulting in a *Decomposition* of the *Original Union* existing between the Labouring Man and his Means of Labour. Such an inquiry, however, lies beyond the pale of my present subject. The *Separation* between the Man of Labour and the Means of Labour once established, such a state of things will maintain itself and reproduce itself upon a constantly increasing scale, until a new and fundamental revolution in the mode of production should again overturn it, and restore the original union in a new historical form.

What then is the *Value of the Labouring Power*?

Like that of every other commodity, its value is determined by the quantity of labour necessary to produce it. The labouring power of a man exists only in his living individuality. A certain mass of necessaries must be consumed by a man to grow up and maintain his life. But the man, like the machine, will wear out, and must be replaced by another man. Besides the mass of necessaries required for *his own* maintenance, he wants another amount of necessaries to bring up a certain quota of children that are to replace him on the labour market and to perpetuate the race of labourers. Moreover, to develop his labouring power, and acquire a given skill, another amount of values must be spent. For our purpose it suffices to consider only *average* labour, the costs of whose education and development are vanishing magnitudes. Still, I must seize this occasion to state that, as the costs of producing labouring powers of different qualities do differ, so must differ the values of the labouring powers employed in different trade; The cry for an *equality of wages* rests, therefore, upon a mistake, is an insane wish never to be fulfilled. It is an offspring of that false and superficial

radicalism that accepts premises and tries to evade conclusions. Upon the basis of the wages system, the value of the labouring power is settled like that of every other commodity, and as different kinds of labouring power have different values, or require different quantities of labour for their production, they *must* fetch different prices in the labour market. To clamour for *equal or even equitable retribution* on the basis of the wages system, is the same as to clamour for *freedom*, on the basis of the slavery system. What you think just or equitable, is out of the question. The question is, what is necessary and unavoidable with a given system of production.

After what has been said, the *value of the labouring power* is determined by the *value of the necessaries* required to produce, develop, maintain, and perpetuate the labouring power.

8) (Production of Surplus Value.)

Now suppose that the average amount of the daily necessaries of a labouring man require *6 hours of average labour* for their production. Suppose, moreover, 6 hours of average labour to be also realised in a quantity of gold, equal to 3sh. Then 3sh. would be the *Price*, or the monetary expression of the *Daily Value* of that man's *Labouring Power*. If he worked daily 6 hours, he would daily produce a value sufficient to buy the average amount of his daily necessaries, or to maintain himself as a labouring man.

But our man is a wages' labourer. He must, therefore, sell his labouring power to a capitalist. If he sells it at 3sh. daily, or 18sh. weekly, he sells it at its value. Suppose him to be a spinner. If he works 6 hours daily, he will add to the cotton a value of 3sh. daily. This value, daily added by him, would be an exact equivalent for the wages, or the price of his labouring power, received daily. But in that case *no surplusvalue* or *surplus produce* whatever would go to the capitalist. Here, then, we come to the rub.

In buying the labouring power of the workman and paying its value, the capitalist, like every other purchaser, has acquired the right to consume or use the commodity bought. You consume or use the labouring power of a man, by making him work, as you consume or use a machine by making it run. By paying the daily or weekly value of the labouring power of the workman, the capitalist has, therefore, acquired the right to use or make that labouring power work during the *whole day or week*. The working day or the working week has of course certain limits, but those we shall afterwards look more closely upon. For the present, I want to turn your attention to one decisive point.

The *value* of the labouring power is determined by the quantity of labour

necessary to maintain or reproduce it, but the *use* of that labouring power is only limited by the acting energies and physical strength of the labourer. The daily or weekly *value* of the labouring power is quite distinct from the daily or weekly *exercise* of that same power, the same as the food a horse wants and the time it can carry the horseman, are quite distinct. The quantity of labour, by which the *value* of the workman's labouring power is limited, forms by no means a limit to the quantity of labour which his labouring power is apt to perform. Take the example of our spinner. We have seen that, to daily reproduce his labouring power, he must daily reproduce a value of 3sh., which he will do by working 6 hours daily. But this does not disable him from working 10 or 12 or more hours a day. But by paying the daily or weekly *value* of the spinner's labouring power, the capitalist has acquired the right of using that labouring power during the *whole day or week*. He will, therefore, make him work daily, say 12 hours. *Over and above* the 6 hours, required to replace his wages, or the value of his labouring power, he will, therefore, have to work 6 *other hours*, which I shall call hours of *surpluslabour*, which surplus labour will realise itself in a *surplusvalue* and a *surplus produce*. If our spinner f.i., by his daily labour of 6 hours, added 3sh. Value to the cotton, a value forming an exact equivalent for his wages, he will, in 12 hours, add 6sh.'s worth to the cotton, and produce a *proportional surplus of yarn*. As he has sold his labouring power to the capitalist, the whole value or produce, created by him, belongs to the capitalist, the owner pro tern, of his labouring power. By advancing 3sh., the capitalist will, therefore, realise a value of 6sh., because, advancing a value, in which 6 hours of labour are crystallised, he will receive in return a value, in which 12 hours of labour are crystallised. By repeating this same process daily, the capitalist will daily advance 3sh. and daily pocket 6sh., one half of which will go to pay wages anew, and the other half of which will form *surplus value*, for which the capitalist pays no equivalent. It is *this sort of exchange between capital and labour*, upon which capitalistic production, or the wages system, is founded, and which must constantly result in reproducing the working man as a working man, and the capitalist as a capitalist.

The *Rate of Surplus value* will, all other circumstances remaining the same, depend on the proportion between that part of the working day, necessary to reproduce the value of the labouring power, and the *surplus time* or *surplus labour*, performed for the capitalist. It will, therefore, depend on the *ratio in which the working day is prolonged over and above that extent*, by working which the working man would only reproduce the value of his labouring power, or replace his wages.

9) (Value of Labour.)

We must now return to the expression: '*Value or Price of Labour*'.

We have seen that it is in fact only the value of the Labouring Power, measured by the values of the commodities necessary for its maintenance.

5 But since the workman receives his wages *after* his labour is performed, and knows, moreover, that what he actually gives to the capitalist, is his labour, the value or price of his labouring power necessarily appears to him, as the *price* or *value of his labour itself*. If the price of his labouring power is 3sh., in which 6 hours of labour are realised, and if he works 12 hours, he
10 necessarily considers these 3sh. as the value or price of 12 hours of labour, although these 12 hours of labour realise themselves in a value of 6sh. A double consequence flows from this.

Firstly, the *value or price of the labouring power* takes the semblance of the *Price or Value of Labour itself*, although, strictly speaking, value and price of
15 labour are senseless terms.

Secondly: Although one part only of the workman's daily labour is *paid*, while the other part is *unpaid*, and while that unpaid or surplus labour constitutes exactly the fund out of which *surplusvalue* or *profit* is formed, it seems as if the aggregate labour was paid labour.

20 This false appearance distinguishes *wages' labour* from other *historical* forms of labour. On the basis of the wages' system, even the *unpaid* labour
' seems to be paid labour. With the *slave*, on the contrary, even that part of his labour, which is paid, appears to be unpaid. Of course, in order to work, the slave must live, and one part of his working day goes to replace the
25 ue of his own maintenance. But since no bargain is struck between him and his master, and no acts of selling and buying are going on between the
.. two parties, all his labour seems to be given away for nothing.

Take on the other hand the peasant serf, such, as he, I might say, still yesterday, existed in the whole East of Europe. This peasant worked f.i.
30 3 days for himself on his own field, or the field allotted to him, and the three subsequent days he performed compulsory and gratuitous labour on
' the estate of his lord. Here, then, the paid and unpaid parts of labour were visibly separated, separated in time and space, and our liberals overflowed with moral indignation at the preposterous notion of making a man work
35 for nothing.

In point of fact, however, whether a man works 3 days of the week for himself on his own field, and three days for nothing on the estate of his lord, or whether he works in the factory or the workshop 6 hours daily for himself, and 6 for his employer, comes to the same, although in the latter

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case the paid and unpaid portions of labour are inseparably mixed up with each other, and the nature of the whole transaction is completely masked by the *intervention of a contract*, and the *pay* received at the end of the week. The gratuitous labour appears to be voluntarily given in the one instance, and to be compulsory in the other. That makes all the difference.

In using the word "*value of labour*", I shall only use it as a popular slang term for "*value of the labouring power*".

10) (Profit is made by selling a commodity at its value.)

Suppose an average hour of labour to be realised in a value, equal to 6d., or 10¹/₂ 12 average hours of labour to be realised in 6sh. Suppose further the value of labour to be 3sh., or the produce of 6 hours' labour. If, then, in the raw material, machinery, and so forth, used up in a commodity, 24 average hours of labour were realised, its value would amount to 12sh. If, moreover, the workman employed by the capitalist, added 12 hours of labour to those 15¹/₄ means of production, these 12 hours would be realised in an additional value of 6sh. The *total value of the product* would, therefore, amount to 36 hours of realised labour, and be equal to 18sh. But as the value of labour, or the wages paid to the workman, would be 3sh. only, no equivalent would have been paid by the capitalist for the 6 hours of surplus labour, 20 \ worked by the workman, and realised in the value of the commodity. By selling this commodity at its value, for 18sh., the capitalist would, therefore, realise a value of 3sh., for which he had paid no equivalent. These 3sh. would constitute the surplus value or profit, pocketed by him. The capitalist would, consequently, realise the profit of 3sh., not by selling his 25¹/₄ commodity at a price *over and above* its value, but by selling it *at its real value*.

The value of a commodity is determined by the *total quantity of labour* contained in it. But part of that quantity of labour is realised in a value, for which an equivalent has been paid in the form of wages; part of it is realised in a value, for which *no* equivalent has been paid. Part of the labour; contained in the commodity, is *paid* labour; part is *unpaid* labour. By selling, therefore, the commodity *at its value*, that is as the crystallisation of the *total quantity of labour* bestowed upon it, the capitalist must necessarily sell it at a profit. He sells not only, what has cost him an equivalent, but he sells also what has cost him nothing, although it has cost the labour of his workman. The cost of the commodity to the capitalist, and its real cost, are

different things. I repeat, therefore, that normal and average profits are made by selling commodities not *above*, but *at their real values*. \

**1121 11) (Different parts
into which Surplusvalue is decomposed.)**

The *surplusvalue*, or that part of the total value of the commodity, in which the *surplus labour* or *unpaid labour* of the workingman is realised, I call *Profit*. The whole of that profit is not pocketed by the employing capitalist. The monopoly of land enables the landlord to vindicate one part of that *surplusvalue*, under the name of *rent*, whether the land be used for agriculture, or buildings, or railways, or for any other productive purpose. On the other hand, the very fact, that the possession of the *means of labour*, enables the employing capitalist to produce a *surplus value*, or what comes to the same, to *appropriate to himself a certain amount of unpaid labour*, enables the owner of the means of labour, which he lends wholly or partly to the employing capitalist, enables in one word the *money lending capitalist* to claim for himself, under the name of *interest*, another part of that surplus value, so that there remains to the employing capitalist *as such* only what is called *industrial* or *commercial profit*.

By what laws this division of the total amount of surplusvalue amongst these three categories of people is regulated, is a question quite foreign from our subject. This much, however, results from what has been stated.

Rent, Interest, and Industrial Profit are only *different names for different parts* of the *surplus value* of the commodity, or the *unpaid labour, realised in it*, and they are *equally derived from this source, and from this source alone*. They are not derived from *land* as such, nor from *capital* as such, but land and capital enable their owners to get their respective shares out of the surplus value, extracted by the employing capitalist from the labourer. For the labourer himself, it is a matter of subordinate importance, whether that surplus value, the result of his surplus labour or unpaid labour, be altogether pocketed by the employing capitalist, or whether the latter be obliged to pay portions of it, under the names of rent and interest, away to third parties. Suppose the employing capitalist to use only his own capital, and to be his own landlord, and the whole surplusvalue would go into his pocket.

It is the employing capitalist, who immediately extracts from the labourer this surplusvalue, whatever part of it he may ultimately be able to keep for himself. Upon this relation, therefore, between the employing cap-

italist and the wages' labourer, the whole wages system and the whole present system of production hinge. Some of the citizens, who took part in our debate, were, therefore, wrong in trying to mince matters, and to treat this fundamental relation between the employing capitalist and the working man as a secondary question, although they were right in stating, that, under given circumstances, a rise of prices might affect in very unequal degrees the employing capitalist, the landlord, the monied capitalist, and, if you please, the taxgatherer.

Another consequence follows from what has been stated.

That part of the value of the commodity, which presents only the value 10. of the raw materials, the machinery, in one word, the value of the means of production used up, forms *no revenue* at all, but replaces *only capital*. But apart from this, it is false that the other part of the value of the commodity, *which forms revenue*, or may be spent in the form of wages, profits, rents, interest, is *constituted* by the value of wages, the value of rent, the value of profit, and so forth. We shall, in the first instance, discard wages, and only treat industrial profit, interest, and rent. We have just seen, that the *surplus-value* contained in the commodity, or that part of its value, in which *unpaid labour* is realised, *dissolves* itself into different fractions, bearing three different names. But it would be quite the reverse of the truth to say, that its 20] value is *composed* of, or *formed* by, the *addition* of the *independent values* of *these three constituents*.

If one hour of labour realises itself in a value of 6d., if the working day of the labourer comprises 12 hours, if half of this time is unpaid labour, that surplus labour will add to the commodity a *surplus value* of 3sh., that is of 25] value for which no equivalent has been paid. This surplusvalue of 3sh. constitutes the *whole fund* which the employing capitalist may divide, in whatever proportions, with the landlord and the money lender. The value of these 3sh. constitutes the limit of the value they have to divide amongst 30] each other. But it is not the employing capitalist who adds to the value of the commodity an arbitrary value for his profit, to which another value is added for the landlord, and so forth, so that the addition of those arbitrarily fixed values would constitute the total value. You see, therefore, the fallacy of the popular notion, which confounds the *decomposition* of a *given value* into three different parts, with the *formation* of that value by the addition of three *independent* values, thus converting the aggregate value, from which rent, profit, and interest are derived, into an arbitrary magnitude.

If the total profit, realised by a capitalist, be equal to 100/., we call this sum, considered as an *absolute* magnitude, the *amount of profit*. But if we 40] calculate the ratio which those 100/. bear to the capital advanced, we call

this *relative* magnitude, the *rate of profit*. It is evident, that this rate of profit may be expressed in a double way.

Suppose 100/. to be the capital, *advanced in wages*. If the surplus value created is also /. 100—and this would show us, that half the working day of the labourer consists of *unpaid* labour—and if we measured this profit by the value of the capital advanced in wages, we should say, that the *rate of profit* amounted to 100 %, because the value advanced would be 100, and the value realised would be 200.

If, on the other hand, we should not only consider the *capital advanced in wages*, but the *total capital* advanced, say f.i. 500/., of which 400/. represented the value of raw materials, machinery, and so forth, we should say that the *rate of profit* amounted only to 20%, because the profit of 100 would be but the fifth part of the *total* capital advanced.

The first mode of expressing the rate of profit is the only one which shows you the real ratio between paid and unpaid labour, the real degree of the *exploitation* (you must allow me this French word) *of labour*. The other mode of expression is that in common use, and is indeed appropriate for certain purposes. At all events, it is very useful for concealing the degree, in which the capitalist extracts gratuitous labour from the workman.

In the remarks I have still to make, I shall use the word *Profit* for the whole amount of surplusvalue, extracted from the capitalist without any regard to the division of that surplusvalue between different parties, and in using the words *Rate of Profit*, I shall always measure profits by the value of the capital advanced in wages. |

| 13 | 12) (General relation of Profits, Wages, and Prices.)

Deduct from the value of a commodity the value replacing the value of the raw materials and other means of production used upon it, that is to say deduct the value representing the *past* labour contained in it, and the remainder of its value will dissolve into the quantity of labour added by the working man *last* employed. If that workingman works 12 hours daily, if 12 hours of average labour crystallise themselves in an amount of gold equal to 6sh., this additional value of 6sh. is the *only* value his labour will have created. This given value, determined by the time of his labour, is the only fund, from which, both he and the capitalist, have to draw their respective shares or dividends, the only value to be divided into wages and profits. It is evident that this value itself will not be altered by the variable

proportions, in which it may be divided amongst the two parties. There will also be nothing changed, if in the place of one workingman, you put the whole working population, 12 millions of working days f.i., instead of one.

Since the capitalist and the workman have only to divide this limited value, that is the value measured by the total labour of the workingman, the more the one gets, the less will the other get, and vice versa. Whenever a quantity is given, one part of it will increase inversely as the other decreases. If the wages change, profits will change in an opposite direction. If wages fall, profits will rise, and if wages rise, profits will fall. If the working man, on our former supposition, gets 3sh., equal to one half of the value he has created, or if his whole working day consists half of paid, and half of unpaid labour, the *rate of profit* will be 100%, because the capitalist would also get 3sh. If the workingman receives only 2sh., or works only % of the whole day for himself, the capitalist will get 4sh., and the rate of profit will be 200 %. If the working man receives 4sh., the capitalist will only receive two, and the rate of profit would sink to 50 %, but all these variations will not affect the value of the commodity. A general rise of wages would, therefore, result in a fall of the general rate of profit, but not affect values.

But although the values of commodities, which must ultimately regulate their marketprices, are exclusively determined by the total quantities of labour fixed in them, and not by the division of that quantity into paid and unpaid labour, it does by no means follow, that the values of the single commodities or lots of commodities produced during 12 hours f.i. will remain constant. The *number* or mass of commodities, produced in a given time of labour, or by a given quantity of labour, depends upon the *productive power* of the labour employed, and not upon its *extent*, or length. With one degree of the productive power of spinning labour f.i. a working day of 12 hours may produce 12lbs of yarn, with a lesser degree of productive power only 2lbs. If then 12 hours' average labour were realised in the value of 6sh., in the one case the 12lbs of yarn would cost 6sh., in the other case the 2lbs of yarn would also *cost 6sh.* One lb of yarn would, therefore, cost 6d. in the one case, and 3sh. in the other. The difference of price would result from the difference in the productive powers of the labour employed. One hour of labour would be realised in one lb of yarn, with the greater productive power, while with the smaller productive power, 6 hours of labour would be realised in lib of yarn. The price of a lb of yarn would, in the one instance, be only 6d, although wages were relatively high and the rate of profit low; it would be 3sh. in the other instance, although wages were low and the rate of profit high. This would be so, because the price of the lb of yarn is regulated by the *total amount of labour worked up* in it, and not by *the proportional division of that total amount into paid and unpaid la-*

bour. The fact, I have before mentioned, that high priced labour may produce cheap, and low priced labour may produce dear commodities, loses, therefore, its paradoxical appearance. It is but the expression of the general law, that the value of a commodity is regulated by the quantity of labour worked up in it, but that the quantity of labour worked up in it, depends altogether upon the productive power of the labour employed, and will, therefore, vary with every variation in the productivity of labour.

13) (Main cases of attempts at rising wages or resisting their fall.)

1) Let us now seriously consider the main cases in which a rise of wages is attempted or a reduction of wages resisted.

We have seen: that the *value of the labouring power*, or in more popular parlance, the *value of labour*, is determined by the value of necessaries, or the quantity of labour required to produce them. If then, in a given country, the value of the daily average necessaries of the labourer represented 6 hours of labour, expressed in 3sh., labourer would have to work 6 hours daily to produce an equivalent for his daily maintenance. If the whole working day was 12 hours, the capitalist would pay him the value of his labour by paying him 3sh. Half the working day would be unpaid labour, and the rate of profit would mount to 100 %. But now suppose that, consequent upon a decrease of productivity, more labour should be wanted to produce say the same amount of agricultural produce, so that the price of the average daily necessaries should rise from 3 to 4sh. In that case the *value* of labour would rise by $\frac{1}{3}$, or 33 $\frac{3}{4}$ %. Eight hours of the working day would be required to produce an equivalent for the daily maintenance of the labourer, according to his old standard of living. The surplus labour would therefore sink from 6 hours to 4, and the rate of profit from 100 to 50 %. But in insisting upon a rise of wages, the labourer would only insist upon getting the *increased value of his labour*, like every other seller of a commodity, who, the costs of his commodities having increased, tries to get its increased value paid. If wages did not rise, or not sufficiently rise, to compensate for the increased values of necessaries, the *price* of labour would sink *below the value of labour*, and the labourer's standard of life would deteriorate.

But a change might also take place in an opposite direction. By virtue of the increased productivity of labourer, the same amount of the average daily necessaries, might sink from 3sh. to 2, or only 4 hours out of the working day, instead of 6, be wanted to reproduce an equivalent for the val-

ue of the daily necessaries. The workingman would now be able to buy with 2sh. as many necessaries as he did before with 3sh. Indeed, the *value of labour* would have sunk, but that diminished value would command the same amount of commodities as before. Then profits would rise from 3sh. to 4, and the rate of profit, from 100 to 200 %. Although the labourer's absolute standard of life would have remained the same, his *relative wages*, and, therewith, his *relative social position*, as compared to that of the capitalist, would have been lowered. If the working man should resist that reduction of relative wages, he would only try to get some share in the increased productive powers of his own labour, and to maintain his former relative position in the social scale. Thus, after the abolition of the ||14| Cornlaws, and in flagrant violation of the most solemn pledges given during the Anti-Corn Law Agitation, the English factory lords generally reduced wages by 10 %. The resistance of the workmen was at first baffled, but, consequent upon circumstances I cannot now enter upon, the 10 % lost were afterwards regained.

2) The *values* of necessaries, and consequently the *value of labour*, might remain the same, but a change might occur in their *money prices*, consequent upon a previous *change* in the *value of money*.

By the discovery of more fertile mines and so forth, two ounces of gold, might f.i. cost no more labour to produce than one ounce did before. The *value* of gold would then be depreciated by one half or by 50 %. As the *values* of all other commodities would then be expressed in twice their former *money prices*, thus the same *value of labour*. Twelve hours of labour, formerly expressed in 6sh., would now be expressed in 12sh. If the workingman's wages would remain 3sh., instead of rising to 6sh., the *money price of his labour* would only be equal to *half the value of his labour*, and his standard of life would fearfully deteriorate. This would also happen in a greater or ; lesser degree, if his wages should rise, but not proportionately to the fall in the value of gold. In such a case nothing would have been changed, neither ; in the productive powers of labour, nor in supply and demand, nor in values. Nothing would have changed except the *money names* of those values. ? To say, that in such a case, the workman ought not to insist upon a proportionate rise of wages, is to say, that he must be content to be paid with names, instead of with things. All past history proves, that whenever such a **M** depreciation of money occurs, the capitalists are on the alert to seize this 3 opportunity for defrauding the workmen. A very large school of Pol. Econ- **M** omists asserts, that, consequent upon the new discoveries of goldlands, the **m** better working of silver mines, and the cheaper supply of quicksilver, the **m** value of precious metals has been again depreciated. This would explain | the general and simultaneous attempts, on the continent, at a rise of wages.

3) We have till now supposed that the *working day* has given limits. The working day, however, has, by itself, no constant limits. It is the constant tendency of capital to stretch it to its utmost physically possible length, because in the same degree surplus-labour, and consequently the profit resulting therefrom, will be increased. The more capital succeeds in prolonging the working day, the greater the amount of other peoples' labour it will appropriate. During the 17th, and even the two first thirds of the 18th century, a 10 hours' working day was the normal working day all over England. During the Anti Jacobin war, which was in fact a war waged by the British Barons against the British working masses, capital celebrated its bacchanalia, and prolonged the working day from 10 to 12, 14, 18 hours. *Malthus*, by no means a man, whom you would suspect of a maudlin sentimentalism, declared in a pamphlet, published about 1815, that if this sort of thing was to go on, the life of the nation would be attacked in its very source. A few years before the general introduction of the newly invented machinery, about 1765, a pamphlet appeared in England under the title: "*An Essay on Trade*". The anonymous author, an avowed enemy of the working classes, declaims on the necessity of expanding the limits of the working day. Amongst other means to this end, he proposes *working houses*, which, he says, ought to be "*Houses of Terror*". And what is the length of the working day he prescribes for these "*Houses of Terror*"? *Twelve hours*, the very same time which, in 1832, was declared by capitalists, political economists, and ministers, to be not only the existing, but the necessary time of labour for a child under 12 years.

5 By selling his labouring power, and he must do so under the present system, the working man makes over to the capitalist the consumption of that power, but within certain rational limits. He sells his labouring power, in order to maintain it, apart from its natural tear and wear, but not to destroy it. In selling his labouring power at its daily or weekly value, it is understood that in one day or one week, that labouring power shall not be submitted to 2 days or 2 weeks waste, or wear and tear. Take a machine, worth 1000/. If it is used up in 10 years, it will add to the value of the commodities, in whose production it assists, 100/. yearly. If it be used up in 5 years, it would add 200/. yearly, or the value of its annual wear and tear is in inverse ratio to the quickness with which it is consumed. But this distinguishes the working man from the machine. Machinery does not wear out exactly in the same ratio in which it is used. Man, on the contrary, decays in a greater ratio than would be visible from the mere numerical addition of work.

0 In their attempts at reducing the working day to its former rational dimensions, or, when they cannot enforce a legal fixation of a normal work-

ing day, at checking overwork by a rise of wages, a rise not only in proportion to the surplus time exacted, but in a greater proportion, workingmen fulfil only a duty against themselves, and their race. They set only limits to the tyrannical usurpations of capital. Time is the room of human development. A man who has to dispose of no free time, whose whole lifetime, apart from the mere physical interruptions by sleep, meals, and so forth, is absorbed by his labour for the capitalist, is less than a beast of burthen. He is a mere machine for producing Foreign Wealth, broken in-body, and brutalised in mind. Yet, the whole history of modern industry shows, that capital, if not checked, will recklessly and restlessly work to cast down the whole working class to this utmost state of degradation.

In prolonging the working day, the capitalist may pay *higher wages*, and still lower the *value of labour*, if the rise of wages do not correspond to the greater amount of labour extracted, and the quicker decay of the labouring power thus caused. This may be done in another way. Your middleclass statisticians will tell you f. inst. that the average wages of factory families in Lancashire have risen. They forget that instead of the labour of the man, the head of the family, his wife, and perhaps 3 or 4 children are now thrown under the Juggernaut wheels of capital, and that the rise of the aggregate wages does not correspond to the aggregate surplus labour extracted from the family.

Even with given limits of the working day, such as they now exist in all branches of industry subjected to the factory laws, a rise of wages may become necessary, if only to keep up the old standard *value of labour*. By increasing the *intensity* of labour, a man may be made to expend as much vital force in one hour, as he formerly did in two. This has, to a certain degree, been effected in the trades, placed under the factory acts, by the acceleration of machinery, and the greater number of working machines which a single individual has now to superintend. If the increase in the intensity of labour, or the mass of labour spent ||15| in an hour, keeps some fair proportion to the decrease in the extent of the working day, the working man will still be the winner. If this limit is overshot, he loses in one form what he has gained in another, and 10 hours of labour may then become as ruinous as 12 hours were before. In checking this tendency of capital, by struggling for a rise of wages, corresponding to the rising inten- 3
sity of labour, the working man only resists the depreciation of his labour, and the deterioration of his race.

4) All of you know that, from reasons I have not now to explain, capitalistic production moves through certain periodical cycles. It moves through v
a state of quiescence, growing animation, prosperity, overtrade, crisis, and :
stagnation. The marketprices of commodities, and the market rates of

Value, price and profit

profit, follow these phases, now sinking below their averages, now rising above them. Considering the whole cycle, you will find that one deviation of the marketprice is being compensated by the other, and that, taking the average of the cycle, the marketprices of commodities are regulated by their values. Well! During the phasis of sinking marketprices, and the phases of crisis and stagnation, the working man, if not thrown out of employment altogether, is sure to have his wages lowered. To not be defrauded, he must, even with such a fall of marketprices, debate with the capitalist in what degree a *proportional* fall of wages has become necessary. If, during the phases of prosperity, when extra profits are made, he battled not for a rise of wages, he would, taking the average of one industrial cycle, not even receive his *average wages*, or the *value* of his labour. It is the utmost height of foolery to demand, that while his wages are necessarily affected by the adverse phases of the cycle, he should exclude himself from a compensation during the prosperous phases of the cycle. Generally, the *values* of all commodities are only realised by the compensation of the continuously changing marketprices, springing from the continuous fluctuations of demand and supply. On the basis of the present system, labour is only a commodity like others. It must, therefore, pass through the same fluctuations to fetch an average price corresponding to its value. It would be absurd to treat it on the one hand as a commodity, and to want on the other hand to exempt it from the laws which regulate the prices of commodities. The slave receives a permanent and fixed amount of maintenance; the wages labourer does not. He must try to get a rise of wages in the one instance, if only to compensate for a fall of wages, in the other. If he resigned himself to accept the will, the dictates of the capitalist as a paramount economical law, he would share in all the miseries of the slave, without the security of the slave.

5) In all the cases I have considered, and they form 99 out of 100, you have seen that a struggle for a rise of wages follows only in the track of *previous* changes, and as their necessary offspring, of previous changes in the amount of production, the productive power of labour, the value of labour, the value of money, the extent or the intensity of the labour extracted, the fluctuations of market prices, dependent upon the fluctuations of demand and supply, and coexistent with the different phases of the industrial cycle; in one word, as reactions of labour against the previous action of capital. By treating the struggles for a rise of wages independently of all these circumstances, by looking only upon the change of wages, and overlooking all the other changes from which, they emanate, you proceed from a false premise in order to arrive at false conclusions.

**14) (The struggle between capital and labour,
and its results.)**

1) Having shown, that the periodical resistance on the part of the workingmen against a reduction of wages, and their periodical attempts at getting a rise of wages, are inseparable from the wages system, and dictated by the very fact of labour being assimilated to commodities, and therefore subject to the laws regulating the general movement of prices; having, furthermore, shown that a general rise of wages would result in a fall of the general rate of profit, but not affect the average prices of commodities, or their values; the question now, ultimately, arises, how far, in this incessant struggle between capital and labour, the latter is likely to prove successful?

I might answer by a generalisation, and say that, as with all other commodities, so with labour, its *market price* will, in the long run, adapt itself to its *value*; that, therefore, despite all the ups and downs, and do what he may, the working man will, on an average, only receive the value of his labour, which dissolves into the value of his labouring power, which is determined by the value of the necessaries required for its maintenance and reproduction, which value of necessaries, finally, is regulated by the quantity of labour wanted to produce them.

But there are some peculiar features which distinguish the *value of the labouring power*, or *the value of labour*, from the values of all other commodities. The value of the labouring power is formed by two elements, the one mainly physical, the other historical or social. Its *ultimate limit* is determined by the *physical* element, that is to say, to maintain and reproduce itself, to perpetuate its physical existence, the working class must receive the necessaries absolutely indispensable for living and multiplying. The *value* of those indispensable necessaries forms, therefore, the ultimate limit of the *value of labour*. On the other hand, the length of the working day is also limited by ultimate, although very elastic boundaries. Its ultimate limit is given by the physical force of the labouring man. If the daily exhaustion of his vital forces exceeds a certain degree, it can not be exerted anew, day by day. However, as I said, this limit is very elastic. A quick succession of unhealthy and shortlived generations will keep the labour market as well supplied as a series of vigorous and longlived generations.

Besides this mere physical element, the value of labour is in every country determined by a *traditional standard of life*. It is not mere physical life, but it is the satisfaction of certain wants springing from the social conditions in which people are placed and reared up. The English standard of life may be reduced to the Irish standard, the standard of life of a German

peasant to that of a Livonian peasant. The important part which historical tradition and social habitude play in this respect, you may learn from Mr. Thornton's work on: "*Overpopulation*", where he shows that the average wages in different agricultural districts of England still now a days differ
5 more or less according to the more or less favourable circumstances, under which they had emerged from the state of serfdom.

This historical or social element, entering into the value of labour, may be expanded, or contracted, or altogether extinguished, so that nothing remains but the *physical limit*. During the time of the *Anti Jacobin War*, undertaken, as the incorrigible taxeater and synecurist, Old George Rose, used to say, to save the comforts of Our Holy Religion from the inroads of the French infidels, the honest English farmers, so tenderly handled in a former sitting of ours, depressed the wages of the agricultural labourers, even beneath that *mere physical minimum*, but made up by *poortaxes* the remain-
10 der necessary for the physical perpetuation of the race. This was a glorious way to convert the wages labourer into a slave and Shakespeare's proud yeoman into a pauper.

By comparing the standard wages or values of labour in different countries, and by comparing them in different historical epochs of the same
20 country, you will find that the *value of labour* itself is not a fixed, but a variable magnitude, even supposing the values of all other commodities to remain constant.

A similar comparison would prove that not only the *marketrates of profit* change, but its *average rates*.

25 But as to *profits*, there exists no law which determines their *minimum*. We cannot say which is the ultimate limit of their decrease. And why can we not fix that limit? Because, although we can fix the *minimum* of wages, we cannot fix their *maximum*. We can only say, that the limits of the working day being given, the *maximum of profit* corresponds to the *physical minimum*
30 *of wages*; and that wages being given, the *maximum of profit* corresponds to such a prolongation of the working day, as is compatible with the physical forces of the labourer. The maximum of profit is therefore limited by the physical minimum of wages and the physical maximum of the working day. It is evident that between the two limits of this *maximum rate of profit*,
35 an immense scale of variations is possible. The fixation of its actual degree is only settled by the continuous struggle between capital and labour; the capitalist constantly tending to reduce wages to their physical minimum, and to extend the working day to its physical maximum, while the workingman constantly presses in the opposite direction.

40 The question resolves itself into a question of the respective powers of the combatants. |

1161 2) As to the *limitation of the working day*, in England, as in all other countries, it has never been settled except by *legislative interference*. Without the workingmen's continuous pressure from without, that interference would never have taken place. But, at all events, the result was not to be attained by private settlement between the workingmen and the capitalists. This very necessity of *general political action* affords the proof that, in its merely economical action, capital was the stronger side.

As to the *limits of the value of labour*, its actual settlement always depends upon supply and demand, I mean the demand for labour on the part of capital, and the supply of labour by the working men. In colonial countries, the law of supply and demand favours the workingmen. Hence the relatively high standard of wages in the Un. States. Capital may there try its utmost. It cannot prevent the labour market from being continuously emptied by the continuous conversion of wages labourers into independent, self-sustaining peasants. The function of a wages' labourer is, for a very large part of the American people, but a probational state, which they are sure to leave within a longer or shorter term. To mend this colonial state of things, the paternal British government accepted for some time what is called the modern Colonisation Theory, and which consists in putting an artificial high price upon colonial land, in order to prevent the too quick conversion of the wages'labourer into the independent peasant.

But let us now come to old civilised countries, in which capital dominates over the whole process of production. Take f.i. the rise in England of agricultural wages from 1849 to 1859. What was its consequence? The farmers could not, as our friend Weston would have advised them, raise the value of wheat, nor even its marketprices. They had, on the contrary, to submit [to] their fall. But during these 11 years, they introduced machinery of all sorts, adopted more scientific methods, converted part of arable land into pasture, increased the size of farms, and, with it, the scale of production, and by these and other processes, diminishing the demand for labour by increasing its productive power, made the agricultural population again relatively redundant. This is the general method in which a reaction, quicker or slower, of capital against a rise of wages takes place in old settled countries. Ricardo has justly remarked that machinery is in constant competition with labour and can often be only introduced, when the price of labour has reached a certain height, but the appliance of machinery is but one of the many methods for increasing the productive powers of labour. This very same development, which makes common labour relatively redundant, simplifies, on the other hand, skilled labour, and thus depreciates it.

The same law obtains in an other form. With the development of the pro-

ductive powers of labour, the accumulation of capital will be accelerated, even despite a relatively high rate of wages. Hence one might infer, as *A. Smith*, in whose days modern industry was still in its infancy, did infer, that this accelerated accumulation of capital must turn the balance in fa-
5 vour of the workingman, by securing a growing demand for his labour. From this same standpoint, many contemporary writers have wondered that, English capital having grown in these last 20 years so much quicker than English population, wages should not have been more enhanced. But simultaneously with the progress of accumulation, there takes place a *pro-*
10 *gressive change in the composition of capital*. That part of the aggregate capital, which consists of fixed capital, machinery, raw materials, means of production in all possible forms, progressively increases as compared to that other part of capital which is laid out in wages, or in the purchase of labour. This law has been stated in a more or less accurate manner by Mr.
15 Barton, Ricardo, Sismondi, Prof. Richard Jones, Prof. Ramsay, Cherbuliez, and others.

If the proportion of those two elements of capital was originally one to one, it will, in the progress of industry, become 5 to 1, and so forth. If of a total capital of 600, 300 is laid out in instruments, raw materials, and so
20 forth, and 300 in wages, the total capital wants only to be doubled to create a demand for 600 workingmen instead of for 300. But if of a capital of 600, 500 is laid out in machinery, materials, and so forth, and 100 only in wages, the same capital must increase from 600 to 3600, in order to create a demand for 600 workmen instead of for 100. In the progress of industry,
25 the demand for labour keeps, therefore, no pace with the accumulation of capital. It will still increase, but increase in a constantly diminishing ratio as compared to the increase of capital.

These few hints will suffice to show, that the very development of modern industry must progressively turn the scales in favour of the capitalist
30 against the workingman, and that, consequently the general tendency of capitalistic production is not to raise, but sink the average standard of wages, or to push the *value of labour* more or less to its *minimum limit*. Such being the tendency of *things* in this system, is this to say that the working class ought to renounce their resistance against the encroachments of capi-
35 tal, and abandon their attempts at making the best of the occasional chances for their temporary improvement? If they did, they would be degraded to one level mass of brokendown wretches past salvation. I think, I have shown, that their struggles for the standard of wages are incidents inseparable from the whole wages system, that in 99 cases out of 100, their ef-
40 forts at rising wages are only efforts at maintaining the given value of labour, and that the necessity of debating their price with the capitalist is

inherent to their condition of having to sell themselves as commodities. By cowardly giving way in their every days' conflicts with capital, they would certainly disqualify themselves for the initiative of any larger movement.

At the same time, and quite apart from the general servitude involved in the wages system, the working class ought not to exaggerate to themselves the ultimate working of those every days' struggles. They ought not to forget, that they are fighting with effects, but not with the causes of those effects; that they are retarding the downward movement, but not changing its direction; that they are applying palliatives, not curing the malady. They ought, therefore, not to be exclusively absorbed in those unavoidable guerilla fights, incessantly springing up from the never ceasing encroachments of capital or changes of the market. They ought to understand that, with all the miseries it imposes upon them, the present system simultaneously engenders the *material conditions* and the *social forms* necessary for an economical reconstruction of society. Instead of the *conservative* motto: "*A fair day's wages for a fair day's work!*", they ought to inscribe on their banner the *revolutionary* watchword: "*Abolition of the wages' System!*"

After this very long, and I fear tedious exposition, which I was obliged to enter into to do some justice to the subject matter, I shall conclude by proposing the following resolutions:

1st) A general rise in the rate of wages would result in a fall of the general rate of profit, but, broadly speaking, not affect the prices of commodities;

2nd) The general tendency of capitalistic production is not to raise, but to sink the average standard of wages;

3rd) Trade Unions work well as centres of resistance against the encroachments of capital. They fail partially from an injudicious use of their power. They fail generally from limiting themselves to a guerilla war against the effects of the existing System, instead of simultaneously trying to change it, instead of using their organised forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class, that is to say, the ultimate abolition of the wages' system. |

Karl Marx
Programme du Congrès de Genève
adopté à la Conférence de Londres (1865)

I The following are the questions:

I) *Questions relating to the Association.*

- 1) Questions relating to its organisation.
- 2) Établissement des secours mutuels pour les membres de l'Association. - Appui moral et matériel accordé aux orphelins de l'association.

II) *Social Questions.*

- 1) Du Travail coopératif.
- 2) De la Réduction des heures du travail.
- 3) Du travail des femmes et des enfants.
- 4) Des *Trades Unions*. Leur passé, leur état actuel, leur avenir.
- 5) De l'action combinée, par le moyen de l'Association Internationale, dans les luttes entre le capital et le travail. |
- 6) *Du Crédit International*: Fondation des institutions internationales de crédit, leur forme, et leur mode d'action.
- 7) *Impôts directs et indirects*.
- 8) Des armées permanentes dans leurs rapports avec la production.

III) *International Politics.*

De la nécessité d'anéantir l'influence moscovite en Europe par l'application du droit des peuples de disposer d'eux-mêmes, et la reconstitution de la Pologne sur des bases démocratiques et sociales.

Karl Marx

IV) *Question Philosophique.*

De l'idée religieuse dans ses rapports avec le développement social, politique et intellectuel. |

Karl Marx
Meeting of the Central Council January 16, 1866.
Minutes

1 January 16, 1866.

Eccarius in the chair.

Minutes read and confirmed.

Citizens Longuet et Crespelle were nominated members of the Council.

5 Marx communicated to the Council the receipt by Fox of a letter of thanks by Mrs O'Donovan for his articles in the *Workman's Advocate* on Fenianism, and the reprint, in the same paper, of the appeal for the support of the convicted Fenians.

Marx proposed Cit Longuet's nomination in his place as Correspondent
10 for Belgium. Seconded by Jung. Accepted.

Jung read a letter of *Dujoncquoy* (Hotel de New York) requesting the payment of 11. 17s. owed to him from the times of the Conference.

A discussion followed in which Le Lubez, Jung, Dupont, Wheeler, Lessner, - and others took part.

15 *Cremer*: The members of the Council and the Association ought pay their cards immediately.

Jung: proposes that Dupont should tell *Dujoncquoy*, that the Council, having not been largely attended, part of the bill be paid on Wednesday next, and a definite answer given. *Seconded* by Lessner.

20 *Jung read*: *Talbot, of Caen*, letter, and one pound (for 20 cards) (to Dupont)

Propaganda in different towns of the departments of Calvados, Orne, La Manche.

Mr. *Wheeler* moves: that notice be given that every one who does not (re-
25 new) pay his card until 15th February, will cease to be member of the Association. (To be advertised in the *Advocate*) *Seconded* by Citizen *Jung*. Carried.

Werecki (as delegate of the Poles): explains their absence on the standing Committee. On Monday they had a meeting and got the necessary money
30 together. After some discussion—as to the place of meeting, *St. Martin's Hall*, next *Monday (22 Jan.)* 8 o'clock in the evening.

Karl Marx

Cremer read *the Appeal to the Brit. Members.* Accepted Address. Difficulty as to the signature of the names. *Moved* Subscriptionsheets to be printed for. Carried on the motion of *Wheeler.* |

adff

F 34



January 16, 1866

Minutes of the annual meeting of the Central Council

Meeting in the hall

Minutes read and approved
 Coming before the committee members of the Council
 were announced to the Council the receipt by Box of a letter of
 thanks by Mrs. O'Brien to the ladies of the Council, and the report with
 them of the committee on the subject of a London Convention
 of the ladies of the Council.
 The report of the committee was accepted.
 A resolution was proposed and adopted for the purpose of the meeting of the Council
 at the City Hotel, New York, on the 12th of the next month.
 The meeting was adjourned until the next meeting of the Council.

Minutes of the meeting of the ladies of the Council, held on the 10th of the month.

The report of the ladies of the Council was read and approved.
 A resolution was proposed and adopted for the purpose of the meeting of the Council
 at the City Hotel, New York, on the 12th of the next month.

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Karl Marx: Meeting of the Central Council
 January 16, 1866. Minutes

Friedrich Engels

What have the working classes to do with Poland?

The Commonwealth.
Nr. 159, 24. März 1866

What have the working classes to do with Poland?

I.

To the Editor of the Commonwealth.

5 *Sir*,—Wherever the working classes have taken a part of their own in political movements, there, from the very beginning, their foreign policy was expressed in the few words—*Restoration of Poland*. This was the case with the Chartist movement so long as it existed; this was the case with the French working men long before 1848, as well as during that memorable year,
10 when on the 15th of May they marched on to the National Assembly to the cry of '*Vive la Pologne!*'—Poland for ever! This was the case in Germany, when, in 1848 and '49, the organs of the working class demanded war with Russia for the restoration of Poland. It is the case even now;—with one exception—of which more anon—the working men of Europe unanimously
15 proclaim the restoration of Poland as a part and parcel of their political programme, as the most comprehensive expression of their foreign policy. The middle-class, too, have had, and have still, "sympathies" with the Poles; which sympathies have not prevented them from leaving the Poles in the lurch in 1831, in 1846, in 1863, nay, have not even prevented them
20 from leaving the worst enemies of Poland, such as Lord Palmerston, to manage matters so as to actually assist Russia while they talked in favour of Poland. But with the working classes it is different. They mean intervention, not nonintervention; they mean war with Russia while Russia meddles with Poland; and they have proved it every time the Poles rose against
25 their oppressors. And recently, the International Working Men's Association has given a fuller expression to this universal instinctive feeling of the body it claims to represent, by inscribing on its banner, "Resistance to Russian encroachments upon Europe—Restoration of Poland."

Friedrich Engels

This programme of the foreign policy of the working men of Western and Central Europe has found a unanimous consent among the class to whom it was addressed, with one exception, as we said before. There are among the working men of France a small minority who belong to the school of the late P. J. Proudhon. This school differs *in toto* from the generality of the advanced and thinking working men; it declares them to be ignorant fools, and maintains, on most points, opinions quite contrary to theirs. This holds good in their foreign policy also. The Proudhonists, sitting in judgment on oppressed Poland, find the verdict of the Staleybridge jury, "Serves her right." They admire Russia as the great land of the future, as the most progressive nation upon the face of the earth, at the side of which such a paltry country as the United States is not worthy of being named. They have charged the Council of the International Association with setting up the Bonapartist principle of nationalities, and with declaring that magnanimous Russian people without the pale of civilised Europe; such being a grievous sin against the principles of universal democracy and the fraternity of all nations. These are the charges. Barring the democratic phraseology at the wind-up, they coincide, it will be seen at once, verbally and literally with what the extreme Tories of all countries have to say about Poland and Russia. Such charges are not worth refuting; but, as they come from a fraction of the working classes, be it ever so small a one, they may render it desirable to state again the case of Poland and Russia, and to vindicate what we may henceforth call the foreign policy of the united working men of Europe.

But why do we always name Russia alone in connection with Poland? Have not two German Powers, Austria and Prussia, shared in the plunder? Do not they, too, hold parts of Poland in bondage, and, in connection with Russia, do they not work to keep down every national Polish movement?

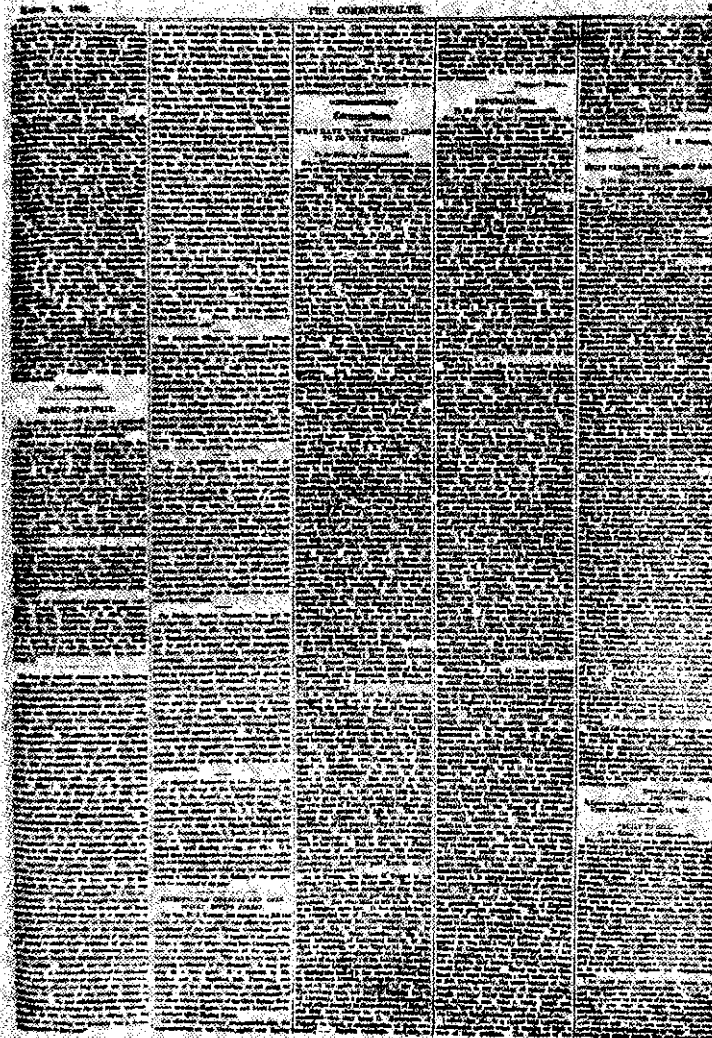
It is well known how hard Austria has struggled to keep out of the Polish business; how long she resisted the plans of Russia and Prussia for the partition. Poland was a natural ally of Austria against Russia. When Russia once became formidable, nothing could be more in the interest of Austria than to keep Poland alive between herself and the newly-rising Empire. It was only when Austria saw that Poland's fate was settled, that with or without her, the other two Powers were determined to annihilate her, it was only then that in self-protection she went in for a share of the territory. But as early as 1815 she held out for the restoration of an independent Poland; in 1831 and in 1863 she was ready to go to war for that object, and give up her own share of Poland, provided England and France were prepared to join her. The same during the Crimean war. This is not said in justification of the general policy of the Austrian Government. Austria has shown often

THE COMMONWEALTH

REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD

SATURDAY, MARCH 24, 1866.

Price One Penny.



The Commonwealth. London. Nr. 159, 24. März 1866.
Titelkopf und Seite 5 mit dem ersten Teil des Artikels
„What have the working classes to do with Poland?“
von Engels

enough that to oppress a weaker nation is congenial work to her rulers. But in the case of Poland the instinct of self-preservation was stronger than the desire for new territory or the habits of Government. And this puts Austria out of court for the present.

5 As to Prussia, her share of Poland is too trifling to weigh much in the scale. Her friend and ally, Russia, has managed to ease her of nine-tenths of what she got during the three partitions. But what little is left to her weighs as an incubus upon her. It has chained her to the triumphal car of Russia, it has been the means of enabling her Government, even in 1863
10 and '64, to practise unchallenged, in Prussian-Poland, those breaches of the law, those infractions of individual liberty, of the right of meeting, of the liberty of the press, which were so soon afterwards to be applied to the rest of the country; it has falsified the whole middle-class Liberal movement which, from fear of risking the loss of a few square miles of land on
15 the eastern frontier, allowed the Government to set all law aside with regard to the Poles. The working men, not only of Prussia, but of all Germany, have a greater interest than those of any other country in the restoration of Poland, and they have shown in every revolutionary movement that they know it. Restoration of Poland, to them, is emancipation of their own
20 country from Russian vassalage. And this, we think, puts Prussia out of court, too. Whenever the working classes of Russia (if there is such a thing in that country, in the sense it is understood in Western Europe) form a political programme, and that programme contains the liberation of Poland—then, but not till then, Russia as a nation will be out of court too,
25 and the Government of the Czar will remain alone under indictment.

The Commonwealth.
Nr. 160, 31. März 1866

II.

To the Editor of the Commonwealth.

Sir,—It is said that to claim independence for Poland is to acknowledge the "principle of nationalities," and that the principle of nationalities is a Bon-
30 apartist invention concocted to prop up the Napoleonic despotism in France. Now what is this "principle of nationalities"?

By the treaties of 1815 the boundaries of the various States of Europe were drawn merely to suit diplomatic convenience, and especially to suit
« the convenience of the then strongest continental Power—Russia. No ac-
35 count was taken either of the wishes, the interests, or the national diversi-

ties of the populations. Thus, Poland was divided, Germany was divided, Italy was divided, not to speak of the many smaller nationalities inhabiting south-eastern Europe, and of which few people at that time knew anything. The consequence was that for Poland, Germany, and Italy, the very first step in every political movement was to attempt the restoration of that national unity without which national life was but a shadow. And when, after the suppression of the revolutionary attempts in Italy and Spain, 1821-23, and again, after the revolution of July, 1830, in France, the extreme politicians of the greater part of civilised Europe came into contact with each other, and attempted to work out a kind of common programme, the liberation and unification of the oppressed and subdivided nations became a watchword common to all of them. So it was again in 1848, when the number of oppressed nations was increased by a fresh one, viz., Hungary. There could, indeed, be no two opinions as to the right of every one of the great national subdivisions of Europe to dispose of itself, independently of its neighbours, in all internal matters, so long as it did not encroach upon the liberty of the others. This right was, in fact, one of the fundamental conditions of the internal liberty of all. How could, for instance, Germany aspire to liberty and unity, if at the same time she assisted Austria to keep Italy in bondage, either directly or by her vassals? Why, the total breaking-up of the Austrian monarchy is the very first condition of the unification of Germany!

This right of the great national subdivisions of Europe to political independence, acknowledged as it was by the European democracy, could not but find the same acknowledgment with the working classes especially. It was, in fact, nothing more than to recognise in other large national bodies of undoubted vitality the same right of individual national existence which the working men of each separate country claimed for themselves. But this recognition, and the sympathy with these national aspirations, were restricted to the large and well-defined historical nations of Europe; there was Italy, Poland, Germany, Hungary. France, Spain, England, Scandinavia, were neither subdivided nor under foreign control, and therefore but indirectly interested in the matter; and as to Russia, she could only be mentioned as the detainer of an immense amount of stolen property, which would have to be disgorged in the day of reckoning.

After the *coup d'état* of 1851, Louis Napoleon, the Emperor "by the grace of God and the national will," had to find a democraticised and popular-sounding name for his foreign policy. What could be better than to inscribe upon his banners the "principle of nationalities"? Every nationality to be the arbiter of its own fate—every detached fraction of any nationality to be allowed to annex itself to its great mother-country—what could be more

liberal? Only, mark, there was not, now, any more question of *nations*, but of *nationalities*.

There is no country in Europe where there are not different nationalities under the same government. The Highland Gaels and the Welsh are undoubtedly of different nationalities to what the English are, although nobody will give to these remnants of peoples long gone by the title of nations, any more than to the Celtic inhabitants of Brittany in France. Moreover, no state boundary coincides with the natural boundary of nationality, that of language. There are plenty of people out of France whose mother tongue is French, same as there are plenty of people of German language out of Germany; and in all probability it will ever remain so. It is a natural consequence of the confused and slow-working historical development through which Europe has passed during the last thousand years, that almost every great nation has parted with some outlying portions of its own body, which have become separated from the national life, and in most cases participated in the national life of some other people; so much so, that they do not wish to rejoin their own main stock. The Germans in Switzerland and Alsace do not desire to be reunited to Germany, any more than the French in Belgium and Switzerland wish to become attached politically to France. And after all, it is no slight advantage that the various nations, as politically constituted, have most of them some foreign elements within themselves, which form connecting links with their neighbours, and vary the otherwise too monotonous uniformity of the national character.

Here, then, we perceive the difference between the "principle of *nationalities*" and the old democratic and working-class tenet as to the right of the great European *nations* to separate and independent existence. The "principle of nationalities" leaves entirely untouched the great question of the right of national existence for the historic peoples of Europe; nay, if it touches it, it is merely to disturb it. The principle of nationalities raises two sorts of questions; first of all, questions of boundary between these great historic peoples; and secondly, questions as to the right to independent national existence of those numerous small relics of peoples which, after having figured for a longer or shorter period on the stage of history, were finally absorbed as integral portions into one or the other of those more powerful nations whose greater vitality enabled them to overcome greater obstacles. The European importance, the vitality of a people is as nothing in the eyes of the principle of nationalities; before it, the Roumans of Wallachia, who never had a history, nor the energy required to have one, are of equal importance to the Italians who have a history of 2,000 years, and an unimpaired national vitality; the Welsh and Manxmen, if they desired it,

Friedrich Engels

would have an equal right to independent political existence, absurd though it would be, with the English. The whole thing is an absurdity, got up in a popular dress in order to throw dust in shallow people's eyes, and to be used as a convenient phrase, or to be laid aside if the occasion requires it. 5

Shallow as the thing is, it required cleverer brains than Louis Napoleon's to invent it. The principle of nationalities, so far from being a Bonapartist invention to favour a resurrection of Poland, is nothing but a *Russian invention concocted to destroy Poland*. Russia has absorbed the greater part of ancient Poland on the plea of the principle of nationalities, as we shall see 10 hereafter. The idea is more than a hundred years old, and Russia uses it now every day. What is Panslavism but the application, by Russia, and in Russian interest, of the principle of nationalities to the Serbians, Croats, Ruthenes, Slovaks, Czechs, and other remnants of bygone Slavonian peoples in Turkey, Hungary, and Germany? Even at this present moment, the 15 Russian Government have agents travelling among the Lapponians in Northern Norway and Sweden, trying to agitate among these nomadic savages the idea of a "great Finnic nationality," which is to be restored in the extreme North of Europe, under Russian protection, of course. The "cry of anguish" of the oppressed Laplanders is raised very loud in the Russian papers— 20 not by those same oppressed nomads, but by the Russian agents—and indeed it is a frightful oppression, to induce these poor Laplanders to learn the civilised Norwegian or Swedish language, instead of confining themselves to their own barbaric, half Esquimaux idiom! The principle of nationalities, indeed, could be invented in Eastern Europe alone, where the 25^ tide of Asiatic invasion, for a thousand years, recurred again and again, and left on the shore those heaps of intermingled ruins of nations which even now the ethnologist can scarcely disentangle, and where the Turk, the Finnic Magyar, the Rouman, the Jew, and about a dozen Slavonic tribes, live intermixed in interminable confusion. That was the ground to work the 30?! principle of nationalities, and how Russia has worked it there, we shall see by-and-bye in the example of Poland.

The Commonwealth.
Nr. 165, 5. Mai 1866

III.

The doctrine of nationality applied to Poland.

Poland, like almost all other European countries, is inhabited by people of 35- different nationalities. The mass of the population, the nucleus of its strength, is no doubt formed by the Poles proper, who speak the Polish lan-

guage. But ever since 1390 Poland proper has been united to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which has formed, up to the last partition in 1794, an integral portion of the Polish Republic. This Grand Duchy of Lithuania was inhabited by a great variety of races. The northern provinces, on the
5 Baltic, were in possession of *Lithuanians* proper, people speaking a language distinct from that of their Slavonic neighbours; these Lithuanians had been, to a great extent, conquered by German immigrants, who, again,
j found it hard to hold their own against the Lithuanian Grand Dukes. Further south, and east of the present kingdom of Poland, were the *White Rus-*
10 *sians*, speaking a language betwixt Polish and Russian, but nearer the latter; and finally the southern provinces were inhabited by the so-called *Little*
L *Russians*, whose language is now by most authorities considered as perfectly distinct from the Great Russian (the language we commonly call Russian). Therefore, if people say that, to demand the restoration of Poland
15 is to appeal to the principle of nationalities, they merely prove that they do not know what they are talking about, for the restoration of Poland means the re-establishment of a State composed of at least four different national-
f ities.

When the old Polish State was thus being formed by the union with Lith-
I 20 uania, where was then Russia? Under the heel of the Mongolian conqueror, whom the Poles and Germans combined, 150 years before, had driven back east of the Dnieper. It took a long struggle until the Grand Dukes of Mos-
f cow finally shook off the Mongol yoke, and set about combining the many different principalities of Great Russia into one State. But this success
-25 seems only to have increased their ambition. No sooner had Constantinople fallen to the Turk, than the Moscovite Grand Duke placed in his coat of-arms the double-headed eagle of the Byzantine Emperors, thereby set-
! " ting up his claim as their successor and future avenger; and ever since, it is
' well known, have the Russians worked to conquer Czaregrad, the town of
30 the Czar, as they call Constantinople in their language. Then, the rich plains of Little Russia excited their lust of annexation; but the Poles were then a strong, and always a brave people, and not only knew how to fight for their own, but also how to retaliate: in the beginning of the seventeenth century they even held Moscow for a few years.

' 35 The gradual demoralisation of the ruling aristocracy, the want of power to develop a middle class, and the constant wars devastating the country, at last broke the strength of Poland. A country which persisted in maintaining
[unimpaired the feudal state of society, while all its neighbours progressed, formed a middle class, developed commerce and industry, and created
ψ 40 large towns—such a country was doomed to ruin. No doubt the aristocracy *did* ruin Poland, and ruin her thoroughly; and after ruining her, they up-

braided each other for having done so, and sold themselves and their country to the foreigner. Polish history, from 1700 to 1772, is nothing but a record of Russian usurpation of dominion in Poland, rendered possible by the corruptibility of the nobles. Russian soldiers were almost constantly occupying the country, and the Kings of Poland, if not willing traitors themselves, were placed more and more under the thumb of the Russian Ambassador. So well had this game succeeded, and so long had it been played, that, when Poland at last was annihilated, there was no outcry at all in Europe, and, indeed, people were astonished at this only, that Russia should have the generosity of giving such a large slice of the territory to Austria and Prussia.

The way in which this partition was brought about, is particularly interesting. There was, at that time, already an enlightened "public opinion" in Europe. Although the *Times* newspaper had not yet begun to manufacture that article, there was that kind of public opinion which had been created by the immense influence of Diderot, Voltaire, Rousseau, and the other French writers of the eighteenth century. Russia always knew that it is important to have public opinion on one's side, if possible; and Russia took care to have it, too. The Court of Catherine II was made the head-quarters of the enlightened men of the day, especially Frenchmen; the most enlightened principle was professed by the Empress and her Court, and so well did she succeed in deceiving them that Voltaire and many others sang the praise of the "Semiramis of the North," and proclaimed Russia the most progressive country in the world, the home of liberal principles, the champion of religious toleration.

Religious toleration—that was the word wanted to put down Poland. Poland had always been extremely liberal in religious matters; witness the asylum the Jews found there while they were persecuted in all other parts of Europe. The greater portion of the people in the Eastern provinces belonged to the Greek faith, while the Poles proper were Roman Catholics. A considerable portion of these Greek Catholics had been induced, during the sixteenth century, to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, and were called United Greeks; but a great many continued true to their old Greek religion in all respects. They were principally the serfs, their noble masters being almost all Roman Catholics, they were Little Russians by nationality. Now, this Russian Government, which did not tolerate at home any other religion but the Greek, and punished apostasy as a crime; which was conquering foreign nations and annexing foreign provinces right and left; and which was at that time engaged in riveting still firmer the fetters of the Russian serf—this same Russian Government came soon upon Poland in the name of religious toleration, because Poland was said to oppress the

Greek Catholics; in the name of the principle of nationalities, because the inhabitants of these Eastern provinces were *Little* Russians, and ought, therefore, to be annexed to *Great* Russia; and in the name of the right of revolution arming the serfs against their masters. Russia is not at all scrupulous in the selection of her means. Talk about a war of class against class as something extremely revolutionary;—why, Russia set such a war on foot in Poland nearly 100 years ago, and a fine specimen of a class-war it was, when Russian soldiers and Little Russian serfs went in company to burn down the castles of the Polish lords, merely to prepare Russian annexation, which being once accomplished, the same Russian soldiers put the serfs back again under the yoke of their lords.

All this was done in the cause of religious toleration, because the principle of nationalities was not then fashionable in Western Europe. But it was held up before the eyes of the Little Russian peasants at the time, and has played an important part since in Polish affairs. The first and foremost ambition of Russia is the union of all Russian tribes under the Czar, who calls himself the Autocrat of all the Russians (*Samodergetz vsekh Rossyiskikh*), and among these she includes White and Little Russia. And in order to prove that her ambition went no further, she took very good care, during the three partitions, to annex none but White and Little Russian provinces; leaving the country inhabited by Poles, and even a portion of Little Russia (Eastern Galicia) to her accomplices. But how do matters stand now? The greater portion of the provinces annexed in 1793 and 1794 by Austria and Prussia are now under Russian dominion, under the name of the Kingdom of Poland, and from time to time hopes are raised among the Poles, that if they will only submit to Russian supremacy, and renounce all claims to the ancient Lithuanian provinces,—they may expect a reunion of all other Polish provinces and a restoration of Poland, with the Russian Emperor for a King. And if at the present juncture Prussia and Austria came to blows, it is more than probable that the war will not be, ultimately, for the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia, or of Venice to Italy, but rather of Austrian, and at least a portion of Prussian, Poland to Russia.

So much for the principle of nationalities in Polish affairs.

Karl Marx

Warnung

I Warnung.

Vor einiger Zeit bildeten die Londoner Schneidergesellen eine allgemeine Association zur Geltendmachung ihrer Ansprüche gegen die Londoner Schneidermeister, die großentheils große Kapitalisten sind. Es galt nicht nur die Löhne in Gleichgewicht mit den gestiegenen Preisen der Lebensmittel zu setzen, sondern auch der ausnahmsweise brutalen Behandlung der Arbeiter in diesem Gewerbszweig ein Ende zu machen. Die Meister suchten diese Combination durch Werbung von Schneidergesellen namentlich in Belgien, Frankreich und der Schweiz zu brechen. Die Sekretäre des Centralraths der „Internationalen Arbeiterassociation“ veröffentlichten darauf in den belgischen, französischen und Schweizer Zeitungen eine Warnung, deren Erfolg vollständig war. Das Manöver der Londoner Meister wurde vereitelt, sie mußten die Waffen strecken und die gerechten Ansprüche ihrer Arbeiter befriedigen.

In England geschlagen, versuchen die Meister jetzt von *Schottland* aus eine Reaction herbeizuführen. In Folge der Londoner Ereignisse waren sie nämlich genöthigt auch in Edinburgh zunächst eine Lohnerhöhung von 15% zu bewilligen. Unter der Hand jedoch sandten sie Agenten nach Deutschland, um namentlich im Hannoverschen und Mecklenburgischen Schneidergesellen zur || Importation nach Edinburgh zu werben. Die erste Verschiffung dieser Art hat bereits stattgefunden. Der Zweck dieser Importation ist derselbe wie der der Importation von indischen Coolies nach Jamaika, - *Verewigung der Sklaverei*. Gelänge es den Meistern von Edinburgh vermittelst deutscher Einfuhr ihre bereits gemachten Zugeständnisse zu brechen, so wäre ein Rückschlag auf England unvermeidlich. Niemand würde schwerer darunter büßen als die deutschen Arbeiter selbst, die zahlreicher in Großbritannien vertreten sind als die Arbeiter aller andern continentalen Nationen. Die Neuimportirten aber, völlig hilflos im fremden Lande, würden bald zu einer Pariastellung herabsinken.

Warnung

Es ist außerdem ein Ehrenpunkt für die deutschen Arbeiter dem Ausland zu beweisen, daß sie, gleich ihren Brüdern in Frankreich, Belgien und der Schweiz, das gemeinsame Interesse ihrer Klasse zu vertreten wissen und sich nicht zu willenslosen Lanzknechten des Kapitals in seinem Kampfe gegen die Arbeit hergeben.

Im Auftrag des „Centrairaths der Internationalen Arbeiterassociation“.

Karl Marx

London 4. Mai 1866.

Die deutschen Schneidergesellen, die näheren Aufschluß über die britischen Verhältnisse wünschen, sind ersucht ihre Briefe an das deutsche Zweigcomitee der Londoner Schneiderassociation zu richten unter der Adresse: *Albert F. Haufe*, Crown Public House, Heddon Court, Regent Street, *London*. \

Friedrich Engels
Notes on the War (1866)

The Manchester Guardian.
Nr. 6190, 20. Juni 1866

Notes on the war in Germany.

No. I.

The following notes are intended to comment impartially, and from a strictly military point of view, upon the current events of the war, and, as far as possible, to point out their probable influence upon impending operations.

The locality where the first decisive blows must be struck is the frontier of Saxony and Bohemia. The war in Italy can scarcely lead to any decisive results so long as the Quadrilateral remains untaken, and to take that will be rather a lengthy operation. There may be a good deal of warlike action in Western Germany, but from the strength of the forces engaged, it will be altogether subordinate in its results to the events on the Bohemian frontier. To this neighbourhood, therefore, we shall, for the present, exclusively direct our attention.

In order to judge of the strength of the contending armies it will suffice, for all practical purposes, if we take into account the infantry only, keeping in mind, however, that the strength of the Austrian cavalry will be to the Prussian as three to two. The artillery will be, in both armies, in about the same proportion as the infantry, say three guns per 1,000 men.

The Prussian infantry consists of 253 battalions of the line, 83½ depot battalions, and 116 battalions of the landwehr (first levy, containing the men from 27 to 32 years of age). Of these, the depot battalions and landwehr form the garrisons of the fortresses, and are intended, besides, to act against the smaller German states, while the line is massed in and around Saxony to oppose the Austrian army of the north. Deducting about 15 battalions occupying Schleswig-Holstein, and another 15 battalions—the late garrisons of Rastadt, Mainz, and Frankfort, now concentrated at Wetzlar—there remain about 220 battalions for the main army. With cavalry and ar-

tillery, and such landwehr as may be drawn from the neighbouring fortresses, this army will contain about 300,000 men, in nine army corps.

The Austrian army of the north counts seven army corps, each of which is considerably stronger than a Prussian one. We know very little at present of their composition and organisation, but there is every reason to believe that they form an army of from 320,000 to 350,000 men. Numerical superiority, therefore, seems assured to the Austrians.

The Prussian army will be under the command in chief of the King,—that is to say, of a parade soldier of at best very mediocre capacities, and of weak, but often obstinate, character. He will be surrounded, firstly, by the general staff of the army, under General Moltke, an excellent officer; secondly, by his "private military cabinet," composed of personal favourites; and, thirdly, by such other unattached general officers as he may call to his suite. It is impossible to invent a more efficient system for
 ,5 ensuring defeat at the very head-quarters of an army. Here is, at the very beginning, the natural jealousy between the staff of the army and the Cabinet of the King, each of which sections will struggle for supreme influence and will concoct and advocate its own pet plan of operations. This alone would render almost impossible all singleness of purpose, all consistent action. But then come the interminable councils of war, which are unavoidable under such circumstances, and which, in nine cases out of ten, end in the adoption of some half measure—the very worst course in war. The orders of to-day, in such cases, generally contradict those of yesterday, and when matters become complicated or threaten to go wrong, no orders at all are given out, and things take their own course. "*Ordre, contre-ordre, désordre,*" as Napoleon used to say. Nobody is responsible, because the irresponsible King takes all responsibility upon himself, and, therefore, nobody does anything until distinctly ordered to do so. The campaign of 1806 was
 30 commanded in a similar way by the father of the present King; the defeats of Jena and Auerstädt, and the destruction of the whole Prussian army within three weeks, was the consequence. There is no reason to suppose that the present King is superior in mettle to his father; and if he has found in Count Bismarck a man whose political direction he can implicitly follow, there is no man of sufficient standing in the army to take exclusive charge, in a similar way, of military matters.

The Austrian army is under the unconditional command of General Benedek, who is an experienced officer and who, at least, knows his mind. The superiority of supreme command is decidedly on the side of the Austrians.

w The Prussian troops are subdivided into two "armies;" the first, under Prince Frederick Charles, composed of the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 7th, and 8th

corps; the second, under the Crown Prince, of the 5th and 6th corps. The Guards, forming the general reserve, will probably join the first army. Now this subdivision not only breaks the unity of command, but it also induces, very often, the two armies to move on two different lines of operation, to make combined movements, to lay their mutual point of junction within the reach of the enemy; in other words, it tends to keep them separated whereas they ought, as much as possible, to keep together. The Prussians in 1806, and the Austrians in 1859, under very similar circumstances, followed the same course, and were beaten. As to the two commanders, the Crown Prince is an unknown magnitude as a soldier; and Prince Frederick Charles certainly did not show himself to be a great commander in the Danish war.

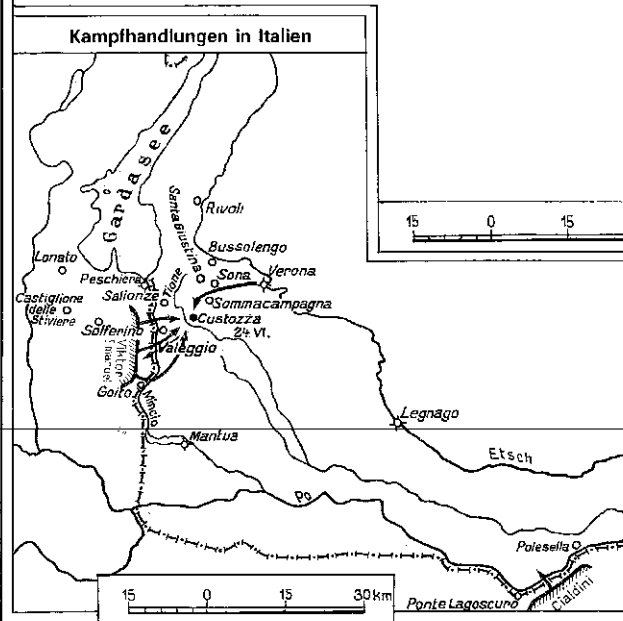
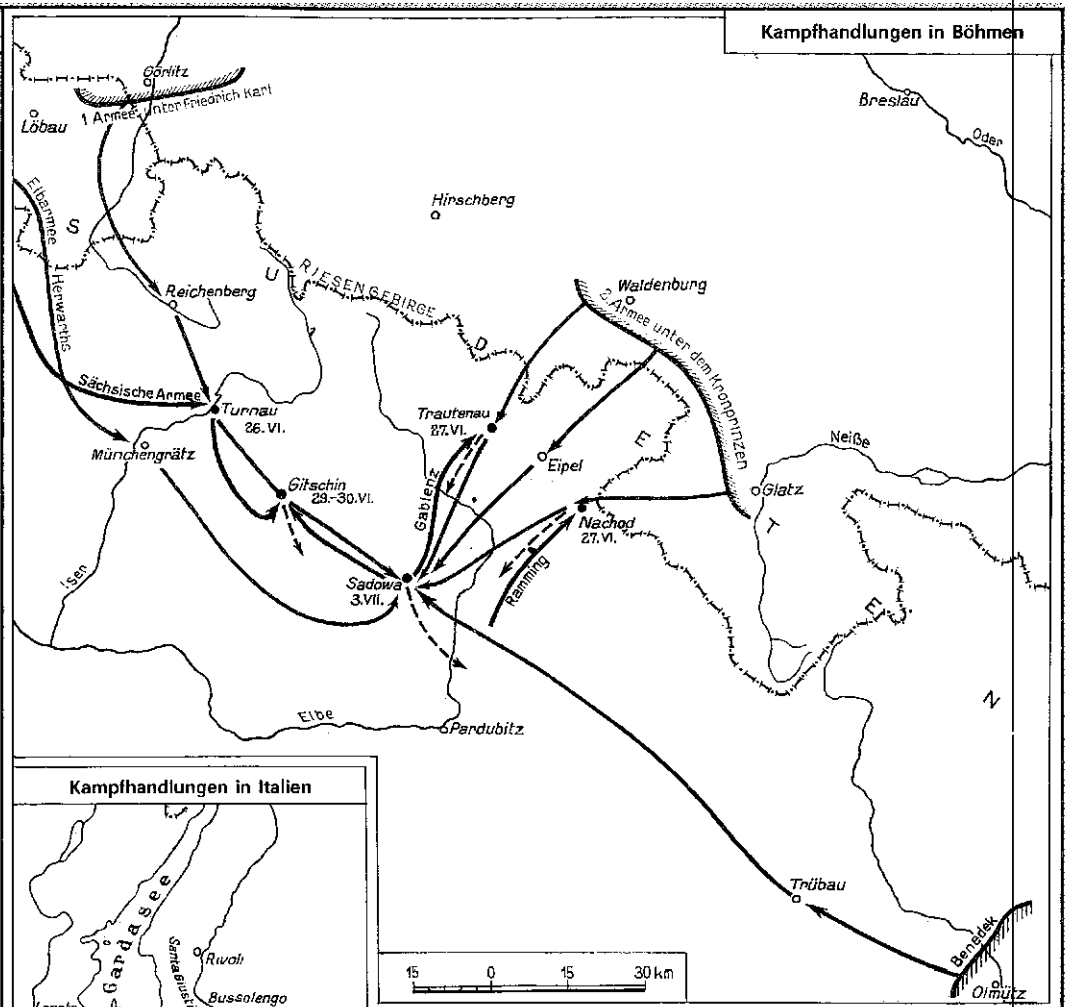
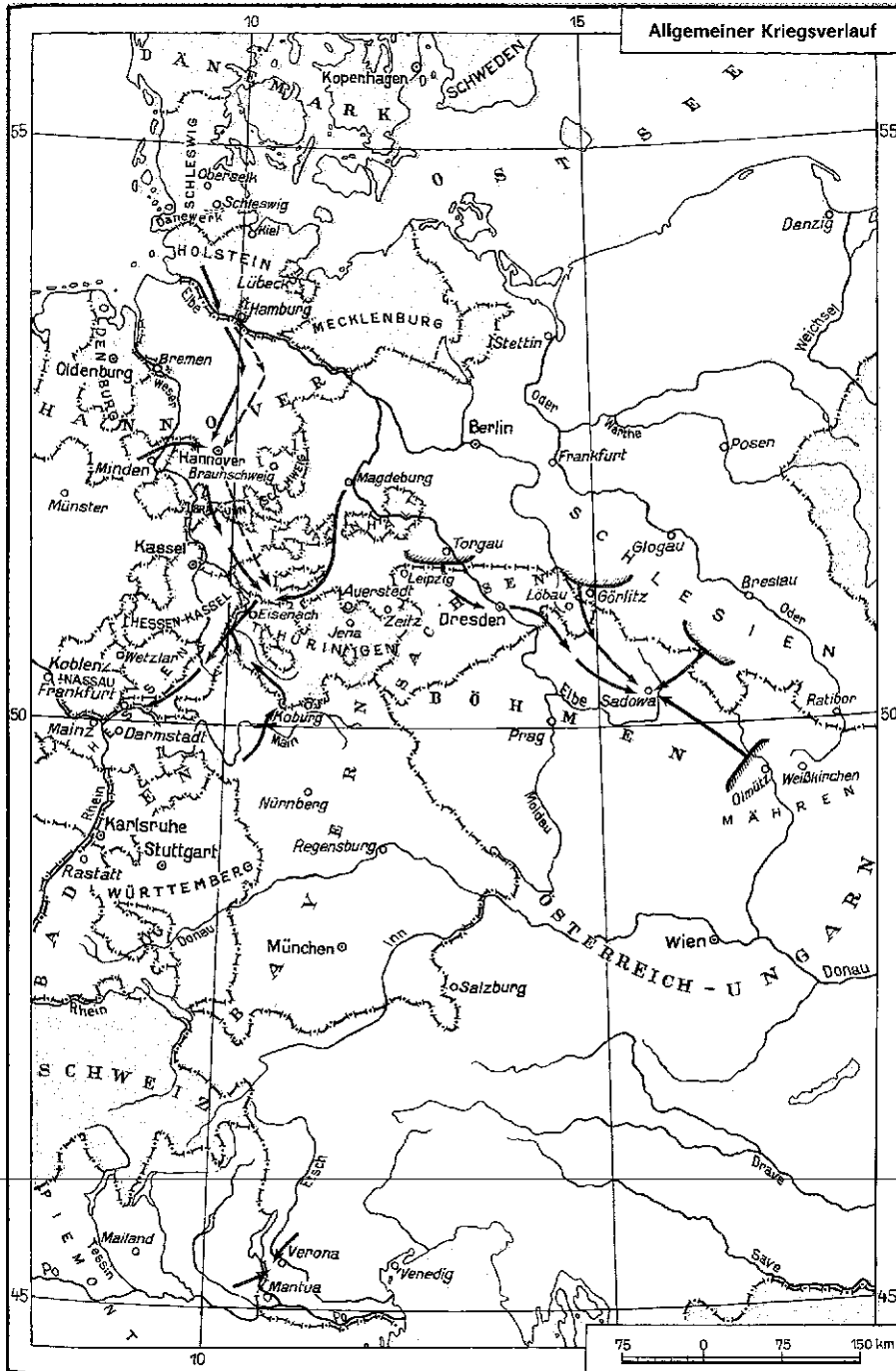
The Austrian army has no such subdivision; the commanders of the army corps are placed directly under General Benedek. They are, therefore, again superior to their opponents as far as the organisation of the army goes.

The Prussian soldiers, especially the men of the reserve and such landwehr men as had to be taken to fill up vacancies in the line (and there are many) go to war against their will; the Austrians, on the contrary, have long wished for a war with Prussia, and await with impatience the order to move. They have, therefore, also the advantage in the *morale* of the troops.

Prussia has had no great war for fifty years; her army is, on the whole, a peace army, with the pedantry and martinetism inherent to all peace armies. No doubt a great deal has been done latterly, especially since 1859, to get rid of this; but the habits of forty years are not so easily eradicated, and a great number of incapable and pedantic men must still be found, particularly in the most important places—those of the field officers. Now the Austrians have been fundamentally cured of this complaint by the war of 1859, and have turned their dearly-bought experience to the very best use. No doubt, in organisation of detail, in adaptation for, and experience in, warfare, the Austrians again are superior to the Prussians.

With the exception of the Russians the Prussians are the only troops whose normal formation for fighting is the deep close column. Imagine the eight companies of an English battalion in a quarter-distance column, but two companies instead of one forming the front, so that four rows of two companies each form the column, and you have the "Prussian column of attack." A better target for rifled fire-arms than this could not be imagined, and, since rifled cannon can throw a shell into it at 2,000 yards range, such a formation must render it almost impossible to reach the enemy at all. Let one single shell explode in the midst of this mass, and see whether that battalion is fit for anything afterwards on that day.

Preußisch-Österreichischer Krieg 1866



- Preußen
- Preußens Verbündete
- Aufstellung und Bewegungen der preußischen und verbündeten Truppen
- Österreich
- Österreichs Verbündete
- Aufstellung und Bewegungen der österreichischen Truppen
- 27.vi. Orte und Daten der wichtigsten Treffen

The Austrians have adopted the loose open column of the French, which is scarcely to be called a column; it is more like two or three lines following each other at 20 or 30 yards distance, and is scarcely, if anything more exposed to losses by artillery than a deployed line. The advantage of tactical
5 formation is, again, on the side of the Austrians.

Against all these advantages the Prussians have but two points to set off. Their commissariat is decidedly better, and the troops will therefore be better fed. The Austrian commissariat, like all Austrian administration, is one den of bribery and peculation scarcely better than in Russia. Even now we
10 hear of the troops being badly and irregularly fed; in the field and in the fortresses it will be worse still, and the Austrian Administration may happen to be a more dangerous enemy to the fortresses in the Quadrilateral than the Italian artillery.

The second set-off the Prussians have is their superior armament. Although their rifled artillery is decidedly better than that of the Austrians,
15 this will make very little difference in the open field. The range, trajectory, and accuracy of the Prussian and Austrian rifles will be about on a par; but the Prussians have breech-loaders, and can deliver a steady well-aimed fire in the ranks at least four times in a minute. The immense superiority of
20 this arm has been proved in the Danish war, and there is no doubt the Austrians will experience it in a far higher degree. If they, as it is said Benedek has instructed them to do, will not lose much time with firing, but go at the enemy at once with the bayonet, they will have enormous losses. In the Danish war, the loss of the Prussians was never more than one fourth,
25 sometimes only one tenth, of that of the Danes; and, as a military correspondent of the *Times* a short time ago very correctly pointed out, the Danes were almost everywhere beaten by a minority of troops actually engaged.

Still, in spite of the needle gun, the odds are against the Prussians; and if
30 they refuse to be beaten in the first great battle by the superior leadership, organisation, tactical formation, and *morale* of the Austrians, and last, not least, by their own commanders, then they must certainly be of a different mettle from that of which a peace army of 50 years' standing may be expected to be.

Friedrich Engels

The Manchester Guardian.
Nr. 6194, 25. Juni 1866

No. II.

People begin to grow impatient at the apparent inactivity of the two great armies on the Bohemian frontier. But there are plenty of reasons for this delay. Both the Austrians and the Prussians are perfectly aware of the importance of the impending collision, which may decide the result of the whole campaign. Both are hurrying up to the front whatever men they can lay their hands on; the Austrians from their new formations (the fourth and fifth battalions of the infantry regiments), the Prussians from the landwehr, which at first was intended for garrison duty only. 5

At the same time, there appears to be on either side an attempt to outmanoeuvre the opposing army, and to enter upon the campaign under the most favourable strategical conditions. To understand this, we shall have to look at the map and examine the country in which these armies are placed. 10

Taking it for granted that Berlin and Vienna are the normal points of retreat of the two armies, and that therefore the Austrians will aim at the conquest of Berlin and the Prussians at that of Vienna, there are three routes by which they might operate. A large army requires a certain extent of country from the resources of which it has to live on the march, and is compelled, in order to move quickly, to march in several columns on as many parallel roads; its front will, therefore, be extended on a line which may vary between, say sixty and sixteen miles, according to the proximity of the enemy and the distance of the roads from each other. This will have to be kept in mind. 15 20

The first route would be on the left bank of the Elbe and Moldau, by Leipsic and Prague. It is evident that on this route each of the belligerents would have to cross the river twice, the second time in the face of the enemy. Supposing either army to attempt to turn, by this route, the flank of its opponent, the latter, having the shorter, because straighter road, could still anticipate the turning force on the line of the river, and if successful in repelling it, could march straight upon the enemy's capital. This route, equally disadvantageous to both parties, may therefore be dismissed from consideration. 25 30

The second route is on the right bank of the Elbe, between it and the Sudectic mountain chain which divides Silesia from Bohemia and Moravia. This is almost on the straight line from Berlin to Vienna; the portion now lying between the two armies is marked out by the railway from Lobau to Pardubitz. This railway passes through that portion of Bohemia which is 35

bounded by the Elbe to the south and west, and the mountains to the north-east. It has plenty of good roads, and if the two armies were to march straight at each other, here would be the point of collision.

The third route is that by Breslau, and thence across the Sudetic chain. This chain, of no considerable elevation, on the Moravian frontier, where it is crossed by several good roads, rises to greater elevation and abruptness in the Riesengebirge, which forms the boundary of Bohemia. Here there are but few roads across; in fact, between Trautenau and Reichenberg, a distance of forty miles, the whole north-eastern portion of the range is not traversed by a single military road. The only road in existence there, that from Hirschberg to the valley of the Iser, stops short at the Austrian frontier. It follows, then, that this whole barrier of forty miles in length, is impassable, at least for a large army, with its innumerable impedimenta, and that an advance upon or by Breslau must pass the mountains to the south-west of the Riesengebirge.

Now, what are the relative positions of the two armies, with regard to their communications, if engaged on this route?

The Prussians, by advancing due south from Breslau, lay open their communications with Berlin. The Austrians might, if strong enough to command the almost absolute certainty of victory, leave them to advance as far as the intrenched camp of Olmutz, which would stop them, while they themselves could march upon Berlin, trusting to re-open any temporarily-interrupted communications by a decisive victory; or they might meet the Prussian columns singly as they debouch from the mountains, and, if successful, drive them back upon Glogau and Posen, whereby Berlin and the greater portion of the Prussian states would be at their mercy. Thus an advance by Breslau would be advisable for the Prussians in case of a great numerical superiority only.

The Austrians are in a far different position. They have the advantage that the bulk of the monarchy lies south-east of Breslau; that is, in the *direct prolongation* of a line drawn from Berlin to Breslau. Having fortified the northern bank of the Danube near Vienna, so as to shelter the capital from a surprise, they may, temporarily and even for a length of time, sacrifice their direct communication with Vienna, and draw their supplies of men and stores from Hungary. They can, therefore, with equal safety operate by way of Lobau and by way of Breslau, to the north or to the south of the hills; they have far greater freedom in manoeuvring than their opponents.

The Prussians, moreover, have further reasons to be cautious. From the northern frontier of Bohemia, the distance to Berlin is not much more than half of that to Vienna; Berlin is so much more exposed. Vienna is sheltered by the Danube, behind which a beaten army can find protection; by the

fortifications erected to the north of that river; and by the intrenched camp of Olmutz, which the Prussians could not pass unnoticed with impunity, if the mass of the Austrian army, after a defeat, were to take up a position there. Berlin has no protection of any kind, except the army in the field. Under these circumstances, and those detailed in our first number, the part 5
destined for the Prussians appears to be clearly marked out as a defensive one.

The same series of circumstances, and strong political necessity besides, almost compels Austria to act on the offensive. A single victory may ensure to her great results, while her defeat would not break her power of resis- 10
tance.

The strategical plan of the campaign in its fundamental features is necessarily very simple. Whichever of the two attacks first, he has only this alternative: either a false attack *north-west* of the Riesengebirge, and the true attack south-east of it, or *vice versa*. The forty-mile barrier is the decisive 15
feature of the seat of war, and round it the armies must gravitate. We shall hear of fighting at both its extremities, and a very few days afterwards will clear up the direction of the true attack, and probably the fate of the first campaign. Yet, with two such unwieldy armies opposed to each other, we feel inclined to think that the most direct route is the safest, and that the 20
difficulty and danger of moving such large bodies of troops in separate columns on different roads through a difficult mountain country, will almost naturally draw both opposing armies on the route Lobau-Pardubitz.

The actual movements which have taken place are as follows:—The Prussians, in the first week of June, massed their army of Saxony along the 25 j
Saxon frontier, from Zeitz to Görlitz, and their Silesian army from Hirschberg to Neisse. By the 10th June they drew nearer together, having their right wing on the Elbe near Torgau, and their extreme left near Waldenburg. From the 12th to the 16th, the army of Silesia, now consisting of the 1st, 5th, and 6th corps and the Guards, were again extended to the east, 1
this time as far as Ratibor, that is to say, into the extreme south-eastern corner of Silesia. This looks like a feint, especially the parading of the Guards, which are supposed to be always with the main army. If it be more than a feint, or if measures have not been taken to move these four corps back towards Görlitz at the shortest notice and in the shortest time, then this massing of more than 120,000 men in a remote corner is a palpable mistake; they may be cut off from all possibility of retreat and certainly from all connection with the remainder of the army.

Of the Austrians we know little more than that they were concentrated around Olmutz. The *Times* correspondent in their camp states that their sixth corps, 40,000 strong, arrived on the 19th from Weisskirchen at 01-

mutz indicating a movement to the westward. He adds that on the 21st head-quarters were to be shifted to Trubau, on the frontier between Moravia and Bohemia. This move would point in the same direction, if it did not look exceedingly like a *canard* sent on to London with the intention of
5 being thence telegraphed to the Prussian head-quarters in order to mislead them. A general who acts with such secrecy as Benedek, and who has such objections to newspaper correspondents, is not likely to inform them on the 19th where his head-quarters will be on the 21st, unless he has his reasons for it.

10 Before concluding, we may be allowed to cast a glance at the operations in North-western Germany. The Prussians had more troops here than was at first known. They had 15 battalions disposable in Holstein, 12 in Minden, and 18 in Wetzlar. By rapid concentric moves, during which the troops showed a quite unexpected capability of supporting forced marches,
15 they took possession in two days of all the country north of a line from Coblenz to Eisenach, and of every line of communication between the eastern and western provinces of the kingdom. The Hessian troops, about 7,000 strong, managed to escape, but the Hanoverians, 10,000 or 12,000, had their direct line of retreat towards Frankfort cut off, and already on the
20 17th the rest of the 7th Prussian army corps, 12 battalions, together with the two Coburg battalions, arrived in Eisenach from the Elbe. Thus the Hanoverians appear to be hemmed in on all sides, and could escape only by a miracle of stupidity on the part of the Prussians. As soon as their fate will be settled, a force of 50 Prussian battalions will be available against the
25 Federal army which Prince Alexander of Darmstadt is forming at Frankfort, and which will consist of about 23,000 Wurtembergers, 10,000 Darmstadtters, 6,000 Nassauers, 13,000 Badeners (only mobilising now), 7,000 Hessians, and 12,000 Austrians, now on the road from Salzburg; in all about 65,000 men, who may be possibly reinforced by from 10,000 to
30 20,000 Bavarians. About 60,000 men of these are now reported as already concentrated at Frankfort, and Prince Alexander has ventured upon a forward move by re-occupying Glessen on the 22d. This, however, is of no consequence. The Prussians will not advance against him until they are well concentrated, and then, with 70,000 men of all arms, and their superior
35 armament, they ought to make short work of this motley army.

Friedrich Engels

The Manchester Guardian.
Nr. 6197, 28. Juni 1866

No. III.

The first great battle has been fought, not in Bohemia, but in Italy, and the Quadrilateral has again given the Italians a lesson in strategy. The strength of this famous position, as indeed of all fortified positions of any value, consists, not so much in the high defensive capabilities of its four fortresses, but in their being so grouped in a country with strongly-marked military features that the attacking force is almost always induced, and often compelled, to divide itself and attack on two different points, while the defending force can send its whole combined strength against one of these attacks, crush it by superior numbers, and then turn against the other. The Italian army has been induced to commit this fault. The King stood with eleven divisions on the Mincio, while Cialdini with five divisions faced the Lower Po, near Ponte Lagoscuro and Polesella. An Italian division counts 17 battalions of 700 men each; consequently, Victor Emmanuel would have, with cavalry and artillery, at least 120,000 or 125,000 men, and Cialdini about half that number. While the King crossed the Mincio on the 23d, Cialdini was to cross the Lower Po and act upon the rear of the Austrians; but up to the moment we write, no certain news have arrived of this latter movement having been effected. At all events, the 60,000 men whose presence might, and probably would, have turned the scale on Sunday last at Custoza, cannot, so far, have obtained any advantage at all commensurate to the loss of a great battle.

The Lake of Garda lies encased between two spurs of the Alps, forming, to the south of it, two clusters of hills, between which the Mincio forces its way towards the lagoons of Mantua. Both of these groups form strong military positions; their slopes towards the south overlook the Lombard plain, and command it within gun-range. They are well known in military history. The western group, between Peschiera and Lonato, was the scene of the battles of Castiglione and Lonato in 1797, and of Solferino in 1859; the eastern group, between Peschiera and Verona, was contested during three 30 days in 1848, and again in the battle of last Sunday.

This eastern group of hills slopes down on one side towards the Mincio, where it ends in the plain at Valleggio; on the other side, in a long arc, facing south-east, towards the Adige, which it reaches at Bussolengo. It is divided, from north to south, in two about equal portions by a deep ravine, 4 through which flows the rivulet Tione; so that a force advancing from the Mincio will have first to force the passage of the river, and immediately af-

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Notes on the War (1866) • III

terwards find itself again arrested by this ravine. On the edge of the slope, facing the plain, and east of the ravine, are the following villages:—Custozza, on the southern extremity; further north, in succession, Somma Campagna, Sona, and Santa Giustina. The railway from Peschiera to Verona crosses the hills at Somma Campagna, the high road at Sona.

In 1848, after the Piedmontese had taken Peschiera, they blockaded Mantua and extended their army from beyond that place to Rivoli, on the Lake of Garda, their centre occupying the hills in question. On the 23d July Radetzky advanced with seven brigades from Verona, broke through the centre of this over-extended line, and occupied the hills himself. On the 24th and 25th the Piedmontese tried to re-take the position, but were decisively beaten on the 25th, and retreated at once through Milan beyond the Ticino. This first battle of Custoza decided the campaign of 1848.

The telegrams from the Italian head-quarters about last Sunday's battle are rather contradictory; but, with the assistance of those from the other side, we get a pretty clear insight into the circumstances under which it was fought. Victor Emmanuel intended his 1st corps (General Durando, four divisions or 68 battalions), to take up a position between Peschiera and Verona, so as to be able to cover a siege of the former place. This position must, of course, be Sona and Somma Campagna. The 2d corps (General Cucchiari, three divisions or 51 battalions) and 3d corps (General Delia Rocca, of the same strength as the second) were to cross the Mincio at the same time, to cover the operations of the 1st. The 1st corps must have crossed near or south of Salionce, and taken the road of the hills at once; the 2d seems to have crossed at Valleggio, and the 3d at Goito, and advanced in the plain. This took place on Saturday the 23d. The Austrian brigade Pulz, which held the outposts on the Mincio, fell slowly back on Verona; and on Sunday, the anniversary of Solferino, the whole of the Austrian army debouched from Verona to meet the enemy. They appear to have arrived in time to occupy the heights of Sona and Somma Campagna, and the eastern edge of the ravine of the Tione before the Italians. The struggle then would principally be fought for the passage of the ravine. At the southern extremity the two corps in the plain could co-operate with the 1st Italian corps in the hills, and thus Custoza fell into their hands. Gradually the Italians in the plain would advance more and more in the direction of Verona, in order to act upon the Austrian flank and rear, and the Austrians would send troops to meet them. Thus the front lines of the two armies, which were originally facing east and west respectively, would wheel round a quarter circle, the Austrians facing south and the Italians north. But, as the hills retreat from Custoza to the north-east, this flank movement of the Italian 2d and 3d corps could not immediately affect the

position of their 1st corps in the hills, because it could not be extended far enough without danger to the flanking troops themselves. Thus the Austrians appear merely to have occupied the 2d and 3d corps by troops sufficient to break their first impetus, while they launched every available man upon the 1st corps, and crushed it by superior numbers. They were perfectly successful; the first corps was repulsed, after a gallant struggle, and at last Custozza was stormed by the Austrians. By this, the Italian right wing advanced east and north-east beyond Custozza, appears to have been seriously endangered; consequently a new struggle for the village took place, during which the lost connection must have been restored, and the Austrian advance from Custozza checked, but the place remained in their hands, and the Italians had to re-cross the Mincio the same night. 10 |

We give this sketch of the battle, not as a historical account—for which every detail is as yet wanting—but merely as an attempt, map in hand, to reconcile the various telegrams relating to it amongst each other, and with military common sense; and if the telegrams were anything like correct and complete, we feel confident that the general outline of the battle would appear to be not very different from what we have stated. 15 *

The Austrians lost about 600 prisoners, the Italians 2,000, and a few guns. This shows the battle to have been a defeat, but no disaster. The forces must have been pretty equally matched, although it is very probable that the Austrians had less troops under fire than their opponents. The Italians have every reason to congratulate themselves that they were not driven back into the Mincio; the position of the 1st corps between that river and the ravine, on a strip of land between two and four miles wide, and a superior enemy in front, must have been one of considerable danger. It was undoubtedly a mistake to send the main body of the troops into the plain; while the commanding heights, the decisive points, were neglected; but the greatest mistake was, as we pointed out before, to divide the army, to leave Cialdini with 60,000 men on the Lower Po, and to attack with the remainder alone. Cialdini could have contributed to a victory before Verona, and then, marching back to the Lower Po, have effected his passage much more easily, if this combined manœuvre was to be insisted upon at all hazards. As it is, he seems no further advanced than on the first day, and may now have to meet stronger forces than hitherto. The Italians ought, by this time, to know that they have a very tough opponent to deal with. At Solferino, Benedek, with 26,000 Austrians, held the whole Piedmontese army of fully double that number at bay for the whole day, until he was ordered to retreat in consequence of the defeat of the other corps by the French. That Piedmontese army was much superior to the present Italian army; it was better schooled, more homogeneous, and better officered. The present 20. 25J 30 ' 35

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Notes on the War (1866) • IV

army is but of very recent formation and must suffer from all the disadvantages inherent to such; while the Austrian army of to-day is much superior to that of 1859. National enthusiasm is a capital thing to work upon, but until disciplined and organised, nobody can win battles with it. Even Garibaldi's "thousand" were not a crowd of mere enthusiasts, they were drilled men who had learnt to obey orders and to face powder and shot in 1859. It is to be hoped that the staff of the Italian army, for their own good, will refrain from taking liberties with an army which, if numerically inferior is intrinsically superior to theirs, and, moreover, holds one of the strongest positions in Europe.

The Manchester Guardian.
Nr. 6201, 3. Juli 1866

No. IV.

Suppose a young Prussian ensign or cornet, under examination for a lieutenancy, to be asked what would be the safest plan for a Prussian army to invade Bohemia? Suppose our young officer were to answer,—"Your best way will be to divide your troops into two about equal bodies, to send one round by the east of the Riesengebirge, the other to the west, and effect their junction in Gitschin." What would the examining officer say to this? He would inform the young gentleman that this plan sinned against the two very first laws of strategy:—Firstly, never to divide your troops so that they cannot support each other, but to keep them well together; and, secondly, in case of an advance on different roads, to effect the junction of the different columns at a point which is not within reach of the enemy; that, therefore, the plan proposed was the very worst of all; that it could only be taken into consideration at all in case Bohemia was quite unoccupied by hostile troops; and that, consequently, an officer proposing such a plan of campaign was not fit to hold even a lieutenant's commission.

Yet, this is the very plan which the wise and learned staff of the Prussian army have adopted. It is almost incredible; but it is so. The mistake for which the Italians had to suffer at Custoza, has been again committed by the Prussians, and under circumstances which made it ten-fold worse. The Italians knew at least that, with ten divisions, they would be numerically superior to the enemy. The Prussians must have known that if they kept their nine corps together they would be at best barely on a par, as far as numbers went, with Benedek's eight corps; and that by dividing their troops they exposed the two armies to the almost certain fate of being crushed in succession by superior numbers. It would be completely inexplic-

cable how such a plan could ever -be discussed, much less adopted, by a body of such unquestionably capable officers as form the Prussian staff—if it was not for the fact of King William being in chief command. But nobody could possibly expect that the fatal consequences of kings and princes taking high command would come out so soon and so strong. The Prussians are now fighting, in Bohemia, a life-and-death struggle. If the junction of the two armies at or about Gitschin is prevented, if each of the two, being beaten, has to retire out of Bohemia, and, by retiring, to get further away again from the other, then the campaign may be said to be virtually over. Then Benedek may leave the army of the Crown Prince unnoticed 10 while it retires towards Breslau, and follow up, with all his forces, the army of Prince Frederic Charles, which can hardly escape utter destruction.

The question is, Will this junction have been prevented? Up to the moment we write we have no news of events later than Friday evening, the 29th. The Prussians, beaten out of Gitschin (the name of the place, in Bo- 15 hemian, is spelt Jicin) on the 28th by General Edelsheim, claim to have stormed the town again on the 29th, and this is the last information we possess. The junction was not then effected; at least four Austrian and parts of the Saxon army corps had then been engaged against about five or six Prussian corps. 20

The various columns of the army of the Crown Prince, as they descended into the valley on the Bohemian side of the hills, were met by the Austrians at favourable points where the valley, widening out, allowed them to offer a larger front to the Prussian columns, and to attempt to prevent them from deploying; while the Prussians would send troops, wherever practicable, 25 through the lateral valleys, to take their opponents in flank and rear. This is always the case in mountain warfare, and accounts for the great number of prisoners that are always made under such circumstances. On the other side, the armies of Prince Frederick Charles and Herwarth von Bittenfeld appear to have got through the passes almost unopposed; the first engage- 30 ments took place on the line of the Iser river, that is almost midway between the starting points of the two armies. It would be idle to try to disentangle and bring into harmony the fearfully contradictory, and often totally unauthenticated, telegrams which have come to hand these last three or four days. ='

The fighting has been necessarily very much chequered in its results; as new forces came up, victory favoured first one and then the other side. Up to Friday, however, the general result appears to have been, so far, in favour of the Prussians. If they maintained themselves in Gitschin, no doubt the junction was effected on Saturday or Sunday, and then their greatest danger would be passed. The final fight for the junction would probably be

fought with concentrated masses on both sides, and decide the campaign for some time, at least. If the Prussians were victorious, they would be at once out of all their self-begotten difficulties, but they might have obtained the same, and even greater, advantages without exposing themselves to such unnecessary dangers.

The fighting appears to have been severe. The very first Austrian brigade which met the Prussians in battle, was the "black and yellow" brigade, which, in Schleswig, stormed the Königsberg, near Oberselk, the day before the evacuation of the Dannevirke. It is called black and yellow after the facings of the two regiments composing it, and was always considered one of the best brigades in the service. They were, however, beaten by the needle-gun, and above 500 men of one of its regiments (Martini) were taken prisoners after they had charged the Prussian lines five times in vain. In a later engagement, the colours of the 3d battalion of the Deutschmeister regiment were taken. This regiment, recruited in Vienna exclusively, is considered the best in the whole army. Thus the very best troops have been already in action. The Prussians must have behaved splendidly for an old peace army. When war was actually declared, a totally different spirit came over the army, brought on, chiefly, by the clearing-out of the small fry of potentates in the north-west. It gave the troops—rightly or wrongly, we merely register the fact—the idea that they were asked to fight, this time, for the unification of Germany, and the hitherto sullen and sulky men of the reserve and landwehr then crossed the frontier of Austria with loud cheers. It is owing to this chiefly that they fought so well; but at the same time we must ascribe the greater portion of whatever success they have had to their breech-loaders; and if they ever get out of the difficulties into which their generals so wantonly placed them, they will have to thank the needle gun for it. The reports as to its immense superiority over the muzzle-loaders are again unanimous. A sergeant from the Martini regiment, taken prisoner, said to the correspondent of the *Cologne Gazette*: "We have surely done whatever may be expected from brave soldiers, but no man can stand against that rapid fire." If the Austrians are beaten, it will be not so much General Benedek or General Ramming as General Ramrod who is to blame for the result.

In the north-west, the Hanoverians, brought to a sense of their position by a sharp attack from General Manteuffel's advanced guard under General Flies, have surrendered, and thereby 59 Prussian battalions will be at liberty to act against the Federal troops. It was high time, too, that this should be done before Bavaria had completed all her armaments, for otherwise much stronger forces would be required to subdue South-western Germany. Bavaria is notoriously always slow and behindhand with her military

Friedrich Engels

arrangements, but when they are complete, she can bring into the field from 60,000 to 80,000 good troops. We may now soon hear of a rapid concentration of Prussians on the Maine and of active operations against Prince Alexander of Hesse Darmstadt and his army.

The Manchester Guardian.
Nr. 6204, 6. Juli 1866

No. V.

The campaign which the Prussians opened with a signal strategic blunder has been since carried on by them with such a terrible tactical energy that it was brought to a victorious close in exactly eight days.

We said in our last note that the only case in which the Prussian plan of invading Bohemia by two armies separated by the Riesengebirge could be justified was that in which Bohemia was unoccupied by hostile troops. The mysterious plan of General Benedek appears to have mainly consisted in creating a situation of that sort. There appear to have been but two Austrian army corps—the 1st (Clam Gallas) and the 6th (Ramming)—in the north-western corner of Bohemia, where, from the beginning, we expected the decisive actions would be fought. If this was intended to draw the Prussians into a trap, Benedek has succeeded so well that he got caught in it himself. At all events, the Prussian advance on two lines, with from forty to fifty miles of impassable ground between them, towards a point of junction, two full marches from the starting points, and within the enemy's lines,—this advance remains a highly dangerous manœuvre under all circumstances, and one which would have been followed by signal defeat but for Benedek's strange slowness, for the unexpected dash of the Prussian troops, and for their breech-loading rifles. 151

The advance of Prince Frederick Charles took place with three corps (the 3d, 4th, and 2d, the latter in reserve), by Reichenberg, north of a difficult range of hills, on the southern side of which General Herwarth advanced with a corps and a half (the 8th and one division of the 7th). At the same time, the Crown Prince stood, with the 1st, 5th, and 6th corps, and the Guards, in the mountains about Glatz. Thus the army was divided into three columns—one on the right, of 45,000, one in the centre, of 90,000, and one on the left, of 120,000 men—none of which could support either of the others for at least several days. Here, if ever, there was a chance for a general commanding at least an equal number of men to crush his opponents in detail. But nothing appears to have been done. On the 26th Prince Frederick Charles had the first serious engagement, at Turnau, with a bri- 30 35

gade of the 1st corps, by which he established his communication with Herwarth; on the 27th, the latter took Munchengrätz, while, of the army of the Crown Prince, a first column, the 5th corps, advanced beyond Nachod, and beat the 6th Austrian corps (Ramming) severely; on the 28th, the only slightly unlucky day for the Prussians, Prince Frederick Charles's advance guard took Gitschin, but was again dislodged by General Edelheim's cavalry, while the 1st corps of the army of the Crown Prince was checked with some loss at Trautenau by the 10th Austrian corps of Gablenz, and only disengaged by the advance of the Guards towards Eipel, on an intermediate road between the 1st and 5th Prussian corps. On the 29th, Prince Frederick Charles stormed Gitschin, and the army of the Crown Prince totally defeated the 6th, 8th, and 10th Austrian corps. On the 30th, a fresh attempt of Benedek's to re-take Gitschin by the 1st corps and the Saxon army was signally foiled, and the two Prussian armies effected a junction. The Austrian loss represents men to the number of at least a corps and a half, while that of the Prussians is less than one fourth that number.

Thus we find that on the 27th there were only two Austrian army corps, of about 33,000 men each, at hand; on the 28th, three; on the 29th, four, and if one Prussian telegram be correct, part of a fifth (the 4th corps); while on the 30th the Saxon army corps only had been able to come up in support. There were, then, two, if not three, corps absent from the contested ground during all that time, while the Prussians brought every man down into Bohemia. In fact, up to the evening of the 29th, the whole of the Austrian troops on the spot were barely superior in numbers to either of the two Prussian armies, and being brought into line successively, the supports arriving after the defeat only of the troops first engaged, the result was disastrous.

The 3d army corps (Archduke Ernest), which fought at Custozza, is reported to have been sent to the north by rail immediately after that battle, and is, in some accounts, set down among Benedek's available forces. This corps, which would make the whole force, including the Saxons, nine corps, could not have been up in time for the battles in the latter days of June.

The Prussians, whatever the faults of their plan of operations were, made up for them by their rapidity and energy of action. No fault can be found with the operations of either of their two armies. Short, sharp, and decisive were all their blows, and completely successful. Nor did this energy forsake them after the two armies were joined; on they marched, and already on the 3d they met Benedek's combined forces with the whole of theirs, and gave them a last crushing blow.

It is hardly possible to suppose that Benedek accepted this battle of his

own free will. No doubt the rapid pursuit of the Prussians compelled him to take a strong position with all his army, in order to re-form his troops, and to give a day's start to his retiring army train, expecting not to be attacked in force during the day, and to be able to draw off during the night. A man in his position, with four of his corps completely shattered, and after such tremendous losses, cannot have desired, there and then, to deliver a decisive battle, if he could draw off in safety. But the Prussians appear to have compelled him to fight, and the result was the complete rout of the Austrians, who, if the armistice be not granted, will now be trying to make towards Olmutz or Vienna, under the most disadvantageous circumstances, for the slightest out-flanking movement of the Prussians on their right must cut off numerous detachments from the direct road, and drive them into the hills of Glatz, to be made prisoners. The "army of the north," as splendid a host as there was in Europe ten days ago, has ceased to exist.

No doubt the needle gun, with its rapid fire, has done a great part of this. It may be doubted whether without it the junction of the two Prussian armies could have been effected; and it is quite certain that this immense and rapid success could not have been obtained without such superior fire, for the Austrian army is habitually less subject to panic than most European armies. But there were other circumstances co-operating. We have already mentioned the excellent dispositions and unhesitating action of the two Prussian armies, from the moment they entered Bohemia. We may add that they also deviated, in this campaign, from the column system, and brought their masses forward principally in deployed lines, so as to bring every rifle into activity, and to save their men from the fire of artillery. We must acknowledge that the movements both on the march and before the enemy were carried out with an order and punctuality which no man could have expected from an army and administration covered with the rust of fifty years' peace. And, finally, all the world must have been surprised at the dash displayed by these young troops in each and every engagement without exception. It is all very well to say the breech-loaders did it, but they are not self-acting, they want stout hearts and strong arms to carry them. The Prussians fought very often against superior numbers, and were almost everywhere the attacking party; the Austrians, therefore, had the choice of ground. And in attacking strong positions and barricaded towns, the advantages of the breech-loader almost disappear; the bayonet has to do the work, and there has been a good deal of it. The cavalry, moreover, acted with the same dash, and with them cold steel and speed of horse are the only weapons in a charge. The French *canards* of Prussian cavalry lines first peppering their opponents with carbine fire (breech-loading or otherwise) and then rushing at them sword in hand, could only originate among

a people whose cavalry has very often been guilty of that trick, and always been punished for it by being borne down by the superior impetus of the charging enemy. There is no mistaking it, the Prussian army has, within a single week, conquered a position as high as ever it held, and may well feel confident now to be able to cope with any opponent. There is no campaign on record where an equally signal success, in an equally short time, and without any noteworthy check, has been obtained, except that campaign of Jena which annihilated the Prussians of that day, and, if we except the defeat of Ligny, the campaign of Waterloo.

Karl Marx
Programme du Congrès de Genève (1866)

li9| **Association internationale
des Travailleurs.**

Les questions suivantes seront discutées dans le prochain Congrès :

- 1° Organisation de l'Association internationale ;
- 2° Combinaison des efforts, par le moyen de l'Association, pour la lutte du travail contre le capital ;
- 3° Réduction des heures de travail ;
- 4° Travail des femmes et des enfants ;
- 5° Sociétés ouvrières (*trade's unions*), leur passé, leur présent, leur avenir ;
- 6° Travail coopératif ;
- 7° Impôts directs et indirects ;
- 8° Institution internationale du crédit ;
- 9° De la nécessité d'anéantir l'influence russe en Europe par l'application du droit des peuples de disposer d'eux-mêmes et la reconstitution 16 d'une Pologne sur des bases démocratiques et sociales ;
- 10° Des armées permanentes dans leurs rapports avec la production ;
- 11° Des idées religieuses, leur influence sur le mouvement social, politique et intellectuel ;
- 12° Établissement des sociétés de secours mutuels. Appui moral et maté- 20 riel accordé aux orphelins de l'Association. |

Karl Marx
Instructions for the Delegates
of the Provisional General Council
The different questions

The International Courier.
Nr. 6/7, 20. Februar 1867

**Instructions for the Delegates
of the Provisional General Council.
The different questions.**

1.—Organisation of the International Association.

Upon the whole, the Provisional Central Council recommend the *plan of Organisation* as traced in the Provisional Statutes. Its soundness and facilities of adaptation to different countries without prejudice to unity of action have been proved by two years' experience. For the next year we recommend London as the seat of the Central Council, the Continental situation looking unfavourable for change.

The members of the Central Council will of course be elected by Congress (5 of the Provisional Statutes) with power to add to their number.

The *General Secretary* to be chosen by Congress for one year and to be the only paid officer of the Association. We propose £2 for his weekly salary.

The uniform *annual contribution* of *each individual member of the Association* to be *one halfpenny* (perhaps one penny). The costprice of cards of membership (carnets) to be charged extra.

While calling upon the members of the Association to form benefit societies and connect them by an international link, we leave the initiation of this question (*établissement des sociétés de secours mutuels. Appui moral et matériel accordé aux orphelins de l'association*) to the Swiss who originally proposed it at the conference of September last.

**2.—International combination of efforts,
by the agency of the Association,
in the struggle between labour and capital.**

a. From a general point of view, this question embraces the whole activity of the International Association which aims at combining and generalising the till now disconnected efforts for emancipation by the working classes in different countries.

b. To counteract the intrigues of capitalists always ready, in cases of strikes and lockouts to misuse the foreign workman as a tool against the native workman, is one of the particular functions which our society has hitherto performed with success. It is one of the great purposes of the Association to make the workmen of different countries not only *feel* but *act* as brethren and comrades in the army of emancipation.

c. One great "International combination of efforts" which we suggest is a *statistical enquiry into the situation of the working classes of all countries to be instituted by the working classes themselves*. To act with any success, the materials to be acted upon must be known. By initiating so great a work, the workmen will prove their ability to take their own fate into their own hands. We propose therefore,

That in each locality, where branches of our Association exist, the work be immediately commenced, and evidence collected on the different points specified in the subjoined scheme of inquiry.

That the Congress invite all workmen of Europe and the United States of America to collaborate in gathering the elements of the statistics of the working class; that reports and evidence be forwarded to the Central Council. That the Central Council elaborate them into a general report, adding the evidence as an appendix.

That this report together with its appendix be laid before the next annual Congress, and after having received its sanction, be printed at the expence of the Association.

General scheme of inquiry,
which may of course be modified by each locality.

1. Industry, name of.
2. Age and sex of the employed.
3. Number of the employed.

THE INTERNATIONAL COURIER

ENGLISH PART
Published every Wednesday.

Vol. 1, No. 14. (Registered for publication abroad.)

LONDON, FEBRUARY 20, 1867.

ONE PENNY

THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL.

THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL, which has been organized in London, is now in the midst of its operations. It is a body of men, representing the various nations of the world, who have gathered together to discuss the most important questions of international law and politics. The Council is composed of delegates from all the great powers, and its decisions will have a profound influence on the course of events in the world.

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The International Courier.
London, Nr. 6/7, 20. Februar 1867.
Titelkopf und Seite 2 mit dem Beginn der „Instructions
for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council ...“
von Marx

Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council

4. Salaries and wages: (a) apprentices; (b) wages by the day or piece work; scale paid by middle men. Weekly, yearly average.
5. (a) Hours of work in factories, (b) The hours of work with small employers and in homework, if the business be carried on in those different modes, (c) Nightwork and daywork.
6. Mealtimes and treatment.
7. Sort of workshop and work: overcrowding, defective ventilation, want of sunlight, use of gaslight. Cleanliness, etc.
8. Nature of occupation.
- 10 9. Effect of employment upon the physical condition.
10. Moral condition. Education.
11. State of trade: Whether season trade, or more or less uniformly distributed over year, whether greatly fluctuating, whether exposed to foreign competition, whether destined principally for home or foreign competition, etc.
- 1s

3.—Limitation of the working day.

A preliminary condition, without which all further attempts at improvement and emancipation must prove abortive, is the *limitation of the working day*.

- 20 It is needed to restore the health and physical energies of the working class, that is the great body of every nation, as well as to secure them the possibility of intellectual development, sociable intercourse, social and political action.

25 We propose *8 hours work* as the *legal limit* of the working day. This limitation being generally claimed by the workmen of the United States of America, the vote of the Congress will raise it to the common platform of the working classes all over the world.

30 For the information of continental members, whose experience of factory law is comparatively short dated, we add that all legal restrictions will fail and be broken through by Capital if the *period of the day* during which the 8 working hours must be taken, be not fixed. The length of that period ought to be determined by the 8 working hours and the additional pauses for meals. For instance, if the different interruptions for meals amount to *one hour*, the legal period of the day ought to embrace 9 hours, say from
35 7 a.m. to 4 p.m., or from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m., etc. Nightwork to be but exceptionally permitted, in trades or branches of trades specified by law. The tendency must be to suppress all nightwork.

This paragraph refers only to adult persons, male or female, the latter

Karl Marx

however, to be rigorously excluded from all *nightwork whatever*, and all sort of work hurtful to the delicacy of the sex, or exposing their bodies to poisonous and otherwise deleterious agencies. By adult persons we understand all persons having reached or passed the age of 18 years.

The International Courier.
Nr. 8-10, 13. März 1867

4.—Juvenile and children's labour (both sexes).

We consider the tendency of modern industry to make children and juvenile persons of both sexes co-operate in the great work of social production, as a progressive, sound and legitimate tendency, although under capital it was distorted into an abomination. In a rational state of society *every child whatever*, from the age of 9 years, ought to become a productive labourer in the same way that no able-bodied adult person ought to be exempted from the general law of nature, viz.: to work in order to be able to eat, and work not only with the brain but with the hands too.

However, for the present, we have only to deal with the children and young persons of both sexes belonging to the working people. They ought to be divided into *three classes*, to be treated differently; the first class to range from 9 to 12; the second, from 13 to 15 years; and the third, to comprise the ages of 16 and 17 years. We propose that the employment of the first class in any workshop or housework be legally restricted to *two*; that of the second, to *four*; and that of the third, to *six* hours. For the third class, there must be a break of at least one hour for meals or relaxation.

It may be desirable to begin elementary school instruction before the age of 9 years; but we deal here only with the most indispensable antidotes against the tendencies of a social system which degrades the working man into a mere instrument for the accumulation of capital, and transforms parents by their necessities into slave-holders, sellers of their own children. The *right* of children and juvenile persons must be vindicated. They are unable to act for themselves. It is, therefore, the duty of society to act on their behalf.

If the middle and higher classes neglect their duties toward their off- 30
spring, it is their own fault. Sharing the privileges of these classes, the child is condemned to suffer from their prejudices.

The case of the working class stands quite different. The working man is no free agent. In too many cases, he is even too ignorant to understand the true interest of his child, or the normal conditions of human developement. 35
However, the more enlightened part of the working class fully understands

Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council

that the future of its class, and, therefore, of mankind, altogether depends upon the formation of the rising working generation. They know that, before everything else, the children and juvenile workers must be saved from the crushing effects of the present system. This can only be effected by converting *social reason* into *social force*, and, under given circumstances, there exists no other method of doing so, than through *general laws*, enforced by the power of the state. In enforcing such laws, the working class do not fortify governmental power. On the contrary, they transform that power, now used against them, into their own agency. They effect by a general act what they would vainly attempt by a multitude of isolated individual efforts.

Proceeding from this standpoint, we say that no parent and no employer ought to be allowed to use juvenile labour, except when combined with education.

By education we understand three things.

15 Firstly: *Mental education*.

Secondly: *Bodily education*, such as is given in schools of gymnastics, and by military exercise.

Thirdly: *Technological training*, which imparts the general principles of all processes of production, and, simultaneously initiates the child and young person in the practical use and handling of the elementary instruments of all trades.

A gradual and progressive course of mental, - gymnastic, and technological training ought to correspond to the classification of the juvenile labourers. The costs of the technological schools ought to be partly met by the sale of their products.

25 The combination of paid productive labour, mental education, bodily exercise and polytechnic training, will raise the working class far above the level of the higher and middle classes.

It is self-understood that the employment of all persons from 9 and to 30 17 years (inclusively) in nightwork and all health-injuring trades must be strictly prohibited by law.

5. Co-operative labour.

It is the business of the International Working Men's Association to combine and generalize the *spontaneous movements* of the working classes, but not to dictate or impose any doctrinary system whatever. The Congress should, therefore, proclaim no *special system* of co-operation, but limit itself to the enunciation of a few general principles,

(a) We acknowledge the co-operative movement as one of the transform-

ing forces of the present society based upon class antagonism. Its great merit is to practically show, that the present pauperising, and despotic system of the *subordination of labour* to capital can be superseded by the republican and beneficent system of the *association of free and equal producers*.

(b) Restricted, however, to the dwarfish forms into which individual wages slaves can elaborate it by their private efforts, the co-operative system will never transform capitalistic society. To convert social production into one large and harmonious system of free and co-operative labour, *general social changes* are wanted, *changes of the general conditions of society*, never to be realised save by the transfer of the organised forces of society, viz. the State power, from capitalists and landlords to the producers themselves.

(c) We recommend to the working men to embark in *co-operative production* rather than in *co-operative stores*. The latter touch but the surface of the present economical system, the former attacks its groundwork.

(d) We recommend to all co-operative societies to convert one part of their joint income into a fund for propagating their principles by example as well as by precept, in other words, by promoting the establishment of new co-operative fabrics, as well as by teaching and preaching.

(e) In order to prevent co-operative societies from degenerating into ordinary middle class joint stock companies (*sociétés par actions*), all workmen employed, whether shareholders or not, ought to share alike. As a mere temporary expedient, we are willing to allow shareholders a low rate of interest.

6. Trades' Unions. Their past, present and future.

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(a) Their past.

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Capital is concentrated social force, while the workman has only to dispose of his working force. The *contract* between capital and labour can therefore never be struck on equitable terms, equitable even in the sense of a society which places the ownership of the material means of life and labour on one side and the vital productive energies on the opposite side, The only social power of the workmen is their number. The force of numbers, however, is broken by disunion. The disunion of the workmen is created and perpetuated by their *unavoidable competition amongst themselves*.

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Trades' Unions originally sprung up from the *spontaneous* attempts of workmen at removing or at least checking that competition, in order to conquer such terms of contract as might raise them at least above the condition of mere slaves. The immediate object of Trades' Unions was there-

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Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council

fore confined to everyday necessities, to expediencies for the obstruction of the incessant encroachments of capital, in one word, to questions of wages and time of labour. This activity of the Trades' Unions is not only legitimate, it is necessary. It cannot be dispensed with so long as the present system of production lasts. On the contrary, it must be generalised by the formation and the combination of Trades' Unions throughout all countries. On the other hand, unconsciously to themselves, the Trades' Unions were forming *centres of organisation* of the working class, as the medieval municipalities and communes did for the middle class. If the Trades' Unions are required for the guerilla fights between capital and labour, they are still more important as *organised agencies for superseding the very system of wages labour and capital rule*.

(b) Their present.

Too exclusively bent upon the local and immediate struggles with capital, the Trades' Unions have not yet fully understood their power of acting against the system of wages slavery itself. They therefore kept too much aloof from general social and political movements. Of late, however, they seem to awaken to some sense of their great historical mission, as appears, for instance, from their participation, in England, in the recent political movement, from the enlarged views taken of their function in the United States, and from the following resolution passed at the recent great conference of Trades' delegates at Sheffield: "That this conference, fully appreciating the efforts made by the International Association to unite in one common bond of brotherhood the working men of all countries, most earnestly recommend to various societies here represented, the advisability of becoming affiliated to that body, believing that it is essential to the progress and prosperity of the entire working community."

(c) Their future.

Apart from their original purposes, they must now learn to act deliberately as organising centres of the working class in the broad interest of its *complete emancipation*. They must aid every social and political movement tending in that direction. Considering themselves and acting as the champions and representatives of the whole working class, they cannot fail to enlist the non-society men into their ranks. They must look carefully after the interests of the worst paid trades, such as the agricultural labourers, rendered powerless by exceptional circumstances. They must convince the world at large that their efforts, far from being narrow and selfish, aim at the emancipation of the downtrodden millions.

7. Direct and indirect Taxation.

(α) No modification of the form of taxation can produce any important change in the relations of labour and capital.

(b) Nevertheless, having to choose between two systems of taxation, we recommend the *total abolition of indirect taxes*, and the *general substitution of direct taxes*. 5

Because direct taxes are cheaper to collect and do not interfere with production; because indirect taxes enhance the prices of commodities, the tradesmen adding to those prices not only the amount of the indirect taxes, but the interest and profit upon the capital advanced in their payment; 10

Because indirect taxes conceal from an individual what he is paying to the state, whereas a direct tax is undisguised, unsophisticated, and not to be misunderstood by the meanest capacity. Direct taxation prompts therefore every individual to control the governing powers while indirect taxation destroys all tendency to self-government. 15

8. International Credit.

Initiative to be left to the French.

9. Polish Question.

(a) Why do the workmen of Europe take up this question? In the first instance, because the middle class writers and agitators conspire to suppress 20 it, although they patronise all sorts of nationalities, on the continent, even Ireland. Whence this reticence? Because both, aristocrats and bourgeois, look upon the dark Asiatic power in the background as a last resource against the advancing tide of working class ascendancy. That power can only be effectually put down by the restoration of Poland upon a demo- 25 cratic basis.

(b) In the present changed state of central Europe, and especially Germany, it is more than ever necessary to have a democratic Poland. Without it, Germany will become the outwork of the Holy Alliance, with it, the co-operator with republican France. The working class movement will contin- 30 uously be interrupted, checked, and retarded, until this great European question be set at rest.

Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council

(c) It is especially the duty of the German working class to take the initiative in this matter, because Germany is one of the partitioners of Poland.

10. Armies.

5 (a) The deleterious influence of large standing armies upon *production*, has been sufficiently exposed at middle class congresses of all denominations, at peace congresses, economical congresses, statistical congresses, philanthropical congresses, sociological congresses. We think it, therefore, quite superfluous to expatiate upon this point.

10 (b) We propose the general armament of the people and their general instruction in the use of arms.

(c) We accept as a transitory necessity small standing armies to form schools for the officers of the militia; every male citizen to serve for a very limited time in those armies.

15

11. Religious Question.

To be left to the initiative of the French.

Karl Marx
Statuts de l'Association Internationale
des Travailleurs votés au Congrès de Genève (1866)

lii Statuts
De l'Association Internationale
des Travailleurs
Votés à la séance du Congrès
du 5 Septembre 1866.

Considérant :

Que l'émancipation des travailleurs doit être l'œuvre des travailleurs eux-mêmes ; que les efforts des travailleurs pour conquérir leur émancipation ne doivent pas tendre à constituer de nouveaux privilèges, mais à établir pour tous des droits et des devoirs égaux et anéantir toute domination de classe ;

Que l'assujettissement économique du travailleur à l'accapareur des moyens du travail, c'est-à-dire des sources de la vie, est la cause première de la servitude dans toutes ses formes - misère sociale, dégradation mentale, soumission politique ;

Que, pour cette raison, l'émancipation économique des travailleurs est le grand but auquel tout mouvement politique doit être subordonné comme moyen ;

Que tous les efforts faits jusqu'ici ont échoué, faute de solidarité entre les ouvriers des diverses professions dans chaque pays, et d'une union fraternelle entre les travailleurs des diverses contrées ;

Que l'émancipation du travail n'étant un problème ni local, ni national, mais social, embrasse tous les pays dans lesquels la vie moderne existe et nécessite pour sa solution leur concours théorique et pratique ;

Que le mouvement qui reparaît parmi les ouvriers des pays les plus industriels de l'Europe, en faisant naître de nouvelles espérances, donne un

Statuts de l'AIT. votés au Congrès de Genève (1866)

solennel avertissement de ne pas retomber dans les vieilles erreurs, mais de combiner immédiatement tous les efforts encore isolés ;

Par ces raisons :

Le Congrès de *L'Association Internationale des Travailleurs* tenu à Genève
5 du 3 au 8 Septembre 1866, déclare que cette association, ainsi que toutes
les Sociétés ou individus y adhérant, reconnaîtront la *Vérité*, la *Justice*, la
Morale, comme la base de leur conduite envers tous les hommes, sans distinction de couleur, de croyance ou de nationalité.

Le Congrès considère comme un devoir de réclamer pour tous les droits
10 d'homme et de citoyen. *Pas de devoirs sans droits, pas de droits sans devoirs.* \

[2] C'est dans cet esprit que le Congrès a adopté définitivement les suivants statuts de *L'Association internationale des travailleurs*:

Art. I. L'association est établie pour procurer un point central de communication et de coopération entre les ouvriers des différents pays aspirant au
15 même but, savoir : la protection mutuelle, le progrès et le complet affranchissement de la classe ouvrière.

Art. II. Le nom de cette association sera : *Association Internationale des Travailleurs*.

Art. III. Le Conseil Général se composera d'ouvriers représentant les différentes nations faisant partie de *L'Association Internationale*. Il prendra
20 dans son sein, selon les besoins d'administration, les membres du bureau, tels que président, secrétaire général, trésorier et secrétaires particuliers pour les différents pays.

Tous les ans, le Congrès réuni fixera le lieu et l'époque de sa prochaine
25 assemblée, désignera le siège et nommera les membres du Conseil Général, en lui laissant le droit de s'adjoindre de nouveaux membres.

A l'époque fixée par le Congrès, et sans qu'une convocation spéciale soit nécessaire, les délégués se réuniront de plein droit au lieu et jour désignés. Au cas de besoin, le Conseil Général pourra changer le lieu du Congrès,
30 sans pouvoir reculer la date de sa réunion.

ART. IV. A chaque Congrès annuel, le Conseil général fera un rapport public des travaux de l'année. En cas d'urgence, il pourra convoquer le Congrès avant le terme fixé.

ART. V. Le Conseil général établira des relations avec les différentes associations ouvrières, de telle sorte que les ouvriers de chaque pays soient
35 constamment au courant des mouvements de leur classe dans les autres pays.

Qu'une enquête sur l'état social soit faite simultanément et dans un même esprit. - Que les questions proposées par une Société, et dont la discussion est d'un intérêt général, soient examinées par toutes, et que,
40 lorsqu'une idée pratique ou une difficulté internationale réclamerait l'ac-

Karl Marx

tion de l'association, celle-ci puisse agir d'une manière uniforme. - Lorsque cela lui semblera nécessaire le Conseil général prendra l'initiative des propositions à soumettre aux Sociétés locales ou nationales.

Il publiera un bulletin pour faciliter ses communications avec les sections.

Art. VI. Puisque le succès du mouvement ouvrier dans chaque pays ne peut être assuré que par la force résultant de l'union et de l'association ;

Que, d'autre part, l'utilité du Conseil Général sera d'autant plus puissante que son action sera moins éparpillée, les membres de *l'Association internationale* devront faire tous leurs efforts pour réunir toutes les branches locales de chaque pays dans une association nationale, représentée par un Conseil central. Il est bien entendu, toutefois, que l'application de cet article est subordonnée aux lois particulières qui régissent chaque nation. Mais, à part les obstacles légaux, aucune Société locale n'est dispensée de correspondre directement avec le *Conseil Général*. \

POLAND.

PROGRAMME.

OF THE

TEA PARTY & PUBLIC MEETING,

HELD IN

CAMBRIDGE HALL,

NEWMAN STREET.

ON JANUARY 22nd, 1867.

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE LAST POLISH REVOLUTION, OF 1833.

TEA SERVED AT 7 O'CLOCK.

During Tea the Band of the Musical Instrument Makers will perform as follows:

1. Polish National Hymn,	5. French Bouquet Quadrille
2. Toccata's Overture	6. Marseilles
3. Juliet Waltz	7. Pretty Bird's Waltz
4. A Polish Hymn	8. Garibaldi's Air
	9. Orpheus' Gallop

A F T E R T E A.

The Chairman will introduce the Chorus, to Sing the Polish Anthem,
"BOZE COS POLSKE."

CHAIRMAN'S INTRODUCTORY ORATION.

After which will be proposed and seconded,—

1st RESOLUTION.

The Poles here assembled to commemorate the Anniversary of their insurrection, declare that they faithfully adhere to the Manifesto of the Polish National Government, dated January 22nd, 1863, which Manifesto abolished all privileges, endowed the peasantry with land, and proclaimed all the inhabitants without distinction, free and equal before the law, and they firmly believe that this is the only available means whereby to resist the present nefarious attempts of the Muscovite Czar to decompose Polish Society into fragments of various classes, religions, and races, and the only just principle whereon to consolidate the unity of the people, and to organize a national power sufficiently strong to recover their freedom and independence, and further, they appeal to this meeting to declare that in the prosecution of these their aims, they are entitled to the good-will and co-operation of all free and civilized people, and especially, the working classes throughout the world.

2nd RESOLUTION.

That liberty cannot be established in Europe without the independence of Poland.

3rd RESOLUTION.

Le Branch française de l'association internationale des travailleurs proteste au nom de la solidarité des peuples contre l'asservissement des Polonais et leur promet son concours pour les aider à se reconstruire sur des bases républicaines, démocratiques, et sociales.

TRANSLATION.

The French Branch of the International Working Men's Association protests in the name of the community of interest among nations, against the enslavement of the Poles, and pledges to the latter their aid towards the reconstruction of Poland on democratic, republican and socialist bases.

4th RESOLUTION.

That the recent abolition of the "Congress Poland" by the Czar is an insult to those great powers of Europe, which promoted those arrangements by their connivance or mutual jealousy, but that we who represent the popular sentiment and interest cannot regret the sweeping away of the unrighteous and inherently abortive compromise of 1815, but even so glad that henceforth the Polish Question is necessarily reduced to this simple issue: either to acquiesce in the total disappearance of the name of Poland from the Map of Europe, or to champion its re-establishment with the boundaries of 1772.

After the Resolutions are passed the Band will play the Polish National Hymn
"JESZCZE POLSKA NIEZGINELA."

Programm des Polenmeetings
des Generalrats der IAA vom 22. Januar 1867.
Flugblatt mit der Resolution von Marx

Karl Marx
Resolution of the Polish Meeting in London
January 22, 1867

That liberty cannot be established in Europe without the independence of Poland.

Karl Marx
Draft for a speech at the Polish Meeting in London
January 22, 1867

Ladies and Gentlemen,

When the last Russian ukases for the abolition of Poland became known in this country, the organ of the leading purses exhorted the Poles to turn into Muscovites. Why should they not, if it were only to give further security for the six mill. 1. st. just lent to the Czar by the English capitalists?

Some 30 years ago, a Revolution broke out in France. It was an event not foreseen by the St. Petersburg providence which had just concluded a secret treaty with Charles X for the better administration and geographical arrangement of Europe. On the arrival of the awkward news, the Czar Nicolaus summoned the officers of his horseguard and addressed them a short, warlike speech, culminating in the words: *à cheval, Messieurs!* This was no empty threat. Paskiewitch was despatched to Berlin there to settle the invasion of France. A few months later, all was ready. The Prussians were to concentrate on the Rhine, the Polish army to march into Prussia, and the Muscovites to follow in the rear. But then, as Lafayette said in the French Chamber of Deputies—*«l'avant garde tournait contre le gros de l'armée»*, the advanced guard turned round upon the main body. The insurrection of Warsaw saved Europe from a second Anti-Jacobin war.

Eighteen years later, there was another eruption of the revolutionary volcano, or rather an earthquake shaking the whole continent. Even the Germans began to fidget, despite the maternal leading-strings in which Russia had kept them ever since their so-called war of independence. Still more strange. Of all German cities, Vienna was the first to try its hands at barricade building, and successfully too. This time, and, perhaps, for the first time in his history, the Russ lost his temper. The Czar Nicolaus did no longer address his horseguard. He issued a manifesto to his people, telling them that the French plague had infected even the Germans, that it approached the frontiers of the Empire and that Revolution, in its madness, casts its delirious eyes upon Holy Russia. No wonder! he exclaimed. This same Germany has been the hotbed of infidelity for many years past. The

cancer of a sacrilegious philosophy has eaten into the vitals of that apparently solid people. And then, he winds up with the following apostrophe to the Germans: "With us is God! Know that, ye heathens, and submit to us, for God is with us!" Very soon after, through the hands of his trusted servant Nesselrode, he sent another bull to the Germans, but quite overflowing with tenderness for that heathenish people. Whence this change?

Why, the Berliners had not only made a Revolution, they had proclaimed the restauration of Poland, and the Prussian Poles deceived by the popular enthusiasm were forming military camps in Posnania. Hence the courtesies of the Czar. It was again Poland, the immortal Knight of Europe, that had warned off the Mongol! Only after the betrayal of the Poles by the Germans, especially the German National Assembly at Frankfort, Russia recovered her forces and waxed strong enough to stab the Revolution of 1848 in its last asylum, Hungary. And even here, the last man who bestrode the battlefield against her, was a Pole, General Bern.

Now there are many people silly enough to believe that all this has changed, that Poland has ceased to be "une nation nécessaire", as a French writer calls it, and dwindled to a sentimental souvenir, and you know that sentiments and souvenirs are not quoted at the Stock Exchanges. But I ask you, what has changed? Has the danger grown less? No. Only the judicial blindness of the governing classes of Europe has reached its climax.

In the first instance, the policy of Russia is unchangeable, as averred by her official historian, the Muscovite Karamzin. Her methods, her tactics, her *manœuvring* may change, but the leading star of her policy is a fixed star—the empire of the world. Only a civilized government swaying barbarian masses can nowadays hatch such a plan, and execute it. As the greatest Russian diplomatist of modern times, Pozzo di Borgo, wrote to Alexander I, at the epoch of the Vienna Congress, Poland is the great tool for the execution of the world-embracing schemes of Russia, but also her invincible obstacle, until the Pole, fatigued by the accumulated treacheries of Europe, becomes her scourge in the hand of the Muscovite.

Now, apart from the dispositions of the Polish people, has anything happened to thwart the plans of Russia or paralyse her action?

I need not tell you that in Asia, her progress of conquest is continuous. I need not tell you, that the so-called Anglo-French war against Russia handed over to her the mountain fortresses of Caucasus, the domination of the Black Sea, and the maritime rights which Catherine II, Paul and Alexander I had vainly tried to wrest from England. Railways are connecting and concentrating her vastly disseminated bonds. Her material resources in Congress Poland, which forms her entrenched camp in Europe, have enormously increased. The fortifications of Warsaw, Modlin, Ivan-

gorod—points singled out by the first Napoleon—domineer the whole course of the Vistula and constitute a formidable basis of attack to the North, West and South. The Panslavonian propaganda has kept pace with the enfeeblement of Austria and Turkey, and what that Panslavonian propaganda means, you had some foretaste in 1848-49, when Hungary was overrun, Vienna laid waste, Italy countered by the Slavs, fighting under the banners of Jellachich, Windischgrätz and Radetzky! And besides all this, England's wrongs against Ireland have raised a new powerful ally of Russia on the other side of the Atlantic. 5 •£

The plan of Russian policy remains unchangeable, her means of action have wonderfully increased even since 1848, but as yet there is one thing out of reach, and Peter the First hit the weak point when he exclaimed that to conquer the world, the Muscovites wanted nothing but souls. Well, this living spirit, which Russia lacks, will be infused into her carcass the moment the Poles turn into Russian subjects. What then will you have to throw into the opposite balance! 10•¾ 15 ¿i

A continental European will, perhaps, answer that Russia, by the emancipation of the serfs, has entered the family of civilized nations, that the German power recently concentrated in Prussian hands can stand any Asiatic shock, and, lastly, that Social Revolution in Western Europe will do away with all "international" conflicts. A mere Times—reading Englishman may tell me that, let the worst arrive to the worst, and Russia seize Constantinople, England will then appropriate Egypt and thus secure the road to her great Indian market. 20.

In the first instance, the emancipation of the serfs, has emancipated the supreme government from the impediments the nobles were able to oppose to its centralized action. It has created a vast recruiting place for its army, broken up the common property of the Russian peasants, insulated them, and, above all, strengthened their faith in their pope-autocrat. It has not *deodorized* their Asiatic barbarism, the slow growth of centuries. Any attempt at raising their moral standard is punished as a crime. I remind you only of the official provocations against the temperance societies which had undertaken to wean the Muscovite from what Feuerbach calls the practical substance of his religion, namely brandy. However it may work in the future, for the present the serf emancipation has increased the disposable forces of the Czar. 25¾ 35

Now, as to Prussia. Once a vassal of Poland, she has but grown into a first rate power under the auspices of Russia, and by the partition of Poland. If she lose to-morrow her Polish booty, she would merge into Germany instead of absorbing it. To maintain herself as a power distinct from Germany, she must fall back upon the Muscovite. Her recent access of do- 40,

main, instead of loosening these ties, have rendered them indissoluble, because it has heightened her antagonism to France and Austria. At the same time Russia is the prop upon which the arbitrary rule of the Hohenzollern dynasty and its feudal retainers rest. This is their safeguard against popular
5 disaffection. Prussia is, therefore, not a bulwark against the Muscovite but his predestined tool for the invasion of France and the enslavement of Germany.

As to social revolution, what does it mean if not a struggle of classes? It is possible that the struggle between the workmen and the capitalist will be
10 less fierce and bloody than the struggles between the feudal lord and the capitalist proved in England and in France.

We will hope so. But at all events, although such a social crisis may rouse the energies of the Western peoples, it will, like all internal feuds, also invite aggression from abroad. It will clothe anew Russia with the char-
15 acter she bore during the Anti-Jacobin war and since the Holy Alliance, that of the predestined saviour of order. It will enlist in her ranks all the privileged classes of Europe. Already during the revolution of February it was not only the Count of Montalembert, who laid his ear to the ground to listen whether there was a distant troop of Cossack horses. It was not only
20 Prussian squires who proclaimed in the midst of German representative bodies the Czar their "Oberlandesvater". It was all the Stock Exchanges of Europe that rose with every Russian victory over the Magyars and fell at every Russian defeat.

Lastly, as to the "Times" saying that Russia may seize Constantinople, if
25 she does not prevent England from seizing upon Egypt, what does it all mean? That England will surrender Constantinople to Russia, if Russia allows England to have a fight with France over Egypt. This is the comfortable vista opened to you by the Times. As to Russian love for England, fond as she is of British f .s.d., it suffices to quote the words of the *Gazette de Moscou*, d.d. Dec. 1831: «Non, il faut que le tour de perfide Albion vienne, et dans quelque temps nous ne devons plus faire de traité avec ce peuple qu'à Calcutta.» (No, it is necessary that the turn of perfidious Albion come, and soon we shall conclude no more treaty with that people, save at Calcutta.)

35 There is only one alternative left for Europe. Asiatic barbarism under Muscovite leadership will burst over her head like a lawine, or she must restore Poland, thus placing between herself and Asia 20 millions of heroes, and gaining breathing time for the accomplishment of her social regeneration.

Karl Marx

Berichtigung.

An die Redaktion der „Zeitung für Norddeutschland“

**/ An die Redaction der Zeitung
für Norddeutschland**

Es scheint mir, daß die wahrscheinlich aus Versehen in N^o 5522 Ihrer Zeitung gerathene Notiz „Der in London lebende Dr. Marx ... scheint dazu ausersehen zu sein den Continent zu bereisen um für die Angelegenheit (,die nächste Insurrection' Polens) Propaganda zu machen“, ein, ich weiß nicht für welche „Angelegenheit“ ausgehecktes Polizeifabrikat zu sein scheint.

London 18.Febr. 1867

Karl Marx |

Friedrich Engels
Schwedisch-dänische Reisenotizen

I 6. Juli. 9 Uhr. Hero in den Humber, 11 Uhr in See frische westliche Brise, 12 Kn. per Stunde, Wind zunehmend, Nachm. heftige See, Wind mehr und mehr nach Norden, abends half a gale, starkes Rollen des langen Schiffs, Capt. Soulsby stürzt und bricht eine Rippe, ein Englischer Passagier desgl. verschimpft sich die Schnauze, das mainsail reißt vom unteren Block los.

7. Juli, Deck unbetretbar, starkes Rollen bis endlich gegen Abend der Wind nachläßt und wir in Sicht des Holmen Leuchtturms auf Deck gehen können. See geht mehr und mehr nieder, doch unregelmäßig.

8. Juli morgens 7 Uhr Vingan, dann Eingang in die Götaelf Skåren, lauter roches moutonnées, die Eiswirkung auf 1000 Schritt sichtbar. Bald der engere Fluß, mit grünen Thälern zwischen den Granitfelsen, dann auch einige Bäume, schließlich Annäherung an Göteborg, hübsch und fremd durch die niedrige Geräumigkeit der breiten Häuser.

Göteborg selbst, eine moderne Stadt mitten in altschwedischer Umgebung; alles Stein innen, alles Holz draußen. Holländische Kanäle mit holländischem Gestank in den Straßen. Eindruck der Schweden weit mehr Deutsch als englisch; dazwischen fremdes finnisches Element. Schlechter Teint der Weiber im Ganzen, grobe, doch nicht abstoßende Züge, die Männer hübscher, doch auch mehr an den deutschen Binnenlandsphilister erinnernd. Die Leute in den 40ern sehen alle wie Badenser Philister aus.

Englisch wird tolerirt, Deutsch herrscht. Die kommerzielle und literarische Abhängigkeit von Deutschland überall hervorspringend. Bahnhöfe, öffentliche Gebäude, Privathäuser, Villen, alles im deutschen Styl, mit geringen klimatischen Abweichungen. Von England nur die Parkanlagen und die Sauberkeit mit der sie gehalten, und eine Kirche im neu englisch gothischen Styl. Man kann ruhig in jedem Geschäftslokal deutsch sprechen, selbst im Hotel wird der Englisch sprechende gebeten wo möglich Deutsch zu sprechen.

Nägelchen und Weißdorn in voller Blüthe, Alles wie am 8. Mai. Schöne

Ulmenart nebst Eschen im Baumschlag vorherrschend. Grün wie im englischen Frühjahr. Dazwischen überall die nackten granitnen moutonnées.

Lebensart ganz continental, antienglisch trotz || dem Trinken von falschem Portwein und Sherry. Hoteleinrichtungen. Die Zimmer, Frühstück, Küche, alles continental. Desgl. die Vermischung der Klassen in öffentlichen Lokalen. Apetitsup (Smörbrödsborden) (25 Öre).

Statur der Leute mittel und untersetzt, 5' 6" rh. Soldaten der reitenden Artillerie (värfvade) größer. Gemeine und Offiziere etwas Milizartiges an die Schweizer erinnernd. Die Huiler Matrosen erinnern vielmehr an Holsteiner, Niedersachsen, Friesen, Angeln und Dänen als an Schweden. Den Schweden *hier* fehlt der männliche Ausdruck im Gesicht, meist schwabblige verschwommene Fettzüge, außer bei einigen Seeleuten mit friesischer Physiognomie und sehnigem Bau. Die Soldaten sehn aus wie Westfalen, die Offiziere auch neither quite nor officers.

Wie immer, der unvermeidliche Eindruck wieviel überall auf dem Continent für Gesundheit und Erheiterung des populus geschieht gegenüber dem aristokratischen England. 15 J

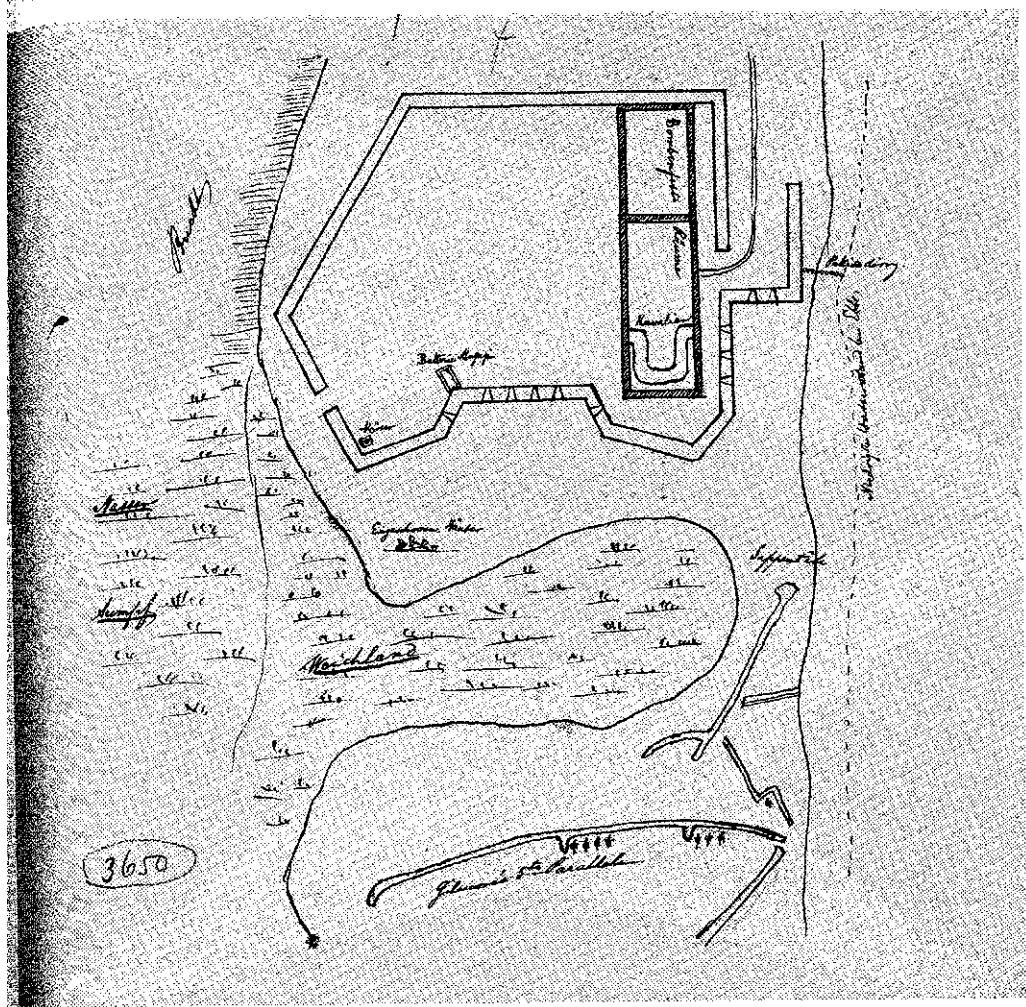
Komischer Eindruck der 2 englischen swell ladies denen die Schwedinnen alle nachsahen.

Reise nach Stockholm. Dampfschiffseinrichtung, hintre Kajüte Schlaf 20 \$ vordere Essen. Solide Lebensmittel. Salat mit Rahm. Süßigkeiten. Leute im Innern mehr und mehr bestimmten Charakter in den Zügen, Männer hübscher, stärker und größer, Weiber plain but homely and not unpleasant, dabei groß und stark. Der Charakter mehr und mehr an die Schwarzwälder Schweizer und Tiroler erinnernd (Steubs Tiroler Gothen?) Landjunker. 25 Auch die Sprache klingt sehr allerhöchst deutsch ohne Gutturalen.

Gegend am Götaelf hübsch, aber bescheiden, bis Trollhättan. 4 Fälle dicht über einander. Berge nicht über 6-800 F. hoch, doch imposant. Dann Venersee mit Kinnekullen, flach und langweilig, Wettern desgl. Karlsborg's Festungswerk nicht schlecht angelegt, lange Linien polygonal, 30; ?J doch ? ob nicht der dahinterliegende Berg jetzt beherrschend. Die Seen hübsch, aber alle egal. Ewiger Tannenwald, dazu ruinirter. Nirgends die schönen schweren Tannen der Schweiz. Scotch fir.

Motala-Elf-Thal wieder etwas bebaut, hier und da hübsch wo der Kanal mit Bäumen bepflanzt, Ulmen und Birken.

Scherensee nach Stockholm zu wird immer hübscher. Änderung in der Formation - Kalk hie und da und größte Verwitterung, also mehr Halden | I und Alpenmatten unmittelbar aus der See aufsteigend. Marmorbrüche auf zwei Inseln. Die Scheren werden höher und schöner je näher man nach Stockholm. Entlang der Malen sehr schön, Wald, Feld und Villen abwechselnd. 40*



Plan der schwedischen Festung Karlsborg.
Zeichnung von Engels

Schwedisch-dänische Reisenotizen

Stockholms Norrbro an Genfer Pont des bergues erinnernd. Mosebacken prachtvoll. Auch vom Observatorium schöne Aussicht. Dampfschluppe nach Djürgården. Dieser sehr schön als Park. Viele Restaurants und Cafés. Französische Einrichtung mit kleinen Tischen à la carte, kein table d'hôte.

5 Sitte der Stockholmer in Restaurants zu essen. Bränvinsbordet überall. Paiestko-öl, besser als in Deutschland. Schrecklich süße Gesöffte und Eßwaren (Karger). Schwedisches öl nicht schlecht aber entweder zu süß oder zu sauer. Wein, Bordeaux hyper-hermitagé, petit bourgogne mit Zusatz von südfranzösischem Wein Hauptgetränk bei Tische. Sonst die civil. Küche
10 mehr deutsch als französisch.

In Stockholm mehr Hauptstadtcharakter, weniger ausländische Sprachen coulant, doch in jedem Geschäftslokal deutsch gesprochen. Mode, in Gothenburg entschieden englisch bei Männern, hier vorherrschend französisch. Heuchelei wegen Bränvinsbordet wenn Damen dabei, kindliche Ver-
15 gnügungsorte, Caroussel, Puppentheater, Seiltänzer und schlechte Musik. Stromparterren noch das beste. „Mekanismen“. Dabei doch ernster oder heuchl. luther. Volkscharakter der keine öffentlichen Tivoli Orte en gros duldet.

Soldaten selbst der Garde milizmäßig slovenly desgl. die Offiziere. No
10 life in them. Auch keine besonders großen Leute, nichts was an die 69" reicht. Uniform eklektisch und altfränk. Lederzeug, Schildwachen plaudern. Vollbarte. Die Malmöer Husaren. Schwer wie Linienreiter - die hübschesten Leute.

Eisenbahn - o je. 3mal Läuten und 1mal Pfeifen. 5 Minuten = 15 à 20.
25 Naturwüchsige aber gute Eßlokale, alles 1 Rdl. Gegend hübsch, aber nach den ersten zwei Stunden durch ewige Wiederholung einförmig und zuletzt langweilig. Die vielen Seen sehr leicht aus der Eisaction zu erklären. Thalboden meist alter See - resp. Torfmoorboden.

Guter Kniff die Leute nach Malmö zu schicken um eine diplomatische
30 Unterhandlung zu Ende zu bringen.

Kopenhagen. Wirklich mehr Hovedstaden in Größe und Leben als Stockholm doch immer noch klein und bescheiden. Entschieden Vorherrschen des Deutschen selbst in den Straßen. Lebenslustige Kinder, alle Vergnügungsorte vor Allem für Kinder eingerichtet, Caroussel wenigstens
35 100 Mal. Auch die Alten verkindischt; Ballet, Circus etc. Selbst die Grausamkeit der Kinder die an Kinderquälerei Hauptspaß findet. Tivoli sehr charakteristisch in der Art.

Schöne Bäume in ganz Kopenhagen. Schöne Einfahrt in den Hafen. Alte Kriegsschiffe - malerischer Eindruck. Der Eindruck der Bauernhaupt-
40 Stadt die \% Mill. Bauern exploitirt, überall unverkennbar. |

Karl Marx
Adresse du Conseil Général
de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs.
Aux membres et aux sociétés affiliées
et à tous les travailleurs

I Adresse du Conseil Général de l'Association Internationale.

Aux Membres et aux Sociétés affiliées et à tous les Travailleurs.

Prolétaires,

Parmi les correspondances que nous recevons nous voyons que les membres de l'association continuent à propager les principes et à augmenter le nombre des branches de l'association internationale. Ce travail est surtout remarquable en Suisse, où la plupart de nos branches sont activement occupées à établir des sociétés ouvrières de toute sorte et à les mettre en rapport avec nous.

La Belgique, depuis le massacre de Marchiennes, fait des efforts dignes d'éloges pour masser tout le prolétariat belge sous notre égide.

Mais différentes causes ont entravé cette œuvre de propagande dans les autres pays :

L'Allemagne, qui avant '48 avait pris tant d'intérêt dans l'étude des questions sociales, voit presque toutes ses forces actives absorbées par le mouvement unitaire qui s'accomplit dans son sein.

En France, vu le peu de liberté dont jouit la classe ouvrière, la généralisation de nos principes et de notre association ne s'est pas effectuée d'une façon aussi rapide qu'on aurait pu l'espérer: car nous eussions cru que l'appui que, *grâce à nous*, les sociétés ouvrières anglaises ont prêté aux sociétés ouvrières françaises lors de leurs dernières grèves, aurait dû nous conquérir le soutien de tous les ouvriers français. Maintenant qu'en France la lutte entre la classe capitaliste et la classe ouvrière rentre dans la phase que nous appellerons *anglaise*, c'est-à-dire, prenant un caractère nettement

tranché, les ouvriers devraient comprendre que pour résister avec succès aux forces des capitalistes il faut qu'un puissant lien d'union réunisse les différents membres de la communauté ouvrière.

L'Angleterre, occupée qu'elle était par le mouvement réformiste, a laissé
5 pour un moment de côté le mouvement économique. Mais maintenant que ce mouvement a cessé, que l'enquête sur les *trades' unions* fait rénumération et la constatation des forces de la classe ouvrière, nous pensons que l'heure est venue pour que toutes les sociétés ouvrières comprennent notre utilité. Déjà, à plusieurs reprises, dans des réunions de délégués de la
10 classe ouvrière, le rôle de notre association a été apprécié à sa juste valeur et un grand nombre de sociétés se sont déjà fondues dans notre sein. L'Angleterre, grâce à la puissante organisation que possède la classe ouvrière est appelée à être un de nos plus fermes appuis.

Les Etats-Unis semblent avoir acquis une nouvelle jeunesse dans la
15 guerre sanglante qu'ils viennent de traverser : la classe ouvrière s'est déjà centralisée et a exercé son action sur le gouvernement bourgeois, qui règne sur l'Amérique et a forcé plusieurs législatures d'Etat à accepter le bill de huit heures de travail. A l'occasion de l'élection du prochain président les différents partis politiques ont été obligés de faire leur profession de foi : le
20 parti radical par la bouche de Wade, président du Sénat, a reconnu la nécessité de s'occuper avant tout et spécialement de la question du travail et du capital, et il s'est prononcé franchement pour une transformation de la propriété capitaliste et foncière. Comme dans ce pays, la classe ouvrière jouit d'une force d'organisation considérable, elle sera capable d'imposer
25 ses volontés.

Dans tous les pays civilisés à l'heure présente la classe ouvrière est en train de s'agiter et c'est dans les pays où l'industrie manufacturière est la plus développée, comme en Amérique et en Angleterre, que l'on trouve une organisation plus compacte de la classe ouvrière et une lutte plus ar-
30 dente entre la classe bourgeoise et la classe ouvrière.

En présence de la force du capital, la force individuelle humaine a disparu, dans une manufacture l'ouvrier n'est plus qu'un rouage de la machine. Pour que l'ouvrier put retrouver son individualité, il a dû s'unir, former des associations pour défendre son salaire, sa vie. Jusqu'à aujourd'hui
35 ces associations étaient restées locales, mais le capital, grâce aux nouvelles inventions de l'industrie, voit sa force s'accroître tous les jours ; aussi les associations nationales sont devenues dans un grand nombre de cas impuissantes : en étudiant les luttes de la classe ouvrière anglaise, on voit que pour résister à leurs ouvriers les patrons, tantôt font venir des ouvriers
40 étrangers, tantôt font faire l'ouvrage dans des pays où la main d'oeuvre est à meilleur marché. En présence de cet état de choses, si la classe ouvrière

Karl Marx

veut continuer sa lutte avec quelque chance de succès, il faut que ces associations nationales deviennent internationales.

Que tous les ouvriers envisagent avec attention ce nouveau point de vue de la question, qu'ils considèrent qu'en se rangeant sous notre bannière c'est leur pain et celui de leurs enfants qu'ils défendent.

Nous, conseil général, en appelons à tous pour que le prochain congrès, qui se tiendra le 2 septembre 1867 à Lauzanne, soit une éclatante manifestation de la classe ouvrière.

«D'après les règlements du premier congrès, chaque branche a le pouvoir d'envoyer un délégué au congrès. Les branches comptant plus de 500 membres peuvent envoyer un délégué par chaque 500 membres de surplus. Les branches qui ne seraient pas assez riches pour envoyer un délégué peuvent s'adjoindre d'autres branches pour contribuer à fournir les frais d'un délégué qui serait chargé de les représenter. »

Les questions du congrès sont :

1° Quels sont les moyens *pratiques* capables de rendre l'association internationale un centre commun d'action pour la classe ouvrière (femelle et mâle) dans la lutte qu'elle soutient pour s'affranchir du joug du capital ?

2° Comment les classes ouvrières peuvent-elles utiliser pour leur émancipation le crédit qu'elles donnent à la bourgeoisie et aux gouvernements ?

Salut et fraternité :

Secrétaires Correspondants :

E. Dupont, pour la France ; K. Marx, pour l'Allemagne ; Zabicki, pour la Pologne ; A. Jung, pour la Suisse ; P. Fox, pour l'Amérique ; Besson, pour la Belgique ; Carter, pour l'Italie ; P. Lafargue, pour l'Espagne ; Hansen, pour la Hollande et pour le Danemark.

G. Odger, président.

G. Eccarius, vice-président.

W. Dell, trésorier.

Shaw, secrétaire-trésorier.

Peter Fox, secrétaire-général.

16, Castle-street, Oxford-street. |

Karl Marx
Le statisticien Otto Hübner sur la misère de masse
en Allemagne

Le Courrier français.
Nr. 81, 6. September 1867

Dans une circulaire que M. Otto Hübner, directeur des *Archives centrales statistiques* (à Berlin), a adressé à ses électeurs pour le Reichstag, on lit :

Le peuple est plus que surchargé. A part les fabriques des armes, presque toutes les industries sont paralysées. Des centaines de candidats affamés
5 briguent les plus petits emplois publics. Dans les villes, le nombre des maisons inhabitées et des habitants, hors d'état de payer leurs logements, va croissant. Des terres et des maisons tombent en masse sous la subhastation. Les maisons de charité sont assiégées *par des vainqueurs estropiés* et par des ouvriers sans travail. Partout la confiance dans le présent et dans
10 l'avenir font défaut. Le budget même du plus pauvre lui donne la leçon, *qu'il paie déjà les services de l'Etat beaucoup plus cher qu'ils ne valent.*

A N H A N G

Protokolle und Wiedergaben Marxscher Reden

The Minute Book
of the Provisional Central Council
of the International Working Men's Association
October 5, 1864 to August 28, 1866

International Working Men's Association

The first Meeting of the Committee elected by the Public Meeting held at St Martin's Hall on the 28th of September 1864 was held at 18 Greek St, Soho on October 5th 1864 and on the motion of Mr Weston seconded by Mr Whitlock Mr G. Odger was voted to the Chair.

The Chairman said the first business was the appointment of a Secretary to the Committee when Dr Marx proposed and Mr Whitlock seconded that Mr Cremer be appointed.

Mr Cremer would prefer the appointment of M Le Lubez who was he believed in every way qualified to fill the office, M Le Lubez having for various reasons declined the office, Mr Cremer was unanimously elected.

The next Question discussed was the Meeting nights of the Committee when several resolutions and amendments were proposed but ultimately on the motion of Mr Longmaid seconded by Mr Dell it was carried with one dissentient

That until the Association is in working order the Committee meet at 18 Greek St every Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock.

A Question being asked as to the expenses of Meeting in the Room it was agreed to adjourn the consideration of that matter till the Council of the Universal League had decided on what terms they could allow us the use of the Room.

The Question of the rate of Contributions was then discussed when Mr Noble proposed and Mr Whitlock seconded,

That for the present the rate of Contributions for the Committee be Is per Quarter but that further voluntary Contribution be accepted |[2]| from any Member or Friend.

As an amendment Mr Worley proposed and Mr Longmaid seconded,

That the preliminary expenses of the Committee be defrayed by voluntary Contributions from members of the Committee and other Friends—

For amendment 6—For Resolution 14—Carried.

A Subscription of 3 Guineas was then made by the members present and on the motion of Mr Dell seconded by Mr Blackmore Mr G. Wheeler was unanimously elected Treasurer to the Committee—

The Minute Book of the Provisional Central Council of the I. W. M. A.

M Le Lubez then proposed Mr Whitlock seconded and it was unanimously agreed to that the following be added to the Committee:

Vasbenter, Morrissot, Jourdain, Leroux, Bordage, Aldovrandi.

On the motion of Major Wolff seconded by Mr Holtorp M Setacci, Mr Carter and Professor Beesly were added to the General Committee. The Question of appointing Secretaries to the different nationalities represented on the Committee was then discussed and on the motion of Mr Whitlock seconded by Major Wolff M Le Lubez was unanimously elected corresponding Secretary for France.

On the motion of Mr Whitlock seconded by Dr Marx M Holtorp was elected corresponding secretary for Poland. 10,

Dr Marx stated that the German Working Men's Association would elect a corresponding Secretary for Germany.

Major Wolff made a similar statement with regard to the Italian Working Men's Association.

A long discussion then took place with regard to the election of a General Honorary Secretary and the position he should occupy in relation to the Secretaries of the various nationalities and on the motion of Mr Wheeler seconded by Major Wolff Mr Cremer [[3]] was unanimously elected Honorary General Secretary. Mr Cremer stated he would have preferred the election of M Le Lubez who was in every way qualified to occupy so important a post but as M Le Lubez positively declined he 20 Mr Cremer would accept it until the Association had adopted a platform of principles, framed their Laws, and fairly started. He should then resign the office—

A very long and animated discussion then took place with regard to the principles on which the Association should be based and ultimately on the motion of Mr Dell seconded by Mr Trimlett a Sub Committee of 9 were appointed to draw up a 25 platform of principles such principles to be discussed at the next meeting of the General Committee, The following were then elected as the Sub Committee, Messrs Whitlock, Weston, Dr Marx, M Le Lubez, Major Wolff, M Holtorp and Mr Pidgeon, The Chairman and Secretary to be members by virtue of their offices. The Meeting then adjourned to Tuesday October 11th 1864. 30

President

W.R. Cremer Hon General Secretary/

3102 International Working Men's Association

The first Meeting of the Committee elected by the Public Meeting held at St. Martins Hall on Aug 28th 1864, was held at 18 Greek St. Ldn on Oct. 5th 1864 and on the motion of Mr Weston seconded by Mr Whitlock and G. Rogers was voted to the Chair.

The Chairman said the first business was the appointment of a Secretary to the Committee where Mr Marx prop and Mr Whitlock sec. that Mr Cremer be appointed. Mr Cremer would prefer the appointment of Mr Le Lubers who was he believed was more qualified to fill the Office Mr Le Lubers having for various reasons declined the offer Mr Cremer was unanimously elected.

The next Question discussed was the Meeting rights of the Committee when several resolutions and Amendments were proposed but ultimately on the Motion of Mr Langmaid Sec by Mr Wall it was carried with one dissentient. That under the Association is on working order the Committee meet at 18 Greek St every Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock.

A Question being asked as to the expenses of Meeting in the Room it was agreed to adjourn the consideration of that matter till the Council of the Universal League had decided on what terms they could allow for the use of the Rooms.

The Question of the rate of Contributions was then discussed when Mr Noble prop and Mr Whitlock sec. That for the present the rate of Contributions for the Committee be 1 per Quarter but that further voluntary contribution be accepted.

The Minute Book of the Provisional Central Council
of the International Working Men's Association
October 5, 1864 to August 28, 1866. Seite [1].
Handschrift von William Randall Cremer
und einem unbekanntem Schreiber

**/[3]/ Sub Committee Meeting held at 80 White Cross St
October 8 1864**

Present, Major Wolff, M Le Lubez, Messrs Odger, Cremer and Weston, Mr Odger in the Chair—

5 Mr Weston brought forward and read a paper which he had drawn up as a declaration of principles, A very long discussion took place regarding the principles | I [4] I set forth in the paper and it was ultimately decided on the motion of M Le Lubez seconded by Major Wolff,

10 That Mr Weston be requested to abridge and alter his paper and that it be then recommended by the Sub to the General Committee as the programme of the association.

Major Wolff then proposed and Mr Cremer seconded the following resolution

15 That this Committee suggests as the basis of its operations the promotion of the Moral, Intellectual and Economical Progress of the Working Classes of Europe by coming to an understanding with the various Working Men's Associations all over Europe in order to obtain unity of purpose and unity of action, the two great means of arriving at the above named results. Carried Unanimously.

20 Major Wolff then read the rules of the Italian Working Men's Association who have for some time been endeavouring throughout Italy to unite into one Fraternal Bond the various Working Men's Associations—

The rules were highly approved by the Committee and on the motion of Mr Cremer seconded by M Le Lubez it was decided to recommend them to the General Committee for their adoption.

M Le Lubez then proposed and Cremer seconded

25 That we recommend to the General Committee to fix the rate of Contribution at a sh. a year for Individuals and that for such sum each member be presented with a card and that the rate of Contribution from organised bodies be as low as it can possibly be made.

Resolution carried unanimously.

30 Adjourned.

President
W. R. Cremer Honorary Gen Secretary |

Meeting of the Committee October 11, 1864

[[5]] General Committee Meeting October 11 1864

The minutes of the former meeting having been read, on the motion of Mr Dell seconded by M Le Lubez they were passed as correct.

The Secretary then read the Minutes of the Sub Committee held on the 8th which Minutes were generally approved and Mr Weston read the paper he had at the recommendation of the Sub Committee abridged, and which he believed would serve the Association as a platform of principles.

A very long discussion took place on the contents of the paper and Major Wolff having at the request of the Committee brought forward and read the rules of the Italian Working Men's Association, it was ultimately decided on the motion of Mr Carter seconded by Mr Wheeler—

That the paper read by Mr Weston and the rules as read by Major Wolff be referred back to the Subcommittee for revision. Mr Dell then proposed and Mr Hartwell seconded

That the best thanks of the Committee be given to Major Wolff and Mr Weston for the abilities they have displayed, Mr Weston in drawing up the paper and Major Wolff in translating into English the Rules of the Italian Working Men's Association. Carried Unanimously.

Mr Cremer then proposed and Mr Whitlock seconded That persons becoming members of this Association shall pay not less than 1s per annum and that the rate of contribution for organised bodies be hereafter determined. Carried Unanimously.

It was then discussed as to what should be the name of the Association and Mr Wheeler proposed and Mr Leno seconded

That the Subcommittee be deputed to enquire into and report to this Committee as to the advisability of merging this Association into the Universal League. |

[[6]] Mr Leno said as the objects sought by both Associations were almost synonymous it would be far better to unite them and thereby unite their efforts. As an amendment Mr Whitlock proposed and Mr Eccarius seconded

That the name of the Association be the International Working Men's Association.

For the Amendment 16 for Resolution 4.

Meeting of the Committee October 11, 1864

The Association is therefore entitled the International Working Men's Association-

It having been stated that Major Wolff was about to visit Naples and would attend the Working Men's Congress about being held in that City, Mr Cremer proposed and M Le Lubez seconded

That Major Wolff be deputed to enquire of the Italian Working Men through their deputies in Congress assembled if they are willing to enter into a fraternal bond with the Working Men of the other countries of the world and if they are on what basis such bond should be established. Carried Unanimously.

The Secretary was instructed to forward to Major Wolff Credentials from this Committee.

The following were then added to the general Committee

M Rybczinski proposed by M Holtorp seconded by Mr Fox

M Talandier proposed by Major Wolff seconded by Mr Fox

M G. Nusperli proposed by M Le Lubez seconded by M Bordage

Mr G. P. Fontana proposed by Major Wolff seconded by Mr Lama

Mr J. R. Taylor proposed by Wheeler seconded by Whitlock and

on the motion of Major Wolff seconded by M Le Lubez Mr M. G. Nusperli was elected corresponding Secretary for Switzerland.

The meeting then adjourned to October 18 1864.

I. G. ECCARIUS, V. President
W. R. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary |

[[7]] Central Council Meeting October 18, 1864

The President being absent on important business, on the motion of Mr Weston seconded by Mr Fox—Mr Eccarius was elected to take the Chair—and the minutes of the former meeting having been read were confirmed on the motion of Mr Fox seconded by Holtorp— 5

Mr Wolff of Luxembourg was then elected a Member of the Council on the proposition of Lubez seconded by Bordage.

Mr Taylor then referred to his position in connection with the Universal League and this Council but having been called to order by the Chairman, Mr Taylor stated his intention to (for the present) withdraw from the Council— 10

M Le Lubez then read the programme and Rules which the Sub Committee had agreed to submit to the Gen Council. After the reading of the above a long discussion took place, Mr Worley objecting to the statement that the Capitalist was opposed to the Laborer—he also ridiculed the Idea of the French supplanting English Workman or *vice versa*. 15

Mr Carter in some pertinent remarks replied to Mr Worley as did M Le Lubez, Dr Marx and others after which Mr Cremer proposed Marx seconded

That the programme as read by Le Lubez be adopted—

As an amendment Mr Worley proposed and Weston seconded to strike out the Words—*Capital and Land in the hands of the few—* 20

For the Amendment 2, for the Resolution 12—

Mr Fontana then proposed Lama seconded that the substance of the programme be accepted. Carried Unanimously.

Mr Fox on the motion of Mr Fontana seconded by Wheeler was added to the Sub Committee who were instructed to put into a definite form the Preamble and Rules and submit the same to the next Meeting of the Central Council— 25

A Letter was read from Mr Facey announcing his resignation as a Member of the Central Council. A Letter was also [[8]] read from Major Wolff explaining a misunderstanding which had arisen from his having opposed the election of M Sassinari, the explanation was considered satisfactory. 30

Mr Morgan on the proposition of Mr Carter seconded by Wheeler was elected on the Central Council—

Meeting of the Central Council October 18, 1864

The Meeting then adjourned to November 1st.

J. G. Eccarius Vice President
W. R. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary /

[Auszug aus The Bee-H i ve Newspaper]

The Bee-Hive Newspaper.
Nr. 158, 22. Oktober 1864

Mr. Cremer then read several letters from foreign workmen, congratulating the association on its formation, and promising their hearty co-operation in carrying out its objects—the solidarity of the interests of labour.

/[8]/ Central Council Meeting Nov'r 1st 1864

Mr G. Odger in the Chair.

The Minutes of the former meeting were confirmed as read—on the proposition of Lubez seconded by Eccarius—The following were elected on the CC

Mr Side proposed by Whitlock seconded by Cremer

Mr Pfander proposed by Marx seconded by Eccarius

Mr Lessner proposed by Marx seconded by Eccarius

Mr Jung proposed by Nusperli seconded by Lubez

Mr Dick proposed by Blackmore seconded by Carter

Mr Merriman proposed by Dell seconded by Blackmore

Mr Grossmith proposed by Dell seconded by Blackmore

Mr Dupont proposed by Lubez seconded by Carter.

Dr Marx then read the Preamble, Address and Rules which the Sub Committee had definitely agreed on and which they recommended to the CC for adoption. Mr Whitlock thought some explanation (in the form of a foot note) should be given as to the terms Nitrogen and Carbon.

Messrs Carter, Grossmith and others spoke in favor of the address—

Mr Whitlock proposed Mr Carter seconded

That the address do pass as read-

As an amendment Mr Worley proposed and Mr Wheeler seconded

That the word Profilmongers be erased—

For amendment 11 for resolution [9] 10, the amendment being carried the word Profilmongers was struck out and the address was unanimously agreed to.

Dr Marx then read the preamble and on the motion of Mr Wheeler seconded by Blackmore it was Carried Unanimously.

The Rules were then discussed and on the proposition of Mr Dell seconded by Whitlock the Preamble, Address and Rules were unanimously agreed to—Mr Wheeler then proposed and Mr Dell seconded

That the thanks of the CC be given to Dr Marx, Mr Weston and M Le Lubez for their exertions and the production of so admirable an address. Carried Unanimously.

Meeting of the Central Council November 1, 1864

The question of printing the Rules was adjourned to the next Meeting. The Council then adjourned to November 8th.

J. G. ECCARIUS, V. President
W. R. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary/

[Auszug aus The Bee-Hive Newspaper]

The Bee-Hive Newspaper.
Nr. 160, 5. November 1864

Mr. Cremer, the secretary, reported the proceedings since last meeting with respect to communicating with various organisations of working men throughout England, as to the propriety of joining the association, which were generally of an encouraging character. Mr. Le Lubez, secretary of the French section, read a very interesting letter from M. Tolain, of Paris, on behalf of the French workmen, congratulating the English committee on the progress they were making, and stating that active steps were being taken throughout France and Switzerland, in forming branches of the association in the principal towns of these countries. The secretaries of the German and Italian sections read similar letters from associations of workmen in those countries, the latter stating that during the past week delegates from upwards of 400 working men's associations in Italy had been sitting in congress at Naples, where a representative from the English association, Mr. Wolff, had been in attendance, and who would report the result of the congress at the next meeting.

Meeting of the Central Council November 8, 1864

/[9]/ Central Council Meeting November 8th 1864.

Mr Eccarius in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting on the motion of Mr Fox seconded by Mr Holtorp were confirmed,

The Secretary read a letter from Professor Beesly respectfully declining to serve on the Committee, also from M Talandier thanking the Committee for electing him a member and wishing to know if he could remain a member without taking part in or attending the Meetings as the distance he lived from London would prevent his doing so, a Letter was also read from M Bocquet asking the same question.

The following were then elected on the Central Council

Mr George Lochner proposed by Marx seconded by Carter

Mr William Kaub proposed by Marx seconded by Carter

Mr Bolleter proposed by Holtorp seconded by Fontana

Mr Austin Holyoake proposed by Mr Fox seconded by Weston.

Dr Marx proposed Mr Jung seconded that any person not being able to attend the Meetings cannot be a member of this Council. Dr Marx called attention to the reports in the Morning Star and Bee-Hive of the last Meeting and complained that in such reports one of the fundamental principles of the Association viz, Truth, had been violated, he also complained of the Address having been published without the sanction of the Committee.

The Secretary explained that he had nothing to do with the reports at which he was very much surprised, he believed Mr Hartwell had supplied the reports in question.

To obviate the recurrence of such erroneous reports Dr Marx proposed Mr Fontana seconded that the Sec purchase a Manifold writer and that for the future all reports for the Press be sent through the Secretary.

Mr Aldovrandi proposed and Mr Carter seconded that Dr Marx be requested to correct the typographical errors in the Address and that 500 Copies of the Address, Programme and Rules be printed. Carried Unanimously,

Mr Dick proposed Dr Marx seconded that the question of Cards be left till the next meeting.

Mr Morgan proposed Mr Weston seconded that all members be summoned to

Meeting of the Central Council November 8, 1864

the next meeting and that those who do not attend or apologise for their absence be considered as wishing to withdraw from the Council. Carried Unanimously,

Mr Cremer gave notice of his intention of calling the attention of the Committee to the advisability of providing a home for the Association. The Meeting then adjourned.

J. G. Eccarius Vice President
W. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary |

[Auszug aus The Bee-Hive Newspaper]

The Bee-Hive Newspaper.
Nr. 161, 12. November 1864

Mr. Cremer, the secretary, read a mass of correspondence relating to the movement of a most interesting and encouraging character.

The preamble and general rules of the association read at the last meeting having been confirmed, the bye laws were taken into consideration, and considerable discussion ensued thereon previous to adoption. The two most important were the following:—"That persons residing in any part of England can join the association, but that no member can be elected upon the General Committee who is unable to attend its meetings and assist in its deliberations." "That the subscription to the association in England shall for the present be Is. per annum, for which a card of membership will be given."

[[11]] **Central Council Meeting November 15 1864**

Mr Eccarius in the Chair.

The Minutes of the former Meeting having been read were confirmed on the motion of Mr Weston seconded by Whitlock.

The Secretary read letters from several members apologising for their non-attendance, a long discussion took place regarding absent members of the Council who reside too far away to allow them to attend its meetings. A Resolution proposed by Mr Whitlock seconded by Mr Dick to elect them corresponding Members of the Committee was ultimately withdrawn with the understanding that as the present Committee was merely provisional in its character that all who had been elected on it should remain but that no new member should be elected who resided at such a distance as to preclude him from attending the Meetings.

Mr Cremer then proposed M Le Lubez seconded that 1,000 Address and Rules be printed. Carried Unanimously,

Mr Dick proposed that the design for the cards be referred to the Sub Committee and that 1,000 be printed.

A long discussion then took place with regard to the terms on which organised Bodies should be received into the Association and ultimately on the motion of Dr Marx seconded by Mr Blackmore the question was adjourned to the next meeting.

Mr Cremer then brought forward a plan to provide a home for the Association which was agreed to be referred to the Sub Committee—

The Secretary then stated that as he had only accepted office till the Rules had been framed and adopted and such having been done he [[12]] now tendered his resignation, the meeting having refused to accept the resignation.

Mr Blackmore proposed Mr Whitlock seconded, That Mr Cremer be requested still to continue office till after the assembling of the Congress. *Carried Unanimously.*

Mr Cremer would have preferred that the Meeting had elected another but he would accept it on the condition *viz* that it was to be an honorary position,

Mr Weston proposed Mr Longmaid seconded a vote of thanks to the Bee-Hive for the insertion of the Address, Rules etc. *Carried Unanimously.*

Meeting of the Central Council November 15, 1864

Mr Dick proposed Mr Whitlock seconded, that M Le Lubez be elected assistant secretary. *Carried Unanimously.*

The Meeting then adjourned to November 22.

J. G. Eccarius Vice President
W. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary/

[Auszug aus The Bee-Hive Newspaper]
[Zu S. 280.13-14]

The Bee-Hive Newspaper.
Nr. 162, 19. November 1864

The address and rules of the association, agreed to at the last meeting, were ordered to be printed for circulation, and to be signed by the whole of the members of the general committee.

Meeting of the Central Council November 22, 1864

/[12]/ **Central Council Meeting November 22/64**

Mr Eccarius in the Chair.

The minutes of the former meeting having been read were confirmed on the motion of Dr Marx seconded by Mr Dell. The following were then elected on the Central Council

- Mr Buckley proposed by Dell seconded by Shaw
- Mr Lake proposed by Dell seconded by Shaw
- M Solustri proposed by Fontana seconded by Setacci
- L. Otto proposed by Eccarius seconded by Dr Marx.

Some correspondence was then read from Major Wolff and Mr Joshua Wood, Mr Dick proposed Mr Dell seconded That the Bee-Hive be made the organ of the Association. Carried Unanimously. Mr Cremer then brought forward his motion regarding a Home for the Association and he proposed that three Trustees be elected to take a Home for the Association.

Carried Unanimously. |

[[13]] The following were then elected as Trustees

- Mr G. Wheeler proposed by Mr Dell seconded by Mr Fontana
- Mr W. Dell proposed by Dr Marx seconded by Mr Fox
- Mr Weston proposed by Jung seconded by Lubez.

Mr Morgan then proposed and Mr Dick seconded that the Sub Committee be 2 empowered to take suitable premises as a Home for the Association and that the members of the Council be recommended to give to the Trustees a small personal guarantee securing them against any loss. Carried Unanimously, The following members of the Committee then gave guarantees for the following sums

	£	s	d		£	s	d
Dr Marx	2	0	0	Mr Howell	0	5	0
Mr Cremer	0	10	0	Leroux	0	10	0
Fox	0	10	0	Lama	0	10	0
Eccarius	0	10	0	Setacci	0	10	0
Holtorp	0	10	0	Carter	0	10	0
Rybczinski	0	10	0	Fontana	2	0	0

Meeting of the Central Council November 22, 1864

					If]	M	Id]
Bolleter	0	10	0	Jung	1	0	0
Lessner	0	10	0	Lubez	1	0	0
Otto	0	10	0				
Morgan	0	10	0				
Kaub	0	10	0				
Dick	0	10	0				

Dr Marx proposed Mr Wheeler seconded That organised bodies of Working Men be invited to join this Association in their cooperative capacity, the amount of their contributions to be left to their means and discretion—Dr Marx proposed Mr Wheeler seconded—

That societies joining this Association shall have the Power to elect a representative to sit on the Central Council, the Council reserving to itself the power to accept or reject such Delegates. *Carried Unanimously*—

The following were then elected as Vice Presidents of the Central Council

Mr Eccarius proposed by Mr Dell seconded by Dr Marx

Mr Setacci proposed by Mr Wheeler seconded by Fontana.

The following were also elected as deputies to visit organised bodies of Workmen

Mr Jung proposed by Mr Lubez seconded by Dr Marx

Kaub proposed by Jung seconded by Fox

Fontana proposed by Wheeler seconded by Lubez

Morgan proposed by Jung seconded by Lubez

Le Lubez proposed by Wheeler seconded by Fontana

Howell proposed by Wheeler seconded by Le Lubez

Weston proposed by Jung seconded by Eccarius.

Dr Marx proposed Mr Howell seconded that Mr L. Otto be authorised to correspond in the name of this Association with the friends of progress in Spain. *Carried Unanimously*,

Mr Dick proposed Mr Howell seconded that an address of congratulation for the re-election of Mr Lincoln be presented by this council to the People of America and that the Sub Committee do prepare the same. *Carried Unanimously*,

Mr. Wheeler then proposed Mr Fontana seconded that Messrs Carter and Howell be added to the Sub Committee. *Carried Unanimously*,

The Meeting then adjourned to the 29th.

J. G. Eccarius Vice President
W. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary|

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[Auszug aus The Bee-Hive Newspaper]
[Zu S. 282.11-12 und 283.12-14]

The Bee-Hive Newspaper
Nr. 163, 26. November 1864

M. Le Lubez brought up the report of the Sub-Committee, which recommended that the Bee-Hive be made the special organ of the association, and that the members take up shares in the same. After some discussion, on the motion of Mr. Dick, seconded by Mr. Dell it was unanimously decided "That the Bee-Hive be the organ of the association, and that the members be recommended to take up shares."

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It was also decided that societies in London who join the association shall have the power to elect a representative to sit on the Central Council, the Council reserving to itself the power to receive or reject such representative. With regard to societies in the provinces who may join, it was decided that they should have the power to elect a corresponding member of the association.

J[15] **Central Council Meeting November 29/64**

The President in the Chair.

The minutes of the former meeting having been read Mr Eccarius proposed Lessner seconded their confirmation. Carried Unanimously, The following were then added to the Council: Mr D. Cornelius, Mr Thos Smales, and Mr Petersen on the motion of Mr Eccarius seconded by Mr Lessner, Mr Alexander Schantzenbach proposed by Holtorp seconded by Rybczinski, Dr G. Bagnagatti proposed by Fontana seconded by Lama, Mr Hopkin Williams proposed by Mr Weston seconded by Mr Fox.

The following resolution was then proposed by Dr Marx seconded by Mr Fontana and Carried Unanimously—That no one be elected on the CC who has not previously paid his Annual Subscription as a Member of this Association—

Dr Marx then brought up the report of the Sub Committee, also a draft of the address which had been drawn up for presentation to the People of America congratulating them on their having re-elected Abraham Lincoln as President.

The address is as follows and was unanimously agreed to.

[[16]] A long discussion then took place as to the mode of presenting the address and the propriety of having an MP with the Deputation, this was strongly opposed by many Members who said Working Men should rely on themselves and not seek for extraneous aid. The Sec stated he had corresponded with the American Minister and he the Sec had no doubt that if Mr Adams was asked that he would appoint a time to receive the deputation. It was then proposed by Whitlock seconded by Eccarius and Carried Unanimously—That the Sec correspond with the United States Minister asking him to appoint a time for receiving the deputation, such deputation to consist of the Members of the CC.

Mr Wheeler proposed Le Lubez seconded, that the names of all those who are present be appended to the Address, also those who are absent and are willing to endorse the views set forth in the Address;

Question of Members' Cards. Mr Lubez proposed Mr Lama seconded that 1000 Cards be printed and that Id each be charged for them. *Carried Unanimously.*

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Mr Fox then brought forward the following Resolutions which were seconded by Mr Wheeler spoken to by Mr Holtorp and unanimously adopted—

Resolved that the Polish War of Independence was made in the general interests of the peoples of Europe that in its defeat the cause of civilization and human Progress suffered a severe shock, 2nd That Poland has an unimpeachable claim upon the leading nations of Europe to contribute by every necessary means towards the restoration of her National Sovereignty. Mr Fox also proposed that an Address from the British section of the Central Council be drawn up and presented to the Polish People—

It was referred to the Sub Committee [[17]] to prepare such Address, The Meeting then adjourned till Dec'r 13.

J. G. ECCARIUS, V. President
W. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary/

[Auszug aus The Bee-Hive Newspaper]
[Zu S. 285.13-15 und 286.1-7]

The Bee-Hive Newspaper.
Nr. 164, 3. Dezember 1864

The sub-committee brought up the draft of an address of congratulation to Mr. Lincoln, on his re-election as President of the United States, and to the people of the North for their determination to persevere in the present struggle until slavery was entirely abolished on the American Continent.

Mr. P. Fox, reminding the meeting that the day (Nov. 29) was the anniversary of the Polish insurrection of 1830, then brought forward the following resolutions:—

"That the Polish war of independence of 1830-1 was made in the general interests of the people of Europe; and that in its defeat the cause of civilisation and human progress suffered a severe defeat.

That Poland has an unimpeachable claim upon the leading nations of Europe binding them to contribute by every necessary measure towards the restoration of her national sovereignty."

Mr. Wheeler seconded the adoption of the resolutions, which was supported by Dr. Marx, Mr. Holtorp, and others.

Meeting of the Central Council December 13, 1864

/[17]/ **Central Council Meeting Dec 13 1864**

f Vice President Eccarius in the Chair.

The minutes of the former meeting having been read on the motion of Mr Dell seconded by Mr Whitlock were confirmed, The following was then elected on the

5 Central Council

Mr Hansen proposed by Bolleter seconded by Lessner—

The Secretary stated that he had corresponded with Mr Adams the United States Minister and had arranged with his Secretary for the Council to present the Address on Tuesday next the 20th inst. at 6 o'clock in the evening, Mr Le Lubez proposed
• 10 and Mr Whitlock seconded—That the Council meet on Tuesday evening next at 18 Greek St at 6 o'clock in the Evening. *Carried Unanimously*—

Dr Marx proposed and Mr Dell seconded that Mr Whitlock be elected Financial Secretary. *Carried Unanimously*—

ig*- Mr Fox then read the Address which he proposed should be adopted by the Brit-
u^s-15 ish section of the Association and then transmitted to the National Government of
*V ' Poland, a long discussion took place consequent on certain statements contained in
the Address and which statements were opposed by Mr Jung, Le Lubez, Dr Marx
ψ-:.' and supported by Mr Carter. Mr Fox replied defending the statement that the tradi-
& í; tional Foreign Policy of France had been favourable to the restoration and Independ-
d- 20 dence of Poland, Mr Cremer thought it important that the truth of this statement
should be |[18]| ascertained and would propose that the further consideration of the
address be deferred till the next Meeting. Mr Morgan seconded the motion. *Carried
Unanimously.*

Mr Cremer proposed that during the ensuing Holidays a festive gathering of the
25 members and Friends be held to celebrate the foundation of the International Asso-
KpU ciation and that for the purpose of carrying out the foregoing a Committee of 3 be
appointed to make enquiries and report to the next meeting. *Carried Unanimously.*
Messrs Fontana, Bolleter and Cremer were elected as the Committee—

Mr Fontana then stated he had been deputed by the Italian Working Men's Asso-
t&30 ciation in London which Association numbered about 350 Members, to ask for
their admission into the association, and he could also state the Band of that Asso-
ciation would attend the festive gathering—Mr Bolleter stated he had no doubt the

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German Chorus would also attend, Mr Whitlock proposed and Le Lubez seconded, that the Italian Working Men's Association be admitted as Members of the International Association. Carried Unanimously. The meeting then adjourned.

John Weston Vice President pro tem

W. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary /

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[Auszug aus The Bee-Hive Newspaper]

[Zu S. 287.14-20]

The Bee-Hive Newspaper.

Nr. 166, 17. Dezember 1864

Mr. Fox then brought up the address from the British Section of the Association to the National Government of Poland, when a very long and animated discussion took place, in which the following members took part:—Messrs. Le Lubez, Holtorp, Cremer, Marx, Carter, Weston, Jung, the latter opposing a statement set forth in the address, viz., that the traditional foreign policy of France had been favourable to the restoration and independence of Poland. Karl Marx, and M. Le Lubez also agreeing that while the foreign policy of France had appeared to favour such an object, in reality it had not, especially during the time of the first Napoleon, when the Poles had been used for his military ambition, and then cast aside.

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/[18]/ Central Council Meeting Dec'r 20 1864

Mr Weston in the Chair—The minutes of the previous meeting having been read were confirmed on the motion of Mr Dell seconded by Mr Fontana. A discussion took place as to the Soiree, the Sub Committee having reported the price of Halls
5 and Mr Le Lubez proposed Mr Fontana seconded that the |[19] Soiree be held in Cambridge Hall Newman St, on Monday Evening Jan'y 9th, the price of admission to be a shilling to Tea and 6d after Tea—Mr Cremer read a Letter from Mr Adams the United States minister suggesting that the Address to President Lincoln be sent to him Mr Adams instead of being brought—Dr Marx proposed Mr Fontana sec-
D onded

That the Secretary send the Address to Mr Adams. Mr Worley proposed Mr Wheeler seconded that Mr Adams be again appealed to to receive the Deputation—For Amendment 5 for resolution 13. Mr Fox then resumed his defence of the Address to the Polish National Government and in an able address contended for
15 the truth of the assertions therein contained, after some discussion it was agreed to adjourn the question till the next Meeting. The Meeting then adjourned to Thursday Dec'r 29.

J. G. Eccarius Vice President
W. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary/

Meeting of the Central Council December 29, 1864

/[19]/ Central Council Meeting Dec'r. 29-1864

Mr Eccarius in the Chair—

The minutes of the previous meeting having been read were confirmed on the motion of Mr Dell seconded by Mr Le Lubez—

The question of cards of membership was then discussed and it was ultimately agreed that the cards being so badly executed they should be returned to the printer,

The Soiree was then discussed and on the motion of Mr Dell seconded by Mr Fox it was agreed to invite Messrs Beales, Beesly and Harrison, also that the Secretary send |[20]| cards of invitation to the Editors of the Weekly Papers, it having been stated that the Italian Band could not attend on the 9th, it was agreed to postpone the Soiree till the 16th of January.

Mr Fox stated in the absence of Dr Marx he should defer any discussion on the address to the National Government of Poland.

A long and desultory discussion then took place on the propriety of the Association taking up the question of the Suffrage and ultimately Mr Cremer gave notice of his intention to move at the first opportunity that the council deem it desirable to agitate for the complete Suffrage. It was then agreed that the Council for the future meet on Tuesday Evening, Thursday being too late for the Press, the meeting then adjourned to Tuesday Jan'y 3/65.

J. G. Eccarius Vice President
W. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary/

Meeting of the Central Council January 3, 1865

/[20]/ **Central Council Meeting Jan'y 3rd 1865**

Mr Eccarius in the Chair—The Secretary read the minutes of the former meeting which were confirmed on the motion of Mr Dell seconded by Dr Marx. Dr Marx handed in a German translation of the Address and Rules of the Association and " stated that 50,000 Copies had been circulated in Germany, he also stated that a Branch of the Association was being formed in Switzerland—

A discussion then took place with regard to the non-appearance in the Bee-Hive of the address to Mr Lincoln and the following was then proposed by Mr Buckley seconded by Mr Odger, that the Editor of the Bee-Hive [[[21]]] be written to request-
10 ing him to publish the Address in the next issue— *Carried Unanimously.*

Mr Fontana then handed in the following Address

*To the Central Council
of the International Working Men's Association—*

Friends, The Association instituted for mutual progression amongst the Italian
15 Working Men residing in London give their full approbation to your aims and method.

They enter your compact and pledge themselves to the fulfilment of the duties contained in it.—A bond of union has been formerly established in the recent Working Men's Congress at Naples between most of the Italian Working Men's As-
* sociations.—A central direction has been elected and we have no doubt that what we now do, will be done at no distant period by that central direction for the bulk of our Italian confederate Brothers. To establish a general practical brotherhood, a general unity of aim amongst the Working Men of all nations, to promote every-
- where and on the same basis their moral, intellectual and economical improve-
- ment, to embrace according to opportunities afforded all the important Questions
• -r affecting the condition of Working Men, from taxation, electoral reform and political rights to mutual relief societies, cooperation, and educational institutions (for this must be your aim), is no doubt a bold attempt fraught with difficulties requir-
, ing time and a persisting unconquerable activity on our part, still it is a grand moral
• fe:

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and truly religious aim. It elevates our tastes from the inferior narrow ground of local interests to the higher principle of common aspirations for general interests, it points out the dawning of a new era which will cancel inequalities, compulsory ignorance, the present wages system, and [promote] the substitution of equal duties and rights for all, true national education and the Association system for producing and consuming—

It is the thing to be attempted and therefore we do join you, may our union last for ever,

The Council of the Italian Working Men's Association of mutual progress—D. Lama, President, G. P. Fontana, C Setacci, Vice Presidents, A. Vaccani, Treasurer, G. Geninazzi, F. Fenili, F. Solustri, Glutini, Bilioschy, Velati, Councillors—D G. Bagnagatti, Secretary—

After the reading of the above Dr Marx resumed the adjourned debate on the Address which it is proposed to send to the National Government of Poland, and in a very able historical resumé argued that the traditional foreign policy of France had not been favourable to the restoration and independence of Poland. The Address of Dr Marx was pregnant with important historical facts which would be very valuable in a published form.

Mr Fox in reply stated he did not defend the foreign policy of modern France, all he contended for was that the foreign policy of old France had been favourable to the Independence of Poland.

The following was then proposed by Mr Jung seconded by Le Lubez and unanimously adopted

That the views expressed in the Address concerning the French foreign policy towards Poland not being borne out by historical facts, that it be amended so as to accord with the truths of history.

It was then unanimously agreed to invite Messrs Beesly, Beales and Harrison to the Soiree which is to be held on the 16th inst. The Meeting then adjourned to Jan'y 10th.

J. G. Eccarius Vice President
W. R. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary /

[Auszug aus The Bee-Hive Newspaper]

The Bee-Hive Newspaper.
Nr. 169, 7. Januar 1865

Mr. Eccarius also stated two German Working Men's Societies would, he believed, shortly join the association.

/[23]/ **Central Council Meeting Jan'y 10th 1865**

Vice President Eccarius in the Chair. The Minutes of the former Meeting having been read were confirmed on the motion of Mr Dell seconded by M Le Lubez—

The following address from the three German Working Men's Societies in London was then read by the Secretary

To the Central Council of the Working Men's International Association-Fellow Workmen,—The, Londoner Arbeiter Bildungs Verein, 2, Nassau street, Soho, at a general meeting, held on the 4th January, 1865, and attended by the delegates of the two kindred societies in the East and South of London, passed the following resolution:—"That the three societies, the Londoner Arbeiter Bildungs Verein, the Teutonia, and the Eintracht, as an affiliated body, join the International Working Men's Association as one society." The Londoner Arbeiter Bildungs Verein was founded on February 7th, 1840, and is consequently a quarter of a century old. During the first years of its existence it was in constant communication with the Socialists and Chartists of this country. From 1846 to 1848 the French Social-Democratic Society, the Fraternal Democrats, and this society, were united under the same roof. It was by means of these international communications that this society was enabled to fulfil a great mission—that of propagating amongst the German working men those principles and ideas which agitated England and France at a time when all public discussion of social and political questions was next to impossible within the confines of the German Confederation. We have thus acted as interpreters between the east and west of Europe; we have contributed our mite towards removing the delusion amongst the working men of Germany, that Constitutional Government and the rule of the capitalists are synonymous with the welfare of the people. We hail with joy the prospect of an enduring international union between the too long estranged working classes of the different countries of Europe, being convinced that nothing but the combined action of the working men of the whole of civilised Europe will ever be able to resist the combined action of all the oppressors of Europe.

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On behalf of the Eintracht, W. Vogt, L. Loeber, O. P. Kessler.

On behalf of the Teutonia, A. Klinker, A. Lorenz, H. Konter.

Arbeiter Bildungs Verein, Gocht, President; P. Van Hofen, Secretary; Schmelzer, Treasurer.

It was then proposed by Mr. Whitlock, seconded by Mr. Le Lubez, and carried, "That the three German Societies, having subscribed to the principles of the International Association, be admitted as affiliated societies, and the delegates from them take their seats as members of the central council."

A deputation from the National League for the Independence of Poland, and representatives of the National Government of Poland, were then received, their object being to consult the central council as to the propriety of holding a public meeting to commemorate the Polish Revolution of 1863. Mr. E. Beales, on behalf of the National League, and Captain K. Bobczynski, as a representative of the Polish National Government, addressed the meeting, followed by Messrs. Fox, Dell, Whitlock, Holtorp, Eccarius, Le Lubez, Jung, Cremer, Bolleter, and Carter, all agreeing that the independence of Poland was of paramount importance to the peace and liberties of Europe.

It was then proposed by Mr. Lucraft, seconded by Mr. Eccarius, and unanimously adopted, "That should the Polish committee call the meeting, this association pledges itself to assist by all means in its power the commemoration of the glorious, though unsuccessful, Revolution of 1863."

The sub-committee were appointed to act in conjunction with the Polish committee and the National League to carry out the above resolution.

The Council adjourned to January 17th.

J. G. Eccarius Vice President
W. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary |

[[24]] Central Council Meeting Jan'y 17th, 1865

Mr Eccarius in the Chair—The Minutes of the previous Meeting having been read, Mr Holtorp complained that a protest he had made at the last Meeting was not inserted in the minutes. The Secretary said he had no recollection of Mr Holtorp having made a specific or positive protest but if he wished it should be inserted in the next minutes, agreed to,

The following is the protest referred to, That J. E. Holtorp do protest against Captain K. Bobczynski and his companions who attended the Meeting of the Council on Jan'y 10th as being the representatives of the Polish Democrats or of the National Government of Poland.

Mr Wheeler proposed Mr Le Lubez seconded that the minutes with the protest added be confirmed. *Carried Unanimously.*

Mr Lubez then proposed Mr Whitlock seconded That the best thanks of the Council be given to the German Chorus and the Italian Band for their attendance and performance at the Soiree. *Carried Unanimously.*

Mr Jung proposed Mr Wheeler seconded

That the Council thank the Ladies who assisted at the refreshment department. *Carried Unanimously.*

Mr Fontana then proposed Mr Aldovrandi seconded that Mr Le Lubez be appointed provisional corresponding Secretary for Belgium.

Mr Le Lubez reported that Mr Nusperli, Morgan, Odger and himself had attended a Meeting at Greenwich on the previous Sunday evening and there was a prospect of a good Branch being established there. Mr Morgan having reported that several Shoemakers' societies would meet on the 30th of this month. |

[[25]] Deputations were appointed to wait on them to ask them to join the Association. The Meeting then adjourned.

J. G. Eccarius Vice President
W. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary/

Meeting of the Central Council January 24, 1865

/[25]/ Central Council Meeting Jan'y 24th 1865

Mr Eccarius in the Chair.

The Minutes of the former Meeting having been read were confirmed on the motion of Mr Dell seconded by Le Lubez—

Correspondence was read from Switzerland in reply to a communication which Mr Jung had forwarded, by Dr Marx from the Compositors' Society of Berlin, also from the General German Working Men's Association both expressing their entire concurrence with the principles of the I.W.M.A. and regretting that there were Legal impediments which prevented them from becoming affiliated Members of the Association but promising to send representatives to the Congress.

Dr Marx also read a very interesting Letter from the Military Commander of St Louis, and a Letter from M Tolain having reference to the position they occupied in Paris in relation to I. W. M. A. A discussion then took place concerning certain statements or rumours in regard to M Tolain and.it was agreed that before any Cards of Membership were sent to Paris that the truth of such rumours should be investigated, the following was then elected on the C. C.

Mr Thomas Donatti proposed by Mr Dell seconded by Odger.

Dr Marx then proposed and Mr Whitlock seconded That nominations for the CC shall be made at least a Week previous to the Election, such Election to take place in the absence of the Candidate and that the person to be elected shall before his Nomination have taken a Card of Membership. Carried Unanimously.

The Council then adjourned to Jan'y 31st.

J. G. ECCARIUS, V. President
W. R. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary |*

Meeting of the Central Council January 31, 1865

[[26]] Central Council Meeting Jan'y 31st 1865

Vice President Eccarius in the Chair. The Secretary read the Minutes of the former Meeting when Citizen Marx stated there was a slight error having reference to the German Working Men's Association. The error having been rectified the minutes were confirmed on the motion of Mr Whitlock seconded by Cit Fontana.

A discussion then took place regarding the period when the subscriptions of Members should begin and end when Cit Marx proposed and Cit Whitlock seconded

That subscriptions begin on the First of January and end on the 31st of December—Cit Cremer then proposed and Cit Fontana seconded

That those who have been elected Members of the CC who do not take up their cards of Membership by the 1st of March next shall after that date be considered as excluding themselves from the CC—

The Secretary read a Letter from the American Embassy in reply to the address from the CC to Mr Lincoln, the reply was as follows

Legation of the United States
London 28th Jan'y 1865

Sir

I am directed to inform you that the Address of the Central Council of your Association, which was duly transmitted through this Legation to the President of the United [States], has been received by him.

So far as the sentiments expressed by it are personal they are accepted by him with a sincere and anxious desire that he may be able to prove himself not unworthy of the confidence which has been recently extended to him by his fellow citizens and by so many of the Friends of Humanity **[[[27]]]** and Progress throughout the World.

The Government of the United States has a clear consciousness that its policy neither is nor could be reactionary but at the same time it adheres to the course which it adopted at the beginning of abstaining everywhere from propagandism and unlawful intervention. It strives to do equal and exact justice to all States and to all

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men and it relies upon the beneficial results of that effort for support at home and for respect and goodwill throughout the World. Nations do not exist for themselves alone, but to promote the welfare and happiness of mankind by benevolent intercourse and example. It is in this relation that the United States regard their cause in the present conflict with Slavery, maintaining insurgents as the cause of Human Nature; and they derive new encouragement to persevere from the testimony of the Working Men of Europe that the national attitude is favoured with their enlightened approval and earnest sympathies.

I have the honor to be Sir

Your obedient Servant
Charles Francis Adams

W. R. Cremer
Honorary Secretary of
The International Workingmen's Association
London

Cit Marx then read an extract from the St Louis Daily Press eulogistic of our Address and Rules and expressing their regret [28] at not being able to publish the whole. 15

Cit Le Lubez read correspondence from Cit Fontaine the Secretary of the Universal Federation in Belgium, the communication stated that on the 11th of Feb'ry the Federation would decide as to joining the Association, it also stated the Address and Rules had been translated and circulated, and asked for 500 Cards of membership. . \

Cit Le Lubez proposed and Cit Wheeler seconded that Cit Fontaine be the corresponding Sec (pro tern) in Belgium. Carried Unanimously. }
i

It was then proposed by Cit Le Lubez seconded by Cit Marx that Citizens Wheeler and Cremer be deputed to attend the Council of the Universal League to ascertain if the Sub Committee having been locked out of their Meeting place was by the authority or sanction of that Council. 2 j
j

Cit Whitlock proposed and Blackmore seconded [

That a stamp be provided as the seal of the Association. Carried Unanimously. .30} j
Citizens Kaub, Lessner, Eccarius, Le Lubez, Jung, Cremer reported their attendance on organized bodies, they had been every where courteously received and all had promised to further consider the Question— i
j

The Secretary then introduced the question of the Suffrage stating there was an attempt being made to organise a Meeting for Manhood Suffrage and he thought the Council ought to watch the preliminary proceedings and for that purpose would propose that a deputation be appointed to attend the preliminary Meeting which will be shortly held. [29] A long discussion took place in which Citizens Marx, Whitlock, Wheeler, Le Lubez, Carter took part, Cit Wheeler seconded the resolution which was carried unanimously, the following were then elected as the deputation 35 j
] j
• j
•4 i

Citizens Carter, Eccarius, Odger, Lubez, Whitlock, Cremer, Wheeler and Dell.

It being stated that Cit Dick a member of the CC was about leaving for New Zealand.

Meeting of the Central Council January 31, 1865

Cit Carter proposed Cit Wheeler seconded that Cit Dick be appointed as corresponding Secretary for that part of the world; the Meeting then adjourned to Feb'y 7/65.

J. G. Eccarius Vice President
W. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary /

[Auszug aus The Bee-Hive Newspaper]
[Zu S. 298.16-18]

The Bee-Hive Newspaper.
Nr. 173, 4. Februar 1865

Dr. Marx also read an extract from the *St. Louis Daily Press* (America) approving the address and rules of the International, and regretting their limited space would not allow the entire publication of the address, which, however, they printed in part, in proof of the deep interest which the association has excited. It may be mentioned that hundreds of cards have been sent for from Paris, Belgium, etc.; and, although in some places on the Continent working men are prohibited from openly associating together for such principles as the International has in view, yet even in those places they are exerting themselves to find some plan whereby they may affiliate themselves to the association without coming within the power of the law.

Meeting of the Central Council February 7, 1865

/[29]/ **Central Council Meeting February 7th**

Vice president Eccarius in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting having been read were confirmed on the motion of Cit Le Lubez seconded by Cit Marx. Cit Cremer gave the report of the Sub Committee, they recommended to the CC the following,

That separate cards be issued to Societies joining the Association, such Cards to be of a general character stating that the Societies whose name it bore had affiliated itself to the International Association.

2nd that all the money subscribed in England for Individual Cards be sent to the CC but if any Branch of the Association shall incur any legitimate expense, the CC may if they deem it judicious grant a sum for the liquidation of such debt. |

[[30]] 3rd That our continental Brethren be supplied with cards at Is each which sums to be sent to the CC.

The [above resolutions] were proposed by Cit Cremer seconded by Cit Marx and *Carried Unanimously*.

Cit Le Lubez then read a letter from Paris referring to the rumours that Cit Tolain was acting under the inspiration of the Palais Royal, a resolution having been proposed to the effect

That we reluctantly accept Cit Tolain's resignation,

Cit Carter proposed and Cit Wheeler seconded That Cit Tolain's resignation be not accepted as not the slightest belief is entertained in the above named rumour. Cit Carter strongly contended for his motion and the resolution having been withdrawn Cit Carter's amendment became the resolution and was *Carried Unanimously*.

Cit Marx then proposed and Cit Wheeler seconded that Cit Lefort be appointed as our literary defence in Paris. *Carried Unanimously*; the Committee then adjourned to Feb'y 14th.

J. G. Eccarius Vice President
W. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary /

Meeting of the Central Council February 14, 1865

/[30]/ **Central Council Meeting Feb'ry 14/65**

President Odger in the Chair.

The minutes of the former meeting having been read were confirmed on the motion of Cit Fontana seconded by Cit Eccarius,

Cit Marx then stated that a Branch of the I.W.M.A. had been formed in Manchester, he also read a letter from Mr Ernest Jones on the subject of Manhood Suffrage, the letter was fully discussed,

Cit Marx also read an extract from the German [Northern] Star which [31] stated that the Swiss were interesting themselves on behalf of the Association and that a Meeting of the Republican League and French-Swiss Society had been held, they had accepted the Rules and would form Branches throughout Switzerland with a Central Council in Geneva. (Cit Le Lubez then read a letter from Paris, he also expressed his regret at having at the last meeting advised the acceptance of Cit Tolain's resignation.)

Cit Weston gave the report of the Deputation to the City Shoemakers, they had been cordially received and requested to attend the next meeting. Citizens Jung and Morgan confirmed Cit Weston's statement, it had also been suggested that a deputation be appointed to visit the Shoemakers in Shoe Lane on Feb'ry 27th.

Mr Howell also requested a Deputation should wait on the Bricklayers' Executive, agreed to,

Cit Francis also introduced the Question of Cards of membership which after a long discussion was adjourned.

The Meeting then adjourned to Feb'ry 21st.

J. G. Eccarius President
W. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary /

/[31]/ **Central Council Meeting Feb'ry 21st 1865**

Vice President Eccarius in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting having been read. Cit Le Lubez said that the remark in the minutes which indicated that he had advised Cit Tolain's resignation to be accepted was not exactly correct, he might have been a little hasty but he thanked those who had checked him. Cit Fox suggested that a slight alteration be made in that part of the |[32]| minutes which referred to the Republican League in Switzerland, this having been agreed to the minutes were confirmed. 5

The Secretary said he had received a letter from the Gen Sec of the Operative Bricklayers stating that the Society having subscribed to the principles of the I.W.M.A. had agreed to join as an affiliated body. Cit Howell was their representative on the Council. 10

On the motion of Whitlock seconded by Cit Marx Cit Le Lubez then read some correspondence from Paris which referred to unpleasant proceedings having taken place there and as it was generally agreed that it would be difficult to settle the differences by correspondence, it was decided on the proposition of Cit Whitlock seconded by Fontana that Le Lubez be sent to Paris to investigate the differences existing between Cit Lefort and Cit Fribourg. Cit Marx proposed Cit Lessner seconded that M Schily be appointed to cooperate with Cit Le Lubez in settling the differences. *Carried Unanimously.* 15 20

It was also agreed that the delegates be invested with power to act as circumstances may determine.

The Secretary then introduced the question of the Suffrage, he also read a letter from Mr Beales on the question and it was generally understood that no measure short of manhood Suffrage would receive the support of the Council, it was also thought advisable that as many as could should attend the meeting on Thursday— 25

Cit Wolff having returned from his incarceration in the fortress of Alessandria was warmly congratulated by the Council and Cit Whitlock proposed Cit Wheeler seconded |[33]| that the CC offer its congratulations to Cit Wolff on his return to liberty. *Carried Unanimously.* Cit Wolff said he had been deputed by Working Men's Societies in Alessandria and Brescia to express their friendly sentiments towards the Council, also that they cordially approved the objects of the Association and hoped soon to enter the bond of fraternal Union. 30

Meeting of the Central Council February 21, 1865

Cit Fox then introduced the question of the forthcoming Polish Demonstration at St Martin's Hall and proposed the following resolution

That the CC of the I.W.M.A. lend their unreserved support to the Commemorative Meeting for Poland on March 1st at St Martin's Hall and they invite the attendance thereat of their Friends. *Carried Unanimously*. The Meeting then adjourned to 28th.

J. G. Eccarius Vice President
W. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary /

[Auszug aus The Bee-Hive Newspaper]

[Zu S. 303.1-5]

The Bee-Hive Newspaper.
Nr. 176, 25. Februar 1865

The forthcoming demonstration in St. Martin's Hall on Wednesday next, on behalf of the suffering patriots of Poland, who have been banished from their country, was then discussed, and the following resolution was carried unanimously, on the motion of Citizen Fox, seconded by Citizen Marx:—"That the central council of the International Working Men's Association lend their unreserved support to the commemoration meeting for Poland on March the 1st, at St. Martin's Hall, and they invite the attendance thereat of their friends."

Meeting of the Central Council February 28, 1865

/[33]/ **Central Council Meeting Feb'ry 28th 1865**

The President in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting having been read were confirmed on the motion of Cit Fox seconded by Eccarius.

Cit Le Lubez proposed Cit Morgan seconded, that the Operative Bricklayers be admitted as an affiliated body and that Cit Howell be admitted to the Central Council as its representative. *Carried Unanimously.*

Cit Jung then gave report from Middle district of Shoemakers to which he had been deputed to attend.

Cit Marx read correspondence from Manchester regarding the Suffrage, he also stated that he had withdrawn from any connexion with the Social Democrat,

M Le Lubez gave in English and French a report of his Mission to Paris. Cit Fox | I[34]I read M Schily's Letter in English and French, M Tolain and M Fribourg who had come from Paris to give the Central Council an opportunity of questioning them concerning the differences which had sprung up between themselves and M Lefort, also to defend the course they had pursued, both addressed the Council, Cit Fox translating their remarks into English,

A very long discussion took place on the report and the remarks of M Tolain and M Fribourg, the discussion being terminated by the Adoption of the following resolution proposed by Cit Carter seconded by Cit Weston—That the Sub Committee together with the French Members of the CC meet and further investigate the differences and if possible ascertain who is right. The Council then adjourned to March 7th.

J. G. Eccarius President
W. R. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary /

F

Meeting of the Central Council March 7, 1865

/[34]/ Meeting of the Central Council March 7th 1865

VP Eccarius in the Chair—The Minutes of the former Meeting were read and confirmed.

5 Cit Fox then read to the Council the report of the Committee and the resolutions recommended by it in reference to the Imbroglia in Paris.

It was agreed to consider the resolutions *seriatim*. The reporter read the following first Resolution proposed by the Committee

10 I Whereas Citizen Tolain has several times tendered his resignation and the Central Council has as often refused to accept it the said Council now leaves it to Citizen Tolain and the Paris Administration to reconsider |[35]| whether or not under present circumstances this resignation be opportune. The Central Council confirms beforehand whatever resolution the Administration may come to on this point.

Citizen Le Lubez proposed and Cit Morgan seconded an amendment accepting the resignation of M Tolain without further words.

15 Citizens Jung, Dupont, Whitlock and Marx spoke in support of the Resolution.

Citizens Dénouai, Le Lubez and Bordage spoke in support of the Amendment.

On a division the Resolution was carried (Dissentient 4).

The reporter then brought forward the second Resolution viz.

20 II In deference to the wishes of a meeting of 32 members of the W.M.I.A. held in Paris Feb'ry 24 and in obedience to the principles of popular Sovereignty and self-government the CC cancels its resolution relating to the appointment of an official vindicator for the French Press. At the same time the Council seizes this opportunity of expressing its high esteem for Cit Lefort, in particular as one of the initiators of the I.W.M.A. and in general for his approved public character and further it protests that it does not sanction the principle that none but an Ouvrier is admissible as an official in our Society—

25 Cit Wolff proposed that that part of the Resolution which cancelled the nomination of Cit Lefort be omitted. This proposition] was decided by the President to be equivalent to a rejection of the entire resolution. Cit Wheeler read a Letter on the subject from A. Campbell now residing in Paris. The Resolution was supported by 30 the following Citizens Fox, Jung, Dupont, Marx, Kaub, and Carter. Citizens Whitlock, Le Lubez, and Wheeler |[36]| spoke against it, on a division 11 voted for the

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Resolution and 9 against. The resolution was therefore carried by 2 majority. Cit Holtorp neutral. Resolution 3 was then brought forward and discussed.

III Resolution—The Council resolves that Citizens Fribourg, Limousin, and Tolain be confirmed in their anterior positions and that the addition to the administration of Citizen Vinçard is acknowledged. Cit Carter proposed the above Resolution be amended as follows—

The CC resolves that the present administration with the addition of Citizen Vinçard be confirmed, Cit Whitlock seconded the Amendment which was accepted and unanimously adopted.

The fourth Resolution was then discussed and is as follows—

The CC earnestly requests the administration at Paris to come to an understanding with Citizens Lefort and Beluze so as to admit them and the group of Ouvriers they represent to be represented in the administration by three Members, but the CC while expressing such a wish has no power nor desire to dictate to the administration at Paris. Cit Le Lubez opposed this Resolution and Citizen Howell, Jung, Wheeler, Marx, and Carter approved it. The Resolution was carried without a division.

In consequence of Cit Le Lubez's arguments a conversation ensued as to the powers of a Branch Society in France, its relations towards the Administration in Paris and the CC in London.

Cit Whitlock proposed, Cit Wheeler seconded—That in case no compromise be arrived at the CC declare that the group Lefort after having taken out their Cards of Membership, have the power under our statutes to form a Branch Society.

Cit Howell proposed, Cit Dell seconded the following amendment—That instead of passing a formal resolution the CC instruct its French Sec. to make the above declaration, by Letter, to M Lefort and the administration. Cit Lubez declared his preference for the Resolution,

The amendment was carried with 2 dissentients—

The 5th 11 [37] I Resolution was then discussed and is as follows,

The administration in Paris having expressed its readiness to acknowledge a direct Delegation from the Central Council, the CC accordingly appoints Citizen Schily to be its Delegate to the said administration.

The Resolution was Carried Unanimously, The Council then adjourned to March 14th.

J. G. Eccarius Vice President
W. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary /

Meeting of the Central Council March 14, 1865

[37] **Meeting of the CC March 14 1865**

The Pres in the Chair.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed. A Letter was read from Cit Wolff stating that he believed the CC had at their last sitting by cancelling
5 the appointment of Cit Lefort, departed from the Spirit of Fraternity, he therefore as a Member of the CC tendered his resignation—The Letter was discussed and Cit Cremer proposed, Cit Fox seconded that Cit Wolffs resignation be accepted, as an Amendment Cit Weston proposed, and Cit Whitlock seconded that the question be deferred to some future time, for Amendment 14—for Resolution 6—The Amend-
10 ment was declared by the Pres to be earned.

Cit Le Lubez read a Letter from Cit Lefort, he also stated it was a mistake to suppose he had been or was now in any way prejudiced in favor of Lefort or Tolain, he also read a Letter signed by Citizens Bocquet, Denoual and himself, protesting against the former decision of the CC in turning out Cit Lefort, and another Letter
15 signed by Citizens Bordage, Leroux, Denoual, Bocquet, and himself protesting against the appointment by the CC of anyone not a Frenchman as the Delegate to the administration in Paris.

Cit Marx stated the protest was unnecessary as he Cit Marx was certain that Cit Schily would not accept the appointment if there was the slightest opposition to
20 him, it was against Cit Schily's wish that he had been elected, The President suggested the re-opening of the whole question, this was opposed [38] by Citizens Howell, Kaub and Cremer,

The following Resolution was then proposed by Cit Weston seconded by Cit Morgan and Carried Unanimously—That the CC having the fullest Confidence in Cit
25 Lefort, earnestly requests him to retain the Card of Membership he has in his possession and hopes that he will use his great influence to form a Branch in France.

Cit Lubez read a Letter from Cit Fontaine asking for his official appointment. Cit Jung read a Letter from Switzerland, Cit Lubez read a Letter from Lyons, the answer to which was left to Cit Lubez's discretion.

30 Cit Howell gave a report of the Meeting at Radieys Hotel on the II^o inst. between representatives of Working Men, representatives of the Middle Classes and some few MP's, the Meeting had been convened to discuss the necessity of an agi-

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tation for Manhood Suffrage and to effect a Union between the MP's, the Middle and Working Classes which endeavour he thought had failed. After some discussion of the question Cit Cremer proposed, Cit Hartwell seconded that the further discussion of the question be adjourned. Cit Cremer stated his intention of proposing at the next sitting

That the CC should appoint Delegates to the forthcoming Reform Conference at Manchester, he also nominated Cit Coulson as a Member of the CC—

Cit Dupont nominated Cit Dévaster as a Member of the CC.

Cit Howell proposed, Cit Jung seconded that the whole of the Resolution passed at the sittings of March the 7th and 14th bearing on the differences between Cit Le-fort, Cit Fribourg, and Cit Tolain be transmitted by the French Corresponding Sec to the above named Citizens. Carried Unanimously.

Cit Weston gave notice of the following propositions for discussion at the earliest opportunity

1st Would not an advance of Wages of any particular section of industry be secured at the cost of the other sections.

2nd Would not the supposed advantages of a general rise in Wages be negated by the corresponding advance in prices.

The Council then adjourned till March 21st.

J. G. Eccarius President
W. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary |

Meeting of the Central Council March 21, 1865

[[39]] **Meeting of the CC March 21st 1865**

V.P. Eccarius in the Chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting after some slight alterations suggested by Cit Lubez were confirmed.

5 The following were then elected Member of the CC

Cit Dévaster proposed by Cit Fox seconded by Cit Jung

Cit Coulson proposed by Cit Cremer seconded by Cit Whitlock.

Cit Lessner then nominated Cit H.Klimosch as a Member of the CC. Cit Cremer proposed Cit Kaub seconded the following Resolution

10 That a deputation be sent to Manchester to the forthcoming Reform Conference, such deputation to urge on that Conference the necessity of adopting Manhood Suffrage as the basis of their agitation and that the Members of the I.W.M.A. are not prepared to agitate or work for anything less than Manhood Suffrage; some discussion ensued as to remarks which some Members of the CC were said to have
15 given utterance to viz That while they asked for Manhood Suffrage they were quite prepared to take anything less. The impropriety of such statements was unanimously condemned and a hope generally expressed that no Member of the CC would again give utterance to such sentiments, The Resolution was Carried Unanimously. Cit Cremer proposed that Citizens Howell and Fox be sent as the deputation to
20 Manchester. Cit Fox declined and proposed that Citizens Howell and Cremer be elected as the deputation, Cit Whitlock seconded the Resolution which was Carried Unanimously,

Cit Jung read a Letter from Geneva, the Letter contained an account of an International Banquet which had been held there on the 26th of February, the anniversary of the French Revolution of 1848, the Letter also stated that the Subject of the I.W.M.A. had been discussed at the Banquet and was highly approved, also that 5 Societies in Geneva had joined the Association and several others were considering the propriety of doing so.

Cit Jung also read a Letter from Cit Fribourg and it was agreed as Cit Lubez was
30 not present to adjourn any discussion on it till the next [[40]] sitting. The following Resolution was then proposed by Cit Cremer seconded by Cit Wheeler

That our French Corresponding Sec write to Cit Lefort asking him if he is willing

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to avail himself of the powers contained in the Statutes and referred to in the Resolution passed at the sitting of the 14 inst. Also that he write to Cit Fribourg informing him that the Resolution of the 14 inst. was the practical application of the Statutes and also was carrying out the Resolution passed at the sitting of the 7th inst. The Resolution was Carried Unanimously.

Cit Fox then proposed Cit Wheeler seconded the following Resolution

That the CC of the I.W.M.A. hereby acknowledges the high value of the services rendered to it on a recent difficult occasion by Cit Schily and thanks him for the painstaking zeal and ripe judgement which he brought to bear in discharge of the commission entrusted to him by the CC. 10

Cit Fox in bringing forward this Resolution said that it had been proposed at a former sitting to thank Cit Schily but as he, Cit Schily, had been appointed by the CC as its Special Delegate in Paris it was thought by several Members of the CC that his appointment was a recognition of the services he had rendered and a proof of the Confidence the CC had in him, but now that Cit Schily no longer held the position as Special Delegate from the CC the objections to thanking him had lost their force. 15

The Resolution was Carried Unanimously.

The Council then adjourned till March 28th.

J. G. Eccarius Vice President 20
W. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary /

/[40]/ **Meeting of the Central Council March 28 1865**

Vice President Eccarius in the Chair.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed. The Secretary read a Letter from Mr A. Walton announcing that he felt great pleasure in presenting to the Association his Book |[41]| on Landed Tenures, The offer of Mr Walton was accepted with thanks.

The Sec also read a Letter from Citizen Le Lubez in answer to one from the Gen Sec requesting him to communicate certain resolutions to Citizens Lefort and Fribourg. Citizen Le Lubez in his answer stated he had twice written to Citizen Fribourg but had received no reply and that he could no longer (consistent with his self-respect) correspond with Citizen Fribourg and the Paris Administration but that he would communicate to Citizen Lefort the request of the Council. The Letter was discussed by Citizens Fox and Jung both of them stating they could not see how Citizen Le Lubez could act otherwise, at the termination of the discussion Cit Fox proposed, Cit Le Lubez seconded, That Cit Dupont be deputed to correspond with the administration in Paris. Carried Unanimously.

Cit Lubez said he had received a second application from Lyons from Citizens who stated they were wellknown and who wished to form an administration there; powers to issue Cards of Membership and if he was satisfied with the guarantees they gave to form an administration there, were given to Citizen Le Lubez.

Cit Cremer gave the report of the deputation to the Shoemakers' Conference, The deputation severally addressed the Conference and were listened to with attention, some questions were asked by [the delegates] and being satisfactorily answered, the Delegate from Birmingham proposed and the Delegate from Hull seconded the following resolution which was Carried Unanimously:

That we cordially agree with the principles of the International Association as represented so eloquently by the deputation from that Body and pledge ourselves to join them for the furtherance of those principles and endeavour to spread their liberal and glorious Ideas among our Constituents. Some discussion took place as to the advisability of Organized Bodies being necessitated to pay something, but the discussion being out of order |[42]| it was discontinued. Cit Whitlock gave a short report from the Reform Movement after which Cit Lessner proposed Cit Eccarius seconded that Cit Klimosch be elected on the CC. *Carried Unanimously,*

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Cit Bolleter and Cit Lubez nominated Cit Tafery as a Member of the CC—Cit Fox read a Letter from Cit Beluze to Cit Fribourg giving his reasons for not acting on the Paris administration.

Cit Cremer proposed, Cit Whitlock seconded That Cit Fox be the Official reporter of the CC for the Press, *Carried Unanimously*.

The Meeting then adjourned to April 4th.

J. G. Eccarius Vice President
W. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary
Dell Chairman /

[Auszug aus The Bee-Hive Newspaper]
[Zu S. 311.17-29]

The Bee-Hive Newspaper.
Nr. 181, I. April 1865

Citizen Le Lubez, the secretary for France, reported that application had been made to him from Lyons, the Manchester of France, where the *prolétaire* element is relatively stronger than in Paris, for authority to form a branch association in Lyons, in direct communication with the central council in London. The applicants represented themselves to be of some influence among the working men of Lyons, and had given excellent references.—Authority granted.

Citizen Cremer, general secretary, reported the result of an interview between a deputation from the central council, consisting of Citizens Cremer, Eccarius, Weston, Jung, Fox, Le Lubez, Morgan, Dell, and Wheeler, and the delegates of the National Shoemakers' Union, lately sitting at the Bell, Old Bailey. The delegates were 38 in number, and represented societies numbering about 5,000 members. After every member of the deputation had spoken, Mr. Thomas, the delegate from Birmingham moved, and the delegate from Hull seconded, the following resolution, which was carried unanimously, after one or two other delegates had expressed themselves in favour of the same: "Resolved—That we cordially agree with the principles of the International Association as represented so eloquently by the deputation from that body, and pledge ourselves to join them for the furtherance of those principles, and endeavour to spread their liberal and glorious ideas among our constituents."

Meeting of the Central Council April 4, 1865

/[42]/ **Meeting of the Central Council April 4th 1865**

The President and Vice President being absent Cit Jung proposed, Cit Lessner seconded that Cit Dell take the Chair. *Carried Unanimously,*

Cit Fox (in absence of the Secretary who was unavoidably absent) read the Minutes of the last Meeting which were confirmed. Cit Whitlock objected to the use of the term Citizen in the reports for the Press, Cit Bolleter defended it, it was agreed to postpone any discussion on the point until another occasion.

Letters were then read from Citizens Lubez and Denoual withdrawing from the CC because they had no confidence in the persons who represented the Association in Paris.

A Letter was also read from Cit Fontana signed by Citizens Lama, Solustri, Setacci and Aldovrandi announcing their intention of withdrawing from the CC unless Henri Lefort was reinstated in his former position of Official defender of the Association in the Paris Press, Speeches were made by Cits Wolff, Dupont, Fox, Whitlock, Jung, Bolleter, Holtorp, |[43]| Morgan and Weston, in which no proposal was made to reconsider the decision at which the Council had arrived. Cit Fox proposed, Cit Kaub seconded, That the resignations of Cits Lubez, Denoual, Fontana, Aldovrandi, Lama, Setacci and Solustri be accepted. *Carried Unanimously.*

Cit Fox made a statement of the reasons which had hitherto prevented the Polish refugees in London from forming a Society and joining the Association, Cit Holtorp explained the cause of his differences with M Zabicki and Bobczynski.

Cit Kaub read from the Social Democrat the report of a Mr Becker's Speech at Hamburg containing misrepresentations of the Association, and asked for authority to reply thereto in the name of the Association, Cit Fox proposed Cit Buckley seconded That Cit Kaub be authorised accordingly. *Carried Unanimously.*

Cit Weston proposed for discussion the following questions

1st Can the Social and material prosperity of the Working Classes generally be improved by means of higher wages.

2nd Do not the efforts of Trades Societies to secure higher wages operate prejudicially to the other sections of Industry.

The proposer declared that he would support the Negative of the First and the Affirmative of the Second proposition.

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Cit Jung proposed Cit Dupont seconded that these questions be placed on the Order of the Day for discussion. Carried Unanimously. The Meeting then adjourned till April 11th.

J. G. Eccarius Chairman
W. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary |

[[44]] Meeting of CC April 11th 1865

VP Eccarius in the Chair, on the reading of the former Minutes Cit Whitlock stated that he had not at the last meeting voted that the resignation of Lubez and the Italian Members of the CC should be received, he did not recollect such a motion being put or he should have voted against it, every other member of the CC present declared such a resolution to have been fairly put and carried without a dissentient.

The Minutes of the former meeting were then confirmed. Letters were read from Carpenters at Chelsea asking for a Deputation to explain the principles of the I.W.M.A. also from No 1 Lodge Operative Bricklayers to the same effect, deputations were appointed to attend both bodies.

The situations of Corresponding Secretary for France also for Belgium having become vacant consequent on the resignation of Cit Lubez,

Cit Jung proposed Morgan seconded That Cit Marx be Corresponding Sec pro tem. for Belgium. Carried Unanimously.

Cit Marx proposed Cit Cremer seconded That Cit Dupont be appointed Corresponding Secretary for France, Carried Unanimously. A discussion then took place having reference to Officers of the Association retaining after their resignation Property or documents which properly belong to the Association. Cit Longmaid proposed, Cit Bordage seconded that all Official Correspondence and replies together with any Official Documents are the property of the Association and ought to be handed over to the CC, Carried Unanimously.

Cit Jung proposed Cit Cremer seconded that Cit Valltier be nominated as a Member of the CC.

Cit Marx stated that one of the 32 Members who had met recently in Paris had been prosecuted by the French Government for publishing a pamphlet,

The Auditors Cits Longmaid and Morgan gave in their report which stated that the profits on the late Soiree were £8.6.11¼ and the balance in hand on the 28th of March last was £6 3s. 8/d. The report was received, Cit Jung proposed **[[45]]** Cit Morgan seconded That the accounts be audited Quarterly—

Cit Howell then proposed and Cit Whitlock seconded, That the Secretary write to the Italian Working Men's Association and request them to send a Delegate to the CC in the place of those resigned.

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As an amendment Cit Weston proposed and Cit Kaub seconded

That the Sec write to the President of the Italian Working Men's Association and inform him that the Office of Corresponding Secretary for Italy is vacant. The amendment was carried by a majority of 1, 9 voting for the Resolution and 10 for the Amendment—

Cit Whitlock proposed and Cit Weston seconded That the Council at its rising adjourn for a Fortnight. Carried Unanimously,

Cit Longmaid proposed and Cit Marx seconded That the Sec write to those Members of the CC who have not taken their Cards of Membership and inform them that unless they do so on or before April 25 that they will be considered as wishing to withdraw and their names will accordingly be struck off the roll of Councilmen. This resolution was considered by the CC necessary inasmuch as complaints had been made that a former resolution of a similar character had never been communicated officially to absentee Members, The Resolution was *Carried Unanimously*.

It was then agreed to that the proposition of Cit Weston on the question of wages should come on for discussion on May 2nd and That Members of the Association were eligible to attend the discussion, also that any Member of the CC is at liberty to introduce a Friend.

The Council then adjourned to April 25.

J. G. Eccarius Vice President
W. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary /

Meeting of the Central Council April 25, 1865

/[45]/ Meeting of the CC April 25 1865

VP Eccarius in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed,

Valltier was elected Member of the CC on the proposition of Jung seconded by

5 Cremer,

The following were nominated for election on the CC

Lassassie proposed by Lessner,

Schapper proposed by |[46]| Marx,

Narcisse Salvatella proposed by Jung.

10 Dupont gave report of his visit to Paris, the administration has entrusted him with 100 Francs to pay to the Treasurer of the CC, he had not been able to meet as many of the Members in Paris as he had wished, but he had been instructed to ask two questions

1st if Continental Administrations shall at any time appoint a deputy or deputies
15 to confer with the CC (as in the case of Citizens Tolain and Fribourg) are their expenses to be paid by themselves or deducted from Members' subscriptions.

2nd are the Corresponding Members on the Continent also Members of the CC and should they come to London would they be allowed to vote,

Cit Marx proposed Fox seconded

20 That if the expenses of Cits Tolain's and Fribourg's journey to London are sanctioned by the Paris Administration that the CC authorise the payment, also that the Resolutions of Febr'y 7th referring to the expenses of Branches be sent to Cits Tolain and Fribourg for their future guidance. *Carried Unanimously.*

25 Cit Wheeler proposed, Cit Marx seconded That Continental Corresponding Members be *ex Officio* Members of the CC. *Carried Unanimously.*

Cit Jung read Letters from Geneva which stated that on April 2, 200 Members had joined the Association and had elected a General Committee of 15 Members and a Managing Committee of 7, Jung proposed Marx seconded

30 That Cits Dupleix, Falconnet, and Philipp Becker be the Corresponding Members of the Association in Switzerland. *Carried Unanimously.*

A question being asked as to whether Females were eligible as Members, Cit Wheeler proposed, Bordage seconded That Females be admitted as Members. *Carried Unanimously.*

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Cit Marx read a Letter from Ernest Jones on the Suffrage, he also read a Letter from Cit Fontaine asking for a declaration of Principles, questions in said Letter referred to Sub Committee, he also read a Letter from the Compositors at Leipsic referring to their Strike and expressing a hope that the London Compositors would assist them. Cits Fox, Marx and Cremer were deputed to attend the Compositors' Society. I 5

I [47] I Cremer proposed Weston seconded That the CC invite the Emancipation Society and the Trades Unionist Committee to meet together and organize a demonstration to celebrate the restoration of the American Union and the abolition of Slavery. Carried Unanimously— 10

Fox proposed, Cit Whitlock seconded That the CC having received the resignation of Cit Le Lubez desires to record its sense of the value of the services he has rendered to this Association both in its inception and in the subsequent work of propagating its principles in this metropolis and as corresponding Sec for France.

The Council also look forward with pleasure to the time when Cit Le Lubez will find himself able to resume his place at our Board. 15

The Resolution was lost, 3 only voting for it. The Meeting then adjourned to May 2.

J. G. Eccarius Vice President /

[Auszug aus The Bee-Hive Newspaper] 20

The Bee-Hive Newspaper.
Nr. 185, 29. April 1865

France and Women's Rights.

Citizen Lefebvre of Neufchateau, in the département of the Vosges, wrote to the Central Council to inquire if women were admissible as members of the International Working Men's Association. Several members remarked that they had already disposed of cards of membership to women, as a matter of course. It was 25
unanimously resolved that the question raised by the worthy Vosgien be answered in the affirmative.

London Propaganda.

Favourable reports were received from the deputations sent to canvass the Carpenters' Branch at Chelsea, and a Bricklayers' Society in the east of London.

Switzerland.

The Secretary for Switzerland read a highly encouraging report of the prospects of the Association in Switzerland, which he had received from the managing committee at Geneva. From it we give the following extracts:—"It has been told you in a preceding letter that in Switzerland we were putting our shoulders to the wheel in propagating the idea of the total and universal emancipation of the working classes. What you have learnt from the Hamburg *Northern Star* about our enthusiasm is being daily confirmed in a highly reassuring manner. What is passing at Geneva, and the letters which we receive from all parts of Switzerland, are a warranty that our hopes will soon be realised on a vast scale. I am happy to inform you that at Geneva the tum affairs are taking is highly favourable, and that the results already obtained are satisfactory. In March last the statutes were discussed article by article, and approved by a public meeting. At that which was held at a masonic lodge on April 2, 200 working men came and enrolled themselves as members of the International Association. ... We venture to assure you that the hesitations which have hitherto manifested themselves in some quarters are on the eve of disappearing, and that numerous societies will come to swell our ranks as the idea becomes more widely known and better understood. The association has taken wonderfully, not in one, but in various parts of Switzerland. All the affiliated sections have seized the true spirit of the association and carry its banner high."

The Compositors' Strike in Leipsic.

The Secretary for Germany read the following important communication from the Berlin Compositors' Union in relation to the strike of the Leipsic compositors:—

"Berlin, April 15.

Respected Citizen,—The news of the Leipsic event—viz., the printers' and compositors' strike for a rise of wages, will have reached London as well as the other parts of Europe. Of 650 men, mostly compositors, who have ceased working (150 have left Leipsic) 500 are still on strike. Those 500 must be efficiently supported, if the first great trial in Germany of the working men's forces is to end in triumph. Our Compositors' Association have adopted the Leipsic straggle as their own, and are ready to give all the support in their power. From their small means they have already contributed £150, and they are willing to do more, but if restricted to their own resources they must fail. Other working men's societies, especially those of the larger towns where the working class self-consciousness is developed, must contribute their mites. The undersigned administrative committee addresses you, therefore, dear citizen, and calls upon you to induce the International Working Men's Association, and especially the London Printers' Union, to interest themselves in the straggle of their Leipsic brethren to do something for them, to make subscriptions for them. But time presses, and 'he gives double who gives quickly.' Deeply

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penetrated by the conviction that the seemingly petty struggle of the composers which is now going on in Leipsic—in Leipsic, so to say, in the heart of Germany, and of Europe—is of the highest importance for the whole European working class, and that even if such were not the case, every working man's movement, every strike, has an international significance, that, in fact, the immediately and locally engaged working men do battle for the whole of their class; that the bond of fraternity must embrace all working men, and that the Working Men's International Association has assuredly risen to the level of this idea. We hope that the same will do their best, and that in particular our English colleagues, the composers, will not withhold from their and our brethren the necessary support.—The Committee of the Berlin Compositors' Union.—By order of the Committee, B.Feistel." 5 10

It was stated that a collection in aid of the Leipsic composers had already been made in an affiliated society of the International. A deputation of three members of the council was appointed to wait on the London Compositors' Society.

Meeting of the Central Council May 2, 1865

/[47]/ Meeting of CC May 2, 1865

VP Eccarius in the Chair.

A slight alteration having been made in the minutes of the last Meeting, referring to the expenses of the deputation from Paris, they were confirmed.

5 The following were then elected on the CC

Narcisse Salvatella proposed by Jung seconded by Odger.

Lassassie proposed by Lessner seconded by Bordage,

Carl Schapper proposed by Marx seconded by Lessner.

10 Marx gave a report from Paris stating there were changes about being made there in the Administration which when made would be fully reported to the CC.

Dupont read a Letter from Fribourg suggesting to the CC. the propriety of opening a Branch at St Denis, he also read a Letter he had received from Lefebvre, said Letter contained passages from a Letter of Lubez's, the questions involved were referred to the Sub Committee.

15 Cremer referred to the assassination of President Lincoln and proposed that an address should be drawn up and sent to the American People expressing the views of the CC on recent events |[48]| in America, more particularly referring to the murder of Mr Lincoln. The resolution was seconded by Lucraft and Carried Unanimously—

20 Weston then read a portion of his Paper on the question of Wages, the remainder was adjourned to the next sitting, the Council then adjourned to May 9th.

J. G. Eccarius Vice President
W. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary /

/[48]/ **Meeting of CC May 9th 1865**

The Pres and the VP being absent, Cit Dell was voted to the Chair.

The minutes of the *previous meeting* were read and confirmed. Cit Fox gave report of deputation to Compositors, on behalf of the Leipsic Compositors, it would not be possible for that Body to grant any money for a period of 3 months—the deputation had therefore failed in their effort. Cit Jung hoped we should devise some means of giving support to them as the loss of this strike would have a depressing influence on the Trades of Germany generally.

Cit Weston gave report of deputation to Fur Skin Dressers, they appeared without any exception to be in a pitiable condition but they had courteously received the deputation and promised to further consider the propriety of joining us,

Cremer gave report of Sub Committee.

Cit Fox proposed Jung seconded that the following Resolution recommended by the Sub Committee be adopted—

That whenever the French Secretary shall receive Letters from any Citizen or Citizens who have been elected by Workmen in their localities and who are anxious to open a Branch, That he be empowered to reply to such communication and accept such offers without waiting for the assembling of the CC, but he shall report all such communication to the CC at their first sitting after such Letters have been received. The Resolution was Carried Unanimously—

Cremer proposed Odger seconded That Cit Dupont write to the Paris Administration requesting them to return a full and detailed account of income and expenditure up to the time of his writing. Carried Unanimously—

Cit Fox proposed, Cit Weston seconded That the following |[49]| Resolution which had also been recommended by the Sub Committee be adopted, also that the remarks of the Sub Committee which accompany the resolution be endorsed. Carried Unanimously.

The following are the remarks and Resolution as drawn up by the Sub Committee at their sitting on May 6th—"2 Letters read, one from Cit Lubez the other from the Sec of the Greenwich Branch of the Association—Lubez's Letter was an explanation of his conduct since his resignation on the CC. The Letter from Greenwich announced that Cit Lubez's resignation as the representative of the Greenwich

Meeting of the Central Council May 9, 1865

Branch at the CC had not been accepted—after some discussion on the two Letters in which two statements contained in Cit Lubez's Letter were denied

1st That Cit Lefort had first conceived the Idea of the I.W.M.A.—

2nd That *most* of the French Members on the CC had resigned in consequence of Cit Lefort's appointment having been cancelled—the fact being that only Cit Denoual had resigned with Cit Lubez—on the termination of the discussion the following resolution was passed—

That it be suggested to Cit Lubez That he should defer presenting himself at the CC for confirmation as Delegate from the Greenwich Branch until the Sub Committee have received and reported on the Letter he addressed to Cit Lefebvre."

Cit Fox read a Letter from Cit Vinçard who had been appointed on the Paris Administration, stating that the state of his health would preclude him from accepting the appointment, also expressing his best wishes for the success of the Association and regretting that he could not assist to make it so.

Jung proposed Marx seconded That the Gen Sec. write to Cit Vinçard thanking him for his past services and hoping that he will as far as consistent with his health do his utmost for the interest of the Association. Carried Unanimously.

Cit Marx read the address to President Johnson in reference to the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.

Cremer proposed Weston seconded That the address be adopted, written on Parchment, signed by the CC and transmitted to President Johnson through the United States Legation. Carried Unanimously.

Cit Howell, who had been appointed to attend with Cit Cremer the Reform Conference in Manchester on the 15th and 16th of May—having been elected by the Reform League as its Secretary and being deputed by that body to attend said conference, his appointment from this Council was therefore on the proposition of Cit Wheeler seconded by Cit Marx cancelled and Cit Odger was elected in his stead. Cit Fox asked if Cit Lassassie had been mixed up in the Orsini Plot, Cit Lessner replied No.

Cit Fox proposed Bolleter seconded That Cit Weston's questions for discussion stand adjourned to Saturday May 20th at 8 o'clock, the entire sitting to be devoted to the discussion. Carried Unanimously.

The Council then adjourned to May 16th.

J. G. Eccarius President
W. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary /

/[50]/ **Meeting of Central Council May 16th 1865**

In the absence of the General Secretary who was in attendance as Delegate of the Association on the Manchester Reform Conference Cit Fox read the minutes of the previous meeting which were confirmed.

Cit. Marx stated that he had sent to the *New York Tribune* a copy of the society's address to President Johnson. He also mentioned that there had been an immense public meeting in Geneva in regard to the assassination of the late lamented President of the United States; that the society's correspondent, Philipp Becker, had spoken at the same, and remarked upon the international character of the meeting. 5

Cit. Becker then proceeded to state that the Working Men's International Association was at the head of the new movement for popular rights, which statement was received with cheers by the meeting. 10

Cit. Fox then read from the *Manchester Guardian* of the day a report of the first day's proceedings of the Manchester Reform Conference.

Cit. Weston laid upon the table for distribution a number of copies of "A Requiem for Abraham Lincoln," addressed to the Liberals of Europe, and published in all the cosmopolitan languages. He stated that he had had an interview with the author, Mr. Leon Lewis, a citizen of the United States, resident in London, and proposed him as a member of the Central Council. 15

Cit. Carter, on the interpellation of the acting secretary, stated the result of his interviews with a number of working men in Paris during his late trip to that city. He reported that all those with whom he spoke were entirely satisfied with the action of the Council in the matter of the late imbroglio. 20 j

Cit Morgan on behalf of Cit Dell proposed William Bannister as a Member of the C.C. A long discussion ensued, said |[51]| discussion being of a very discursive character, after which the Council adjourned to May 23. 25 j j

President j
W. R. Cremer Hon Gen Sec / i

Meeting of the Central Council May 23, 1865

/[51]/ Meeting of Central Council May 23 1865

The President in the chair, the minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Cit Fox in the absence of Cit [Dupont] read a Letter from Lyons stating the tulle manufacturers were endeavouring to reduce the wages of their operatives giving as their reason for so doing that the competition with the English Manufacturers was so keen as to compel them so to act, the Letter asked for information as to the manufacture and price of Tulle in England, it was agreed to write to Nottingham for said information—

A discussion took place regarding Lubez being kept from taking his seat at the Council. Cremer proposed Eccarius seconded That in case Lefebvre's Letter (the absence of which had induced the Council to suggest to Le Lubez the propriety of not presenting himself as Councilman) is not forthcoming by Tuesday next that Le Lubez be allowed to take his seat on the Council as the representative of the Greenwich Branch. Carried, Citizen Jung neutral.

Fox gave report of his interview with Mr Adams, United States Minister, who had received the address and would transmit the same to the President, the report was received,

Cremer gave report of his mission in conjunction with Cit Odger to the Manchester Reform Conference, they had fought hard for the principle of Manhood Suffrage but had been unsuccessful, they feared the conference like others which had preceded it would prove to be abortive of good results, The report was received and the action of the Delegates approved.

Cit Weston resumed the adjourned debate on his |[52]| proposition regarding wages, he was followed by Cit Marx who opposed Cit Weston's views as did Cit Wheeler—after which Cremer proposed the adjournment of the debate till the 30th. Carried Unanimously.

The Council then adjourned.

G. Odger President
W. R. Cremer Hon Gen Sec /

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[Auszug aus The Bee-Hive Newspaper]

[Zu S. 325.4-9]

The Bee-Hive Newspaper.
Nr. 189, 27. Mai 1865

The Strike of the Makers of Tulle in Lyons.

Cit. Dupont, the Secretary for France, laid before the council a letter from the association's correspondent in Lyons, from which the reporter extracts the following passages:—"I have delayed this communication longer than I otherwise should, on account of the meetings which have been held by the various trades which are on strike, and principally the makers of tulle. The manufacturers of tulle, induced by one of their number, named Baboin, have determined to diminish the wages of their workmen, alleging that they are compelled so to act in consequence of English competition, and the changes that have been made in the Customs' duties in pursuance of the policy of free trade. The first point is denied by the workmen, who maintain that English competition does not amount to anything; but they do not give a satisfactory explanation on this point. As to the second point, touching free trade, no journal is willing to insert remarks upon this question; therefore a debate has not been able to take place, and the question—in fact, both questions—have remained in the dark, especially for the public. In the interest of the working classes of our city, it would be important for us to have precise information, particularly on the articles of tulle. Try then to collect the same and forward it to us. It would be well to know the cost price of each article and the selling price, the cost of transport within and without England, with the weights and measures in use for each article, and the import and export (*sic*) duties. Send us, as quickly as you can, 500 cards. We have printed the address and statutes, and are confident of success."

It was resolved that communications should be opened with persons in Nottingham connected with the tulle and bobbinet trade by every member who had facilities for so doing, and that an appeal should at the same time be made to the public to supply the council of the association with the required information.

Meeting of the Central Council May 30, 1865

/[52]/ Meeting of CC May 30th 1865

The President in the Chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting having been read, Jung took objection to that portion of them referring to the resolution readmitting Le Lubez to the CC and
5 stated that the Resolution had not passed Unanimously as he Cit Jung had remained neutral, a fact which he wished recorded.

The Sec said it had been his practice when no opposition was offered to the passing of a resolution to record it as being Carried Unanimously, with the alteration suggested by Cit Jung the minutes were confirmed—

10 The Sec read communication from the United States Legation acknowledging the receipt of the address to President Johnson.

Cit Weston proposed Whitlock seconded That Leon Lewis a citizen of the United States be elected a Member of the CC. Carried Unanimously.—Cremer proposed Cit Stainsby be nominated as a Member of the CC.

15 The Sec introduced the question of Cards of Membership. Cit Marx proposed Whitlock seconded That the Sec have power to order Cards should they be required. Carried Unanimously.
fi

The question of the proposed international Exhibition was then discussed. Cit Lucraft stated he had attended one of the Meetings and had informed those who
20 were moving in the matter of the existence of this Association, a fact of which he found they were previously aware, he also advised them to communicate with the CC but for some reason they had declined. A long discussion took place having | J5331 reference to so called exhibition of Working Men, all who took part in the discussion declaring against Mr Coningsby being allowed to represent himself as at the
25 Head of British Workmen.

Citizen Cremer protested against the selection of Mr. Coningsby, as British Secretary to the Anglo-French Committee, as being calculated to alienate from the committee the sympathies of British Democrats.

Citizen Fox observed that the three first names on the celebration committee,
30 namely, Michael Chevalier, Emile Ollivier, and Emile Girardin, were not in good standing with the French Republicans.

Citizens Odger and Howell held that Working Class Exhibitions, both national

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and international, were being patronised by the wealthy classes at the present time, partly with the object of diverting the attention of the working classes from the nobler aim of the political enfranchisement of their class.

Citizen Marx recommended that the council should concentrate its efforts upon promoting the success of the Working men's Congress to be held in Belgium this year.

On the motion of Citizen Cremer seconded by Whitlock the following resolution was passed:—"That our French secretary inform the Paris Administration that Mr. Coningsby is the avowed enemy of the working classes of Great Britain, and, consequently, the common enemy of the working classes of Europe, he having proclaimed in the columns of the *Times* his hostility to the suffrage being extended to the bulk of his countrymen." 10 |

A discussion took place as to the publication of the above Resolution but on the motion of Cit Cremer seconded by Cit Shaw it was decided by 11 votes to 4 to publish the Resolution and an epitomised report of the proceedings— 15 |

It was then agreed on the motion of Cit Dell seconded by Fox that the address and Rules of the Association be printed in French, Italian and German leaving to the Sub Committee the power to order the quantity they may deem necessary—

Eccarius proposed Jung seconded That Cit Schily be requested to translate the address and Rules into French, Carried Unanimously. 20 M

The Sec asked whether, as no reply had been received from Lefebvre, Cit Le Lubez was to be notified that he was at liberty to take his seat on CC as representative of Greenwich Branch. It having been stated that some further difficulties might arise if Le Lubez came to the CC before the Letter to Lefebvre was produced, Dell proposed Worley seconded That the President and Cit Kaub wait on Cit Dupont in reference to the matter. 25 "

Carried, 1 voting against.

Citizen Kaub, as a deputy from the German Working Men's Mutual Improvement Association in London (Bildung's Verein) stated that that body had been in the habit of commemorating, by a public meeting, the insurrection of the 24th June, 1848, when the working men of Paris were barbarously massacred by the soldiery in the service of the middle classes. The Bildung's Verein had hitherto received their chief support on this occasion from their own members and French Democrats in London. They intended to repeat the commemoration this year, in the usual manner, and hoped for a wider support than ever from Democrats of all nations. 30 ' 35 -

The Sec introduced the subject of a journal to represent the Association and stated that Cit Leon Lewis was about to bring out a journal, a long discussion took place on the question ending in the following resolution and amendment, the Resolution proposed by Cremer seconded by Worley That a deputation of 3 be appointed to wait on Cit Lewis. 40

Amendment by Dell seconded by Lucraft That Cit Lewis be invited to attend the next sitting of the CC. Amendment carried.

The Council then adjourned to June 6th.

W. R. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary
President /

Meeting of the Central Council June 6, 1865

/[54]/ **Meeting of Central Council June 6th 1865**

The President in the Chair.

The previous minutes were read and confirmed.

The President introduced Citizen Leon Lewis to the meeting who made a long statement in regard to a newspaper which he contemplated bringing out, said Journal would be of the most democratic character and he had no doubt of its being made a success; it had been to him a matter of great surprise that the Working Men of Gt Britain had no Organ which faithfully represented their interests, he thought it quite time such a want was supplied. Citizens Marx, Carter and Fox agreed as | [[55]] to the necessity for such an organ. Citizen Cremer would prefer that some control should be exercised over such Journal by a body of Working Men. Cit Lewis would have no objection to a Committee of advice and should always listen to their counsel and advice.

The following Resolution was eventually proposed by Cit Dell seconded by Cit Jung and Carried Unanimously,

That Cit Lewis send to this Council at its next Meeting the exact conditions upon which he will cooperate with this Society and if this Council approve of such it shall name any number to cooperate with Citizen Lewis meeting at his office periodically,

Cit Marx stated that when Cit Weston's propositions are again discussed he should read a paper in reply and propose a series of Counter Resolutions—

The Sec stated he had received two Letters from the Greenwich and Deptford Branch referring to Cit Le Lubez and his relation to the CC, he would propose that the questions involved be referred to the Sub Committee, referred accordingly.

Cit Dupont read a communication from Paris in reference to the Cards of Membership and their expenses, the Letters and their contents were referred to the Sub Committee.

Cit Fox suggested That Hand Bills be printed and distributed broadcast inviting Members to the Association, referred to Sub Committee,

Citizen Lewis being asked if he knew any one who could and would fill the Office of Corresponding Sec for America, stated in reply he should have no objection to filling such post; on the [proposition] of Cit Dell seconded by Cit Eccarius Cit

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Leon Lewis was unanimously elected Corresponding Sec for the United States of America.

The Council then adjourned to June 13.

W. R. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary
President |

Meeting of the Central Council June 13, 1865

[[56]] **Meeting** of CC **June** 13th 1865

President in the Chair.

The Sec read the minutes of the former Meeting which with a slight alteration suggested by Cit Fox were confirmed. Cit Fox read a Letter from Cit Lewis stating his inability to attend the sitting of the Council, also that he had for the present decided to defer the issue of the Commoner,

The report of the Sub Committee was then given by the Sec with regard to the Le Lubez imbroglio, they had decided on the following resolution

That this Committee feels bound to express its regret that Cit Le Lubez should have written the passages he did in his Letter to Cit Lefebvre regarding the Paris Committee, but believing they were written under unfortunate impressions consider that the resolution for his readmission should be strictly adhered to and carried into effect immediately.

Also that Citizens Fox, Jung and Odger be appointed a deputation to wait on the Greenwich and Deptford Branch to explain to them the reasons which have actuated the Council in delaying the readmission of Cit Le Lubez and passing the above resolution,

Cit Dell proposed Howell seconded that this Council confirm the resolution of the Sub Committee. Carried Unanimously. The Sub Committee had also instructed Cit Dupont to request the Paris Administration to get their accounts audited and forward a balance Sheet to the CC, approved.

Cit Fox proposed Cit Wheeler seconded that Citizen Lefebvre be elected correspondent for the department of Neufchateau. Carried Unanimously.

The Anniversary Meeting of the June Insurrection

Citizen Lessner announced that the German Working Men's Mutual Improvement Association would hold their meeting in celebration of the above event in the hall of the Metropolitan institution, Cleveland Street, on Wednesday, June 28th.

It having transpired that funds were wanting to pay the expenses incident to the Meeting, Cit Wheeler proposed Cit Dell seconded [[57]] that 12s be voted for that purpose. Carried Unanimously—

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Cit Jung read a long Letter from Geneva giving a long account of the progress they are making and asking when the Congress would assemble and what questions would be laid before it, a discussion took place regarding the Congress and the question was referred to the Sub Committee,

Cit Dupont laid upon the table the first copy of the *Tribune ouvrière*, a new working man's paper started at Paris, owned, managed and edited exclusively by working men. One of the Association's correspondents was its publisher. He also acknowledged the receipt of some of the required information concerning the finance of *tulle* manufacture in England, which he would forthwith forward to the *tullistes* of Lyons now on strike. 5 10

Cit Holtorp announced that a Working Men's Association had been founded among the Polish emigrants in London for the purpose of affording aid and information to their countrymen, who were now constantly arriving here from the Continent.

The President introduced the question of Cit Wolff returning his Card to the Council, he had met Cit Wolff who expressed regret that he had so returned his card and he the President thought the Council ought now to send Cit Wolff back his Card. 15

A long discussion took place on the question and the following Resolution and Amendment were submitted on the question 20

Resolution proposed by Wheeler seconded by Cit Fox -

That Cit Wolffs Card be returned to him.

Amendment by Cit Jung seconded by Cit Kaub—

That when any member returns his Card to the Council that he cannot again have that Card, but if he wishes to join again he must take out a new Card. 25

Rider proposed by Dell seconded by Holtorp

That the Sec write to Cit Wolff stating that he can have his Card by asking for it.

Votes for Resolution 3

Amendment 10

Rider 4. 30

The Council then adjourned to June 20th.

W. R. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary

J. G. ECCARIUS, V. President |

[Auszug aus The Bee-Hive Newspaper]

The Bee-Hive Newspaper.

Nr. 192, 17. Juni 1865

The last number of the *Glos Wolny* was laid on the table, which gives the accounts of the subscription opened for the Poles by the Oborski Commission and the expenditure. It appears that the sum collected amounted to £84 8s. 3d., and the sum spent to £96 14s., leaving a balance due to Captain Bobczynski of £12 5s. 9d. The cost of the anniversary meeting in St. Martin's Hall was £35 5s. 9d., the amount dis- 3

Meeting of the Central Council June 13, 1865

tributed among suffering Poles was £47 15s., and the balance of the expenditure represented the general expenses of the commission. Of the £84 8s. 3d. subscribed the Poles resident in England had given £23 8s. 3d., and the British £61, of which £30 6s. came from Newcastle and the balance from London.

Meeting of the Central Council June 20, 1865

[[58]] Central Council Meeting June 20th 1865

VP Eccarius in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed. The Sec read a Letter from D Bagnagatti, the Secretary of the Italian Working Men's Association in London informing the CC that Cit L.Wolff had been appointed by said Association as their representative on the CC—

Cit Fox proposed Cit Weston seconded That Cit L.Wolff be accepted as the representative of the Working Men's Association, *Carried Unanimously.*

Cit Dupont read a Letter from St Denis asking for 300 Cards of Membership, he also requests from 4 places for permission to open Branches of the Association. 10

The following were then elected Foreign Corresponding Secretaries: *Cit Talbot of Caen, Cit Ferdinand Duhamel of Lisieux, Cit Ferret of Pantin, Cit Bosc of St Denis*—proposed by Cit Marx seconded by Cit Weston.

The Council having had their attention called to the frequent absence of the Financial Secretary—agreed to refer the question to the Sub Committee, 15

Cit Jung stated that having had occasion to visit the Silk Weavers' Society, he had introduced the principles of the I. W. M. A. and he believed they would join.

Cit Fox thought we ought to take immediate steps to increase our means of propagandism. The Sec thought it would be well to defer the question for a few weeks, the declaration of enrolment for Societies would then be ready, 20

Cit Marx then read a part of his paper in reply to Cit Weston's propositions on the question of *Wages*, Cit Weston thought that in the part of the paper read by Cit Marx that nothing had been advanced or proved which in any way affected the principles *he* affirmed, Cit Cremer thought Cit Marx had given two or three practical illustrations or rather facts which completely destroyed the positions affirmed by Cit Weston; the question was adjourned till June 27 at 9 o'clock. Cit Marx will then read the latter part of his paper and propose a series of counter resolutions. 25

Cit Fox reported the result of his and Cit Jung's interview in the presence of Cit Le Lubez with the Members of the Greenwich Branch, the reasons for the delay which had occurred in acknowledging their representation having been explained, 30

Meeting of the Central Council June 20, 1865

the Branch by resolution expressed their satisfaction with the explanation and thanked the deputation for their attendance.

The Council then adjourned to June 27.

J. G. Eccarius Vice President
W. R. Cremer Hon Gen Secretary |

Meeting of the Central Council June 27, 1865

I[59]j Meeting of Central Council June 27th 1865

VP Eccarius in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed.

The report of the Sub Committee was given by the Secretary,-they recommended that as Citizen Whitlock the Financial Secretary was so often absent, that another Citizen be elected in his stead, Citizen Whitlock having explained the cause of his absence and stated that he might possibly have shortly to resign; it was agreed to waive any further discussion on the point until after the present quarter's accounts had been audited.

Citizen Fox called the attention of the Council to a point of order at a previous sitting, the President had allowed two Amendments at the same time to be put to a resolution, this he Cit Fox contended was out of order and in this opinion he was fortified by the opinion of an eminent authority which he quoted, said authority laid it down as a rule that there can be but one amendment at a time to 1 resolution, when that is disposed of another may then be proposed.

Cit Dupont read a Letter from Citizen Lisieux accepting the position as Corresponding Sec and asking for 500 Cards.

Letter also from Citizen Ferdinand Duhamel also accepting position as Corresponding Sec, another Letter from Citizen Ferret of Pantin also accepting position as Corresponding Sec, he asked for Cards but stated that he did not expect to make many members just now as there was a dearth of employment and consequent distress amongst the Workmen but when prosperity returned he believed members would join the Association.

Citizen Marx then after recapitulating the principal points in the first part of his paper which he had read at the last sitting, proceeded to read the latter part at the conclusion of which Cit Cremer said there were many who would like to have | [[60]] both papers—of Cit Weston and Cit Marx' reply—printed, but he hardly knew how the expense was to be met.

Cit Weston questioned the correctness of the statement contained in Cit Marx' paper having reference to Agricultural Laborers. On the motion of Citizen Eccarius the debate was adjourned to the next sitting to be opened by Cit Eccarius.

The Council then adjourned to July 4th.

J. G. Eccarius President
W. R. Cremer Hon Gen Sec /

Meeting of the Central Council June 27, 1865

[Auszug aus The Bee-Hive Newspaper]
[Zu S. 336.24-31]

The Bee-Hive Newspaper.
Nr. 195, 8. Juli 1865

The Weston Propositions.

Citizen Marx has read an elaborate paper in opposition to the above named propositions, and has propounded a series of dogmas on the wages question in harmony with the arguments of his essay. The debate has been continued by Citizens Eccarius, Carter, and others.

Meeting of the Central Council July 4, 1865

/[60]/ Meeting of CC July 4th 1865

VP Eccarius in the Chair.

On the Secretary reading the minutes of the former meeting a slight correction was made in reference to the Continental Corresponding Secretaries; the Minutes were then confirmed.

Cit Fox stated that the ruling of the debate in the House of Commons last Night had confirmed what he had asserted at the last sitting of the CC—he also stated that he had not been able to obtain the requisite information as to the manufacture of Tulle but he hoped the Gen Secretary would do so on his visit to Norwich,

Cit Dupont had received a Letter from France which he thought could be better considered by the Sub Committee, referred accordingly. Cit Jung presented the Association with a Copper Plate which had been designed and executed by Citizen Richard Cottam gratuitously, Cit Marx proposed Cit Cremer seconded That the CC thanks Cit Cottam for his generous gift. Carried Unanimously.

Cit Eccarius resumed the adjourned debate on Cit Weston's propositions arguing against Cit Weston's views, Cit Fox slightly differed with Cit Eccarius as to the continued Intellectual progress which Cit Eccarius asserted had been made by Mankind. Cit Carter altogether ignored the statistics of Political Economists and preferred to look at and judge Man by what we knew of him, Cit Kaub proposed the adjournment of the debate till the next sitting. Carried Unanimously. The Council then adjourned to July 11th.

President |

Meeting of the Central Council July 4, 1865

[Auszug aus The Bee-Hive Newspaper]

The Bee-Hive Newspaper.
Nr. 195, 8. Juli 1865

Strikes in France.

Citizen Eugène Dupont, the Secretary for France, has addressed from London the following letter to the editor of the *Temps*, a republican paper in Paris:—

- 5 "Mr. Editor, I have read in your report of the Senate's proceedings the proposition made by Baron Charles Dupin, concerning strikes among the working classes. In so important a question, M. Charles Dupin who calls himself the mentor and friend of the working classes, finds no other solution for the difficulty than in coercive measures, by appealing to the terrors of the law, doubtless in obedience to the
- 10 proverb: 'The wise father spareth not the rod.' Happily the *ouvriers* are no longer overgrown children, who are scared by the threat of a whipping; the working classes graduated in 1848, and they guide their steps by the lessons of the past. Convinced that an insurrection would only aggravate their situation, the working men who are dissatisfied with their condition and social inferiority, appeal to discussion, which is
- 15 the true weapon of progress. This is why the fact that perfect order is maintained by the strikers seems so strange to M. Charles Dupin, the 'guide, philosopher, and friend' of the working classes. He no longer knows his pupils again. What! strikes follow strikes, and not the slightest riot—that is against the order of nature. Repeal, then, without delay the law on combinations. What, then, would M. Charles Dupin
- 20 have said if armed force had been compelled to intervene? I am far from saying that a strike is a final solution; it is only an expedient rendered necessary by the present relations of capital to labour. But, in any event, nothing can be achieved without the right of meeting and free discussion; repressive laws may adjourn and aggravate the question, but not resolve it. Late events have demonstrated to the least observ-
- 25 ant that it is necessary to pay attention without delay to questions relating to the organisation of society. It is with this aim that the International Working Men's Association has been established, and that it invites every working man in Europe to lend a hand to the common work.—Yours, etc., E. Dupont."

Meeting of the Central Council July 11, 1865

[[61]] **Meeting of CC. July 11th 1865**

The President in the Chair.

Cit Fox in the absence of the Gen Sec read the minutes of the previous Meeting which were confirmed,

Cit Dupont read a Letter from the Association's Correspondent at Lyons acknowledging the receipt of 400 Cards, desiring further information concerning the tulle manufacture and announcing that the Strikes in Lyons had terminated unfavorably to the men who had been compelled to succumb for want of the means of subsistence; he hoped their failure would teach them a lesson and show them the necessity for organization,

On the proposition of Cit Jung the Council then adjourned to July 18th.

President /

Meeting of the Central Council July 18, 1865

/[61]/ **Meeting of CC July 18th 1865**

The President in the Chair.

Cit Fox in the absence of the Gen. Sec. read the minutes of the former meeting which were confirmed. Cit Dupont laid before the Council a letter from Cit Fribourg in relation to the Congress—on the proposition of Cits Eccarius and Dell it was resolved that the consideration of that matter be deferred till the next sitting when the report of the *Sub*Committee was expected and that the Secretary be instructed to summon a general Meeting.

The President spoke on the subject of reporting the debate on the Weston Propositions, he believed that the Miner would open its columns to a full report of the same; the debate being now over. Cit Fox delivered his views on the questions raised by Cit Weston after which the Council adjourned to July 25.

President |

Summoned Meeting of the Central Council July 25, 1865

[[62]] **Summoned Meeting of the CC July 25th 1865**

The President in the Chair, Cit Fox who during the temporary absence of the Gen. Sec. had been acting in his stead stated that he had not been able to write out from his notes the minutes of the last sitting, it was therefore agreed to read them at the next sitting, 5

Cit Fox brought up the report of the Sub Committee. The report with some additions and slight alterations was adopted in the following form:

Report of the Sub Committee on the questions of a Congress
and Conference as amended and passed by the CC at
a summoned Meeting on the 25th of July 1865 10

In consequence of the urgent representations of our French and Swiss correspondents who call upon the CC to take some steps in fulfilment of the pledge given at the time of the foundation of the Association that a Congress would be held in Brussels in the present Year to discuss questions of general interest to the proletarians of Europe, your *Committee* have taken the whole subject into their consideration and now submit to you the following series of proposals 15

1st That it is not feasible to assemble a Congress in Brussels or London at the present time, in lieu thereof we propose a Conference which shall assemble in London on Monday September 25th.

2nd That the following declaration be published in the Continental and British 20
Journals which are favourable to our cause

"The Central Council of the I.W.M.A. announce that they have resolved on postponing the convocation of a General Congress of Working Men at Brussels or elsewhere for three reasons

1 Because they have felt the advisability of having a preliminary Conference with 25
a few Delegates from their principal Branches on the Continent touching the programme which ought to be laid before the said Congress.

2 Because in Britain the Reform Movement, the [[63]] General Elections and the Industrial Exhibitions and in France the Strikes have absorbed the energies and attention of the Working Classes to such an extent as to have retarded the maturity of 30
the Association.

Summoned Meeting of the Central Council July 25, 1865

3 Because during the present Year the Belgian Parliament has passed an Alien Act of such a Character as to put an end to the project the Association had entertained of holding a Congress or to any they might have entertained of having a Conference in the Capital of Belgium."

5 3rd The Conference is to be constituted in this wise: two Delegates from every Central Administration are to be invited, also two from Lyons. The cost of the travelling expenses of the Delegates will be borne by their constituents, their costs in London will be defrayed by the Central Council.

10 4th As to the ways and means of defraying these costs the Committee have received the generous offer from Cit Jung that he will board and lodge the Delegates from Switzerland, for the rest the Committee recommend

1 That the Members of the CC renew their Annual Subscriptions in the month of September previous to the Assembling of the Conference.

15 2 That the Gen Sec be instructed to appeal to the Secretaries of the Societies who have already joined the Association to exert themselves to sell Cards of Membership to their Individual Members for the sake of Meeting the outlay of the Conference.

20 3 That the Members of the CC be recommended to take cards on sale, paying to the Council the amount of the same in ready money, recouping the immediate outlay from |[64]| the produce of the Sales.

5th The Committee proposed that the CC should adopt and submit to the Conference a certain programme which was amended and passed in the following form by the CC

- 1 Questions relating to the Congress
- 25 2 Questions relating to the organization of the Association
- 3 Combination of effort by means of the Association in the different National struggles between Capital and Labor
- 4 Trades Unions, their Past, Present, and Future
- 5 Cooperative Labor
- 30 6 Direct and Indirect Taxation
- 7 Reduction of the Number of the Hours of Labor
- 8 Female and Children Labor
- 9 The Muscovite invasion of Europe and the reestablishment of an independent and integral Poland
- 35 10 Standing Armies, their effects upon the Interests of the productive classes.

6th Preliminary Sitzings of the Delegates to be held with the Committee, the definitive sittings with the CC.

7th On the 28th of September a Soiree will be held for the three following objects: 1st to commemorate the founding of the Association, 2nd to do Honour to the Continental Delegates and 3rd to celebrate the triumph of Federalism and Free Labor in America. The Soiree to consist of a Tea, speaking, conversazione and dancing ...

In reference to the question of the Muscovite Invasion of Europe Cits Whitlock and Merriman argued in favor of |[65]| placing it at the bottom of the programme; it being a political question they would prefer to keep it apart from the others which
45 were of a social character, agreed to—

The Minute Book of the Provisional Central Council of the I.W.M.A.

Cits Weston and Leno proposed that the question of Taxation be struck out not because they did not conceive it to be important but because they thought the programme sufficiently extensive without it, they would prefer to debate one or two questions thoroughly rather than half consider a large number—3 only voting for the amendment it was declared lost and the question of taxation remained part of the programme. 5

As an addition to the question of Muscovite Invasion Cits Merriman and Whitlock proposed the following

The relation of the Papacy to the political welfare of Italy and the civilisation of the World, for the addition 8, against 12, lost— 10

Proposed by Cits Lubez and Holtorp,

That the question of Education as embodied in the French programme be embodied in the programme of the C C , for 6, against 11 (lost). The majority voting against the question because the programme was already sufficiently extended.

Cits Cremer and Eccarius proposed that the question of Standing Armies as suggested in the French programme be embodied in ours. For 12, against 5 (*Carried*). 15

Cits Leno and Jung proposed That the question

Cits Cremer and Eccarius proposed That at the Soiree on the 28th of September next

That in addition to celebrating the foundation of the Association and welcoming the Continental Delegates that we celebrate the triumph of the Federal cause and congratulate the American People on the abolition of Slavery, Carried, 1 voting against. 20

The Programme as amended and altered and in the form as read above was then put from the Chair and Carried. 25 ;

The Gen Sec stated that having been recently in Norwich he had made all possible enquiries as to the locality where tulle was manufactured but could not get any information on the subject but of this he was certain it was not manufactured in Norwich. The Council then adjourned to August 1^A.

J. G. ECCARIUS, V. President | 30

Meeting of the Central Council August 1, 1865

[[66]] Central Council Meeting August 1st 1865

VP Eccarius in **the** Chair.

The minutes of the previous two Meetings were read and confirmed. Cit Gray on behalf of Cit Walton presented the Council with 20 Copies of his Book on the subject of Landed Tenures. Cits Fox and Lubez proposed

That the thanks of the CC be presented to Cit Walton for his gift. Carried Unanimously.

The Secretary gave report of Standing Committee, they propose to the CC to insert in the programme to be laid before the Conference the following question

Trades Unions, their Past, Present, and Future,
agreed to.

The question of Members' Cards was then discussed, the Committee believing the Numbers on the Cards were useless and injurious recommended the CC to strike them off. The Gen Secretary further urged that the names on the cards be also abolished.

A long discussion took place on the question which was terminated by the following propositions by Cits Dell and Cremer proposing to strike off both names and numbers.

Cits Jung and Dupont proposed as an amendment to only strike off the numbers.

Cits Lubez and Longmaid proposed that the question be adjourned till the next sitting, the latter **proposition**] being Carried the question was adjourned till the next sitting,

The following Citizens were then elected to act with the Gen Sec to carry out the arrangements for the Soiree: Cits Dell, Leno, and Howell,

Cit Dupont read correspondence from Paris which stated that through their not having complied with the law regarding the Press that the Tribune ouvrière had been suppressed and the Editor fined 100 Francs but they were about to issue another journal,

The Council then adjourned till August 8.

J. G. Eccarius Vice President |

Meeting of the Central Council August 8, 1865

[[67]] **Meeting of the Central Council August 8th 1865**

VP Eccarius in the Chair.

The Secretary read the minutes of the previous meeting, which were confirmed.

The Gen Sec brought up the report of the Standing Committee. They recommended 1st That Citizen Dell be elected Financial Secretary in the place of Cit Whitlock, agreed to, 2nd they recommended that the question as to the names and numbers on the Cards be deferred till the Conference so that the Opinions of the Continental Delegates may be canvassed, agreed to, 3rd they recommended that a Committee of 3 be appointed to draw up Articles of Association for the purpose of raising a Capital of 500£ in Shares of 1£ each so as to enable the Central Council to purchase premises as a Central Home for the Association-

Citizens Dell and Wheeler were elected by the Council and instructed to ascertain whether the Company could best be formed under the Industrial Provident Societies Act or under the Limited Liability Act, The report to be given at the next sitting.

Cit Fox read some correspondence from Neufchâteau from Lefebvre the correspondent of the Association stating he had been a little too hasty in the opinions he had formed with regard to the illegality of the Association in France, he was glad to find he had been mistaken and he was now doing all he could to push the Association forward. Cit Fox also read a Letter from Cit Talbot of Caen who also stated he was using his utmost exertions on behalf of the Association,

Cit Fox introduced the question of the necessity for an active propagandism which brought about a long discussion taken part in by Cits Jung, Cremer, Lubez and Odger, Eccarius and Wheeler, the latter stating he had just returned from Scotland where he had done what he could for the advancement of the Association and he had succeeded in obtaining the Services of Cit John McColman as the [[68]] Association's Correspondent for Glasgow.

At the conclusion of the question Cits Wheeler and Dell proposed that Cit John McColman be elected the Glasgow Correspondent for the Association. *Carried Unanimously.*

Cremer and Howell proposed That Cits Gardner and Cope be nominated as members of the CC. Cit Lubez asked if the CC were willing to take any part in a dem-

Meeting of the Central Council August 8, 1865

onstration of Blackheath to celebrate the Jubilee of Peace between England and France. Cits Cremer and Wheeler proposed That a Demonstration take place on Blackheath on Sunday 27th August under the Auspices of the Association and that 5,000 Hand Bills be printed and circulated announcing the meeting, *Carried Unanimously*.

5 Cit Weston asked if the debate on the Wages question was to be continued or not, he thought it a waste of time for the CC to be transacting Administrative business when they ought to be engaged in the more serious one of discussing great principles,

10 Cit Howell [...] seconded That the Standing Committee transact all the Administrative business and report to the CC once a Month, the other three sittings of the CC to be devoted to the discussion of great principles. Carried Unanimously.

The Council then adjourned till August 15.

J. G. Eccarius Vice President /

15 [Auszug aus The Bee-Hive Newspaper]
[Zu S. 346.20-21]

The Bee-Hive Newspaper.
Nr. 200, 12. August 1865

The good work in Normandy.

The Secretary for France read a letter from Edouard Talbot, at Caen, from which we extract as follows:—

20 "My relations at Caen, and in the department of Calvados, as former President of the Working Men's Associations until 1852, allowed me to profit by the reawakening of the public mind to propagate the excellent ideas of your programme. The future belongs to them; it is the duty of us, the workmen of the first hour, to sow them copiously now, even in the dawn, even in night time. Rely then upon me, as on a
25 man thoroughly grounded in his convictions, who has never either changed or recoiled, and has never otherwise understood democracy than as based upon socialist ideas. You ask me if I could procure the insertion of some articles in the journals of the department. I will try; but I do not expect much in this direction, as in Caen there are only two journals—and one is clerical, the other prefectoral. In the other
30 towns there exist only advertising sheets. As to the cards of membership, be so good as to send me fifty. I cannot dispose of them all immediately, but I can of 25 at least; and the rest will go off by degrees. Among the people of this district there is a general desire for action; they suffer from the deadness of the last 15 years, and the younger generation begin to feel the want of a 'freer life.' "

Meeting of the Central Council August 15, 1865

/[68]/ **Meeting of Central Council August 15th 1865**

VP Eccarius in the Chair.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed.

Cits Cremer and Wheeler proposed that Cits Cope and Gardner be elected on the CC—Carried Unanimously. Cit Odger nominated Cit Brien as a Member of the CC. Cit Kaub then read his paper in reply to Cit Weston's propositions, Citizen Kaub taking the opposite view to Cit Weston, it was then agreed on the proposition of Cit Cremer for Cit Jung to adjourn any further discussion on the question till the next Meeting. The Council then adjourned on the

Vice President |

Meeting of the Central Council August 22, 1865

I[69]I **Meeting of Central Council August 22nd 1865**

Vice President Eccarius in the Chair.

The Minutes of the former Meeting were read and confirmed—Cit Kaub nominated Cit Hrabje as a Member of the CC.

The Secretary introduced to the notice of the CC the necessity for reconstituting the Standing Committee as there were Members now on it who never attended its sittings, it was agreed to adjourn the question till the next Meeting of the CC.

Cit Jung read correspondence from Switzerland which stated they were making rapid progress with the Association, several Working Men's Societies had lately joined, he also translated for Cit Dupont Letters he had received from Lyons and other parts of France all speaking hopefully of the progress they were making; the Members in Lyons again asked for the information they had before sought in reference to the prices and manufacture of Tulle, it was agreed to make another effort to get the information desired. The Correspondence was received.

Cit Jung who was entitled to open the adjourned debate on Cit Weston's question asked for permission to postpone doing so till the next sitting. Cit Leno supported doing so, agreed to. The Council then adjourned as there was important business to transact connected with the formation of a Newspaper Company.

G. Odger President /

Meeting of the Central Council August 29, 1865

/[69]/ **Meeting of Central Council August 29th 1865**

The President in the Chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed. Letter read from Cit Richard Cottam acknowledging the thanks of the CC and expressing his willingness to at any time assist in the progress of the Association—

A Letter was also read from Cit A. Walton a Member of the Association living in Wales, the letter stated that he had the previous Week sent a Letter to the Bee-Hive headed "The Great Naval Review at Cherbourg," |[70]| but the Editor of that paper had inserted the letter as a Leading Article and palmed it off on the Readers by using the Editorial "We" as an Editorial production. A considerable discussion took place on the matter, all who took part in it denouncing such conduct and the following resolution by Cits Eccarius and Marx was unanimously agreed to—

That a copy of Cit Walton's Letter to this Council be sent to the Editor of the Bee-Hive and an explanation be demanded regarding the appropriation of an Article sent by Cit Walton to the Bee-Hive on Foreign and International Politics. Cits Howell, Cremer and Eccarius were appointed to prepare an answer to Cit Walton.

A Letter was read by Cit Jung from Cit Leon Fontaine, the letter was referred to Cit Dupont.

The next question was the proposed election of Cit Brien on the CC, Cit Shaw opposed his election as he had never worked in harmony with any body of Men with which he has been connected. Also for his vacillating and coquetting conduct during the late advocacy of the advance of wages movement and for his want of honest conduct in conducting the same,

Cit Howell thought from his conduct he ought not to be elected.

Cit Wheeler thought if the character given by Cit Shaw be correct it would not be worth while to introduce him to the Council as he might introduce discord and thereby weakness, it was unanimously agreed *not* to elect Cit Brien—

Cit Hrabje on the proposition of Cits Kaub and Lessner was unanimously elected a Member of the CC.

Jung and Bordage nominated Cit Lucien Perchelet on CC—

The question of reconstructing the standing Committee was adjourned. Cit Jung having the right to reopen the adjourned debate on Cit Weston's proposition asked

Meeting of the Central Council August 29, 1865

that the question might again be adjourned as he was not then prepared to open the discussion, adjourned accordingly—

The Council then adjourned till September 5th.

G. Odger President I

Meeting of the Central Council September 5, 1865

[[71]] **Meeting of Central Council September 5th 1865**

The President in the Chair.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed. The Sec brought up the reply of the Committee to Cit Walton's communication in reference to the Bee-Hive. Cits Wheeler and Morgan proposed the adoption of the report.

Cit Jung read two passages from Swiss Papers relative to the Association,

Cit Perchelet on the proposition of Cits Jung and Bordage was elected on the Council. Cit Morgan gave a report of a visit to the Boot Closers who had requested a deputation to attend at their next summoned Meeting. Cit Mantz was nominated on the CC by Cits Wheeler and Eccarius. Cits Duthy and Cheval attended as Del- 10
egates from Belgium to ask if there was any objection to the Belgians electing their own Officers. Cit Carter proposed Eccarius seconded

That Branches have the power to elect their own Officers subject to the approval of the CC. Carried Unanimously. The Delegates were also requested to attend the Standing Committee at their next sitting, the Council then adjourned till Sept'r 12. 15

G. Odger President /

Meeting of the Central Council September 12, 1865

/[71]/ **Meeting** of CC **Sept'r** 12th

The President in the Chair. The Minutes of the former Meeting were read and confirmed.

A Letter was read from Cit Wheeler stating his inability to continue as Treasurer to the Association in consequence of his increased duties in connection with his daily duties; several Members expressed their regret that Cit Wheeler had resigned but as the announcement of Cit Wheeler was positive no alternative was left them but to accept his resignation which was accordingly done, after which Cits Marx and Eccarius proposed that Cit Dell be elected Treasurer and |[72]| that for the future the Offices of Treasurer and Financial Sec be rolled into one. Carried Unanimously,

Cit Mantz was elected a Member of the CC on the Motion of Cits Dell and Cremer.

Lubez and Carter nominated Cit Pierre Vesinier as a Member of the CC,

A discussion then took place as to the forthcoming Conference taken part in by Marx, Weston, Lubez, Cremer and on the motion of Cit Lubez seconded by Mantz the further consideration of the question was adjourned till the 19th inst, the Meeting to be special for the consideration of the Conference.

The Council then adjourned till the 19th.

William Dell President pro tem /

Meeting of the Central Council September 19, 1865

/[72]/ **Meeting of the Central Council September 19th 1865**

In the absence of the President Citizen Dell was unanimously voted to the Chair.

The Secretary read the minutes of the last Meeting [which] were read and confirmed.

Cit Marx proposed Cit Carter seconded That Cit Bobczynski be elected a Member of the CC, *Carried Unanimously*.

The Secretary read a Letter from Glasgow from Cit McColman accepting the position assigned him by the CC viz That of Corresponding Secretary for Glasgow and promising to do his best to advance the interests of the Association.

Cit Marx announced that no Delegates from Germany would attend the Conference but that a report of the doings in Germany would be sent him which he would read to the Conference, he had also sent [a letter] to Ernest Jones asking him to be present and speak at the Soiree.

Cit Jung read a Letter from Switzerland in which it was announced that two Delegates had been elected and would attend the Conference.

The question of the reorganisation of the Standing Committee was then brought up by the Secretary from the Standing Committee who recommended the Central Council to appoint the following Members to constitute the Standing Committee

Odger, Eccarius, Dupont, Marx, Jung, Dell, Howell, Fox, Weston,

Agreed to |[73]| and on the Motion of Cremer seconded by Lessner Cit Bobczynski was also elected a Member of the Standing Committee to represent the Polish section of the Association.

It was then agreed that the Continental Delegates should go to Citizen Bolleter's and Lardaux's to board and Lodge.

Cit Dell offered to provide for the expenses of one of the Delegates.

Cit Bobczynski contributed one Pound towards the expenses of the Delegates.

The question of the expenses of the Conference was then discussed. The Standing Committee recommended that Members of the CC contribute as far as they can to the expenses of the Conference.

Agreed to, several Members of the CC contributed towards the expenses.

Mr. Tripp was engaged as M. C. for the Soiree,

Cit Lubez proposed Carter seconded that Cit Vesinier be elected on the CC—

Meeting of the Central Council September 19, 1865

It was then determined that all the Tickets for the Soiree be returned or paid for on the third Tuesday after the Soiree—

The Standing Committee recommended to the CC to agree to the following as a recommendation to the Conference—

The CC shall in 1866 convoke a general Congress unless unforeseen circumstances shall necessitate its further postponement. Carried Unanimously—

Lubez proposed that each question on the programme be left to some one Member to be named by the CC—Carter seconded but ultimately the **proposition** was withdrawn in favor of the following by Cit Carter seconded by Weston

That the views expressed here to-night be considered by the Standing Committee; the Council then adjourned to

Geo Odger President /

[Auszug aus The Workman's Advocate]

The Workman's Advocate.
Nr. 133, 23. September 1865

15 The Central Council held a special meeting on Tuesday last to complete the arrangements for the conference which begins on Monday, and it was announced that representatives from French, German, Polish, Swiss, Belgian, and English societies will be present at the conference; it was also stated that Mr. Ernest Jones, the Barrister, who is well known to the democracy of Europe, and who is the Manchester correspondent of the International Working Men's Association, will attend, and deliver an address at the *soiree* which is to be held at St. Martin's Hall. As a very large
20 attendance is expected, those who wish to hear Mr. Jones's impassioned oratory had better at once secure tickets. A full report of the doings of the conference and the *soiree* will appear in our next issue.

Meeting of the Central Council October 3, 1865

/[73]/ **Meeting of Central Council October 3rd 1865**

The President in the Chair.

The Minutes of the former Meeting were read and confirmed, The Sec read a letter from Cit Jung stating his inability to attend the Council Meeting as he had an attack of Ophthalmia; the Council expressed a hope that he soon be with them again—

Letter read purporting to be a Letter from the Editor of the Bee-Hive but as no name was attached to it the Council passed to the next business. |

[[74]] A Letter was also read from Madam Jeanne Deroin, the letter had been addressed to the Conference but had been delayed. The Secretary stated he had received applications for the address and rules from the Hearth Rug Weavers' and Gilders' Societies.

Morgan gave report of visit to Boot-Closers, it was very late before the deputation were admitted but the Members of the Society apologised for having kept the Deputation waiting and he had no doubt but that at their next Monthly Meeting the Society would join the Association.

The question as to the publication of the doings at the Conference was then discussed.

Cit Carter and Lubez proposed That Cit Marx be requested to compile the report of the Conference proceedings. *Carried Unanimously.*

Cit Carter and Lubez proposed That a Copy be sent to Citizen De Paepe in Belgium and that he be requested to publish it in Pamphlet form. Carried Unanimously.

Cit Dupont reported that a Friend of his, Cit Coraz was about to start for New York and he suggested that Cit Coraz should [take with him] (as he was willing to do) 500 Cards of Membership and addresses—

Cit Dupont also gave notice of his intention to propose Cit Coraz as the Correspondent of the Association in New York—

A discussion took place as to the late Soiree, the numbers attending it and the Tickets taken at the Doors; an explanation having been given the subject dropped.

Several Friends came and took their Cards of Membership.

Cit Bordage nominated Cit H. Johnson as a Member of the CC.

The meeting then adjourned till October 10th.

John Weston Chairman Pro tem / j

/[74]/ **Meeting of CC October 10th 1865**

Cit Weston in the Chair, the minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed.

Cit Johnson on the Propositions of Cits Bordage and Dell was elected a Member of the CC, Cit Louis Oborski proposed by Bobczynski and Marx.

Cit Bobczynski said that as the Polish |[75]| association was at present constituted they could not well join the I.W.M.A. but they wished to take part in it and to send representatives to the CC, he also stated that they expected to be able to effect the opening of Branches in Belgium, France and Italy; he had been deputed to ask if the Association would cooperate with the Polish Association to celebrate the revolution of 29th November, the question was adjourned till the next sitting.

The position of Cit Lewis the nominal Corresponding Sec for America and his relation to the CC was then discussed and the Secretary was ordered to write to him informing him that if he did not attend to the duties of his Office that his election would be after the present month considered void.

Cit Cremer called attention to the Council Meetings and gave notice of a proposition at the next Council Meeting to adjourn the sitting for a Month—he thought we had too many movements in hand to work any of them effectively unless we met less frequently, he thought all our energies ought to be directed to establish the Workman's Advocate, for without an Organ the Association could never make any great headway; he would therefore suggest that for the next two or three Months the main energies of the Council should be directed to the thorough establishment of the Paper.

A discussion took place in reference to the Polish corresponding Sec. The Gen Sec said he did not know that Cit Holtorp had ever done anything as a Secretary, he thought his position as Polish Secretaryship existed only in name. Several Members of the Council expressed similar views after which the Council adjourned till October 17th.

J. Carter President Pro tern |

Meeting of the Central Council October 17, 1865

[[76]] Meeting of CC October 17th 1865

The President and Vice President being absent Cit Carter was voted to the Chair. The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Cit Holtorp in reference to some remarks contained in the minutes of the last meeting, explained that his reasons for not having brought any correspondence to the CC was that it had chiefly been of a private character, but if the CC thought he had neglected his duty he was quite willing to resign and to propose Cit Bobczynski in his stead who had large connections in Galicia. Cit Bobczynski thought it would be better to allow the Poles to elect their Secretary.

Cit Lubez thought Cit Holtorp had mistaken the views of the Council with reference to his having neglected his duties; the subject then dropped with the understanding that the Polish Association should recommend to the CC one of their Members as Secretary—

Cit Col. Oborski was elected a Member of the CC on the proposition of Cits Bobczynski and Marx.

The following were nominated as Members of the CC by Cit Bobczynski: Cit Zabicki, Cit Werecki, Cit Krynski.

Cit Lessner notified to the Council the resignation of Cit Bolleter as a Member of the Council.

Cit Bobczynski stated that the Polish Association had decided to celebrate the revolution of November 29 and a deputation of Poles was present to ask if the I. W. M. A. would assist in the celebration.

Cit Lubez feared it might detract from our prestige if we were so often engaging in demonstrations with regard to Poland. Cit Fox thought we ought to celebrate the Insurrection every Year, he differed from Lubez, he thought the taking up [of] the Polish cause had already done the Association good, it had brought us a Number of Poles. After a lengthy discussion the following resolution was adopted, proposed by Cits Dell and Lessner,

That a deputation be appointed to wait on the Polish League to ascertain if they are prepared to cooperate with us in the demonstration on behalf of the Polish revolution of November 29th.

Cits Dell, Odger and Eccarius were [[[77]]] appointed as the deputation—Cits Fox

Meeting of the Central Council October 17, 1865

and Marx proposed that if the celebration be determined on, that the Standing Committee shall transact all the business in connection therewith. Carried Unanimously.

The General Secretary called attention to the fact that some weeks ago he had announced his intention of resigning, he could no longer with justice to himself perform the duties; he would thank the Council to name his successor, he had asked Cit Lubez to accept the Office—Cit Lubez was sorry to be compelled to refuse, other Members of the Council were appealed to but all declined; but some of them asked Cit Cremer if he could not longer continue the Office.

Cit Cremer replied that to him it was a question of necessity, he had sacrificed so much during the past twelve months that it was for him impossible to sacrifice any more but he would consent to hold the Office till the present pecuniary liabilities were discharged—it was then agreed by resolution to adjourn for a fortnight.

The Council then adjourned to October 31st.

William Dell President /

Meeting of the Central Council October 31, 1865

/[77]/ **Tuesday Oct'r 31**

Cit. Dell was voted into the chair. The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed without alteration.

Celebration of Nov'r 29.

Cit. Dell gave a report of the meeting of the deputation to Mr Edmond Beales. Mr Beales thought all public demonstrations at the present time inopportune, but the British League for the Independence of Poland would nevertheless cooperate with the International in celebrating the insurrection of January, 23, but the League would not take part in any celebration of |[78]| the insurrection of 1830.

Cit. Fox asked to repeat what he had said at the previous meeting that the insurrection of Nov'r. 29th, 1830 was made by the Poles in favour of Europe contrary to their own former plan which led them to wait for the Revolution in Germany, reaching them and enabling them to fight out their own independence. But when the Czar wanted to invade Western Europe, the Poles being intended to act as a vanguard against France and Belgium, they turned round on Russia before their own time and acted as a shield to the former.

Le Lubez repeated a few of the things which he said at the last meeting: He thought that this Association ought to occupy itself with resolving social problems and the extinction of pauperism.

Cit. Carter said that the question was a simple one: would we help the Poles to celebrate the anniversary of the most unselfish, the most Republican movement that ever took place in Poland. On the motion of Cit Fox, it was resolved "That the question of the celebration of Nov'r. 29, stand over until we hear the wishes of our Polish members."

Meeting of the Central Council October 31, 1865

Courrier International.

Cit Fox read an article from the International Courier (French side) criticising the doings of the Conference and declaring that every political association of working men was, under present circumstances, *a conspiracy*.

The sense of the article and the spirit in which it was written were thought by the meeting to be highly inimical to the Association. /

/[98]/ On the motion of Citizen Cremer it was resolved to insert an advertisement of the International Association in the *Workman's Advocate*, on the terms of paying the price of setting. On the motion of the same it was resolved that the members of the Council should be written to and informed that henceforth they would only receive notice of the sittings of the Central Council through the *Workman's Advocate*. Citizen Morgan stated that the deputation to the bootclosers did not attend as they were detained till late at another meeting in Chelsea. Citizens Werecki and Krynski were unanimously elected members of the Central Council. Citizen Zabicki was objected by Citizen Le Lubez, and the question of this election was accordingly adjourned.

The Secretary then made a financial statement: He stated that the Association was £12 in dept; That M. Dujoncquoy of the New York Hotel was the principal creditor to the extent of £8 1s 8d, that he was pressing for payment; that the Association was also indebted to Citizen Jung and to a printer named Kelly and to Citizen Kaub. *Per contra* that many outstanding accounts were due to the Association for tickets sold at our two soirees. Citizen Cremer also thought that |[99]| money ought to be forthcoming from France, as the Central Council had sent over there so many cards and addresses and received back only £4.

The meeting then adjourned to that day fortnight. /

Meeting of the Central Council November 14, 1865

[79] **Tuesday Nov'r. 14.**

The Central Council met at 18, Greek-street, Soho, Vice-President Eccarius in the chair.

Minutes

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed without alteration.

Audit.

On the motion of Citizen Fox, Citizens Coulson and Lessner were appointed to audit the accounts of the St. Martin's Hall *soiree*.

France and Spain.

The Secretary for France stated that the report of the proceedings of the Conference drawn up by the Parisian delegates had been inserted in all the Republican and Liberal journals of Paris; and that in the *Siècle* M. Henri Martin had written a preface (see below) which he desired to read, and did read to the Council. M. Martin had joined our Association, and a sudden demand had sprung up for cards, 1,000 of which the Paris delegates demanded the immediate transmission. He also stated that the Parisian centre was in correspondence with Spanish democrats, concerning which they would communicate at length to the Council at a future date. He concluded by laying the aforesaid report on the Table.

Meeting of the Central Council November 14, 1865

Polish Celebration.

Citizen Bobczynski stated that as the British League for the Independence of Poland would join the International in celebrating the anniversary of the late insurrection of January 23rd, 1863, but would not join to celebrate that of November 29th,
5 1830, the Polish members had abandoned the idea of asking the International to observe the 29th instant. Nevertheless, the Poles in London intended to celebrate the same among themselves in a quiet manner, and they would be pleased to have the company of their friends. When the arrangements were completed notice would be given of time, place, etc., in the columns of the *Workman's Advocate*.

10 Place of meeting.

The Lessee of the premises demands £12 per ann. for the front and £10 per ann. for the back room, a month's rent in advance and a monthly notice on either side. As the Council desired ||[80]] to have as large an attendance of members to consider this question of location as possible, resolved to let the matter stand over till next
15 Tuesday. This question was accordingly made the order of the day for the next meeting. A conversation ensued about the expediency of resuming our weekly meetings and a resolution to do so was carried *nem. con.*

The Council then adjourned till Tuesday next.

The following document was ordered to be inserted in the minutes.

20 *Henri Martin's preface to the French delegates' Report.*

i We have read the narrative of what lately took place at London with profound emotion. We have a presentiment that something great has just been begun, and that St.
I Martin's Hall will be famous in history.

The elevation of the sentiments and the language of this report, the breadth of
25 view and the high moral, political and economical conceptions which have decided
t the choice of questions composing the programme for the International Congress of Working Men, which is to assemble next year, will strike with a common sympathy every friend of progress, justice, and liberty in Europe.

ï Leaving to our friends and coadjutors the task of studying it in its details, and of
30 following in its course, this new-born effort of European fraternity, we will only
fi draw attention from among- such profound social questions as "The labour of women and children in factories from the moral and sanitary point of view," "The reduction of the hours of labour; object and moral consequences of the same," "Religious ideas, their influence on the social, political, and intellectual movement,"
; 35 we will only, I say, draw attention to the ninth question laid down for the consideration of the future congress.

Γ "The necessity of annihilating Muscovite influence in Europe, by the application of

the principle of the right of nations to dispose of themselves, and the reconstruction of Poland upon a democratic and socialist basis." We will take the liberty of remarking that the expression "democratic and socialist basis," is a very simple one as regards Poland, where the *social* framework needs reconstruction quite as much as the political framework, and where this basis has been laid down by the decrees of the anonymous government of 1863, and accepted by all classes of the nation. |

[[81]] This then is the reply of true socialism, of social progress in harmony with justice and liberty, to the advances of the Communist despotism of Muscovy.

This "secret of the people of Paris," which our friend Corbon has revealed in his noble book, is becoming, then, the common secret of the peoples of Europe.

We were well persuaded that this cold, as of death, which is spread over the surface of our modern society, had not reached to the bottom, had not frozen the soul of the people, and that springs of life were not exhausted.

It was in England that the rich and powerful gave but yesterday the most melancholy examples of international egoism and of indifference to the lofty duties, to the grand interests of European society.

It is, indeed, in Britain that, for the honour of the British people, these noble reprisals of Young Europe ought to commence; it is thither these clasped hands must go and plant the flag of the fraternity of peoples.

"Let those who have faith march forward, and soon the sceptics will run after them."*

Our ears had grown unused to such words; they thrill us to the depths of our heart.

Henri Martin. /

* Quoted from the concluding sentence of the Delegates' Report.

/[81]/ **Minutes. Tuesday, Nov'r. 21.**

Citizen Shaw in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed without alteration.

5 A letter dated Nov'r. 7 was read from the Secretary of the Council of the Cordwainers' Association asking for some rules and addresses to be forwarded to Branch Societies at Birmingham.

10 It was ordered that Citizen Fox should forward 24 copies to Thos. Hallam of No 3 Second Court, Latimer St., Birmingham for distribution among the four Branch Societies in that town; also that this remittance should be accompanied by a letter explaining the cause of the delay which had arisen in responding to the appeal.

15 The Secretary for Germany stated that, in view of the |[82]| sudden demand for cards that had arisen at Paris, he and the Sec. for Switzerland had guaranteed the printer for the cost of preparing 2,000 cards, of which number 1,000 should be sent to Paris, 500 reserved for the French Provinces and 100 reserved for Germany. He desired the sanction of the Council to this arrangement.

It was moved by Cit. Morgan and seconded by Wheeler and carried *nem. con.*, "that we sanction the arrangement made by Cits. Marx and Jung with the Printer of the cards and that the allotment of them be as proposed by Cit. Marx."

General Report.

20 Cit. Marx stated that on his proposition it had been resolved at the Conference that a Report should be drawn up of the transactions of the Association on the first year of its existence. He |[83]| now advised that the resolution for preparing such Report be rescinded on two grounds: (1) because the French delegates had already published a Report, (2) that its publication at the present moment was not opportune and
25 should be delayed until May. He had, however, communicated copies of the resolutions and programme to our Correspondents in Belgium and to Cit. Jung.

The resolution for drawing up a Report was accordingly rescinded.

The Minute Book of the Provisional Central Council of the I.W.M.A.

Propaganda in Germany.

The Sec. for Germany said he was glad to be able to report that our Association was at length making headway in Germany, where it had obstacles to overcome greater than those which existed in France. Steps were being taken to form [[84]] branches in Berlin, Mayence and Leipsic by men for whom the speaker could vouch. These Societies would probably be represented at the Geneva Congress. 5

New Correspondents.

Cit. Marx proposed that Dr. Coullery of Chaux-de-Fonds in the Canton of Neuchatel be nominated Correspondent of this Association and receive a letter of credence. This proposition was carried *nem. con.* 10

The Sec. for France proposed that Léon Toutain of Condé-sur-Noireau, in the department of Calvados, be appointed Correspondent. Resolved accordingly.

Letter from Lyons.

The Sec. for France read a letter from our correspondent at Lyons stating that he held 200 francs at our disposal and would shortly transmit same, also [[85]] desiring to know if the report of the Paris delegates was accurate in every respect or "Cooked" so as not to offend the Government, also thanking the Council for the transmission of the *Courrier International* and desiring the largest possible amount of information concerning the doings of the Central Council. 15

Location. 20

The Council agreed with Mr. Corbett to take the back room at 18 Greek St., Soho, for Tuesday nights at 4s. a week payable in advance, with a month's notice on either side.

Celebration of the 29th Nov'r.

On the motion of Cits Fox and Wheeler it was resolved that should the Poles in London carry out their project of celebrating this event by a dinner, those members of the Council who should attend the same be authorised to do so as a deputation from the Central Council. 25

The Council then adjourned. |

j[86] **Minutes. Tuesday Nov'r. 28.**

President Odger in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed without alteration.

The Treasurership.

Cit. Dell stated that he and Cit. Wheeler had spoken together about the Treasurership which the latter was willing to resume and the former desirous of resigning in consequence of the distance of his abode from town. He stated that Wheeler's office was in a central place near the Strand and recommended the transference of the office. It was moved by Howell and seconded by Dell that Wheeler resume the office of Treasurer of the Association. Carried *nem. con.* \

I[87] ISwitzerland.

In the regretted absence of the Sec. for Switzerland, Cit. Marx stated that Cit. J. Ph. Becker had issued a proclamation to the German Swiss, concerning the Association, portions of which he thought should be translated and published in our report. In it it was announced that the Branch Societies in Switzerland were about to issue a paper in German and French which would be the organ of the Association in that country.

The tulle question.

The Secretary for France stated that it would have a good effect on the Lyonnese if any member of the Council could procure the desired information concerning the wages earned by English operatives in this branch of manufacture. |

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I[88]preparations for Congress.

Cit. Fox gave notice that he intended to prepare, against the forthcoming Congress, a paper on the 9th question of the programme, relating to Poland, which would address itself to the merits of the question and to the necessity of its retention as one of the aims of the Association. He intended to get it translated into French and hoped to lay it in English before the Central Council by the first Tuesday in April.

The Council then adjourned. |

Minutes

President ^{open the door} Tuesday Nov 28
The minutes of the previous meeting were read
unfirmed without alteration.

The Treasurership

Chas. Bell stated that he + Ed. Wheeler had spoken
to the ^{body} about the Treasurership which the latter
was willing to assume & the former deserv-
ing in consequence of the distance he
had from town. He stated that Wheeler's office was
a central office place near the frame and was
recommended the Transference of the office & was
seconded by Howell & seconded by Bell that the
Wheeler resume the office of Treasurer of the Association
unfirmed nem con.

The Minute Book of the Provisional Central Council
of the International Working Men's Association
October 5, 1864 to August 28, 1866. Seite [86].
Handschrift von Peter Fox

[[89]] Dec'r. 19, 1865.

Vice-President Eccarius took the Chair.

The minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Minute Book.

Cit. Fox brought before the Council the unregistered state of the records of our three last meetings and begged that the Council would take action therein.

After some conversation Cit. Dell moved, Lessner seconded and carried nem. con.,

"That Cit. Fox address a letter to the late Secretary requesting him to leave with Mr. Corbett the Minute Book of the Meetings of the Central Council."

Change of location.

President Odger stated that a room could be had in Bouverie St. for £10 per annum, that its expenses might be shared with the *Workman's Advocate* Company. A general feeling was expressed that it was highly desirable that the Association should possess a continuously accessible location. Citizen Dell was appointed to make the necessary arrangements with the *Industrial Newspaper* Company for taking this room.

Secretaryship and the Cards.

In consequence of the vacancy of the office of General Secretary to the Association and the difficulty of getting the cards of membership stamped which had arisen therefrom, it was resolved on the motion of Citizen Marx that henceforth the Continental Secretaries would stamp their own]][90]] cards, that the said cards should not be numbered and that the said Secretaries should give receipts only for the gross number of the cards they received.

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Cit. Fox repeated the assurance he had formerly given that it would be impossible for him to accept the office of Secretary. Cit. Dell then mentioned the name of a friend of his who, he thought, would be willing to undertake the office. It was accordingly agreed to adjourn the question of electing a Secretary until Dell had spoken with his friend.

Continental Correspondence.

Cit. Marx stated that Societies in Basle and Zurich had joined the Association. Also a Benefit and a Cooperative Society connected with the Association had been formed whose seat was in Geneva.

Cit Dupont read a letter from our correspondent at Condé-sur-Noireau, Calvados, dated Dec'r. 6, complaining that he had not received any cards. Also one from Cits Limousin and Fribourg giving reasons why they had not sent money to London for the cards and asking that full confidence and entire liberty be accorded to them until the Congress.

The Propaganda.

Cit. Jung made an appeal to the British members *to be up* and doing to collect money for the Congress and declared that the *dolce far niente* of the British members paralysed his efforts among his own countrymen in London and Switzerland. |

[[91]] President Odger observed that working men's spare political energies were absorbed in the agitation for Manhood Suffrage and the Ballot. Cit. Fox replied 2
that the reawakening of political life among the London masses was a symptom of favourable augury for the Association. He was ready to address a Trade's Society once-a-week for the purpose of collecting money for the Congress. Cit. Morgan recommended that Addresses should be furnished to the Trades' Societies before any deputation was heard, in order that those bodies might be forewarned and have the 25
subject in their programme for the evening.

Finally Cit. Odger undertook to prepare a list of the Societies which it would be most advisable to apply to.

Standing Committee.

Cit. Jung moved that the Standing Committee resume its sittings, but on the State- 30
ment of the Chairman that this was a point to be settled by the Standing Committee itself, the mover withdrew his motion./

Meeting of the Central Council December 26, 1865

/[91]/ Dec'r. 26. Boxing night!

Present Cits Shaw, Marx, Jung, Cremer, Fox, Le Lubez and a friend introduced by the last named as a member of the newly formed French branch of the Association. Cit. Shaw was appointed Chairman.

5 The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed, a slight alteration being made in the last paragraph of the same. |

[[92]] The numbering of the Cards.

Cit. Cremer thought that the Council should reconsider their resolution of Dec'r. 19, in reference to the non-numbering of the cards. He argued that the num-
10 ber was a protection against fraud. New cards should be issued Every year with fresh numbers.

After some discussion Le Lubez moved and Marx seconded that the Cards just obtained from the printer be numbered by the "numerical printing machine." Cit. Cremer having undertaken to look after that matter on the following day, the mo-
15 tion was carried unanimously.

Stamping of Cards.

Cremer thought the stamps should be fixed at the new room in Bouverie St. where any correspondent could use it. That was a better arrangement than having it in anybody's private dwelling. He made a motion that it be fixed in Bouverie St. Sec-
20 onded by Jung and carried unanimously.

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Room in Bouverie Street.

Cremer reported that the Industrial Newspaper Company had taken a room in Bouverie St. at the rent of **£10** per annum and was willing to admit the Association as a co-tenant and sub-tenant at the rent of **£5** per annum. Cremer proposed that we close with this offer. This proposition was carried unanimously. |

I [93] I Audit of Accounts.

Cremer introduced the subject of the audit of our accounts. He recommended that the next audit include down to the **1st Jan. 1866**. A motion to this effect was made and carried.

Raising of Funds for the Congress.

Fox thought that the remarks of the Sec. for Switzerland at our last meeting ought to be heeded. He had accordingly drawn up an Appeal to the Workingmen of Great Britain which he proposed to issue in the name of the British members of the Central Council and which should be printed and sent round to the Trades' Societies before receiving a deputation from the Council. He then read the Address.

Cremer then delivered his opinions on the mode of raising the funds required and on the Address. He pledged himself to exert his influence to raise them. An address should be printed in circular form and sent to the Trades' Societies in sufficient numbers to allow of their being delivered to every individual member. An address merely sent to the Chairman would not reach or act upon the members. Also subscription lists should be printed with a notification that the receipts would be acknowledged in the *Workman's Advocate*. The address of Fox was referred to the Standing Committee which appointed Sunday at **2.30 p.m.** in Cleveland Hall Coffee-Room to assemble. |

I [94] I Journal de Verviers.

Cit. Le Lubez laid on the table the first of a projected series of attacks on the policy of the Central Council published in the Journal de Verviers (Belgium).

Cit Marx made some observations in defence of the Council.

Organ of the Association in French Switzerland.

The Sec. for Switzerland laid on the table a copy of **NQ 1** of the "Journal de l'Association internationale des travailleurs pour la Suisse romande." /

/[94]/ 1866. (January 2.)

President Odger in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

State prisoners in Ireland.

5 Fox read from the "Cork Daily Herald" the Appeal of Mrs. O'Donovan Rossa and Mrs. Clarke Luby to the women of Ireland for funds for the families of the State prisoners now or lately in Ireland and also evidence from the Dublin *Irishman* that collections were |[95]| being made for this purpose in the manufacturing towns of the North of England. He remarked on the liberty granted by the British Govern-
10 ment to Irishwomen, who were allowed to proclaim themselves Fenians without being prosecuted. He finished by moving that the Appeal be sent to the *Workman's Advocate* by the Central Council with a request for its publication. This motion was seconded by Weston, who thought Ireland had been as much oppressed as any of the nations on the Continent with which Englishmen were wont to sympathise and,
15 although he was something of a moral force man, yet he was beginning to think that unless moral force had some physical force in the background, it was "perfect weakness." Motion carried unanimously.

Organ for French Switzerland.

Fox gave a summary of the contents of the Journal of the International Association
20 for Romance Switzerland.

Dell said that it reflected great credit on the workingmen of Geneva who had got up such a creditable performance in a small town and unaided by the middle class. Such facts were very encouraging. He moved that "the Central Council having read the first number of the said Journal express their high approbation of its character
25 and contents and beg to accord to the Conductors their best wishes for its permanent success."

The above motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

The Minute Book of the Provisional Central Council of the I.W.M.A.

Echo de Verviers and proposed Constitution.

Le Lubez laid upon the table two copies of the [[96]] *Echo de Verviers*, one of which contained the conclusion of the attack on the Central Council mentioned in the minutes of the last meeting; the other contained a copy of the proposed Constitution of the Association which would be submitted by the First Branch of the Association in London to the Central Council and possibly afterwards to the Geneva Congress. Le Lubez observed that he did not represent the First Branch on any official capacity, but he was a member of the same. The Branch thought that any body who came to the Congress with well digested ideas and a cut and dried plan would have a great advantage over those who went there in a fog or like the foolish virgins of the Parable, without oil in their lamps. 5 10'

The Constitution was then read by Fox in English but the translator excused himself from reading the second part of the attack as the first part was not then in the room.

Appeal for Funds to the British Democracy.

15

Fox stated that the Standing Committee had met on Sunday afternoon and had considered his proposed Appeal; that Cremer had then stated that he thought he could produce one which if not so well composed would tell better with the working classes and obtain more funds; that he would produce an appeal on Tuesday. Under those circumstances the Committee agreed to report both appeals to the Council, leaving the larger body to select the one best suited to the occasion. The Standing Committee also recommended the two following methods of agitating the working classes for the aforesaid object, viz, 1. That [[97]] Subscription sheets should be got up and distributed, in which it would be stated that all monies would be acknowledged, in the *Workman's Advocate*. (2.) That whichever appeal be accepted, it be circulated with the Address and mies of the Association and in sufficient numbers to reach individual members of the Societies. That as there were not sufficient numbers of the Address in print to meet this exigency, it would be necessary to ask the Directors of the *Workman's Advocate* to reprint it in that Journal and so bring out a new edition. 20 25 30;

Fox and Cremer then read their respective appeals. Jung demanded that the Council should first decide about the reprinting of the Address. Howell moved and Jung seconded that the Directors be requested to reprint the Address of the Association. This motion was carried after discussion, with one dissentient. 1

A general discussion then ensued on Cremer's and Fox's Appeal. Eventually Cremer's was preferred by a vote of 6 against 5 (one neutral). 3' ;

It was then unanimously voted that Fox be requested to recast his Appeal in the shape of a leader with certain suggested additions for publication in the *Workman's Advocate*. í

Meeting of the Central Council January 2, 1866

Change of location.

Cremer reported that the room in 18 Bouverie St. was ready for the reception of the Council. He moved that we meet there next week. The Chairman then went down to Mr. Corbett to see if he required a week's notice. On his return he stated that Mr. Corbett did not require any notice. Cremer's motion was ||[98]] then carried and Fox was directed to call on Mr. Corbett during the ensuing week and bring the account to the next meeting of the Council. /

Meeting of the Central Council January 9, 1866

/[99]/ Jan'ry 9, 1866.

President Odger in the Chair.

Minutes read and, after an alteration demanded by Le Lubez, confirmed.

Proposal of members.

Jung proposed and Dupont seconded the preliminary nomination of Citizens 5
Charles Longuet and Crespelle as members of the Central Council.

Correspondence.

A letter from our correspondent at Condé-sur-Noireau was read complaining that
through non-payment of postage his cards were stopped in the English Post Office.

Belgium.

10

An extract was read from the *Tribune du Peuple* stating that the "Society of the Peo-
ple" and the Brussels section of the International Workingmen's Association had
amalgamated, so that the *Tribune* had, in fact, become an organ of the Association.

Vesinier's attack in the *Echo de Verviers*.

Marx thought that the Constitution published in the *Echo de Verviers* as emanating 15
from the French branch in London ought to have been laid before the Council be-
fore publication. He then alluded to the attack which he said was written by Citizen
Vésinier.

Jung denounced the attack as an infamous one and exposed some of its misstate-
ments. Such a manifesto ought to have been signed. | 20

Meeting of the Central Council January 9, 1866

[[100]] He moved that Vésinier retract these falsities or be expelled from the Association. Le Lubez admitted that Vésinier was the author of the attack.

Marx took occasion to defend our Paris Correspondents from the aspersions made upon them. They had left with the Council all their accounts and correspondence and had behaved in the most honourable manner.

Dupont thought the Council could not overlook the matter for sake of its own dignity. He seconded Jung's motion.

Bobczynski said the Council must not condemn a man unheard. Let him be invited to explain his attack before proceeding to extremities. Marx objected to the word "retraction." Vésinier should be called upon to substantiate or to make his exit.

Le Lubez demands that the articles impeached be read in English.

Fox accordingly read both articles in French and English. Odger stated that they were a tirade of abuse. Weston was disposed to admit that Vésinier was justified in blaming the remissness of the Central Council in not having discussed a single social question. The Council had had too many irons in the fire. That was its best excuse. Jung then withdrew his motion and Marx moved and Jung seconded that Vésinier be called upon to substantiate his accusation or, failing to do so, be expelled.

Le Lubez moved as an amendment that the subject be referred to a Committee of three to conduct a correspondence with Vésinier. He objected to the harsh measure of expulsion. This amendment was not seconded. |

[[101]] The motion of Marx was carried with one dissentient and one neutral.

Polish Insurrection of Jan 22.

Bobczynski stated that the Poles were intending to celebrate this event. He invited the cooperation of the Council. The Council having previously resolved to celebrate this event, the arrangements were referred to the Standing Committee.

Secretaryship.

Cremer stated that the Appeal for Funds which the Council had resolved to emit must be sent out by somebody. Anxious to forward this business, he would resume the Secretaryship until after the Congress. As his resignation had never been accepted and as no one had manifested any disposition to accept the office, he presumed no further formality would be necessary.

The Council then adjourned. /

/[101]/ Meeting of CC January 16 1866

VP Eccarius in the Chair.

The minutes of the former Meeting read and confirmed.

Citizens Longuet and Crespelle were nominated members of the CC.

Marx communicated that Fox had received a letter from Mrs O'Donovan Rossa thanking him for his articles on Fenianism in the Workman's Advocate and the reprint in the same paper of the ladies' appeal for the support of the convicted Fenians.

Marx proposed the appointing of Longuet in his place as the Corresponding Secretary of Belgium, seconded by Jung. Carried Unanimously. Jung read a letter of Möns Dujoncquoy [[102]] (Hotel New York) requesting the payment of 7£ 17s due to him since the September conference.

Jung proposed Lessner seconded That Dupont should be empowered to tell Dujoncquoy—that on Wednesday next he should receive an instalment and a definite answer. Carried Unanimously.

Jung read a letter from Talbot (Caen) enclosing one pound in payment for 20 Cards—the letter stated that the propaganda is proceeding actively in different towns of the departments of Calvados, Ome and Manche.

Wheeler proposed Jung seconded That notice be given to every member of the Association in this country that failing to pay his Contribution by the 13th February his name will be struck out of the lists of Members. Carried Unanimously.

Werecki explained the absence of the Poles at the Standing Committee on Monday; they had a Meeting and got the necessary money together. After some discussion the public meeting in commemoration of the last Polish insurrection was settled for Monday 22 January in St Martin's Hall—

Cremer read an appeal to the British Members of the Association,

On the motion of Wheeler seconded by Marx it was unanimously agreed

1st That the appeal ought to appear with the signatures of such British members of the CC as took part in its proceedings and were sufficiently known to Cremer as men not likely to repudiate their names being used,

2nd That subscription sheets ought to be printed,

3rd That the money sent was to be directed to 18 Bouverie St.

The Council then adjourned.

President |

[[103]] Meeting of the CC January 23 1866

Odger in the Chair.

The previous Minutes read and confirmed.

The bill for the New York Hotel expenses was brought forward and discussed.

5 Dell agreed to advance two pounds towards paying an instalment which, with 1£ 10s held by Wheeler, Cremer was ordered to pay.

Marx read a letter from the Leipsic Correspondent Liebknecht, they had formed a small branch there, he also referred to a visit he had recently received from the Editor of the Social Democrat,

10 Marx also read Letter from De Paepe explaining his long silence, he was sorry
« they had not increased in numbers but they had now confederated with the People and had made the Tribune of the People their Organ; they wished to exchange with the "Workman's Advocate."

Dupont read letter from Neufchâteau from correspondent there Lefebvre. Jung
15 also read extract from "Forerunner" [and] another Paper "The Voice of the Future" published in the French language in Chaux de Fonds; in Basle they had also formed two branches of the Association and were expecting a number of branches to join in Germany, they had read in a French Paper that in Paris they had made 1,000 Adherents in last month,

20 Cremer called attention to the fact that Coraz who had some time since sailed for New York had been entrusted with 400 Cards of Membership but no returns had been received—Dupont stated he expected soon to hear from New York.

Dell nominated John Hales a Member of the CC.

Dell thought that instead of issuing fresh cards, if the Contribution was entered
: 25 on the back of last year's card and signed by the Financial Secretary that would be | [[104]] sufficient, (Agreed to).

Weston thought the CC ought to begin to discuss the principles contained in the programme of the Congress,

Marx agreed but thought we ought first decide the mode in which they ought to
' 30 be discussed—he proposed,

"That the general purposes and ruling principles of the Association as laid down in the address and statutes be first defined before entering upon the discussion of

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the questions proposed by the Conference." Weston seconded, Eccarius replied to Weston urging the necessity for Political Agitation now, they could not push two ways or they would succeed in neither, on the Continent they would not talk or write Politics so they had nothing to interest them but Social and Religious questions but here political agitation was a primary necessity.

The Resolution was Carried Unanimously.

The Council then adjourned.

ROBERT SHAW President/

Meeting of the Central Council January 30, 1866

/[104]/ Meeting of CC Jan'y 30th

Shaw in the Chair.

The Minutes of the former Meeting were read and confirmed.

Cremer reported that he had paid Cit Dujoncquoy £3.10.0 as a part of the Hotel bill owing him.

Dupont read a Letter from Talbot of Caen,

Jung read a Letter which he had drawn up in reply to Cit Vesinier's attack on the Association, referred to Standing Committee. Cremer called attention to the fact that a Meeting of London Trades Delegates were about to assemble to consider the question of Boards of Arbitration for the settlement of disputes between employers and employed. In the last session of parliament Lord St Leonards had given notice of a bill for that purpose, and it was |[105]| to consider the provisions of that bill that the Meeting were about to assemble.

In France there had been for years in active operation Boards of Arbitration and he thought if the Council were to appoint Delegates to attend that Meeting that valuable information would be given to that Meeting as to the Working of the French councils.

Citizens Dupont and Jung were elected to attend the Trades Delegates Meeting. The Council then adjourned.

R. SHAW President Pro tern/

Meeting of the Central Council February 6, 1866

/[105]/ **Meeting of Central Council Feb'ry 6th**

Citizen Shaw in the Chair, Citizen Fox Secretary pro tem.

The Secretary read a Letter from the "Reform League" requesting the Council to send a Deputation to the forthcoming Conference. The appointment of a Deputation was postponed until the next Meeting of the Council.

Citizen Dupont read a Letter from Lyons, containing amongst other information the following: That the proceeds from the sale of 250 cards had been disbursed in the following manner viz. £1.19.0 for Printing, 2/8 for Postage, a Check sent to the Central Council for £8.0.0 leaving the sum of 1/8 to stand to the credit of the Branch.

Citizen Jung read extracts from the 2nd Number of the International Journal published in Geneva containing the Address and Rules of the Association for the first time in the French Language; also, that 54 new members had joined the Branch up to the 3rd Jan'y, |[106]| that The members of the Society there had tendered for, and obtained the contract for certain Parish works to the amount of, from £800 to 1,000; also that the members of the Society had call'd a Public Meeting to review the late revision of the Federal Constitution.

Citizen Jung read from the Bulletin of the Paris Journal, L'Association, that in December last a congress of working men (representing 40 corporations) was held at Barcelona, They were unanimous in favour of a federal union between their members, The centre of the Union will be in Barcelona. The newspaper El *Obrero* was appointed the Official organ of the Association.

It was moved by Cit. Jung and seconded by Cit. Dupont that correspondence be opened with the President of the Barcelona Congress, Citizen Dupont was invited and undertook to take upon himself this labor.

Cit Marx being absent from illness Cit Weston as the seconder of the motion for the discussion on the objects of the Association said he was unwilling to open the discussion in the absence of the mover and accordingly proposed that the discussion be deferred until Cit Marx be able to attend,

A motion to that effect was carried unanimously.

Meeting of the Central Council February 6, 1866

Answer to Cit Vésinier

Cit Weston moved and Carter seconded that whereas the standing Committee had not met to revise Jung's answer to Vésinier and as it was stated there was no immediate probability of their assembling for that purpose Jung's answer be forthwith transmitted to the Echo de Verviers. Carried Unanimously. The Council then adjourned.

JOHN GEORGE ECCARIUS, Vice President |

Meeting of the Central Council February 13, 1866

[[107]] Meeting of the CC Feb'ry 13 1866

VP Eccarius in the Chair.

The Minutes of the former meeting were read and confirmed.

First question: The appointment of Delegates to the forthcoming Reform Conference. Cremer proposed and Weston seconded That six Delegates be elected; a long discussion took place as to the policy to be pursued at the Conference.

Citizens Shaw, Fox, Carter, Williams, Jung, Lessner, were elected as Delegates to attend the Conference—

Cit Dupont nominated Cit Ortiga as a Member of the CC.

Jung read a Letter from Duhamel our Lisieux Correspondent stating they were not making much progress as they—the Members—had been threatened by their employers with being discharged if they belonged to the Association. Duhamel replied That his opinions were those of the Association and he should persevere, he had also been threatened by the local Attorney-General and the Justice of the peace, to them he gave the same answer as he did to employers. They had no money at present but he hoped soon to be able to send some.

Jung gave report of his and Cit Dupont's Delegation to the Trades Meeting at the Bell Inn, Old Bailey, he believed they had succeeded in doing good and making propaganda for the Association,

Cremer confirmed Cit Jung's statement as to the good impression which Cit Dupont and Jung had produced at the Meeting—the same testimony was borne by Cits Fox and Eccarius.

Lessner and Fox proposed That Cits Dupont and Jung be requested to attend the adjourned Meeting to be held on Wednesday the 21st Feb'ry. Carried Unanimously. The Council then adjourned.

JOHN GEORGE ECCARIUS, Vice President!

Meeting of the Central Council February 20, 1866

[[108]] Meeting of CC February 20 1866

VP Eccarius in the Chair.

The Minutes of the former meeting were read and confirmed,

Cit Fox brought under notice the treatment of the Irish state prisoners in Pentonville Prison. Pope Hennessy had recently called attention to the matter in a Letter which appeared in the Pall Mall Gazette and the Lancet had also denounced the system as tending to insanity, he thought that a Deputation ought to wait on Sir G. Grey for the purpose of procuring a better mode of treatment for these unfortunate men,

Cit Fox read a Letter from Mrs O'Donovan Rossa thanking Cit Fox for his exertions on behalf of Irish liberty,

A long discussion took place on the question taken part in by Citizens Lubez, Bordage, Cremer, Howell, Weston, Eccarius and Dell, Citizen Fox having replied to all objectors, proposed the following resolution,

That Sir George Grey be asked to receive a deputation from this Council to request him to mitigate the treatment now inflicted on the Irish State Prisoners in Pentonville Prison,

Cit Weston seconded the resolution which was Carried Unanimously,

Cit Howell proposed Cit Lessner seconded

That Members of the CC be written to informing them that their subscriptions for 1866 are due and requesting them to pay immediately. Carried Unanimously.

Election of Ortiga

Cit Dupont proposed and Cit Jung seconded That Cit Ortiga be elected a Member of the Central Council. Carried unanimously.

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Citizen Kaub's Loan

Cit Dell proposed Cremer seconded That Kaub's loan to the Council be paid. Carried Unanimously.

Auditing the Accounts

Cit Shaw proposed Cit Jung seconded That the accounts be audited forthwith. Carried Unanimously.

The Council then adjourned.

Confirmed as amended.

P. Fox I

Meeting of the Central Council February 27, 1866

[[109]] Tuesday Feb. 27.

Citizen Shaw in the Chair. The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed.

Cit. Dupont proposed Cit. Lafargue as a member of the Central Council.

Cit. Longuet read a letter from our Paris correspondents in reply to Vesinier's charge of Buonapartism, published in the *Espiègle* of Brussels.

Cit. Jung brought forward a letter from Gen. Paz in reply to Marshal Forey's observations in the French Senate which had been published in the *Morning Advertiser* and desired the Council to send it to the *Commonwealth* with a request that it be republished. Cit. Fox objected and thought it best simply to submit it to the Editor's discretion without recommendation of any kind. This suggestion was adopted and a letter was written to the Editor of the *Commonwealth* enclosing a copy of Paz's letter. A long conversation on the affairs of Mexico then ensued and the Council then adjourned. /

/[109]/ **Tuesday, March 6.**

President Odger in the chair.

Cremer announced the receipt of a letter from Sir George Grey refusing to receive a deputation from this Association anent the treatment of the Irish State prisoners. 5

Fox stated that he had drawn up a statement of the arguments and facts which he read and proposed that it be signed by the President and sent for publication to the Editor of the Commonwealth. Lessner seconded the same. Carried unanimously.

Cit. Dupont proposed, Jung seconded the election of Cit. Lafargue, one of the expelled students of Paris |[110]| as a member of the Central Council. He was elected 10 unanimously. Fox then made a speech in French informing of his election and of the unwonted pleasure the Council had in receiving him among them. Cit. Lafargue replied in suitable terms.

Cit. Louis Wolff then brought before the Council the article written by Jung in ; the name of the Central Council and published in the *Echo de Verviers*. He com- 15 plained of the introduction of his name into the controversy as Vésinier had not mentioned it, and of the statement that he and his Italian friends did not enjoy the confidence of the workingmen of Italy. It was false to say he had ever been at Na- \ pies. He further alleged that there were four falsehoods concerning Mazzini, viz, i that the *règlements* were not drawn up by him, that he did not know of Marx's ad- 20 dress and, lastly, that had he known of it he would have opposed its adoption. Fourthly that Mazzini did not oppose the translation of the Address but only ob- ; jected to certain passages therein amounting in all to about 9 or 10 words. ;

Cit. Jung defended his letter and said that the Italian Socialists had no confi- 25 dence in Wolff & Co.

Wolff rejoined that the word "Socialist" was nowhere used and that there were no j Socialists in Italy in the French sense of the word. After a discussion in which Cits. Cremer, Odger, Weston, Howell, Le Lubez, Fox, and Eccarius took part, the follow- t ing resolution was passed (with two dissentients):

"The offensive expressions with regard to an eminent writer of Latin race written "i in the name of the Central Council in reply to Vésinier's attack on the |[111]| Association and published in the *'Echo de Verviers,'* having arisen through a misunder-

Meeting of the Central Council March 6, 1866

standing, the Central Council willingly withdraws such expressions and also any expressions of similar character in relation to Cit. Wolff and his friends."

On the motion of Cit. Fox it was ordered that not less than 3,000 copies of the Address for funds be printed.

The Council then adjourned to the 13th./

Meeting of the Central Council March 13, 1866

/[111]/ Central Council Meeting March 13 1866

Cit Eccarius in the Chair.

The reading of the minutes of the previous meeting was postponed by common consent.

The Reform Conference 5

Cit Fox gave a report of the International Association's deputation to the Reform Conference so far as he and Cit Shaw were concerned.

Eccarius confirmed the accuracy of the same.

Switzerland

Cit Jung made a report of the doings in that Country. 10

France

Cit Dupont asked for Credentials for some of his correspondents in France.

Cit Marx, Wolff and Mazzini

Cit Marx made a speech in reference to the proceedings at the previous meetings, He said it was not true as Major Wolff had stated that Mazzini had written our Statutes. He (Marx) wrote them after discussion in Committee—several draughts were discussed Wolffs draught *among* the rest. On two points they were quite distinguished from each other. Marx spoke of **Capital oppressing Labour**. Wolff wanted centralisation and understood by Working Men's Associations only Benefit Societies. Mazzini's statutes were printed at the time of the Conference in Naples.

Meeting of the Central Council March 13, 1866

It could hardly be true that Mazzini had seen Marx' address before it was printed as it was in Marx' pocket, unless Mazzini saw it after it had been put in Le Lubez' hands and before it had been taken to the *Bee-Hive*—Again Mazzini wrote to Brussels to Fontaine a letter which was to be communicated to the Belgian Societies, in which he warned them against Marx' Socialist views, this was stated by De Paepe at the Conference.

Major Wolff was not a member of the Council. Major Wolff ought to have sent a letter informing the Council that he intended to prefer his complaint. He [Marx] protested against the proceedings at the last meeting in the name of himself and the other Continental Secretaries—he desired a note of this to be taken as it might be brought before the Congress at Geneva. Le Lubez said there were two documents of which [one] was not exclusively Marx's. Something was taken from Mazzini's manuscript. He explained how Vesinier's mistake arose, he insisted that Major Wolff was a delegate of the Italian Society at our Board.

Dupont protested against the attitude of the Central Council and against its resolution, he admitted the error of fact in Jung's letter about Major Wolff being at Naples.

Citizen Orsini asserted that there were socialists in Italy and that Mazzini held a reactionary attitude towards Science. Charles Cattaneo and Ferrari were Socialists. Fox made a speech in which he stated that he was not a worshipper of Mazzini as a European leader, neither did he think that the majority of the British members had any decided leanings in that direction.

The meeting then adjourned. |

Meeting of the Central Council March 20, 1866

[[113]] Council Meeting, March 20th 1866

Citizen Eccarius in the Chair. On the motion [of] Citizen Dell, seconded by Citizen Buckley—

Citizen Shaw was elected pro tem the Secretary.

The President having stated that the minutes of the last meeting could not be read in consequence of Citizen Fox being engaged at the "Reform League."

Citizen Jung said, he was sorry the minutes of the last meeting could not be read, because Citizen Orsini who was about to start for America was anxious that what he had said regarding Mazzini should not be misconstrued as he had the greatest respect for Mazzini. 10

Citizen Jung then said, that Citizen Orsini would leave Letters of introduction to the leading Socialists of Spain, Portugal and Italy; also that he had recommended a friend who, when he became a member of the Council would act as Secretary for Italy.

Citizen Dell, the Financial Secretary, presented Citizen Orsini with 24 Books of 15 the Laws of the Association for him to distribute on his travels.

Citizen Jung read extracts from Swiss Correspondence and expressed a strong desire that the Standing Committee should resume its weekly sittings.

Citizen Buckley was then appointed to wait upon Citizen Cremer to obtain the proof copy of the Council's appeal to the Societies and to forward the same to the 20 Printer.

The Meeting then adjourned to March 27th. |

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[[114]] Council Meeting March 27th/66

Citizen Eccarius in the Chair, Citizen Shaw Secretary pro tern. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed on the Motion of Citizen Jung seconded by Citizen Lessner.

Citizen Buckley having reported that he had not been able since the last meeting to get the proof sheet of the Council's appeal from Citizen Cremer.

It was proposed by Citizen Jung and seconded by Citizen Lessner: That President Eccarius be empowered to get 5,000 Copies of the Appeal printed as soon as possible—Carried—

Citizen Dupont read a Letter from Lyons asking for 100 Cards, and complaining at not having received per return of Post an answer to a Letter sent to him on the 15th of March, which Letter he (Citizen Dupont) had not received.

Citizen Jung read extracts from the German Journal of the Association as follows, That during the month of February 67 new Members had joined the Geneva section of the Association, That New Branches had been formed in the following places, Viz 1 in Pinneberg (Schleswig-Holstein), 1 in Solingen (Rhenish Prussia), 6 in Wüste-Giersdorf (Prussian Silesia), 1 in Aubonne (Swiss Land), 2 in Peterswaldau, 2 in Langenbielau, 1 in Emsdorf, the last 5 being situated in the Weaving districts of Silesia.

The Tailors' Strike was then introduced by Citizen Hansen, who said that Mr Poole of Savile Row intended to get men from the Continent to supplant those on Strike. It was then proposed by Citizen Shaw and seconded by Citizen Lucraft, That the Continental Secretaries be instructed to inform [[115]] their respective Correspondents, with a view to keep Continental Workmen away from London during the Struggle now pending.

Citizens William Ayres and William Gardner paid 1/2 each for Rules and Cards for 1866.

Citizen Dupont proposed and Citizen Jung seconded That Citizen Lafargue be appointed Secretary for Spain.

The sum of 6d was paid to President Eccarius to pay the postage of Letters to Germany on the Tailors' Strike.

Citizen Le Lubez wished to know what had been done on the Resolution of the

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Council on the 6th March which authorized the withdrawal of certain statements published by the Council in the "Echo de Verviers." The President said in answer, That the Council had on the following meeting repudiated the whole affair as being irregular and that the matter would be brought before the Council again shortly.

The Meeting then adjourned to April 3rd. /

/[115]/ Central Council Meeting April 3^d

Citizen Eccarius in the Chair, Citizen Shaw Secretary pro tem. The minutes of the previous meeting having been read and slightly altered were confirmed.

The President then said, that before acting on the Resolution of the Council with
5 respect to the Tailors' Strike he had waited on the Tailors' Executive Committee who informed him that they had written to Germany. Consequently he considered that there was no necessity for him to proceed any further in the matter.

Citizen Jung said, that since the last meeting |[116]| he had had an interview
10 with the Tailors' Executive Committee and the result was an expression of kind feeling towards the Association and a promise to join it.

Citizen Dupont read a Letter from Correspondent De Marckel of Granville in Department of Manche, stating that he had enroll'd 30 members and, that he wished to have Citizen Madiot appointed as Correspondent for the Town Rennes in the Department of Ille et Vilaine.

15 It was then proposed by Citizen Dupont and seconded by Citizen Jung, that Citizen Madiot be appointed Correspondent for Rennes.

Citizen Jung read correspondence from the Lausanne branch, whose members are the most active and practical in Switzerland, stating, that they have for some time past been discussing the propriety of building Workingmen's houses in Lau-
20 sanne on the plan of those erected in Guise in France; they had agreed upon a scheme for raising the money and wished to have their plan discussed at the Congress.

He also read two Letters; one from Citizen Becker and the other from Citizen Dupleix, both reminding the Central Council that the date fixed for the assembling
25 of Congress was drawing nigh and complaining that, for months past the Central Council had given no signs of Life; they observed that, if the inactivity continued much longer it would be fatal to the Association; they asked a number of questions and required answers immediately, 1st the precise date of the opening of Congress, 2nd how the expenses of the Delegates |[117]| were to be defrayed, and other ques-
30 tions of an administrative kind. They wished the Central Council to issue a Circular in the different Languages, clearly setting forth the questions to be discussed at Congress.

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Citizen Hales said, that the Coventry Ribbon and Smallwares Weavers' Association were desirous of joining our Association, they numbered 1,000 members. It was then proposed by Citizen Hales and seconded by Citizen Le Lubez, That the Coventry Ribbon and Smallwares Weavers' Association, held at the Elephant & Castle, Hill Fields, Coventry, be admitted as an affiliated Branch of this Association.

Carried Nem Con.

The Standing Committee having recommended that the appeal to working men for Funds for the Expenses of the Congress be sent out immediately, President Ecarius was appointed to send them out and Citizen Buckley was appointed to draw two Pounds from the Treasurer to purchase postage Stamps with.

A Letter from Citizen Wolff was read stating that he should bring certain matter before the Council on the 10th instant.

A Letter from Citizen Cremer was read stating that on the 10th instant he should state the Courses he intended to pursue in relation to the Association.

Cash Statement: received 1/1 from Citizen Wolff, 1/0 from John Jenkins, 6 Little Dean Street, 1/0 from R. Kelly, 36 Little Pulteney Street, 5/0 from the Coventry Weavers, making a total of 8/1.

The meeting then adjourned to April 10th. |

[[118]] Council Meeting April 10[^]/66

Citizen Fox in the Chair, Citizen Shaw Secretary pro tem.

Members present Citizens Hrabje, Werecki, Hansen, Williams, Bobczynski, Hales, Carter, Lafargue, Dupont, Jung, Le Lubez, Marx, Lessner, Eccarius and Buckley.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Citizen Jung proposed and Citizen Dupont seconded Citizen James Traini as a member of the Council.

Citizen Lessner proposed and Citizen Hrabje seconded Citizen Maurice as a member of the Council.

After some discussion—It was proposed by Citizen Dupont and seconded by Citizen Jung, That a Deputation be sent to the Tailors' Executive Committee.

It was then proposed by Citizen Shaw and seconded by Cit. Le Lubez, That Citizens Dupont, Fox, and Jung do wait upon the Tailors' Executive Committee at the Green Dragon, King Street, Golden Squ.

Citizen Jung read extracts from the Journal de l'Association chiefly referring to the Coming Congress.

The President having expressed an opinion with regard to the Financial position of the Council.

It was proposed by Citizen Jung and seconded by Citizen Marx, That Citizens Shaw and Le Lubez do wait upon Citizen Cremer, for the purpose of getting a Statement on the Books.

The President then reported that The West-end Womens' Bootmakers' Society had granted One Pound for the use of the Council; and, that they had proposed Citizen Odger as a Delegate to Congress, but he **[[119]]** had advised that the subject should be dealt with by The Amalgamated Cordwainers' Society.

After a Lengthy discussion, It was proposed by Citizen Jung and seconded by Citizen Dupont, That the Congress do assemble on the first Monday in June next; and, that the sitting of Congress extend Five Days.

Citizen Eccarius said, that since the last meeting he had sent the appeals of the Council to the following Societies, Viz The Amalgamated Cordwainers, The Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners, The Operative Bricklayers and to the London and

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Manchester Branches of the Amalgamated Engineers etc. He also said, that not having a sufficient number of Subscription Sheets he had got 100 extra printed.

The Letter addressed to the Council on April 3rd by Citizen Wolff was read by the President but no action upon it.

The Meeting then adjourned to April 17th./

[Auszug aus The Commonwealth]
[Zu S. 399.27-29]

The Commonwealth.
Nr. 163, 21. April 1866

The Congress will be held at Geneva, and the sitting will commence on Monday, June the 4th. The Swiss members are already engaged in preparations for the event, and from the general interest evinced on the question—it is expected that nearly all the workmen's associations on the Continent will be represented there—any English societies wishing to be represented must without delay apply to the Central Council.

Meeting of the Central Council April 17, 1866

/[119]/ **Council Meeting April 17th 66**

Citizen Odger in the Chair, Citizen Shaw Secretary pro tem. Members present, Citizens Fox, Cremer, Carter, Weston, Le Lubez, Coulson, Buckley, Wolff, Marx, Lessner, Hrabje, Maurice, Jung, Dupont, Eccarius, and Lafargue.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and after a slight alteration were confirmed. On the motion of Citizen Jung [seconded] by Citizen Marx

Citizens Maurice and Traini were unanimously elected members of the Central Council.

Mr Barry said he was deputed by the Executive Committee of Tailors' Association [[120]] to inform the Council That their Association had decided upon joining our Association and that on their special meeting in May a Vote of money would be proposed for the use of the Council. He also tendered the thanks of their Association for the services rendered during their late struggle.

On the motion of Citizen Jung, The Tailors' Association was admitted as a Branch of our Association.

Citizen Marx reported that he had received £3.0.0 from Germany for Members' Cards which he paid to the Financial Secretary.

Citizens Weston and Jung were deputed to attend the Plasterers' Committee on Thursday evening next in Leather Lane.

Citizens Odger and Cremer were deputed to wait upon the City Women's Shoe Makers at the Bell Inn, Old Bailey.

A Letter was read from Hartlepool by the Financial Secretary which he had replied to by sending the Laws of the Association.

On the motion of Citizen Dupont seconded by Citizen Lafargue Citizens Prudhomme and Buzon were elected Correspondents for Bordeaux.

Citizen Cremer said he was now prepared to resume his duties as Secretary until the Congress and that he should be ready with his financial statement on next meeting night.

Citizens Fox, Le Lubez and Coulson were elected to audit the accounts on Tuesday next at 6 o'clock precisely. |

[[121]] Citizen Wolff then renewed the Subject which had been discussed on the 6th of March by the Council, and read a Letter from Citizen Fontana to strengthen

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his view of the matter; A long discussion then took place in which Citizens Odger, Marx, Jung, Cremer, Fox, Le Lubez, Weston, Shaw [took part and] which ended after mutual explanations had been given with the following resolution

Proposed by Citizen Marx and seconded by Citizen Dupont, That Citizen Longuet do translate the Resolution pass'd by the Council on the 6th of March and forward the same for publication to the L'Echo de Verviers.

The Meeting then adjourned to April 24th./

[Auszug aus The Commonwealth]

[Zu S.401.11-18]

The Commonwealth.

Nr. 163, 21. April 1866

At the sitting of the Central Council on Tuesday evening, Mr. Barry, deputed from the Tailors' Protective Association, attended to thank the Central Council for the invaluable aid which they had rendered to the tailors in their late strike. It was beyond a doubt through the influence and agency of the International Association that the master tailors had failed to procure men on the continent; he had also the pleasure of announcing that the tailors had decided to join the International Association. (Cheers.)

A resolution was subsequently carried to admit the Tailors' Association as an affiliated branch.

[.]

The correspondent in Belgium, Cit. De Paepe, forwarded a copy of the organ of the association in Belgium, which contained interesting reports of the agitation now going on in Belgium for universal suffrage.

Meeting of the Central Council April 24, 1866

[121] Meeting of Central Council April 24, 1866

Cit Dell in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The Chairman asked Cit Shaw if he was willing to resign the office of Secretary
5 Pro tern which he had filled for some weeks. Cit Shaw said he was. Cit Cremer said
he was quite willing to stand aside to make way for Cit Shaw; several members
spoke on the question and ultimately it was agreed on the proposition of Cit Shaw
seconded by Cit Eccarius That Cit Cremer resume his duties as Secretary.

Mr B. Patis, Delegate from the wire workers, attended to thank the Council for
10 the efforts which they had put forth to prevent their employers getting workmen
from the Continent to supply the places of the men on Strike; he also stated the
Wire Workers would join the Association.

Jung read letter from Dujoncquoy asking for the |[122]| balance of his account—
ordered to be paid. Cit Jung read Letters from Dupleix and Becker urging the ne-
15 cessity for the postponement of the Congress to the last week in September; they
also announced that the Central Committee of the Italian Societies had given in
their adhesion to the principles of the Association and stated they would have a
central gathering in June when the necessity for joining the Association and send-
ing Delegates to the Congress would be discussed and decided—

20 Cit Traini suggested that Cit Jung should enquire of Cit Becker and Dupleix
what the Italian Societies were who had so expressed themselves and where they
were located—

Jung proposed Wheeler seconded that Cit Dupont write to Paris urging on the Pa-
ris Administration the necessity of postponing the Congress. Carried Unanimously.

25 The Secretary brought up the report of the Standing Committee.

Their first recommendation was the Reprint of the Address and Statutes. Jung
proposed Wheeler seconded that Cit Leno be asked to print 1,000 more Copies of
address and rules. Carried Unanimously.

The President read Credentials from the Tailors' Protective Association stating
30 that Cit Barry had been deputed by that Body to represent them on the Central
Council. Cit Eccarius and Wheeler proposed That Cit Barry be accepted as the Tai-
lors' representative on the Central Council—Carried Unanimously.

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The further consideration of the propositions from the Standing Committee were postponed till the next sitting—

The Council then adjourned.

J. **CARTER** President Pro tern I

[[123]] Meeting of Central Council May 1st 1866

Cit Carter in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Cits Jung and Dupont proposed that Cit Giacomo Traini be elected Secretary for
5 Italy.

In proposing Cit Traini Cit Jung eulogised Cit Traini's devotion to the principle of liberty and the cause of progress generally.

Cit Longuet, the Secretary for Belgium read from the Brussels *Tribune du Peuple* an exhortation to the wire-workers of Belgium not to engage with the London mas-
10 ter wire-workers at the present time.

Citizen Fox laid upon the table copies of the St. Louis *Miner and Artisan* containing extracts from the London and Continental organs of the Association.

Cit Dupont read a letter from De Marckel of Granville, Manche, asking for the names of those who desired copies of the "Congrès Ouvrier." He had been visiting
15 the Workmen in their dinner hour making propagandism for the Association, he had assured them that the Association was not political but that all was fair and above board, he expected to be successful in his locality.

Cit Lafargue read a letter from Prudhomme of Bordeaux asking where he should send the money received for Members' Cards; Lafargue was instructed to advise
20 him to send it to the Central Council.

Dupont read a letter from Fribourg (Paris) stating the Paris Administration were opposed to the further postponement of the Congress for the following reasons

1st That the September Conference had given a solemn pledge to Europe to con-
voke the Congress in May.-

25 2nd That very many were waiting for the assembling of the Congress which would decide them as to giving in their adhesion to the Association.

3rd That three months delay will not make the Association and might destroy

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[[124]] In Paris they had begun to prepare for the election of their Delegates, as
30 yet they could not say how many would be elected but they might at all events count on a score, the Delegates would carry with them a complete plan of organization for the Association as well as the results of their deliberations on the proposed

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questions. They were glad to hear of the progress the Association was making in England and finally they did not believe that the convocation of the Congress on the 4th of June would interfere with the prestige of the Association—

The letter concluded by referring to the correspondence from the Provinces as being indicative of a desire for the assembling of the Congress on June 4th but if the Central Council determined to postpone the Congress for three months they in Paris must make the best of the decision.—

Cit Lafargue said he thought Fribourg exaggerated somewhat the injuries that would arise from the postponement of the Congress, the decision of the CC might cause a panic in Paris but such would not be the case in many other parts of France where the Association had only just begun.

Dupont thought the Lyonnese would be favorable to the further postponement of the Congress, he judged so from past correspondence—

Jung thought it essential to decide when the Congress should be held—supposing that it was decided to further postpone it he feared we must override the views of our Parisian Friends—he would prefer August to September as in the latter month men generally would be too much engaged to attend—

Some of the Council having expressed a desire to (if possible) convoke the Congress on the Anniversary of the Association viz the 28th September, Cit Jung replied and expressed fears that such date ||[125]| would be almost fatal but he would propose the first Monday in September as the Day for the assembling of the Congress—Cit Maurice seconded the proposition which was Carried Unanimously.

The announcement to the Continent

Marx proposed Fox seconded That the Secretaries of the respective nationalities announce as quickly as possible to their Correspondents the above decision. Carried Unanimously.

Nomination of Councilmen

Cit Frank Robert and Ralph Dutton were nominated by Cremer and Lessner.

Report of Standing Committee

The Secretary then brought up the report of the Standing Committee adjourned from the last sitting of the Council but as the Council had decided to postpone the Congress the immediate adoption of the propositions from the Standing Committee had been obviated and their further consideration was again adjourned with the exception of the two following which were Carried Unanimously on the proposition of Cremer and Le Lubez,

"That each member of the CC hold himself in readiness to visit organised bodies

Meeting of the Central Council May 1, 1866

to induce them to join the Association and to contribute towards the expenses of the Congress."

"That all Societies sending Delegates to the Congress must pay the expenses of the Delegates."

Report of Deputations

Jung gave report of his and Cit Lafargue's visit to No 2 Lodge of Operative Bricklayers—they had been most enthusiastically received and had received promises of support. The members had also expressed surprise that they had not been waited on before.

Cremer reported that he had waited on the City of London Ladies' Shoemakers who were ||[126]|| compelled to adjourn from pressure of business consequently he did not get a hearing but they had *invited* him to their next meeting and promised him a hearing.

Cremer also reported that he had made arrangements with the Secretary of the Day Working Bookbinders for a deputation to wait on their next meeting.

Citizen Dupont stated that the French branch in London of the International Association had resolved to form a co-operative association.

The Tailors and their late Strike

Lessner reported that as a number of German Tailors had been imported into Edinburgh and as it was currently reported that some of the London employers were making arrangements to bring several here—The German Tailors resident in London had formed themselves into a Committee and wished to cooperate with the Council of the I. W. M. A. to checkmate the designs of the Employers and their Agents which they had in Germany.

Marx stated that if Lessner would send him the facts that he would directly communicate with the German Papers.

The Council then adjourned.

G. W. WHEELER Chairman /

[Auszug aus The Commonwealth]

[Zu S. 405.13-406.22]

The Commonwealth.
Nr. 165, 5. Mai 1866

The *Secretary* for *France* read an encouraging correspondence from Bordeaux, in which it was stated, that the Association, when once it became known, would carry all before it in the South of France. Also letters from Paris and Granville (Normandy).

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The Geneva Congress.

The date of the assembling of this congress was postponed by a unanimous vote from June 4, to Monday Sept. 3. The reason assigned being the unpreparedness of the Genevese to receive the members of the Congress at present, particularly in view of the large delegation which is announced as likely to attend from Paris, the necessity of having further time for preparing papers on the programme question, and the desirability of having Italy represented thereat.

Meeting of the Central Council May 8, 1866

/[126]/ **Meeting of Central Council May 8 1866**

Cit Wheeler in the Chair. The minutes of the former Meeting read and confirmed.

Election of Councilmen

Citizens Ralph and James Dutton were elected on the proposition of Cits Cremer
5 and Lessner.

Nominations for Councilmen

A. Haufe nominated by Cit Lessner; J. D. Prior nominated by Cit Cremer. |

I [127] I Secretary for Poland

The Gen Sec asked for instructions on the above question as another edition of the
10 address and statutes were being printed and as the present nominal Secretary for
Poland had not attended the Council for months, he wished to know if his name
was to be allowed to remain as Secretary. Cit Marx proposed Cit Bobczynski—Cit
Fox seconded the proposition. Carried Unanimously.

American Secretary

Cit Fox was elected Secretary for America in place of Cit Leon Lewis.

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Deputations

Cits Jung, Dutton, and Cremer were elected to wait on the Amalgamated Engineers' Council.

Bookbinders

Cits Wheeler, Jas Dutton and Hales to wait on Bookbinders.

To Coopers

Cremer, Dupont and Jung.

Report of Deputations

Jung reported the result of his visit No 1 Lodge [of] Operative Bricklayers' Society, they had warmly received him and had promised to urge on their Executive the necessity of sending a Delegate to the Congress.

Correspondence

Dupont read a Letter from Lyons. On the 30th of April they had held a meeting at which 210 members attended, when five members were elected to attend the Congress—A Committee of 5 was also elected to consider and report on the various questions in the programme. They wished to know whether they were to retain the | 15
[[128]] money they received for Members' Cards till the Congress or if they were to send it to the CC—they hoped soon to have from 2 to 300 members in Lyons. They had lately received a request from Villefranche for permission to open a new branch there. 20

Cits Fox and Hales proposed "That the Lyonnese be requested to send to the CC one-fourth of the contribution they receive for Members' Cards."

Cits Marx and Jung proposed

That Cit Dupont write to the Lyonnese telling them they are at liberty to use the money they have in hand if they do not obtain sufficient to pay the expenses of the 25
Delegates by Voluntary Contribution. For Fox's resolution 6—For Amendment 8.
Amendment carried.

Cits Howell and Cremer proposed that all Branches of the Association remit to the CC not less than one-fourth of the money they receive from Members' Contributions. ; 30

Amendment proposed by Marx and Jung—That the question of Branch contribution to the CC be referred to the Standing Committee except the case of Lyons.

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For resolution 5—For Amendment 4.

Cit Jung in the absence of the Secretary for Italy read a letter from Citizen Canessa, of Genoa, the editor of a working men's paper in that seaport. It gave an account of the federation of working men's associations in Genoa, and expressed a
5 desire for further information concerning the principles and procedure of the International Working Men's Association.

Cit Jung laid copies of the last number of the *Vorbote* on the table, and read extracts from its monthly bulletin. From this it appeared that fifty-three members had joined the Association in Geneva in April last, and notice of adhesion had been re-
10 ceived from the following recently-founded sections, namely Biel (Canton Berne); Lausanne (Canton Vaud); in Grafrath (Rhenish Prussia); in St.Imier, a mixed body of German and Latin race, in Pruntrut (Canton Berne). The mixed (Teutono-Latin) section of Chaux de Fonds had increased, sixty in April last, and the pure Latin section [in Lausanne] by forty-five members.

The same Secretary announced that the central committee of Geneva had received the following letter from Gaspare Stampa, of Milan, in the name of the central committee of Italian working men's associations:—

"Milan, April, 1866.

Respected Committee,—The fraternal bond of the Italian working men's associations was formed in Naples in October, 1864, and at the same time a committee
20 was appointed to bring this union to the general cognisance, and to set it into operation according to the resolution sent herewith.

Our aims are your aims, and the more extensive our relations, the more powerful is our life.

The central committee, whose organ I am, would not be doing its duty if it did not claim your co-operation. The death of Professor Savi in Genoa, who was one of the most indefatigable propagandists of the working class question, as well as the distance from each other of the members of the committee, who live in different
25 places, have been in this, the first year of our existence, the cause of much hindrance to our work.

We hereby give our full and entire adhesion to your programme, and we beg you at the same time to gladden us with your fraternal intercourse, and to send us your organ the *Vorbote*, in order that our *Moniteur* may make use of its important and praiseworthy contents.

35 in the name of the Central Committee,

Fraternally yours,
Gaspare Stampa."

The Gen Sec read correspondence from the Darlington Shoemakers expressing their deep interest in the Association and promising future support. Also from the
W Darlington Tailors sending in their adhesion and 5s. ||[129]|| Cit Fox gave notice that at the next meeting of the Council he should call attention to a passage in the last Letter of Cit Engels which passage involved the question of Nationalities.

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Excursion to Ireland.

Citizen Weston brought before the Central Committee the project of Mr. Lilley to form an excursion party of 300 persons to Ireland in July or August next. As this body had at heart the amelioration of the relations between the English and Irish peoples, he thought it was opportune to bring the matter beneath their notice. Mr. Lilley had communicated with the manager of the London and North-Western Railway, who had responded favourably to Mr. Lilley's overtures.

The Council then adjourned.

President Pro tem/

Meeting of the Central Council May 15, 1866

/[129]/ **Meeting of Central Council May 15th 1866**

Cit Shaw in the Chair.

The minutes of the former meeting were read and confirmed.

Branches and their Contributions

Cits Marx and Jung proposed "That the resolution with regard to the Branches sending one-fourth of their income to the Central Council be rescinded." Carried Unanimously.

Election of Councilmen

The following were unanimously elected as members of the Council

Cit Haufe proposed by Lessner and Hrabje

Cit J. D. Prior proposed by Cremer and Fox.

Auditing Accounts |

[[130]] On the motion of Cits Carter and Hales it was agreed that the Standing Committee were to audit the accounts.

New Branches

The following were admitted as affiliated Branches of the Association

The Darlington section of the Amalgamated Tailors 62 in number.

The Darlington section of the Amalgamated Cordwainers 60 in number.

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Report from Standing Committee

The Committee recommend "That for the Future all resolutions passed at the CC be translated to the Continental members." Carried Unanimously.

Continental Reports

Cit Marx read extracts from Leipsic Journals cautioning German Tailors against coming to England to supplant the English Tailors who were on Strike. |

Meeting of the Central Council May 22, 1866

[[132]] **Meeting of Central Council May 22 1866**

Cit Le Lubez in the Chair.

The Sec stated he had been disappointed in [not] receiving from Cit Fox some report of the proceedings at the last meeting and it was unanimously agreed to defer
5 reading the minutes till the next Meeting.

Reports from the Continent

Cit Jung read extracts from the "Vorbote" which stated that 7£ 10s had been sent by a Social Democrat in Rhenish Prussia to the Geneva section towards the expenses of the Congress.

10 Correspondence
Switzerland

Cit Jung read correspondence from Geneva. The bootmakers of Geneva, owing to the low price of their wages, the increase of rent and every necessary of life, have resolved to ask for an advance of wages. They presented a tariff to the masters. The
15 men have applied to the Geneva section of the International Association, asking them to inform the men in other countries. The Geneva Committee have informed the men of Paris, Lyons, Switzerland, and Germany, and they hope we on our part will do the same.

France

Cit Dupont read a letter from Cit Tolain complaining about the Congress being postponed and stating that the result would, he feared, be very injurious to the Association.

After a great deal of discussion on the question and the contents of the Letter

The Minute Book of the Provisional Central Council of the I. W. M. A.

Cremer and Shaw proposed

"That after reconsidering at the instance of the Paris Administration the question of the postponement of the Congress the CC cannot see any reasons to induce them to depart from their decision, viz, to convoke the Congress on the 3rd of September next." I

[[133]] *English Correspondence*

Cit Dell read Letters containing remittances from Nottingham Cordwainers, Wolverhampton Bricklayers, Dewsbury Cordwainers, Birmingham Cordwainers, Tunbridge Wells Do, Cheltenham Do.

The Gen Sec read Letters from the Engineers and Cabinet Makers, Cits Lubez. 10
Dutton and Shearman were appointed to wait on the Stratford Lodge of Bricklayers-

ers-
Cits Weston, Hales, Jung and Dupont were appointed to wait on Cabinet Makers' Society.

Reports of Deputations 15

Cit Jung gave a report of a visit to the Coopers' Society.

Cit Lafargue thought a report ought to appear weekly in the Commonwealth of the doings of the Council.

Cit Dell thought there ought to be a division of Labor, he would propose Cit Shaw as minute Secretary with Cit Jung to assist him in translating Foreign corre- 20
spondence. Cit Buckley seconded the proposition. Carried Unanimously.

Cits Haufe and Hansen reported the result of their mission to Edinburgh in connection with the importation of German Tailors to supplant the Scotch Tailors—they had succeeded in making propaganda for the Association.

Report from Standing Committee 25

Cremer brought up the report of the Committee.

They recommended that as there were liabilities to discharge that a Ball should be held at Cambridge Hall.

The Council did not endorse the proposition which fell through.

The Committee also recommended | 30

[[134]] That Cards and Rules be left with the Secretaries of Societies that are waited on by deputations. Agreed to.

They also recommended that each Member of the CC take 6 Cards each and try to dispose of them. (Agreed to.) Cit Dupont nominated Cit Amedee Combault as a member of the CC. 35

The Council then adjourned.

GEO ODGER President/

Meeting of the Central Council May 22, 1866

[Auszug aus The Commonwealth]

[Zu S. 416.7-9]

The Commonwealth.
Nr. 168, 26. Mai 1866

The Financial Secretary of the International Working-Men's Association hereby acknowledges the receipt of the following sums, contributed to defray the expenses of
5 the forthcoming Congress of Working-Men at Geneva:—

	£	s.	d.
Eight Dewsbury Shoemakers, per William Tinkler	0	7	0
Operative Bricklayers' Society (Wolverhampton Lodge), per F. W. Jones	0	4	9
10 Men's Section of Amalgamated Cordwainers, Birmingham, per Tho- mas Hallam	0	5	0
West-End Ladies' Shoemakers' Society, per Mr. Wallace.....	1	0	0
Tunbridge-Wells Section of the Amalgamated Cordwainers, per Peter Knight	0	8	0
15 Cheltenham Section of Amalgamated Cordwainers, per John Saunders	0	2	6

Meeting of the Central Council May 29, 1866

/[134]/ **Meeting of Central Council May 29, 1866**

President Odger in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Nominations for Councilmen

Citizens Harry and Harvey proposed by Cremer seconded [by] Dutton
Do. Joseph Jayet proposed by Dupont and Lafargue.

Election as Councilmen

Cit Amedee Combault proposed [by] Dupont—Lafargue.

Reports of Deputations

Cit Weston reported result of visit [to] Alliance Cabinet Makers, very enthusiastically received and requested to attend again on 30 inst.

Cit Dutton reported result [of visit to] Stratford Bricklayers; had been well received, had arranged with Cit Shearman to attend another Lodge on Saturday next, *reports received.*

Extracts from Public Press

Fox read extract from the International Journal |[135]| approving the principles of the Association and urging its claims on the American Workmen.

Meeting of the Central Council May 29, 1866

Correspondence

Cit Dupont read Letter from Cit Fribourg requesting a copy of the minutes in reference to the postponement of the Congress—

Cit Jung undertook to translate the minutes and forward them to Paris.

Letter read from the "La Gironde" showing that Cit Bouzet was appealing to the Men of that department to join the Association.

Cit Le Lubez read extracts from the "Courrier Français" containing sentiments which he considered too liberal to enable that Paper to live long under the present French Government.

The Publisher of "La Rive Gauche" having asked for information concerning the Association, Citizens Fox, Cremer and Jung were appointed to forward said information for publication in that Journal.

Amalgamated Carpenters

A suggestion for sending a circular to the members of the above was referred to the Standing Committee.

The Conference Programme

It was resolved that the discussion of the above be commenced at the next sitting.

The Council then adjourned to June 5th.

Vice President |

Meeting of the Central Council June 5, 1866

[[136]] Meeting of Central Council June 5th 1866

Vice President Eccarius in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Election of Councilmen

Cit W. Harry proposed by Cremer and Dutton

F. Harvey proposed by Do Do

J. Jayet Do Dupont Lafargue.

Nominations for Councilmen

Cit M. Lawrence proposed by Maurice —Lessner

AlexBesson [Do] Lafargue—Dupont.

10

Correspondence

Cit Jung said he had received a Letter from Cit L.D. Canessa, Genoa, offering to insert anything in the [Giornale delle Associazioni Operaie Italiane] concerning the I.W.M.A. That Citizen was about to leave to go and fight for the liberation of Venice.

15

Reports from Deputations

Cits Weston, Jung, Dupont reported the adhesion of the Alliance Cabinet Makers, they had promised to join not only in Name but Action.

Cit Dutton reported from Bricklayers in Commercial Road; had been well received.

Meeting of the Central Council June 5, 1866

Jung reported what he had said to them, he had appealed to their sense of "Brotherhood" with other Peoples.

Address from French Branch in London

Cit Lafargue then brought before the Council the address of the French Branch in London in answer to the Address of the French Students to the Students of Italy and Germany.

The Address Citizen Lafargue laid before the Council is addressed to the Students of all Nations by the I. W. M. A. in the name of the Workmen of all nations.

Citizen [...] proposed and Citizen Dutton seconded that "It is opportune for the Central Council to issue an address." Citizen Weston proposed as an amendment and Citizen James Dutton seconded that the Central Council endorses the sentiments expressed in the address, but that it be issued by the French Branch of London, with whom it originated.

A long discussion ensued on the Proposition.

Citizen Carter spoke at some length appealing to the Council not [to] pass the resolution, and in favour of the amendment. He said it would be a bad precedent to hurry through any Address as emanating from the Council in the absence of a good number of its members.

6 voted for the amendment

6 for the proposition—

The President gave his casting vote in favor of the Amendment.

A request for settlement of claim was received from Cit. J. B. Leno. Referred to Standing Committee.

The Council then adjourned till June 12th. /

Meeting of the Central Council June 12, 1866

/[137]/ Central Council Meeting June 12 1866

The President in the Chair.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed.

Election of Councilmen

Cit Lawrence proposed by Maurice and Lessner

Cit Besson proposed by Lafargue and Dupont. |

[[138]][Nominations for Councilmen

Pierre Leroux nominated by Jung and Marx.

Reports of Deputations

Jung and Dupont reported an interview with West End Cabinet Makers, had been well received, invited to attend again.

Future Deputations

Cremer and Lessner to visit French Polishers.

Yarrow suggested deputations to several societies whose names he mentioned.

Sheffield Conference

Fox proposed sending Delegate there. Carried Unanimously.

Selection of Man deferred.

Meeting of the Central Council June 12, 1866

Correspondence

Lafargue read from "La Rive Gauche" a summary of the doings of the Central Council.

Cit Marx read a Letter from Leipsic which stated that all the Saxon Working Men's Associations had joined the International.

The War in Germany

The President suggested that at the present crisis the Council should discuss the question of the German War and its probable influence on the peoples of Europe.

Cit Eccarius proposed that the question be debated at the next sitting. Carried Unanimously.

The Council then adjourned till June 19th.

President Pro tem |

[[139]] **Central Council Meeting June 19th 1866**

Cit Weston in the Chair.

The debate on the war attracted a large concourse of *members*. It was ably opened by Cit. Eccarius, who illustrated his address with a map of Germany, made for the occasion. He was followed by Cits. Le Lubez, Fox, Lafargue, Marx, who 5 made an highly interesting speech, Carter, Dutton, and Hales. Speeches were made in French and English. The debate was adjourned until Tuesday evening next at the same hour, when the question of Nationality will be treated of. Cit. Le Lubez has given notice that he will propose the following resolutions:—

1. "The Central Council of the International Association of Working Men recom- 10 mend to their fellow working men in arms not to waste their strength in slaying each other, but to economise it for the defence of their rights against their only enemies, the enslavers of the working class. Their opinion is that no man need obey any power he has had no voice in electing, or any law he has had no voice in making. Therefore, (2.) every soldier, who has not made the cause he is fighting for, his 15 own by being convinced that it is just, is relieved from his obligation to fight for it. (3.) If that right should be denied him and that force be used to coerce him, he has a right, and *it is his duty* to defend that right, which is the right of the people, by using force himself."

Before the debate began, the *Courrier Français* of the 17th inst. was brought before 20 j the council and the rejoinder of the students was read and given to the Editor of the *Commonwealth* to translate and publish the same. For the previous correspondence] see the *Commonwealth* of June 9.

To the Workingmen of ail Countries!
The Youth of France. 25

Brethren,—You have understood that war was a violation of the most sacred rights of humanity, and you have responded to our appeal. Thanks, a thousand thanks!

United for the noblest of causes, we shall continue to claim in common the rights for which humanity has ever combated; labour and universal peace will guide us in this path, the harmony of minds and hearts will recompense us for our efforts. 30

Meeting of the Central Council June 19, 1866

"The masters of the world" will in vain endeavour to revive the obsolete quarrels of the past, the traditional rivalries of nations. *Universal Reason* will respond to the appeals of the fife and drum by a prodigious cry of peace, by a warm grasp of all hands and all hearts.

5 We are pleased to have been understood by those upon whom we base all our hopes, we are proud to have contributed our small share to the advent of that bright day in which *all men*, united by science, will march with one accord to the final conquest of liberty.

Our forefathers, led astray and enslaved, had for their *war-cry* "God and our
10 country!"

Let us, the great grandsons of 1793, have for supreme aim to inscribe on the *one only flag of the people* these two words, which are the symbols of our convictions and our hopes, "Reason and Fraternity!"

It is for you, working men, to realise in the future these vast projects—it is for
15 you to cement the union of mankind by your labour, the firmness of your principles, and your inflexible devotion to the salvation of the human race.

Be assured that your brothers will not abandon you in the struggle.

(Signed), Alfred Verliere, clerk; Raoul Rigault, clerk; Nestor Richet, shawl cleaner; Albert Kellermann, shopman; E. Lemoine, student; Dawsta, law student;
20 Niemann, sculptor; Battaille, clerk; A. Breuillé, employé; A. Jeunesse, student; Louis Guyon, employé; Humbert, employé; Leon Sornet; employé; Paul Seruzier, student; C. Dacosta, professor; Tremblay, merchant; Léonce Levraud, student; H. Villeneuve, student; Bellet, employé; Lavallée, student; Landowski, bookseller's clerk; Brochur, painter on glass; Boula, do.; Barthélémy, Julien, Wartelen, Bruno,
25 do.; etc., etc.

The Central Council has received the following letter of adhesion to the Workingmen's Response: —

"Bedlington, June 13th, 1866.

'Friends,'—We, the undersigned men of this place, endorse every sentiment from
30 the young students of Paris, and likewise the response of the men of all nations; and we hope and trust that the time is not far distant, when every man will know his position in society as a man.—Yours, in the cause of freedom.

(Signed) Thomas Hailston, Alexander McLeod, David Graham, John Scott, Robert McDonald, David Lofthouse, George Steel, John Ramsay, Robert Fairbairn,
35 James Cole, of Bedlington, Northumberland."

The Council then adjourned. |

Meeting of the Central Council June 26, 1866

[[140]] Meeting of Central Council June 26 1866

Cit Fox in the Chair.

Cit Marx introduced to the Council Cit Fontaine of Brussels; he also announced that Fribourg would publish week by week in the "Courrier Français" their elaboration of the questions to be submitted to Congress. 5

Correspondence

Dupont read Letters from Tolain and Fribourg announcing the seizure of the "Courrier Français" and blaming the Council for postponing the Congress.

Report of Deputation

Jung reported West End Cabinet Makers fully agreed with our principles and would join. 10

French Revolution June 1848

Lessner asked would the Council take part in celebrating the event, question postponed.

Italian Secretary

15

Cit Fox read Letter from Cit Traini stating he had corresponded with several Italian Societies but as yet had not received an answer.

The present position of his Country placed him in an awkward position; he also complained of an attack in "Rive Gauche" by Cit Lafargue who had placed Mazzini and Garibaldi side by side with and declaring them as bad as Bismark. He believed 20

Meeting of the Central Council June 26, 1866

Mazzini and Garibaldi were both good Socialists—In consequence of such attack he must tender his resignation as Italian Secretary,

Cit Lafargue replied that what he had written he had written in his individual
[[141]] capacity not as a Member of the CC who were in no way responsible for his
5 opinions.

Cit Fontaine said he had expressed the same opinions only in a stronger manner;
after some discussion Cremer [proposed] Dutton seconded That we pass to the order
of the day and that Cit Traini be written to and told that the Council are not responsible
for Cit Lafargue's views. Carried Unanimously.

10 The adjourned debate

The debate was resumed by Cit Bobczynski who said that though Mazzini, Garibaldi
and Bismark were acting together they were acting from different motives. If the
Association was only to be Social it would never be great, its first duty was to
get rid of tyrants on the Continent.

15 Cit Jung thought that although Garibaldi's heart was undoubtedly right his head
and sword were in the wrong place; he was sorry to see him and Mazzini in alliance
with Bismark, he thought the upshot of the war would be revolution.

The debate was continued by Cits Bobczynski, Lafargue, Cremer, Fontaine.

20 Cit Dutton said that Workmen of all countries could work out their Political and
Social independence without fighting for nationalities.

Cits Bobczynski and Carter then gave notice of the following resolution

"That the London members of the International Working Men's Association consider
the present conflict on the Continent to be one between tyrants, and advise
working men to be neutral, but to associate themselves with a view to acquire
25 strength by unity and to use the strength so acquired in striking a final blow at all
the tyrants of Europe and proclaiming their own liberty."

Cits Cremer and Dutton also gave notice of the following series of resolutions

30 1. That the war now being waged in Europe between the Prussian and Austrian
governments is a war for Empire, and as such is not calculated to benefit the peoples,
as whichever becomes the victor it will be but the substitution of one despot
for another.

35 2. The Council regrets that the Prussian people should have allowed their energies
to be diverted from the extension and consolidation of their liberties by the war
policy of Bismarck who has thereby succeeded in rivetting still stronger their political
fetters. |

[[142]] 3. The Council also expresses a hope that the Italian people, while endeavouring
to give liberty to the Venetians, will not enter into an unholy alliance with
the Prussian government, and so be guilty of moral and political suicide by at the
same time fighting to rescue the Venetians and assisting the Prussian government
40 to enslave the German people.

4. That as all wars not waged on behalf of liberty and justice are cruel and unjustifiable,
we therefore recommend the peoples of Europe to abstain from taking any
active part in the present unrighteous struggle.

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Cit. Fox gave notice of the following resolution:—

"That the Prussian government is responsible for the miseries caused by the present war on the Continent."

The Council then adjourned to July 3rd. |

[Auszug aus The Commonwealth]

[Zu S. 427.10-428.3]

The Commonwealth.

Nr. 173, 30. Juni 1866

The members of this Association mustered again in large numbers on Tuesday evening last, to hear and take part in the adjourned debate on the War and the principle of Nationality. Cits. Bobczynski, Le Lubez, Jung, Dupont, Marx, Fontaine (from Brussels), Lafargue, Dutton, Weston and Cremer spoke.

Meeting of the Central Council July 3, 1866

[[143]] Central Council Meeting July 3rd 1866

VP Eccarius in the Chair.

Election of Councilmen

Cit. Ayres of No.1 Lodge of the Operative Bricklayers, and Cit. F. Yarrow of the Alliance Cabinet Makers' Association, were elected members of the Central Council, after having been nominated by their respective Corporations.

The declaration of adhesion of the Nottingham section of the Amalgamated Cordwainers' Society, representing 140 men, was read.

Cit. Maurice brought before the attention of the Council the following advertisement which appeared in the *Times* of the 6th ult.:—

"To the Master Tailors of Great Britain and Ireland.

Your attention is called to the present relations between the masters and journeymen tailors of the United Kingdom, and it is suggested that, in the interest of the trade generally, a Conference be held in London, or elsewhere, in August, in which masters from every town in the kingdom may take part, and the present and future prospects of the labour question be thoroughly discussed, a more satisfactory arrangement among themselves arrived at, and a system adopted by which work may be efficiently carried on in case of strikes."

A letter from Mr. G.E. Harris was read, giving his adhesion to the response to the Paris Students.

The adjourned debate on the German War

An article was translated from the last number of the *Rive Gauche* as containing the sentiments of Cit. Lafargue, a member of the Council, on the attack of the king of Italy upon Venetia, and its reaction upon French politics.

Cit. Fox gave notice of the following resolution:—

"That the Prussian government is responsible for the miseries caused by the present war on the Continent."

The Minute Book of the Provisional Central Council of the I.W. M. A.

The debate was continued by Cits. Bobczynski, Cremer, Fox, Hales, and Eccarius, and the debate was adjourned until Tuesday next.

The Financial Secretary was instructed to pay to the "Commonwealth" the first quarter's rent due for our present meeting-place.

Cit. Lessner proposed W. Massman as a member of the Council.

The Council then adjourned to July 10. |

Meeting of the Central Council July 10, 1866

[[144]] **Central Council Meeting July 10th 1866**

VP Eccarius in the Chair.

Election of Councilmen

Cit Massman proposed by Lessner and Marx.

5 Correspondence

Jung read for Dupont correspondence from Fleurieux-sur-Saône near Lyons announcing the opening of a new Branch there, also thanking the CC for the high mission they had undertaken.

He also read a Letter from Rouen expressing their regret at the delay which had
10 taken place on their part; they were now making amends for the past and were working for the future.

Letter from Lyons hoping the Council would not again postpone the Congress, also asking if the travelling expenses of the Delegate who went around Lyons making propaganda could be taken out of their funds derived from the sale of Members'
15 Cards.

The answer was found by a former resolution of the CC.

Question of Congress

Cit Cremer introduced the question asking the CC if they would take active steps to ensure the success of the Congress.

M Cits Carter and Fox proposed That not less than 4 delegates be sent to Geneva from the CC—Carried Unanimously.

It was further agreed to retain the services of one Man during the day time to make active propaganda.

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Cit Cremer was elected for that purpose.

Cits Lawrence and Barry ||[145]] proposed That the Members of the CC belonging to the various trades hold themselves in readiness to assist the Gen Sec.

Carried.

Representation in the Press

Cit Marx asked Cit Fox how it was that no report of the Council's doings had appeared in the last number of the Commonwealth.

Cit Fox entered into a long explanation and a discussion took place taken part in by Cits Dell, Weston, Cremer, and others.

Eventually Cits Bobczynski and Yarrow proposed That for the future we do not *confine* our reports to any journal but send them wherever they are likely to be inserted. Carried Unanimously.

The Sheffield Conference

Cremer proposed That Cit Odger and in the event of the Tailors sending a Delegate to the Conference that they be appointed to represent the Association at the Conference. Carried Unanimously.

The Council then adjourned to July 17.

JOHN WESTON President Pro tem |

Meeting of the Central Council July 17, 1866

[[146]] Meeting of Central Council July 17 1866

Citizen Weston in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed. Cit Howell complained of that part of the previous minutes what he said reflected on him. The reflection having been denied. Cit Cremer said it was he that had made the statements which Cit Howell complained of and what he had said he was prepared to stand by.

The Chairman having ruled that the discussion was out of order the affair dropped.

The Secretary for Belgium

Cit Lafargue reported that Cit Longuet having gone to Paris, had unfortunately been arrested and committed for eight months.

Cit Lubez also announced that Cit Vesinier had been arrested in Belgium.

Reports of Deputations.

Cits. Cremer and Jung reported the result of their visit to the Hand-in-Hand Society of Coopers, the members of which had convened a special meeting to receive them. After listening for some time with a deep interest to the deputation many of the members spoke warmly in support of the principles of the Association, and as an earnest of their deep convictions they agreed to join in a body and levied each member one shilling towards defraying the expenses of the Geneva Congress. The General Secretary also reported that the West-end Cabinet Makers had sent in their adhesion to the Association, and asked to be admitted as an affiliated Branch. A resolution for their admission was unanimously agreed to.

France.

Cit. Dupont, French Secretary, read a letter from Neuville-sur-Saône near Lyons, asking permission to open a branch there. The Secretary thanked the Council for the high mission they had undertaken. The request was agreed to, and Cit. Louis Baudrand, E. Beniere and T.M. Colomb were appointed correspondents of the Association for that locality. A letter was also read from Lyons asking for information in regard to malleable castings. The Secretary was instructed to make some enquiries.

The Treatment of the Irish State Prisoners
at Portland.

Cit. Fox stated that before the expiration of the six months' term the Irish state 10
prisoners lately confined in Pentonville prison were removed to Portland jail, where
alone their friends were allowed to visit them. He then read the following extract
from a letter received from the wife of one of the said prisoners. This lady states the
conditions under which these prisoners may be seen by their female relatives and
the crushing treatment to which they are subjected—treatment to which one of 15
their number has already fallen a victim.

"Mrs. Luby and O'Leary's sisters have been to Portland. They were much disap-
pointed in having to see the prisoners through wire screens. It seems to me that the
English Government must have an exalted opinion of the ingenuity and cleverness
of Irish women, when even with all the safekeeping that bars and bolts and jailors 20
can insure, it will not trust a prisoner's wife to touch that prisoner's hand or even
see his face unscreened; or is such precaution used as a refinement of cruelty,
which it certainly is whether intended to be or not. Here are a few facts as to their
treatment given by Luby and O'Leary. At labour from five a.m. to eight p.m. Break-
fast of cocoa and heavy unpalatable bread, supper of thin gruel half enough at each
meal. Dinner, two days five ounces meat, five potatoes and bread; two next days, a
pint of something called soup, and bread; two days again, they dine on suet pud-
ding and on Sunday they have bread and cheese. They have no chaplain. Their la-
bour is quarrying, washing the convicts' clothes, and scrubbing; by turns. It is easy
to understand that many of these men will sink under such treatment combined 30
with all the petty tyranny practised on them by the more brutal of their jailors, and
without the consolation of either letters or visits from their friends. Luby and
O'Leary wished this put before the public. I have not seen my husband, I will go to
see him in a few weeks, and I know he too will wish this course the government
takes with state prisoners to be published. 35

Mrs. J. O'Donovan Rossa."

The Central Council by a unanimous vote ordered that the extract should be as
widely published as possible.

Meeting of the Central Council July 17, 1866

The European War

Cit Fox translated from the "Courrier Français" a letter signed by Fribourg in relation to the war and the Social question. |

[[147]] The Discussion on the War

was then resumed. Cits. Dutton, Bobczynski and Marx were the principal speakers. Cits. Cremer and Fox withdrew their respective amendments, and the wording of the Bobczynski—Carter resolution was amended and ultimately passed, *nem con*, in the following form.

"That the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association consider the present conflict on the Continent to be one between Governments and advise working men to be neutral, and to associate themselves with a view to acquire strength by unity and to use the strength so acquired in working out their social and political emancipation."

The Congress Programme.

It was then agreed that at the next and subsequent meetings of the Council the questions to be submitted to the Geneva Congress should be discussed and elaborated.

The questions to be discussed on Tuesday next are as follow.—Organization of the Association; Combination of effort by means of the Association in the different national struggles between capital and labour.

The Council then adjourned to July 24.

JAMES BARRY/

Meeting of the Central Council July 24, 1866

/[147]/ Meeting of Central Council July 24 1866

Cit Barry in the Chair.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed.

Nominations for Councilmen

Cit W. Stockey nominated by Yarrow and Jung

Cit W. Colonieu nominated by Dupont and Combault

Cit Lemaitre nominated by Lafargue and Marx.

Reports of Deputations

Cit Barry reported that the Coachmakers had not met, they would meet next month Aug 8.

Cit Jung reported the result of visit to Packing Case Makers, they wished for a deputation at their Delegate Meeting.

Correspondence

Cit Jung read correspondence respecting the manufacture of Tulle by which it was ascertained that the English Operatives received higher wages than |[148]| the Lyons Operatives.

Cit Dupont read a Letter from Sur-Saône thanking the Council for Cards of Membership and asking for Credentials for the Correspondents; ordered to be sent.

Jung read a Letter from Geneva which stated they had elected a committee to make arrangements for the reception of the Delegates who would attend the congress. They also wished to know in what manner the questions were to be proposed and discussed at the congress. They thought the CC ought to appoint a Member to

Meeting of the Central Council July 24, 1866

bring forward questions and formally propose them. Also that reports of proceedings should be taken and printed in three languages and distributed amongst all the sections of the Association. They also hoped the CC would communicate to all the Branches the assembling of Congress and the questions to be submitted.

Ordered that the recommendations should be submitted and discussed by the Standing Committee for report to the CC.

Question of Italian Representation

Cremer and Marx proposed that the Secretary and any Member of the CC take whatever steps they may deem advisable to get Italian Societies *represented* at the Congress. Carried Unanimously.

Also ordered that Cit Jung write to the Geneva Administration urging them to exert themselves to the same effect.

Cit Lubez gave reasons why the Italians in London abstained from returning to the Council.

The Order of the Day

was then [[149]] discussed, led off by Cremer who proposed as recommendation to Congress

That the CC should sit in London, seconded by Marx. Carried Unanimously.

The next question discussed was ways and means.

Cremer proposed for discussion "That Corporate bodies joining the Association should contribute one halfpenny per Member per Year to the CC for the purposes of propaganda and administration expenses."

A long discussion ensued on the question taken part in by Cits Marx, Jung, Lafargue, Dutton, Yarrow, and others and ultimately it was decided to adjourn the question till the next meeting.

Several deputations were then appointed to wait on Societies and the Council then adjourned to July 31".

J. GEORGE ECCARIUS Vice President/

Meeting of the Central Council July 31, 1866

/[149]/ Meeting of Central Council July 31, 1866

VP Eccarius in the Chair.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed.

Election of Councilmen

Cit Stockey proposed by Yarrow and Jung.

Reports of Deputations

Cit Lawrence gave Cit Barry's report of his visit to Silver Spoon Makers, They agreed to the terms of % d per Member and promised to recommend the whole of the Trade to join. Cit Lawrence stated the Tailors' Executive would recommend to their members whatever was agreed on by the Central Council or the Congress.

The Secretary reported that the Engineers' Council had received a deputation and after listening to the |[150]| deputation and discussing their views had promised to communicate the result of their deliberations.

The Compositors had also received the deputation and appeared heartily to endorse their views.

Cit Le Lubez reported that the Carpenters' meeting at the Silver Cup had well received the Deputation and voted One Pound towards the expenses of the Congress promising to consider the propriety of joining the Association.

Cit Eccarius reported that the Tailors' Committee had issued an appeal to the Journeymen urging them to elect a Delegate to the Geneva Congress.

The Atlantic Cable

Cit Fox referring to the laying of the above said it was an event too important for the I. W. M. A. to pass silently by, he would therefore propose the following

5 "That the Central Council hails the successful laying of the Telegraph Cable between Ireland and Newfoundland as a grand triumph of science and perseverance over formidable physical difficulties and as adding facilities to the intercourse between the Cisatlantic and Transatlantic members of the European Family and this Council further hopes that the present Cable is only the precursor of many others."

10 Cit Dell in seconding the resolution said the Peoples had nothing to gain by isolation and secrecy but everything to hope for from increased communication with each other.

The Resolution was Carried Unanimously.

Report of Standing Committee

Cit Marx brought up the report of the Committee on the questions to be submitted
15 to Congress

1st They recommended the order as published in [[151] the French programme with the single amendment That the last question be amalgamated with the first.

Fox and Carter proposed That the report on this point be adopted. Carried Unanimously.

20 2nd That the Secretary be instructed to make out a report of the number of members and a general statement of income and expenditure. Carried Unanimously.

3rd They recommend the Congress to make an enquiry into the condition of the working classes according to the following schedule of enquiries

1 Occupation, name of

25 2 Age and sex of the employed

3 Number of the employed

4 Hiring and Wages. A Apprentices. B Wages. Day or piece work. Whether paid by Middlemen etc. Weekly, Yearly Average earnings

30 5 Hours of Labor. In Factories. Hours of small employers and home work if the business carried on in those modes. Nightwork. Daywork

6 Meal times and treatment

7 State of Place and work, overcrowding, defective ventilation, want of Sunlight, use of gaslight, etc., Cleanliness etc.

8 Nature of the occupation

'5 9 Effect of employment upon the Physical Condition

10 Moral Condition. Education

11 State of Trade, whether Season Trade or more or less uniformly distributed over Year, whether greatly fluctuating, whether exposed to Foreign Competition, whether destined principally for Home or Foreign consumption etc.

W The recommendations were unanimously agreed to. |

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[[152]] Contributions

Cit Marx then reported "That a Yearly Contribution of % [d] per Member be paid by Societies joining, cost price of Cards or *livrets* to be charged extra."

The Secretary to have power to negotiate with poor Societies on easier terms.

The recommendation Carried Unanimously.

The Committee recommend that the Council advise members to found Benefit Societies and to organise an International Exchange between Benefit Societies.

A debate arose on this point, the recommendation was amended so as to require that the Swiss members take the initiative at the Congress on this question.

The resolution in its amended form was Carried Unanimously

That the local Committees keep reports of the state of trade in their districts and act as intelligent officers for Working Men.

The Council then adjourned.

J. GEORGE ECCARIUS Vice President/

Meeting of the Central Council August 7, 1866

/[152]/ Central Council Meeting August 7 1866

Vice President Eccarius in the Chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Reports of Deputations

The Gen Sec reported that the London Society of Compositors had elected their Secretary Mr Self as a Delegate to the Geneva Congress.

Mr Cremer also read a Letter from the **[[153]]** Gen Sec of the Amalgamated Engineers stating, their Council declined to send a Delegate or to give permission for deputations to visit their Branches.

He also reported that the Bookbinders (Day Working) had agreed to join the Association.

The Vellum Binders had adjourned the question till their next General meeting. Jung reported that the Brush Makers had also deferred the question to their next Meeting.

Le Lubez reported That the Chair makers and Carvers had also deferred the question till they had a larger attendance.

Correspondence

Cit Marx read a Letter from Belgium asking information in regard to the Congress.

Report of Standing Committee

Cit Marx reported That at the last sitting of the Committee only himself, Cits Jung and Dupont were present, he requested the attendance of the British members at the next sitting.

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The Sheffield Conference

The President reported That a resolution had been passed thereat urging all Trade Societies to join the International Association.

Transatlantic Postage

Cit Fox brought forward this subject and stated some facts to show the exorbitant rate of Letter postage between Britain and the United States, he said that the British rule governed the continental rates and he advised that after the Geneva Congress the Central Council should send a deputation to the Postmaster General to ask him to concur |[154]| in the American proposition for a Sixpenny letter rate.

The subject then dropped.

Fox stated that the "Vorbote" was publishing Memoranda of the discussion of the Geneva Branches on the Congress programme.

The Council then adjourned.

HN JUNG. President Pro tem /

[Auszug aus The Commonwealth]

[Zu S. 442.1-3]

The Commonwealth.

Nr. 180, 18. August 1866

Mr. Odger reported, that the great Conference of Trades' Delegates at Sheffield had taken into their most serious consideration the principles of the International Association and passed the following resolution.

"That this Conference, fully appreciating the efforts made by the International Association to unite in one common bond of brotherhood the working men of all countries, most earnestly recommend to various societies here represented, the advisability of becoming affiliated to that body, believing that it is essential to the progress and prosperity of the entire working community."

Proposed by J. Constantine, Halifax; seconded by W. H. Harry, London, and carried unanimously.

Meeting of the Central Council August 14, 1866

/[154]/ Central Council Meeting Aug 14 1866

Cit Jung in the Chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Reports of Deputations

The Secretary reported his visit to the Coach Makers with the result as expressed in the following letter

29, South Street, Manchester Square, W.,
Aug. 8, 1866.

Sir,—The result of your attendance on the Coachmakers' Friendly Society, Berwick Street, to-night has been, that we have appointed ten Delegates to wait upon the ten Societies in connection with our trade, to lay before each Society your circular and explain it to them, taking your own lucid statement as our "model." I have been desired by the sub-committee (the ten) to request you to forward twenty-four circulars, addresses, and rules, so that we may forward a copy to each of those Societies and so that each of us may have a copy to "read up" in before we wait upon them; our object is to endeavour to get each to act, as we intend to try and make our Society act in unity with you. I suppose you will receive a note from our secretary (Mr. Todd), explaining that your circular and explanations cannot be brought before our Society, until its general meeting in January, when we intend that the International Working Men's Society's claims shall have the preference to all other business, and, if in the meantime, the other Societies can be urged to do likewise, the time will not have been altogether wasted. I hope to come amongst you as a united body.

Wishing you every success in your (our) undertaking, allow me to subscribe myself, your well-wisher, and hope to be your obedient servant.

Edward Reaveley.

For the committee of ten appointed by the London Coachmakers' Friendly Society, to forward the objects of the International Working Men's Association.
To Mr. Cremer, 18, Bouverie Street, E. C.

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The Secretary also stated That the Packing Case Makers had joined the Association and would collect subscriptions among their members for the [[155]] Geneva Congress. They were too poor to vote money from their funds.

Cit Jung reported that the Plumbers' brass finishers had given their word to join the Association but had formally deferred their decision till their next meeting.

Messrs Reynolds and Long for the Hand in Hand Coopers handed in Six Pounds as the contribution of that Body to the expenses of the Geneva Congress.

Cremer and Yarrow proposed That the above body of Coopers be admitted as an affiliated Branch of the Association. Carried Unanimously.

Cit Yarrow stated the Alliance Cabinet Makers would hold a general Meeting on Thursday next and the question of the Geneva Congress would then be discussed. Cits Jung and Cremer promised to attend.

Correspondence

Cit Dell read a Letter from the Sec of Operative Bricklayers' Society stating they would not pay their contribution as the accounts had not been audited.

The Gen Sec stated that it was not his province to prepare balance-sheets although he had done so months ago and Mr Coulson had been appointed Auditor but had never attended. If there was any neglect or delay it was with those who had been appointed auditors but had not performed their duty; such complaints came with a bad grace from Mr Coulson.

Auditors

Cits Weston and Buckley were appointed to audit the accounts on Friday next at /2 past 6.

Secretary Salary

Cremer stated there were some arrears owing to him and asked that it should be paid or that [[156]] he should be released from his appointment as a paid Officer, Carter and Fox proposed that 25s be paid Secretary. Carried Unanimously.

Correspondence

Cit Fox read a Letter from Lyons of which the following is a translation.

Meeting of the Central Council August 14, 1866

Lyons Workmen, the War, and the British Reform Movement.

The Lyons correspondent of the International Working Men's Association writes to the Central Council of this Association as follows:—

"Lyons, August 9, 1866.

In respect to the war, opinions are unsettled. However, workingmen are beginning to throw off that narrow patriotism which made them embrace the quarrels of potentates and edged them in to sacrifice themselves for the interests of the former. All are beginning to see that their interests and ours are not identical, and that all working men have a common interest, and that their greatest enemies are the parasites of their own nation.

We received some numbers of the *Courrier Français*, and we liked well the ideas it propagated.

Our enemies found a pretext for annihilating it, but they could not annihilate the ideas it represented.

We live in hopes that other journals will resume the work it left unfinished. The arbitrary rule which governs us does not wish the truth to penetrate into the provinces. We beg the English working classes to persevere in the attitude which they have recently assumed; let them show themselves determined and courageous, let them confront all menaces and they will obtain that reform which is the first step towards social amelioration.

You will oblige us by giving us some details concerning what has taken place in London, and indicating to us clearly the spirit which animates this movement, for journals suppress the essential part of it.

I cordially salute you,

An. Scheitel."

Cit Fox also read Letters from Bordeaux and Vienne (Isère). The latter asked for 130 Cards of Membership, also that the following should be appointed Correspondents for that department Citizens Ailloux, Waugenay and Marcheval.

Cits Dupont and Le Lubez proposed their election. Carried Unanimously.

Election of Councilmen

Cit Lafargue proposed Cit Le Maitre as a Member of CC.

A discussion took place on the proposition, his election having been on a former occasion opposed by 5 of his Workmen-

Cits Marx and Lubez proposed That an official Letter be sent to the five Men] [[157]] and the election postponed.

Cits Hales and Yarrow proposed That they be written to to come before Standing Committee at 8 o'Clock. Carried Unanimously.

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Report of Standing Committee

Cit Marx gave report.

They suggested that the General Secretary be paid 40s per Week and to be appointed by the Geneva Congress itself.

A discussion took place on the proposition which was opposed by Cit Dell who preferred a graduated scale of payment. An amendment was proposed to the effect that 30s be the rate of payment but the amendment was withdrawn and the resolution was Carried Unanimously.

Cit Dell read a Letter he had written in reply to Mr Coulson, the letter was endorsed by the Council and ordered to be sent.

The Tailors and the Geneva Congress

Cit Eccarius reported that the Tailors had that night decided to send a Delegate to the Geneva Congress. The resolution had been carried with enthusiasm.

The Council then adjourned.

GEO ODGER President /

Meeting of the Central Council August 21, 1866

/[157]/ Meeting of Central Council August 21 1866

President Odger in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The first business was the

Reports of Deputations.

Cit. Jung reported that he had waited on the Cigar Makers' Committee, who had convened a general meeting of the members to receive a deputation from the council. He had also waited on the Scale Makers, and had arranged to visit them a second time. He further reported visits to the Tin Plate Workers and Curriers, both committees courteously received him and promised to bring the question before the next general meeting. |

[[158]] The general secretary, Cit. Cremer, reported that himself, Citizens Lessner, Haufe, Massman, and Yarrow had waited on the Organ Builders and Upholsterers, and had been requested to attend their next general meetings. The secretary also stated that the Alliance Cabinet Makers had at a general meeting recommended a levy of 6d. per member towards the expenses of the Geneva Congress.

Citizens Weston and Hales reported that they had waited on the Brass Finishers, and discussed with the members the principles of the association. They had been invited to attend again.

Cit. Le Lubez reported his visit to the Stove Makers. They had urged him to attend their general meeting.

The Geneva Congress.

Some further arrangements, in connection with the above, were then made, when the Council proceeded to discuss the report of the disturbances between the English and Belgian excavators at Eastbourne. The general secretary was ordered to get all the information possible on the matter, if necessary to take action, and to report at the next sitting of the Council.

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The Manchester Tailors' Lock-out.

Cits. Lessner and Lawrence reported that 700 tailors were locked out in Manchester, and fearing their late employers might try to get men from the Continent, they invoked the assistance of the International Working Men's Association on their behalf. As some doubts were expressed in relation to the continuance of the lock-out, it was agreed to suspend any continental action until the arrival of confirmatory intelligence from Manchester; but in case of danger, the secretary was to act immediately.

International Postal Rates.

The following resolution was then proposed by Citizens Cremer and Lessner—"That the delegates at the Geneva Congress be requested to urge on their respective governments the necessity and advantages of a system of International and Ocean Penny Postage." In proposing the resolution Cit. Cremer said that the realisation of such a project would greatly facilitate the efforts of the association in bringing into fraternal intercourse the workmen of the world. At present the postal rates were so high as to preclude the possibility of frequent communication. The resolution was carried unanimously.

Report of Standing Committee.

Cit. Jung brought up the report, which report contained a proposition to be submitted to Congress recommending

That 9 Hours per Day including 1 hour per Day for Meal-times be the standard Day's work-

As an Amendment Cremer proposed and Lawrence seconded

That Eight Hours be recommended as the standard for Daily labor. The Amendment was Carried Unanimously.

After some further discussion in reference to that part of the report which contained recommendation as to the employment of Women and Children, the further consideration of the report was deferred till the next sitting.

The Council then adjourned till Tuesday evening next, at 7 o'clock, then to meet for the purpose of discussing and finally deciding on the Congress programme, and to elect the delegates from the Central Council.

The Secretary was ordered to summon all the members.

J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Vice President |

Meeting of the Central Council August 28, 1866

The Commonwealth.
Nr. 182, 1. September 1866

International Working Men's Association.

The Central Council met on Tuesday evening at 18, Bouverie-street, when Mr. Lee, the secretary of the Excavators' Society, attended to report to the Council the cause of the late disturbances between the

5 English and Belgian Excavators.

Mr. Lee said an agent of Waring Brothers had succeeded in inducing 430 Belgian workmen to come to England and work for less wages than the English workmen were being paid, and the result had been that several Englishmen had been forced out of employment to make way for the cheaper labour of the Belgians. The 430
0 were made up of excavators, carpenters, and Blacksmiths. The Belgians were receiving from 2s. 4d. to 3s. per day, while the wages of the Englishmen were from 3s. 9d. to 4s. per day. This lowering of wages by the Belgians had caused the late disturbances, which he and his brother members regretted. They were ready to receive the Belgians into their society. He also wished to ask on what terms the excavators' society which numbered several thousands could join the International Working
5 Men's Association, after the question had been answered, and the whole matter fully discussed, it was resolved—"That in case the excavators' society take steps to form a branch in the district where the disturbance occurred, that the central council send a delegate speaking the Belgian language to accompany the excavators' del-
'0 egates to induce the Belgians to join the excavators' society, also that the central council use its influence to prevent the importation of any more Belgians at such reduced prices."

Reports of Deputations.

25 Cit. Jung, reported that the Cigar Makers' Association had agreed to join and had sent citizens Walker and Church as their special delegates, they had also voted five pounds towards the Geneva Congress.

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Cit. Cremer, reported that the Amalgamated Society of Saddlers and Harness Makers had joined and elected Cit. G. Peate, as their delegate to the central council, they had also voted four pounds towards the Geneva Congress.

Resolutions admitting both societies as affiliated societies and their delegates to the council were carried unanimously.

The Geneva Congress.

The delegates to the above from England, will be Cits. Lawrence, Dupont, Carter, Cremer, Jung, and Eccarius.

Cit. Odger was also appointed if circumstances would permit him to attend.

The delegates leave London on Saturday morning, arriving in Geneva on Sunday evening, and the Congress will open on Monday morning, at 9 o'clock.

The following sums of money have been received by the council during the past week:—

Alliance Cabinet Makers	£10	0	0
West End Ditto	5	0	0
Cigar Makers' Association	5	0	0
Amalgamated Saddlers and Harness Makers	4	0	0
Arbeiter Bildungs Verein	2	0	0
Spoke's Tin Factory, Tottenham Court Road	0	11	9

Johann Georg Eccarius
Wiedergabe einer Rede von Karl Marx
auf dem 25. Stiftungsfest
des Deutschen Arbeiterbildungsvereins in London

Der Social-Demokrat.
Nr. 24, 19. Februar 1865

Aus den Reden, welche auf dem Stiftungsfest gehalten wurden, will ich nur einiges von *Karl Marx* erwähnen. Ueber die Streitfrage von Selbst- und Staatshülfe, sagte er, beide Parteien sind im Irrthum. In der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft gehören alle Lebens- sowohl als alle Arbeitsmittel den Kapitalisten, daher ist die Selbsthülfe

5 Unsinn. Auf der andern Seite ist es selbstverständlich, daß unter einem Ministerium Bismarck von keiner Staatshülfe die Rede sein kann, - die Arbeiter können sich nicht an das Ministerium Bismarck verkaufen. Die Staatshülfe kann nur von einem Staate ausgehen, in welchem das Proletariat die Oberherrschaft führt. Die Emancipation der Arbeit innerhalb der preußischen Monarchie zu predigen, hieße

•0 den Sturm in einem Glase Wasser beschwören. Die Emancipation der Arbeit bedingt die Befreiung Deutschlands, diese die Herstellung Polens und den Sturz der preußischen Monarchie. Auf die Vorwürfe der Fortschrittspartei in Bezug auf das Betragen der Arbeiter gegen die Bourgeoisie, sagte Marx, daß zur Zeit, wo er geschrieben, daß sich die Arbeiter mit der Bourgeoisie vereinigen müßten gegen den

15 Absolutismus, man vorausgesetzt habe, daß die deutsche Bourgeoisie wenigstens so viel durchsetzen werde, als die Bourgeoisie von England durchgesetzt habe, dies sei jedoch nicht der Fall. In Deutschland, speciell in Preußen, bestehe ein Preßgesetz, wonach alle Schmähungen und Verläumdungen von oben nach unten frei seien; er fügte hinzu, daß die Arbeiter-Zeitungen, sowie die Arbeiterbewegung, nur mit poli-

20 zeilicher Bewilligung existirten und man die Regierung nur mit *Sammt-Pfoten* angreifen dürfe. Unter solchen Umständen sei eine gemeinsame Aktion zwischen den Arbeitern und der Bourgeoisie unmöglich, um so mehr, da die Bourgeoisie zu feig sei, ihr eigenes Programm durchzuführen.

Minutes of the London Conference
of the international Working Men's Association
September 25—29, 1865

Meeting of the Subcommittee
with the Continental Delegates September 25, 1865

**[1] Meeting of the Standing Committee
with the Continental Delegates Sept'r 25**

Present of the Standing Committee Cits Jung, Marx, Dell, Weston, Howell, Bob-
czynski, V. P. Eccarius and the Hon Gen Sec. From Paris Cits Tolain, Fribourg, Li-
5 mousin, Schily, Varlin, Clarion and Dumesnil-Marigny, Switzerland Cits Dupleix
and Becker, Belgium Caesar De Paepe.

The Meeting having waited till a % past 3 for the arrival of the President and he
being still absent Cit Jung was voted to the Chair. He began by stating that the first
business was the financial position of the Association.

10 The Gen Sec stated that the accounts of the Association had been audited up to
March last and at that time the Accounts stood as follows: Income Expendi-
ture Balance , since that period there had been ||2| no audit but there
would be another at the end of this month and then the Balance Sheet would be
sent to the different Branches, probably up to the present time the income of the
15 Association was about 32 or 33£.

Cit Fribourg gave account of Financial position in Paris, the administration had
disposed of a large number of Cards but as they had been compelled to keep up a
Central Office and had been put to great expense by the travelling of the Delegates
etc. there was little or no balance to hand over to the CC, still the prospects were
20 hopeful as the chief expenses had been defrayed and the future contributions would
be chiefly clear income to be handed over to the CC, they still had about 400 Cards
of Membership undisposed of. A great drawback to their progress had been the
postponement of the Congress, also that many of the workmen were doubtful if any-
thing could be done under the present regime, they were constantly met with the
25 statement show us you can act and we will join you.

He, Cit Fribourg, ||3| wished the English particularly to understand their difficul-
ties, they could only meet in small numbers of not more than 20, if more met they
were liable to be arrested, a short time ago they had a Meeting of 60 and they had
the greatest difficulty to keep them together from 8 till 10 o'clock, they kept looking
30 at the door expecting to see the Police enter to arrest them, he mentioned this to
show the difficulties they had to contend with, the books and accounts of the Paris
Administration they had brought with them and they invited the Treasurer to in-
- spect them.

Minutes of the London Conference of the I.W.M.A.

Cit Tolain stated they had enrolled Members in Rouen, Nantes, Elbeuf, Caen, Lisieux, St. Denis, Pantin and Puteaux but in all those places their progress had been hindered by the postponement of the Congress.

Cit Schily said they had a great advantage in Switzerland where they met and contributed monthly while in France they had to get together as best they could and collect the Funds in the same manner. | 5

|4| Cits Cremer and Marx proposed That Cits Dell, Jung, and Dupont go over the Paris accounts and report to the next Meeting of the Standing Committee. Carried Unanimously.

Cit Dupleix reported of doings in Switzerland, they had been formed but 6 Months but had been successful, the Contributions at present were 5d per Month but the Members were willing to pay if necessary 1s per Month, they would have had a good surplus to pay over to the CC but for the expenses of the Delegates travelling. They had enrolled in Geneva 250 Men, in Lausanne 150, Vevey 150, the Men were quite impressed with the necessity for contributing to the CC and were even willing to dissolve their own organisations and to belong alone to the I.W.M.A. 10 15

Cit Schily called attention to the Necessity for facilities being provided whereby the Workmen of different countries in removing their domicile would receive assistance and also that the Secretaries in different Places should be able to assist Workmen, members of the Association, to obtain employment. | 20

|5| Cit De Paepe gave report of doings in Belgium, they had been constituted but 1 month but had already 60 Members who had agreed to pay not less than 3 francs or 2s 8d per year and out of that they will contribute 1s per year to the CC, they had but 24s subscribed when the question came before them of electing a Delegate but even with their small organisation and limited means they had elected him to come to the Conference. 25*

Cit Fribourg objected to the Belgium proposition as to a fixed contribution of 1s per Member to the CC, he thought some years there might be a large contribution, in fact a plethora, and in other years there would be a dearth, that when the funds were large they would be used locally. 30;

Cit Marx replied that the Congress would decide year by year as to the disposal of Funds.

Cit Tolain said that in Switzerland and Belgium they could meet openly, discuss any question and openly enroll Members but in France they could only meet by stealth and had no means of openly propagating the principles of the Association and therefore could not reach or inspire with Confidence those to whom they were personally unknown. 35.

This concluded the report of the Financial position.

The question of ways and means was then discussed.

Cit Becker representing the German section in Switzerland proposed Cit Schily seconded that a medal should be struck commemorative of the Meeting of the Conference, such Medals could be struck off for about 1d and could be sold for say 6d which would leave a good margin of profit for the Association and help to pay its expenses and be a means of propagandism. 40* -;

Fribourg thought it better that an approximate estimate should be formed as to 45j

**INTERNATIONAL
WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION,**
CENTRAL COUNCIL:—18, GREEK STREET, LONDON, W.

On the 25th September and following days

A CONFERENCE

of Delegates from the principal branches of the Association in France, Germany, Switzerland, and Belgium, will be held with the Members of the Central Council, when the following programme will be discussed:—

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1.—Questions relating to the Congress.* 2.—Questions relating to the organization of the Association. 3.—Combination of effort by means of the Association in the different national struggles between Capital and Labour. 4.—Trades' unions—their past, present, and future. 5.—Co-operative labour. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 6.—Direct and indirect taxation. 7.—Reduction of the number of the hours of labour. 8.—Female and children's labour. 9.—The Muscovite invasion of Europe, and the re-establishment of an integral and independent Poland. 10.—Standing armies: their effects upon the interests of the productive classes. |
|---|--|

Trade, Friendly, or any Working Men's Associations, are invited to send Delegates; the Conference will assemble at Six o'clock in the evening.

On the 28th September,

A SOIREE

WILL BE HELD IN

St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre,

To Celebrate the Foundation of the Association; to Welcome the Continental Delegates; and to propose an Address to the people of America, congratulating them on the Abolition of Slavery, and the Triumph of the Republic.

The Entertainment will consist of a Tea; Choruses by the German Working Men's Choral Society; Addresses by the Continental Delegates, and other friends; Selections by the Band of the Italian Working Men's Association; Dancing, &c.

TEA ON THE TABLE AT HALF-PAST SEVEN

APPROXIMATELY
1865. 10. 1. 5

Tickets for the Entire Entertainment 1s.

Tickets to admit after tea, half-past Eight, 6d.

To be had of any Member of the Central Council; at 4, Charles Street, Northampton Square, Clerkenwell; 56, Drury Lane; 25, Hatfield Street, Blackfriars; 18, Greek Street, on Tuesday evenings, from 8 to 10 o'clock; 10 and 11 Bedford Street, Strand; and of the Hon. Gen. Secretary, W. R. Cremer, 31, Gt. Titchfield Street, W.

* It is Contemplated (next year) calling a General Congress of Representatives from the various Working Men's Associations in Europe and America.

Programm der Londoner Konferenz der IAA (1865).
Flugblatt mit Marginalien von Marx

Meeting of the Subcommittee with the Continental Delegates September 25, 1865

the probable expenses of the Central Council up to the period of the Congress, also the expenses of the Congress, and that an attempt should be made to raise the money through the members.

Cremer agreed with Fribourg and thought if they stated what the amount was
5 likely to be and then issue Collecting Cards for Subscriptions of Id then by that means they might ||[7]|| raise the amount, he did not think the assembling of the Conference was of sufficient importance to impress the masses with a wish to commemorate it, he thought the question of striking off a medal should be left till the Congress when the Association would be more known and when it should have
10 done something worth commemorating, he thought the medal a premature question, and as it was by collecting Pence that the Religious Bodies raised the greater part of the money for propagandista, he thought that in this instance we might with benefit borrow their plan of action, ||[8]|| there were hundreds who would give one Penny but would not give a Shilling, he had no doubt as to their being able to raise
15 the necessary amount if they went earnestly to work.

Limousin supported Fribourg's view. The proposition for a Medal was also supported by Dell and Weston who said that it had been done with success in Robert Owen's movement.

Bobczynski supported the issue of a medal but would have different qualities and
20 prices, to those who should subscribe liberally to the Association and become life Members, he would charge 2s 6d so that they might wear it on public occasions.

Eccarius opposed the issue of a Medal and said as we were about to engage in a battle we had better wait and see if we had a victory to commemorate.

Marx was against fixing any amount as proposed by Fribourg.

25 Howell opposed the Medal, he thought it would be unsuccessful.

Finally the following Resolution was agreed to on the propositions of Cit Marx and Dupont:

That the propositions of the Belgian Delegate to send Is per Member per annum, the Swiss a fixed amount, the French the main proceeds of the sale of cards (in-
30 eluding the 400 they have in hand) to the Central Council, be accepted and that the further consideration of the financial position be adjourned till after the soiree.

Carried unanimously.

The Meeting then adjourned till tomorrow at 2 o'clock. |

Sitting of the Conference September 25, 1865

**|| Sitting of the Conference
Monday, Sept. 25th 1865**

The Sub-Committee having sat with the Delegates till half past 5, the members were not present in large numbers until near 8 o'clock, when the proceedings commenced under the Presidency of Citizen Odger, Citizen Jung being elected Vice-Chairman to interpret and translate.

Cit. Odger rose and addressed the Meeting. He said there [were] present representatives of France, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, Poland and Spain. He said that the English Workmen were seeking for the Franchise and it was difficult to make them think of anything else—thence the slowness with which the Association has progressed in England. When we have shown to the English people that we are doing some work, they will have confidence in us and join the Association but they have been so often deceived that they are slow in giving their confidence. He then declared the Conference duly open.

A proposition was put and carried unanimously that the Meetings of the conference take place at 8 o'clock.

Cit Cremer addressed the Meeting on the position of the Trade Societies in England. People on the Continent may think them very rich and able to contribute to a cause which ||2| is their own, but they are tied down by petty rules which confine them to very narrow limits. They are difficult to move and, but for a few men that are among them, they are not worth anything for what they may do for their own emancipation or that of their fellow-men. They know nothing of Politics and they are difficult to be made to understand that there is such a science. However, there was a beginning of progress. A few years ago, Delegates from our Association would not have been allowed a hearing; now we are well received, listened to and our principles unanimously approved of. That is the first time that an Association having anything to do with Politics was accepted by the Trades Unions.

Cit. Fribourg, French Delegate, said that the Association had been well received in France; 1,200 cards of membership had been taken in Paris, though they could not meet, but they act individually and they hope the Association will acquire a great extension.

Cit Dupont read the following letter from Lyons—Also a Letter from Citizen Tal--

Sitting of the Conference September 25, 1865

bot, of Caen, who approves of the intervention in favor of Poland but especially insists on curtailing the power of Russia—He shudders at the idea that by rail it only requires 47 hours to come from St. Petersburg to Strasburg. |

[3] Citizen Tolain, from Paris, spoke of the state of Societies in Paris—He said that whereas in '48 the Political events urged the people on to move and to act, now, events are against action, but action takes place notwithstanding and even against the force of events. The Social questions are being studied and elaborated. People, he said, undergo two phases: the Political and the Social. They are perfecting the latter.

Cit. Dupleix, from the French part of Switzerland. He said the Branch began with 60 members; it now numbers 400—They feel that the time has come when workmen must work their own emancipation by their own exertions. At Geneva, they have made an appeal to the Benefit Societies. 3 Societies have already joined—He related that at Montreux an act of reparation had been done by the influence of the Association.

Herr Becker, the Representative from the German part of Switzerland, said that in Geneva alone 1,500 had already joined. Benefit Societies started last summer and were organising themselves into an union of Societies, but hearing of the International Association, they took that as their connecting link. His speech was full of warmth and eloquence and much applauded by those who understood the German Language. |

[4] Citizen Cesar De Paepe, Delegate from Belgium, related a History of the various Associations. Two years ago, an International Association was formed, but it had too much of the Middle Class element in it—It broke up. Now, there are three kinds of parties in Belgium: the Revolutionists who simply want to upset the existing state of things—the Socialists who make a study of the miseries of the people, their causes and the means of bringing a remedy to them—then, some other Societies very like the Trade Unions in England, who limit their aspirations to being ready to strike for a few halfpence.

Then there are a large number of Societies of Freethinkers whose sole mission seems to be to oppose the Clergy.—He, the worthy Delegate, said that he looked on co-operation as only a partial remedy—Then, there was the Credit-Mutual. But, he looked upon Landed Property as the question to be taken in hand. As it stood, pauperism must go on increasing according to a law now known "that pauperism increased in the same ratio as wealth"! Land like air belonged to all, its fruits must belong to those who cause them to be produced—but land itself must not belong to anyone. |

[5] Continuation of Monday's Conference

The question of the Newspaper was then discussed. Cit. Vésinier said that the Newspaper ought to appear once a month in a double number—the extra part being published in three languages and reporting the doings of the Association.

Cit. Schily said that the Workman's Advocate should have a sub-title as the or-

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gan of the Association. Citizens Marx, Bolleter, Le Lubez and others took part in the discussion after which Citizen Becker proposed and Le Lubez seconded that the Workman's Advocate be recognised as the organ of the Association.

On the question of Foreign Correspondence it was decided that foreign Correspondence sent by Delegates should be received for our Newspaper, compiled by a Commission and published—The Foreign Delegates took the engagement to send Correspondence. |

[Auszug aus The Workman's Advocate]

The Workman's Advocate.
Nr. 134, 30. September 1865

A Conference of Delegates from France, Belgium, Switzerland, Poland, Germany, and Italy, and the English representatives from the various societies, affiliated with the central body in England, opened on Monday last.

The delegates of the several nationalities first met at 3 o'clock, at the Freemason's Arms, Long Acre, for mutual introduction, and preliminary matters of business and finance.

The following delegates gave in their credentials:—France, Messieurs Schily, Fribourg, Tolain, Varlin, Limousin and Clarion; Switzerland, Dupleix and Becker; Belgium, Cassar De Paepe; also Dumesnil-Marigny, Dr. Marx, Eccarius, Lessner, Kaub, Schapper, Vesinier, Dupont, Le Lubez, Jung, Major Wolff, Bobczynski, Lochner, Bolleter, etc., from the various French, German, Italian, Swiss, and Polish societies in this country; together with the various English delegates, as Cremer, Dell, Odger, Weston, Howell, Shaw, Wheeler, etc., etc., representing their central and affiliating bodies.

After some business of a preliminary character, the delegates adjourned to 8, Adelphi-terrace, Strand, where the Conference was held.

The Conference assembled in the large room of the Reform League, at 7 o'clock. Mr. Geo. Odger, in the chair. He stated that delegates were present from France, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, Spain, and Italy, together with the English representatives of the various affiliated bodies. Their progress (he continued) had been most encouraging, and their prospects were most favourable. Their efforts had been directed to the various questions stated in the programme before the Conference, and he had no hesitation in saying that their progress had been so far satisfactory.

Mr. Cremer, the General Corresponding Secretary, explained the position of the English sections of the Association; he said, that for many years the English workmen had not taken an active part in politics, having confined their efforts to social questions, and those more particularly affecting the interests of capital and labour. But the leading spirits of the English societies had now identified themselves with the leading questions of the day, and were steadily but surely moving great masses of their fellow-countrymen in the same direction. They had already done something in international movements and he had no doubt of their ultimate triumph.

Möns. Fribourg (Paris delegate) said, the difficulties of the French members were very great. They could not meet as in England, for if twenty only met together the eye of the Government was suspiciously upon them. They had once as many as sixty of their members at a meeting, but had the greatest difficulty in keeping them
5 together, for they were continually expecting to see the police enter the door. They had no trades' or political organizations as in this country, so it was to them a pursuit of progress under difficulties.

Möns. Dupont next reported from Lyons, they were glad that the intended Congress in Belgium had been postponed till next year, and this Conference was being
10 held in its stead. They wished their brother delegates (Confrères) to understand that their own efforts must work out their own redemption. The principles to be employed were moral force, justice, and truth. They had great difficulties but labour would conquer them. In Lyons they would work to that end, and give the fraternal hand of fellowship to their brother toilers all over the world.

15 Another French delegate (Talbot, the correspondent of the department of Calvados) reported from that part of France.

In reference to the topics on the programme, there is but one feeling on the subject of Poland. They felt that no great good could be done for Europe till the power of Russia was crippled. Finland should again be given to the sea, and Poland re-
20 established in her independence. They shuddered at the thought of Russia's vast and still increasing power in Europe. Her vast armies make peace but a dream.

Möns. Tolain (the late working men's candidate for the department of the Seine) said: Of late years the workmen had been impelled onward in the path of progress by an irresistible force; they had now arrived at that point that they were themselves
25 pressing forward in spite of a considerable force, tending to keep them nailed to their present position. In France they were paying great attention to social questions, which he (the speaker) looked upon as most important just now, under the present regime, and likely to produce the most momentous political results. (The translator to the Conference said the speech just made was a most beautiful and
30 eloquent one, and he felt ashamed of his own feeble attempt at translation.)

Möns. Dupleix, one of the Swiss delegates, next reported from Switzerland. They had large societies in Neuchâtel, Geneva, Montreux, Vevey, and Lausanne. They had already done much good in Switzerland, and in one town—Montreux—had been the means of bringing an employer to justice for a breach of contract, and an
35 infringement of their laws.

M. Becker, from the German part of Switzerland, said they had three nationalities and three languages in their country, and had published their address in French, Swiss, and German. They had already done good service in their country, through the International Association, and would work still harder in the future.
40 They were in favour of Polish nationality as a political question, and of co-operative labour as a social one, capable of great good for working men. They were opposed to private property in land.

M. De Paepe (Belgium) said they had only fairly started about six weeks, but they anticipated great results. Their country, unhappily, was very much divided into
45 classes of different shades of opinion; but they hoped to make this a great move-

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merit. They were not prepared to say that co-operation would regenerate humanity, but it might aid their cause. They were not quite in favour of the Polish movement, as some were; for it seemed so powerless that the sacrifices were all on one side. On the whole they thoroughly favoured the movement of the International Association.

Several foreign delegates spoke in favour of a recognised international organ, to communicate their views to their fellow workers throughout Europe, and indeed the world. Arrangements were then made to adopt an organ, and make it the medium for disseminating their views. Several delegates remarked that no weekly paper had a foreign correspondence, whereas their paper would be able to produce the best in the world. Dr. Marx and others were elected as conductors of this department.

Meeting of the Subcommittee
with the Continental Delegates September 26, 1865

**|| Meeting of Standing Committee
with Continental Delegates September 26**

Citizen Jung in the chair, present of the Standing Committee Eccarius, Marx, Weston, Cremer, Howell and Jung, the whole of the Continental Delegates were present.

The question of finance was again discussed.

Cremer proposed Howell seconded—That we recommend to the Conference to pledge itself in the name of the Association to raise 150£ for the purpose of propagandism and the expenses of the Congress, and that it be left to this Body to apportion the respective amounts to be raised by the different Nationalities. Carried Unanimously.

The question of a General Congress was next discussed.

Marx in the name of the Central Council proposed that the Congress assemble in Geneva. Dupleix seconded the proposition. Fribourg wished it recorded that the French Delegates had received instructions to propose Geneva instead of as heretofore decided Belgium as a protest against the law passed in Belgium with regard to foreigners. The resolution was Carried Unanimously.

De Paepe proposed Tolain seconded That the following be submitted to the Conference this evening:

That the Conference transfer the place of Meeting of the Congress from Belgium to Geneva as a solemn protest against the Law concerning Foreigners passed in Belgium. *Carried Unanimously.*

The period for the assembling of the Congress was next discussed.

Marx and Cremer in the name of the Central Council proposed that it take place in September or October of next Year unless unforeseen circumstances shall occur to necessitate its further postponement.

The Delegates from Paris as an amendment proposed, That the Congress assemble on the first Sunday in April next year. They all declared that to longer postpone the Congress would be fatal to the Association in France, and Tolain opposed any discretionary power being given to the Central Council on the question.

Schily thought the French Delegates exaggerated ||2| the urgency for the Congress.

De Paepe said that if the Congress was held too soon they could not send Del-

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legates from Belgium, they were now in debt and it would take them some time to recover themselves, he supported the resolution.

The French Delegates were willing to give a little further time, they would agree to the Month of May.

Marx was impressed by the statements of the French Delegates and was inclined to withdraw the resolution.

Cremer thought we had not made propagandism in Germany, Spain, Italy and that our efforts should be exerted in that direction as a Congress of the Working Men of Europe would be incomplete without representatives from those Nationalities.

Schily thought the Paris Administration were putting the knife to the throat of the Association and if they were not very careful they would kill it.

Limousin said the present regime caused the Workmen to distrust each other and thereby increased their difficulties.

Jung said French Delegates must take all the responsibility on themselves if the Congress was a failure, he would suggest June instead of May as the spring was late in Switzerland.

The French Delegates would so far yield as to agree to the last week in May.

Marx having withdrawn his proposition for September the amendment became the resolution and was unanimously agreed to.

The following were then appointed to speak at the Soiree, Tolain, Dupleix, Becker, Bobczynski, and Jones.

The next question discussed was the organisation of the Association.

Dupleix wished to know how the Association was to be formed.

Limousin thought it was not within the province of the Conference to decide the question, he thought a Congress alone could decide it.

Fribourg and Dupleix proposed That the organisation of the Association is a question for the Congress. Carried Unanimously.

Marx and Fribourg proposed That the following questions be submitted to the Congress "Cooperative Labor", "Reduction of the number of the ||3| hours of labor", "Female and Child labor", all present voted for them as questions but Weston—

Marx and Fribourg proposed the following for the Congress "Direct and indirect taxation", agreed to.

The following questions marked 3, 4 and 10 on the programme were also agreed to.

3.—Combination of effort by means of the Association in the different national struggles between Capital and Labour.

4.—Trades' unions—their past, present, and future.

10.—Standing armies: their effects upon the interests of the productive classes.

The Members then adjourned till tomorrow, the 27, at 2 o'clock. |

Meeting of the Conference Tuesday evening, at 8 o'clock

Cit Odger in the Chair, Citizen Jung Vice Chairman and interpreter.

Cit. Cremer read the reports of the two previous sittings of the Sub-Committee, and the questions resolved upon in that department were submitted to the Conference—

1st That the sum of £150 be raised for the purpose of Propagandism and to get up the Congress. Carried unanimously—

2nd That the Congress be held in Geneva. Carried unanimously—

3rd That it be recorded that the cause why the place where the Congress was to be held is changed from Brussels to Geneva, is the Uncivilised and Inhuman Law passed in Belgium for the expulsion of illustrious Foreigners. Carried Unanimously.

4th That the Meeting of the Congress be fixed for next May.

This was strongly opposed by Cit. Le Lubez who said there was not time sufficient to make the Congress a success by that time; a long discussion followed—The Paris Delegates insisting on the absolute necessity of having it not later than that. Carried by a large majority—Citizens Hansen and Lessner voting against it. Cit. Le Lubez abstaining from voting.

5th The questions that are to be discussed at the Congress. Cit. Le Lubez asked that each question be put separately.

The 1st question was supposed to have been disposed of, so the 2nd was submitted to the meeting and carried. But Cit. Le Lubez having asked to return to the 1st of the questions in order to decide what would be the mode of admission to the Congress—

Cit. Vésinier asked what would be the rights of those who would attend and who were to vote? The Paris Delegates said that all those who have a card must be entitled to all the rights of Discussion and of voting—They made it a matter of principle and said it was universal suffrage.

Citizen Cremer urged that the Congress should be composed exclusively of Representative men and he made a Resolution to the effect that all the Adhering Branches of the International Association might send Delegates and that any other society of Working-men, having been established more than 3 months previous to

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the Assembling of the Congress, might send Delegates who would have the same rights as the Delegates of the International Association. The Paris Delegates, |) [2] then, withdrew their proposition. A great deal of opposition was shown to the latter part of Cit. Cremer's proposition, "the admitting of Representatives of any organised Societies who had not adhered to the Principles of the International Association, to vote and to have the same influence on its destiny as the Delegates from the Central Council and of the Branch Societies".

Citizen Vésinier then proposed that any member of the Association, having his card, or any well known Citizen who shall be proposed by two members to the Central Council or to the Council of any of the Branches, and who is accepted by them or any one of them, shall be entitled to all the rights of the Delegates to the Congress.

Citizen Dupleix said that in Geneva they invited members of other Societies to their Meetings and that they allowed them to take part in the Discussion but *not to vote*. He recommended the same course for the Congress—He also said that special cards should be issued and charged for to those who wished to assist at the Congress-

Citizen Caesar De Paepe proposed that the right of voting be given to Delegated Members of the Association—that everyone be admitted to speak but not to vote. Citizens Carter, Eccarius, Tolain, Fribourg, Limousin (who said that all those who attended should vote), Wheeler, Leno, Lassassie and others took part in the discussion when Cit. Cremer's proposition was divided; and, the first part being put was carried—Citizens Vésinier and De Paepe voting against it.

A discussion then followed with regard to the second part of the proposition—the admission of all Delegates, of any Workmen's Society, to have the right to attend 25 and to vote— "i

Cit Vésinier made an earnest appeal to the members to beware of Bonapartists .. who most certainly could get any number of their partisans elected as Representatives and out-vote us at the Congress. Cit. Tolain said he did not think Bonapartism was so dangerous as some people would make it—he thought it was much magni- 30 fied.

Eventually Citizen Cremer withdrew the second part of his proposition—

Each of the remaining propositions, the 3^d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th and 10th were put and voted—the 9th was put off till the next day—

The Meeting then adjourned. |

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[Auszug aus The Workman's Advocate] \

The Workman's Advocate.
Nr. 134, 30. September 1865

[Zu S. 467.14-19]

The following resolutions were passed: [...]

"That the congress assemble in May of next year."

Sitting of the Conference September 26, 1865

Upon the last mentioned, considerable discussion took place, some being in favour of September of next year, instead of May. But ultimately the resolutions were adopted. The haste was chiefly due to the French delegates, who insisted that the postponement of the congress would be fatal to the association in France. They
5 cannot meet to plan and discuss, but must at once either abandon a scheme, or put it in practice. They therefore are in favour of May next. It having been explained to the delegates that it was a matter of life and death to the French Association that the Congress should be no longer delayed the resolution was carried unanimously.

[Zu S. 467.22-468.32]

10 It was then moved by Mr. Cremer, seconded by Mr. Eccarius,—“That the congress shall consist of representative men only, who shall bring credentials properly authenticated by the citizens deputing them; and further, that each delegate shall represent a branch of the Association or not less than thirty working men, who shall have been organised for not less than three months previously to the assembling of
15 the congress.”

Upon this resolution an animated discussion took place. Fribourg opposed any society being present, except those belonging to the Association. But would allow all members the privilege of attending and taking part in the deliberations of the congress.

20 Vesinier thought every member should have the right to meet and vote.

Cope said every delegate attending the congress should send his credentials at least seven days [beforehand] to the nearest branch of the Association.

[De] Paepe, was in favour of all members attending and speaking but delegates only should vote. They would be able to accommodate the Conference with five
25 hundred voters from across the French frontier, if it were open voting.

Limousin was in favour of open speaking and open voting.

Lassassie, was not in favour of open doors; the French people knew little of open discussion or they would not support it. With open doors it would last six months. No, delegates only must speak and vote.

) Dupleix thought no harm would be done if members attended the congress, but they should take no part in the proceedings.

Mr. Cremer was in favour of open doors in the same sense as our House of Commons, but none but representatives should take any part in speaking or voting. The plan advocated by the French delegates would destroy its representative character
5 altogether. If it were representative in its character, the people of Europe would pause to listen to its deliberations, but if not it would be looked upon with derision and scorn. He could not understand the Parisian delegates objecting to such a system, for upon any other basis the congress would be a farce.

Tolain was in favour of perfect equality, both to speak and vote. If Bonapartism
0 sought to influence their deliberations, they would grapple with it in open congress. But it was not so bad as it appeared, or as it was painted.

Carter was in favour of Mr. Cremer's amendment, but desired to see the question postponed.

Minutes of the London Conference of the I. W. M. A.

Schily would vote in favour of the proposition. Bonapartism, if it sought to influence our deliberations, would sail under our colours.

Howell urged those present to well consider before they destroyed the representative character of the congress. Would it be right to allow a man who only paid his shilling, and had no delegated authority, to outvote another man sent by five hundred members? Would they have been satisfied if the Conference had been filled with English delegates, so as to overpower the voice and authority of the continental representatives? Yet this was the meaning of the proposition. He should vote for the amendment.

The question was further discussed by Mr. Weston and others, ultimately the following amendment of Mr. Shaw was carried unanimously (Mr. Cremer having withdrawn the last clause of his amendment), "That the congress shall consist of representative men *only*, who shall bring credentials properly authenticated by the branches of the association deputing them."

**[[1]] Conference of Wednesday evening
Sept. 27th 1865**

Cit. Odger in the chair, Cit. Jung translator and Vice Chairman. Cit. Marx read the report from the meeting of the permanent Committee and the Delegates. Cit. Le
5 Lubez read the minutes, and, at the request of the Paris Representatives, translated them. They were passed unanimously.

The following resolutions came from the preallable meeting of the afternoon and proposed as fit questions to be put before the Congress:

1st Res. That a Meeting be held in Geneva after the Congress—Carried unani-
10 mously.

2nd That the question of giving relief to the sick, orphans and old people be submitted to the Congress. Citizen Cremer supported that idea very strongly, saying that material benefits are the greatest link, for the present, to hold out to Societies in this Country. He hoped the Association would seriously take up the question.
15 Carried unanimously.

3rd The formation of International Credit Societies. It was said that those Societies might be of immense service—It appears that in France these Societies are allowed, but as under an absolute Government no funds were safe from its grasp, they would be glad of finding a secure place for their funds in England. Carried Unani-
20 mously.

4th That it is imperative to annihilate the invading influence of Russia in Europe by applying to Poland "the right of every people to dispose of itself", and re-establishing that country on a Social and Democratic basis. Cit. Le Lubez proposed that the latter part of the proposition only be retained, i.e. "that peoples have a right
25 to dispose of themselves". He said that it would be affirming the same principle, but upon a broader, in fact a universal basis. Citizen Weston, in seconding the amendment, said he was opposed to the introduction of any but social questions. He said we ought to do one thing at a time, and do it well. Cit. De Paepe said that he did not think the question ought to be introduced at all. The re-establishment of
30 Poland could only benefit 3 classes: the High Nobility, the low Nobility and the Clergy—As to the serfs they had little to hope for. "You want to check Russian influence," said the orator, "which influence? That of the Government? Then I ask

that the influence of *all* governments in Europe be checked. Is the influence of the Prussian, Austrian, English and French Governments less baneful [\[\[2\]\]](#) than that of Russia? I say no. But if you mean to check the influence of the Russian people, then I say that they are the same as any other people. Indeed there is a movement going on among the working peasants by which they claim 'the land and liberty'. Then, there are so many people who suffer that it is almost unjust to name but one." He moved that the question be not entertained. Cit. Wheeler warmly supported the resolution—He said that Russia had always been a stumbling block in the way of progress. Despotism was horrible anywhere, but that of Russia was the most cruel. Cit. Lassassie thought we had better see the intense misery and tyranny under which the people in these countries laboured than go so far to look for wrongs. Governments wished for our minds to be directed to far-off questions, it prevented us from seeing the tyranny at home; he insisted on Ireland being freed from English yoke. Capt. Bobczynski in a very able and eloquent speech answered the objections that had been raised against the Resolution. Poland, he said, had fought the longest, had been the longer oppressed, her sons had shed their blood on every battle-field where right was struggling against might. Poland is the key-note to European freedom—she must be Democratic and she declares for the freedom of all. The President said that it was at a meeting in favour of Poland, held at St. James' Hall, that the French and English Workmen first met fraternally together; we must support Poland: to us, it was the type of oppressed Nations. Cit. Carter said that to deal with social questions and leave political ones untouched, was to deal with a headless body, or a body without a soul—He did not know where Despotism would stop if the voice of humanity was not raised against it. He was in favour of the proposition. After a very long discussion, the Chairman put it: That it be not entertained, only seven voted for, and 10 against. For Cit Le Lubez' proposition 10—for the original proposition 23. Citizen Vésinier asked the following names be added to Poland—Rome, Venice, Hungary, France, Ireland, Mexico and others, but the Chairman told him he was out of order—that the question was settled.

5th Res. The Religious idea; its relation to social, political and intellectual development of the people. Cit. Carter moved that it be not entertained. He said that we had nothing to do with dogmas or creeds, that each individual must have full liberty to judge for himself, and that there should be no interference between a man's conscience and his god. Cit Le Lubez said that he wished there was no interference, *then* we should have no priests or parsons, but the latter existed, the other side of the question must be made known—

Cit Fribourg supported the Resolution—Cit Holtorp also supported it. Cit. Weston made an earnest appeal to the Meeting *not* to entertain the question. Cit. Howell said it was our duty to study this question, not in narrow, sectarian point of view, but as a philosophic principle. In England, it had been the custom to condemn all discussions of Religious or Political questions. [\[\[3\]\]](#) that is the reason there were so few who understood those questions: thence our slow progress. But we must have them carefully studied as they greatly affect our welfare. Cit. De Paepe said that the men who in Catholic countries go and kneel to a fellow man are not the men to be relied on for the carrying out of their own emancipation—Those who

believed in a Being of some kind who was always above them and whose humble instruments they believe they are, always feel themselves low, and are not the likely men to become independent.

5 Cit. Tolain said that the programme would be incomplete without that proposition.

Cit. Weston again appealed to the Meeting not to admit that apple of discord. For the amendment 13—for the proposition 18. The Meeting then separated. |

[Auszug aus The Workman's Advocate]

The Workman's Advocate.
Nr. 134, 30. September 1865

10

[Zu S. 471.21-472.29]

Proposed by Bobczynski, seconded by Wheeler, "That it is imperatively necessary to annihilate the influence of Russia in Europe by applying to Poland the right of every people to dispose of itself, and to re-establish that country upon its native democratic basis."

15 Proposed by Le Lubez, seconded by Weston, in an energetic speech, "That the latter part of the proposition only do pass, that is, in reference to the right of every people to settle its own form of government."

Weston would have no proposition embodying a political question, but stick to social ones, as he believed that to do things well, they must do one at a time. He
20 thought the political would introduce dissention.

De Paepé said the watchwords of the Russian peasants were "Land and Liberty", and should be the watchwords of the Polish peasant also. But he wished to know if it was the power of the Russian people or the Russian government, that strove to blot Poland from the map of Europe? If it be the Russian government, then the
25 French government was quite as dangerous to liberty as the Russian. It was their influence which procured the passing of that abominable act against foreigners in Belgium which rendered necessary the removal of the Congress to Geneva. He moved "That the question be not entertained." Seconded by Bordage.

Wheeler, in an eloquent speech, supported the resolution, as Russian despotism
30 was the most blighting in the world. It rested not till its opponents were blotted out, as in Circassia, and Poland, was now being done. He denounced despotism everywhere; but Russian was most cruel and dangerous to Europe.

Lassassie thought we need not go to Poland, as there was plenty of work to be done at home. Misery and tyranny were in our midst; let us first reform these, and
35 then attack foreign questions.

Bobczynski very ably and eloquently answered the objections against the Polish question. They had the first claim, on account of their long and earnest battle against might; their arms had served in every other cause. In France, Hungary, and Italy, her sons fought heroically in the cause of European liberty. Her sons wanted

to be free; that was the key to their earnest, but, alas, almost useless struggles. International sympathy makes no distinction between peoples; but we select Poland because she has striven most in her own cause. She had tried to fulfil the condition of the poet—"A nation to be free, herself must strike the blow"—if she had failed, cowardice was not the cause, for she had struck nobly and well. They must not separate social and political questions, for political reforms must be the precursor of social advancement, they are inevitably bound up together and cannot be separated. Poland is the key note to European freedom; she is democratic or nothing; she declares for freedom for all. This speech was very warmly applauded.

The Chairman explained that in reality Poland brought their Association into existence, as they would see by the following extract from their address:—"Let our first united efforts be for the freedom of Poland; the justness of their cause demands it, treaty obligations make it imperative, and duty points the way." We must, he said, stand or fall by the Polish cause.

Carter thought Poland eminently deserving the first consideration. Their case was the worst, and was infecting the whole of Europe. It was their political plague spot, and should at once receive attention, to prevent the spread of the disease. To adopt social questions, and leave political ones untouched, was to deal with a headless body, or a body without its animating soul. Poland must be dealt with.

The Chairman then put it to the vote. That it be not entertained was lost by a large majority. That the latter part only of the proposition be taken, was also lost by a large majority. For the proposition in its entirety, the majority was overwhelming.

Vesinier wanted to protest against Poland being accepted when so many other nationalities were in a similar position.

But the Chairman ruled that it was out of order. He had already taken six votes on the question, and heard nearly two dozen speeches.

[Zu S. 472.30-473.7]

"The religious idea: its relation to the social, political, and intellectual development of the people." [...]

Fribourg supported its discussion. They were neither materialists nor brutes. The question was an important one, and must be entertained.

Holtorp supported its retention in the programme.

Howell favoured the discussion of this question, not as a narrow and sectarian one to be tabooed, but as a philosophic principle underlying all other questions. In England it had been the custom to condemn all polemical and political discussions; this was one reason of our slow progress. If it were to be made the means of attacking men's religious opinions, he would condemn its introduction. But the time must come when they would have to calmly consider religion as an ethical and philosophic principle inwoven with every social and political movement.

Weston strongly condemned it, as tending to destroy the association.

De Paepe was in favour of the proposition, but it must not be viewed through a fanatic's eye belonging to either the Romish or Protestant churches.

Sitting of the Conference September 27, 1865

Tolain thought if it were left out it would be a sign of weakness. It was necessary to retain it to complete our programme. We shall then stand on the broad basis of social, political, and religious progress.

It was then put to the conference, and carried by a small majority.

Meeting of the Subcommittee
with the Continental Delegates September 29, 1865

Freemasons Arms Sept 29th
Meeting of Standing Committee and delegates.

General proposition to send copies of address to the whole of the Branches. Supported by Dupleix and De Paepe and Carried unanimously.

That the £150 be raised by the different Nationalities in the following proportions: English £80, French £40, Swiss £10, German £10, and Belgium £10; and if the last £10 cannot be raised in Belgium, to [be] raised in equal proportions [by] the other Nationalities. Unanimously.

In future the Delegates of the different Nationalities shall be empowered by their constituents to deliberate definitively and in proportion to their numbers, on all financial questions. Carried unanimously.

Suggested by Dupleix and others That Vesinier's name be struck out of our Official report.

Tolain proposed a vote of regret at the absence of Mr Peter Fox, such expression to be sent by the Central Council on account of his services to the Association. Schily seconded on behalf of the French Delegates and the standing Committee.

The Protocol [was] read by Dr Marx and carried unanimously. |

I [2] I The following suggestions were read and left for the Central Council.

We beg to express on behalf of the English members of the Association the great pleasure and satisfaction we have felt at the cordial way in which the Conference has been conducted, and the friendly sentiments expressed by all the assembled delegates.

That the thanks of the Conference be tendered to Citizen Jung for his considerate and impartial conduct as translator to the Conference. |

Minutes of the General Council
of the International Working Men's Association
September 18, 1866 to August 29, 1867.
From the Minute Book of the General Council
September 18, 1866 to August 31, 1869

|1| Central Council Meeting Sept. 18th

Citizen Odger in the Chair.

Citizen Whitehead was elected as the delegate from the French Polishers' Society, which meets at the Black Horse in Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, W.

Citizen Fox read a Letter from Mr Lee the Secretary of the Excavators' Society and in consequence of its contents, Citizens Whitehead, Lafargue and Dutton were appointed to form a deputation to wait upon the Excavators' Society on the following Friday.

Citizen Marx stated that the notice of the Manchester Tailors' Strike had been inserted in the Democratic Journals in the North, South and Centre of Germany; he gave a list of those Journals. Citizen Lawrence stated that the struggle had closed in Manchester, that in fact, the London Committee had decided that the Manchester men were in the wrong—they had been too exacting.

Citizen Hrabje, who is about to leave London for Hungary, was authorized to act on behalf of the association in that country. Citizen Hansen gave an account of what he had been able to do for the association during his recent visit to Copenhagen. He stated that he had found there a trustworthy agent for the association.

A Letter from Mr Miall the Landlord was then read demanding that the Central Council should become his immediate tenant for the room in 18 Bouverie Street and pay him directly the quarter's rent which was due last midsummer.

The Consideration of the question adjourned. |

|2| The Delegates' Report

As it appeared that only Cits. Odger, Lawrence, Eccarius, and Carter had returned, it was thought best to defer the reception of the official report until after the return [of] Cits. Cremer, Jung, and Dupont; but the delegates were invited to give an unofficial extempore narrative of what took place.

Citizen Odger gave a glowing account of the welcome given by the Genevese to the delegates, and declared that the general results of the Congress had far exceeded his anticipations. He declared that Cit. Jung's conduct as president had given general satisfaction.

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After the British delegates had left Geneva they repaired to Berne to have an interview with the Federal Government of Switzerland on the subject of cheap international postage. The delegates saw the Foreign Secretary and the Postmaster-General. They were first of all very courteously shown over the Federal palace and the picture Gallery, and Museum. Their interview with the Post-Master-General of the Helvetic Confederation lasted about half-an-hour. He entirely coincided with the views of the delegates on this subject, and said that the Swiss Government was of the same opinion as the International Working-men's Association.

Cits. Cremer and Jung remained behind at Neuchâtel to help Dr Coullery in propagandist work on behalf of the association. It had been the intention of the delegates to have stayed for a time in Paris to observe the progress of the co-operative companies of production there, and Cit. Lawrence had desired to see some of his trade (the Tailors) there, but the arrest on the frontier of a Parisian delegate returning from the Congress for having in his possession a "seditious" ||3| anti-Napoleonic pamphlet persuaded the British delegates [to abandon] this portion of their plan. He further stated that although the Parisian delegates had at first been disposed to offer a factious opposition yet towards the end they had acted in a most satisfactory manner towards the British delegates; and had asked their opinions on several of the questions involved.

Citizen Carter then made his statement. He said that the Genevese tailors had been addressed by Cit. Lawrence, he, Carter interpreting; the Carpenters by Cremer, Carter interpreting; and the shoemakers by Odger—Eccarius interpreting. The two former meetings had been most enthusiastic and crowded.

Citizen Eccarius gave a more detailed account of their interview with the Post-Master-General at Berne. The Swiss Government was ready to enter into an agreement with any government [provided] that each country should retain its own general postage rate and that the intermediate transit should be charged at half baggage rates. The French Government was the great obstacle to all postal Reform, They would not allow letters to be charged for in bulk but insisted upon charging and inspecting the address on every letter. The Postmaster General was of opinion that 31 the letter rate between Great Britain and Switzerland might advantageously be reduced from 6d to 2½d per letter. He had been lately trying to get the ordinary French letter rate raised from 10 oz to 12 oz but without avail. He was also in favor of a reform of the regulations governing book and pattern posts.

Eccarius had in his "valise" copies of the "seditious" pamphlet for the possession 35 of which the Parisian delegate had been arrested, but the French authorities took no notice of him, presumably because he was looked upon as a Briton. ||4| He added that eight workmen had appeared (from Paris) at the Congress as opponents of the Administrative party. The Congress had refused to hear them as they were not accredited by any organized body recognized by the Association. It would 40 be a suggestion for the Central Council to consider, whether considering the non-existence of the right of meeting in France, this Council might not be able to do for these desiderata what they could not do for themselves.

Citizen Carter added that the number of essays on the several questions in the 4 programme contributed by members of the association was very large and came 4(

1
 Central Council Meeting Sept. 18th
 Citizen Coger in the Chair
 Citizen Whitbread was elected as the delegate from
 the French Political Society, which meets at the Bank
 House in Rathbone Place, London Street W.
 Citizen Fox read a letter from the Secretary
 of the Transatlantic Society and in consequence of its
 contents, Citizen Whitbread Lafargue and Weston
 were appointed to form a deputation to wait upon
 the Transatlantic Society on the following Tuesday.
 Citizen Morse stated that the notice of the
 Manchester Society had been inserted
 in the Democratic journals in the North, South
 and Centre of Germany, he gave a list of these
 journals. Citizen Lawrence stated that the
 struggle had closed in Manchester, that in fact
 the London Committee had decided that the
 Manchester men were on the wrong - they had
 been too weak.
 Citizen Wright, who is about to leave London
 for Hungary, was authorized to act on behalf of
 the Association in that country. Citizen Hanson
 gave an account of what he had been able to do
 for the Association during his recent visit to
 Copenhagen. He stated that he had found there
 a trustworthy agent for the Association.
 A letter from Mr. Wall the Landlord was
 then read demanding that the Central Council
 should become his immediate tenant for the room
 in Whitehorse Street, and pay him monthly the
 rent which was one last Wednesday.
 The conversation of the meeting stopped here.

Meeting of the General Council September 18, 1866

from all parts of Europe. The Congress had resolved that every individual member should pay 3d. per head this year towards the expenses of the Central Council.

Citizen Lawrence stated some incidents of recent struggles at Lausanne between the employer and the employed in the shoemaking trade, and how the International association had played a leading part therein. He also spoke of their progress in the career of Co-operative production. He noted generally that on the Continent the working classes were in advance of the British in this respect. In Paris there were 54 Co-operative Manufacturing Associations, and 200 credit Societies. In the business of Co-operative Banking the Continentals were also ahead of us. It had been the intention of the Parisian members of the International Workingmen's association to have given a dinner to the returning British delegates, but the aforesaid arrest threw a damper over this project. He confirmed what the other delegates had already stated concerning the reign of terror and suspicion now prevalent in the French capital.

Citizen Fox complained that the British delegates had not sent from Geneva to the ||5| acting Secretary any information concerning the Congress or the visit to Berne; and the consequence was, that he had not been able to advertise its transactions in the London Press as he otherwise could have done; also, that several of the Weeklies had copied reports from the French press so that in some respects they were better informed than the Commonwealth of the preceding week. Citizen Ecarius explained that he had sent an account of the visit to Berne to the Times, but that paper had refused to insert it. Odger and Carter explained, that they had not received the Journals sent from London in time to inform them of the publicity given to the transactions of the Congress in the London Press.

Citizen Marx moved, and Dell seconded a vote of thanks to the delegates for the able manner in which they had represented the Central Council at Geneva. Carried amid applause. The Council then adjourned until next Tuesday. /

Meeting of the General Council September 25, 1866

/ 5 / Council Meeting Sept. 25th

Citizen Eccarius in the Chair.

The Secretary read the minutes of the previous meeting which were confirmed with the alteration suggested by Lawrence.

Citizen Marx said he had received £5.0.0, the annual Contribution from Mr Samuel Moore a Manufacturer of Manchester.

Cremer stated that the Model Pattern Makers, who meet at 119 Fenchurch Street, had asked for a deputation from the Council to wait upon them on Saturday night. Weston, Lessner and Whitehead were appointed to respond to this appeal. |

|6| Whitehead gave an account of the visit of the deputation (of which he formed a part) to the Excavators, who meet in Bermondsey. He had sold several copies of the Rules. The delegates assembled were so satisfied that they undertook to report on the subject to the different Lodges and they had little doubt that those Lodges would join the ranks of our associated bodies.

Jung laid on the table a copy of the *Voix de l'Avenir* the organ of the Association in Chaux de Fonds; and stated that the Editor desired an authorisation from the Central Council before affixing the words "Organ of the International Association" on the title. He also laid on the table a copy of "L'Ouvrier" of Lausanne. Cremer proposed that the authorisation be given and spoke enthusiastically of Dr Coullery the Editor. Carter seconded the proposition, Coullery had been the ruling spirit of the Congress. The Chairman endorsed what the two previous speakers had said. Without Coullery's aid the London programme could not have been carried. The motion to grant the authorisation was Carried Unanimously.

Order of Business

As the delegates from London to the Geneva Congress had [not] yet prepared their report Lawrence moved and Fox seconded: That after hearing a *viva voce* account from Jung and Cremer of the result of their tour after they had separated from the other delegates, the Council should proceed to the election of officeholders. Jung then made his report. On Monday Sept. 10th he went with Lawrence to Lausanne

Meeting of the General Council September 25, 1866

and attended a meeting. On Tuesday he went to Berne with the other delegates. Afterwards went to Neuchâtel, thence with Cremer to Chaux de Fonds ||7| and St Imier: addressed a meeting at the latter place, went back again to Neuchâtel and had a meeting there. Cremer spoke at these meetings (Jung interpreting). He had
5 also spoken to a leading member of the Grütli Verein in reference to joining the association. Cremer then stated what the Congress had [decided] with reference to the Central Council. Congress had renewed the appointment of every actual member of the Council with the exception of Le Lubez who was excluded on the motion [of] Citizens Fribourg and Tolain because he had continued to stigmatise them as
10 intriguers and Buonapartists. Le Lubez denied having called them Buonapartists. Carter stated that the delegates from London did their very best to retain Le Lubez; and that in consequence of their opposition to the Tolain and Fribourg demand those two Citizens left the Hall, Fribourg in a theatrical manner. The event was decided by a delegate from Lyons who stated that he had received a letter from Le Lu-
15 bez in which Fribourg and Tolain were *abîmé*. The Lyonnais stated that Le Lubez's representations had done much harm to the progress of the association in Lyons and that it had only lately recovered from the ill effects of the same. The whole meeting voted with the Parisian party except the London delegation. Only then did Tolain and Fribourg return to the Hall.

20 After a short discussion Le Lubez rose and observed that there were two Nationalities absent [from] the Congress whose representatives would have sided with him, namely Italy and Belgium; Fribourg and Tolain did not venture to attack him in London [during] the epoch of the conference. He advised the Central ||8| Council to obey the vote of the Congress. He should not ask for readmission to the Central
25 Council until the vote of another Congress had reversed the verdict of that at Geneva. He thought the Council ought to pass a vote of Confidence in him. Had the Parisians paid to the Council the debt they owed, or any portion of the £40 promised at the London Conference. He understood they had not. Le Lubez then left the room.

30 Election of Officers

President

Lawrence moved that Marx be President for the ensuing twelve months; Carter seconded that nomination. Marx proposed Odger; he, Marx, thought himself incapacitated because he was a head worker and not a hand worker. Weston seconded
35 Odger, a ballot was taken and Odger was carried by 15 v. 3.

Vice-President

Eccarius was alone nominated and carried nem con.

General Secretary

Fox and Cremer proposed. Ballot taken. Fox elected by 13 to 4.

40 Treasurer

Dell alone nominated and carried nem con.

The Secretaries for France, Germany, Switzerland, America and Spain were reappointed, Hansen was appointed Secretary for Denmark.

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Lawrence moved that the appointment of the other Secretaries be adjourned until next week, carried by common consent.

Marx moved that a Testimonial be presented to Cremer for his almost entirely gratuitous services as Secretary for nearly two Years. Seconded by Carter and by several members and Carried Unanimously. |

|9| Standing Committee

Marx proposed to constitute this Committee provisionally only, for the present. The Committee to consist of the Officeholders and Secretaries already appointed. Agreed to by common consent.

Citizen Mollard of Barcelona made a Statement of what he hoped to be able to do for the Association in Catalonia and in the United States whither he proposed to proceed, He gave an account of his movements for the past twelve months.

The Council then adjourned. /

/9/ Council Meeting October 2nd

Lessner in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed with the alteration suggested by Cit. Carter.

5 The Secretary asked for and obtained the permission of the Council to insert in the minutes of Sept 18th a portion of the statement made by Eccarius which had [been] omitted, but which on reflection he thought was important.

Fox brought forward the claim of Mr Miall on the Council for rent due and that we should henceforth stand to him in the place of the Industrial Newspaper Com-
10 pany. It was decided to pay the quarter's rent due last midsummer. There being nothing in the Treasury the Treasurer advanced the quarter's rent by way of a Loan. Fox having asked the Treasurer what had become of the £5 received last week through the hands of Marx; the Treasurer replied that £6 had been paid to cover the unpaid expenses of the Geneva Delegates; Carter complained that he had been un-
15 fairly treated, the agreement was that all the Delegates should share and share alike.^I

[10] Now although the other Delegates knew that his expenses had been greater than theirs owing to his having to travel by mail Trains. Yet he had only received £8 while the others had received £10. Jung made an explanation. He animadverted on
20 Cremer's Conduct in reference to procuring Tickets before starting. He stated that he had advanced Cremer £2. in Geneva, and had to borrow £4. from a Friend. He offered to refund his own £2. balance. Carter declined with thanks. He did not desire to make a personal attack; but only to show that an equitable rule had been infringed in reference to him.

25 Dell observed that Cremer had received £10.12.1 or 12s Id more than any other Delegate.

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Report of Deputation to Model Pattern Makers

Citizen Whitehead said he and Citizen Weston had waited upon the Model Pattern Makers. They were well received, but they complained that Mr Cremer had not notified the advent of the Deputation to the Society. They wished that Copies of Rules be sent to them—

They would summon a special meeting to consider the question of joining. Citizen Whitehead added that it was necessary that some definite *instructions* should be given to Delegates with respect to contributions from Societies.

Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners

The Secretary said he had received a Letter from the Secretary from this Society announcing their readiness to receive a Deputation from our body on Tuesday Evening at 8.30. Jung, Lessner, Lafargue and Fox were appointed to attend on this Society.

The question then arose, what instructions should be given to the Deputation in reference to the terms upon which Societies should be admitted. |

Carter alluded to the Rule adopted by the Geneva Congress, which required 3d per member for the expenses of Central Council. Carter contended that Affiliation and Membership were two different things and that the Congressional rules applied only to the latter.

Marx on the authority of the minutes contradicted Carter and said that the Congress refused to recognise any affiliation as distinct from membership. Shaw moved and Lassassie seconded "That the Delegates to the Carpenters and Joiners be instructed to ask for a Levy of 3d per member for the exceptional expenses of 1866 and 1867."

Fox moved an Amendment and Marx seconded That the Delegates be instructed to say that they will issue Cards of Subscriptions to the said Society in the following proportion, one Card for every 3d subscribed.

Jung suggested that a minimum of 1d per Head be asked for.

Carter argued that Lawrence had said that 1d would be too high. He would prefer *y.d per Head*.

The Amendment of Fox was Carried on a division by 8 to 6.

Fox then asked Jung and Carter if they would move their minimum proposition as an amendment to his proposition if put as a substantial motion but they declined and it was agreed that the whole subject must be reargued; that the present decision was only provisional.

Brussels Letter

Fox read a Letter from Vandenhouten the Secretary of the Brussels Section, complaining of the laches of Citizen Longuet, who had never informed the Brussels Section that he had been elected Corresponding Secretary, nor had he ever corresponded with them. The j|12| Brüsselers also complained that they had never been informed of the date of the Congress, consequently they were unable to be present or to send papers. They knew Lafargue and in consequence were more surprised than they would otherwise have been at his silence.

Marx defended his conduct while Secretary and carried the war into the Belgian camp.

Le Lubez spoke in defence and glorification of the Brussels section and contended that they had been shamefully neglected. Lafargue defended Longuet and himself. The nomination of Longuet was known in Brussels because it had been attacked in the *Epiègle*. Longuet had corresponded by means of announcements in *La Rive Gauche* which was received and read by the Brussels Section. The date of the Congress had been given in the address of the Association which had been published in the *Tribune du Peuple*. Longuet did not know the address of the Brussels men. Carter and Dupont both stated that they had heard Fontaine of Brussels say that he was appointed delegate to the Congress at Geneva in this room. He had never professed ignorance of the date. Le Lubez stated that Longuet knew the address of the *Tribune du Peuple* which was the organ of the Brussels Section. Fox remembered an act of laches on the part of Longuet which had come to his knowledge. The resolution this council came to in reference to the apology due to the Italian Delegates had never been communicated to the Echo de Verviers, the Consequence was that the Italian Delegates had not resumed their seats at our board. Jung declared that he had given Longuet the address of the Brussels men and told him to forward the resolution to the Echo de Verviers. He proposed that a letter be written by Lafargue |j13| explaining the hitch of the past and promising amendment for the future. Lassassie seconded the motion.

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Appointment of Correspondent

Dupont solicited the appointment of Andrew Marchet as Correspondent for Bordeaux and the Arrondissement of Lesparre in place of another Correspondent who has withdrawn. Appointment made accordingly.

Dupont then stated the result of his visit to Lyons. How the Lyonnais members were divided in two parties, one desiring to make their section chiefly Political, the other exclusively Social in their tendencies—

He also visited *Fleurieux-sur-Saône* and other places where we had branches, many of the members in these parts were cultivators of the Vine and he was surprised to find the faith reposed in the association by these men. He also visited *Vienne* and found a Co-operative Cloth Manufacturing Company and Flour Mill on the Cash principle, and a Co-operative Grocery and Bakery.

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Dupont then read correspondence from Vienne, asking for their Carnets or titles of Membership. He also read a report of the state of industry in that place especially referring to the hard lot of the Factory women in that place branches of industry.

Jung on behalf of Dr Coullery asked if it would be allowed to form a section exclusively of Women. The unanimous Resolution was, that it was permissible. Collet a member of the association, said that he was willing to insert reports of our doings in his paper "Courrier International," reserving to himself the right to comment upon them if he should think proper.

Dupont gave Notice of Proposition to bring before the Council in favor of organising Workingmen's Excursions from ||14| Britain to the Paris Exhibition of 1867 under the conduct of the International Workingmen's Association.

The Meeting then adjourned./

Meeting of the General Council October 9, 1866

/14/ Council Meeting October 9th

The Vice-President in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed. Cremer demanded the right of making a personal explanation in reference to the 12s Id he had received more than the others. He reminded the Council that he and Jung had stayed longer in Switzerland than the others and had had more expenses. The money he had received did not cover his out-of-Pocket Expenditure. He had not demanded anything for his time.

Carter restated his grievance. Jung offered to refund one Pound to Carter, suiting the Action to the word took out his Porte-monnaie, but what passed subsequently in regard to this escaped the Secretary's Notice.

Lafargue stated that he had replied to the Belgian Correspondent.

Jung stated that a Member of the Association coming from Geneva to London who had been entrusted by Citizens Dupleix and Becker with four parcels of documents belonging to the Association had been searched on the French Frontiers and had the Four Parcels taken from him. He read a letter from Giuseppe Dassi of Naples stating that he had been appointed a Delegate to the Geneva Congress by the Workingmen's Association of Cerignola but that he had received his commission too late to avail of it; at the conclusion he said that if the Council desired to correspond with General Garibaldi he would deliver ||15| the Letter with his own hands and send back the answer.

The Secretary read a letter he had from Mr Applegarth the Secretary of the Amalgamated Carpenters, thanking the Council for the Deputation that had been sent to that body for the agreeable and instructive entertainment they had afforded to their audience. He also read an extract from Becker's opening speech at the Geneva Congress as reported in the *Vorbote* and observed upon its openly atheistical Character. He also read from the *Journal de Genève* of Sept 14th, a Conservative middle class paper, a tribute to the truly Cosmopolitan spirit which pervaded the Congress. He also brought before the Council a Subscription Sheet for the imprisoned Vesinier.

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Deputation from the Hair-dressers' early Closing association
32 Glass-house Street, Regent Street

The deputation stated that their trade was engaged in a struggle for the early Closing on Saturday Afternoons. Several Middlesized Employers were bringing over men from Paris to nil the Places of those men who had been called out of the recalcitrant Shops. The deputation prayed the Council to use its influence at Paris to frustrate the evil designs of these Masters.

Carter, Marx and Lawrence spoke in response pleading the Council to use its best efforts in the direction mentioned.

Importation of Tailors

Lawrence stated that an Edinburgh Master declared at the late Master Tailors' Congress that £400 had been spent in bringing over Tailors from the Continent during this Summer. Many of the importations still remained behind in the Neighbourhood of the Scottish Capital affecting the Labor market there. ||16| Stewart another master boasted on the same occasion that he had brought over a live cargo of Tailors who had hustled the guts out of the Newcastle Strike.

On the Motion of Jung the Gen Secretary was ordered to write to Dassi, and to Garibaldi through Dassi.

On the Motion of Marx the Gen Secretary was ordered to write to the French *Ministre de l'intérieur* complaining of the seizure of the association's papers and requesting that they be restituted. 20

Citizen Dupont read a letter from Citizen Fribourg of Paris asking for the minutes of the Congress to enable them to publish a report of the Congress.

Marx protested against this latter step, inasmuch as the duty of publishing an account of the Congress was devolved by that body exclusively on the Central Council. Further, the Parisians had kept their Mémoire in violation of the Congressional order which ordained that this and all other documents should be handed over to the Central Council. 25

The General Secretary was ordered to write to Fribourg in this sense.

Affiliated Societies

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Marx brought up a report from the standing Committee to the effect that Societies be taxed Id per Year per Head.

The General Secretary suggested that Jung should now report the conversation which took place on this subject with the Secretary of the Amalgamated Carpenters' Society, which was to this effect: Viz That 3d per head laid down by Congress would cost their Society £93.15.0, which they never would pay. The compromise suggested by Fox and adopted by the Council fared no better. Cremer stated that 35

Meeting of the General Council October 9, 1866

when the 3d proposition was before the Congress, the British voted for it as a means of extracting money from the Continentals; but with a mental reservation taken by the said Delegates, not to apply it at home to associations. Lawrence said the scheme ||17| of the standing committee would drive away Societies from the Association. His Society even at %& rate would have to contribute £14.11.3. To carry this would be a hazardous experiment, the Country branches knowing little or nothing of the association. He argued that there was the London Trades Council to support; and also the National Trades Alliance. This association should not put the screw on too tight. It had better be satisfied with small Grants.

Cremer had a plan which he thought deserving of consideration. He moved the adjournment of the Subject, to give him an opportunity of bringing it forward, which was not seconded. Hales moved that the contribution be %d per head. Weston spoke in favor of a fixed sum and in opposition to Lawrence's idea. Jung seconded Hales' proposal. To carry out the Voluntary principle would cause an immense waste of time on our part. Dell spoke in the same sense as Weston. Marx accepted Hales's proposition but suggested that the words "not less than" should be inserted before the word %d. Weston and others objected to this suggestion of Marx and it was not pressed. Hales's proposition of %d was then Carried.

The meeting then adjourned.

The names of the members who voted for the %d Levy: Cremer, Dell, Weston, Hales, Buckley, Lawrence, Massman, Lessner, Gardner, Marx, Hansen, Maurice, Eccarius, Fox, Dupont, Lafargue, Carter./

/ 17 / Council Meeting October 16th

Vice-President Eccarius in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed. The names of those who voted for the resolution of October 9th were ordered to be appended to the minutes. Cits James Dutton and Whitehead desired to have their names added to the list as approving of the resolution come to by the Central Council. Weston moved and Jung seconded, That the Secretary ||18| read over the aforesaid resolution for several weeks in succession in order to give an opportunity to as many members as possible to adhere thereto. Carried Nem Con.

The Secretary mentioned Mr Miall's application to become his tenants-in-chief instead of the Industrial Newspaper Company. Nothing was done on this point. He also spoke about the Cards and Carnets; also of the necessity of definitively constituting the standing Committee.

Citizen J. Dutton moved that the Standing Committee be appointed for three months from the date of Congress. Seconded by Carter and carried Nem Con.

The following members were added to the standing Committee Viz Carter, Whitehead, and Lawrence.

Le Lubez asked leave to bring a personal matter before the Council. In the number of the *Travail* dated Sept 30 a Co-operative paper published at Ghent, it was stated in a full report of the congress that one member had been excluded from the Central Council by a Unanimous Vote, having been guilty of calumniating the Parisian Delegates. Le Lubez said that if his information was correct the vote for his exclusion was *not* unanimous; the London Delegates having spoken against the exclusion, abstained from voting. He demanded that the Council should protect him from this misstatement of the *Travail*. After Carter, Eccarius, Cremer, and Jung had stated what took place on this point at the Congress, Carter moved and Shaw seconded: That the matter be referred to the standing Committee. Carried Nem Con.

Weston mentioned the debt due to Mr Leno for Printing which was of long standing. No action was taken on this point.

Cremer brought forward his motion which had been approved of by the standing Committee; it was, That a Deputation be appointed to wait on the Trades Council to solicit them to use their influence to get the Trades Societies connected ||19| with them to join this Association. Carried Nem Con.

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Cremer, Whitehead, Jung and as many other members of the Council that could attend were appointed as a deputation.

Cremer reported that the Coachmakers were likely at their ensuing General Meeting to join the Association.

Appointment of Secretary for Holland

Jung moved, That Jacques Van Rijen be Corresponding Secretary for Holland. He recited his accomplishments. Dupont seconded the motion, Carried Nem Con.

Correspondence

Jung read a letter from Switzerland; asking for Rules and reports of the principal Cooperative Societies of Britain. He was referred to Henry Pitman Editor of the Cooperator. Dupont laid on the Table Correspondence from Bordeaux, *Fleurieux-sur-Saône*, calling upon the Council to provide *Carnets*.

Carter moved and Shaw seconded, That Dupont be instructed to take this matter in hand and see to their being furnished. Carried Nem Con.

Dupont read a Letter from Fribourg of Paris; arguing that they had a right to print their own Essays at their own expense. He also desired Dupont to send over Copies of the Constitution and the amendments as agreed to at Geneva as he wanted them for the Carnets they were about to issue. The Chairman cautioned the Council from acceding to the latter part of the Letter as the Parisians after issuing Carnets would never send us a sou. Fox agreed with the Parisians as to their right to publish their own Essays.

The Council instructed Dupont to refuse Fribourg's request as the Council would furnish the Carnets.

Exhibition of 1867

Dupont deferred this question until the next meeting. |

|20| Propaganda

Jung urged the Council to proceed with this question without delay. The Council then adjourned. /

/20/ Council Meeting October 23rd

Citizen James Dutton in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

James Lee and Richard Overton presented their credentials from the United Excavators' Society as Delegates thereof to this Council. They paid the entrance fee of 5/- and stated that when they had obtained their yearly returns they would pay the Halfpenny Levy. On the motion of Carter Lee and Overton were accepted as members of the Council.

The Secretary brought up our relations with Mr Miall and it was resolved, That we put ourselves in the place of the Industrial Newspaper Company on the terms proposed by Mr Miall.

The Secretary mentioned the fact that in the Syllabus of the Lectures of the Workingmen's College the President was delivering a course on the History of Europe in the 16th Century. He then read aloud the %d Levy Resolution and it was acceded to by Mr Williams. He gave the address of the Hatters' Society to Mr Williams who undertook to see the Secretary and sound him on the Subject of a deputation. He also read an extract from an American Journal stating that some French men, Hungarians, and Poles in the United States had sent a joint deputation to James Stephens and were collecting subscriptions for the Irish Republican Cause,

Buckley spoke of the want of a Minute Book. The Secretary stated that if permitted he would purchase one out of the money he had in hand. No objection was made to this. |

]21| The Le Lubez affair and the *Travail*

The Secretary brought up the report of the Standing Committee on this affair. They found that the minutes of the Congress stated that the ostracising resolution was passed unanimously: on enquiring whether the minutes were correct in so stating: Jung the Chairman stated that he put the „*Contre*” and that no hands were held up in response; that as to abstentions from voting he had declared at the Commencement of the Congress that no notice could be taken of these unless a demand was

Meeting of the General Council October 23, 1866

made that such abstentions be inserted in the minutes. No such demand was made by anybody as the minutes showed. Citizen Carter had also given evidence before the Committee and had stated that the London Delegates purposely and deliberately abstained from voting because they knew they were to be outvoted prodigiously. The standing Committee therefore concluded that the report in the „*Travail*“ was literally correct. There were indeed the speeches of Odger and Cremer which were in favor of Le Lubez which were recorded in the minutes. Those delegates might do as they liked in the matter but they could under the circumstances do nothing. Carter gave the reasons of the London delegates not voting.

Marx and Jung spoke. Weston thought the London Delegates did wrong in abstaining from voting. He agreed in the conclusion come to by the standing committee. Dell thought the resolution of Ostracism against Le Lubez gave evidence of great narrowness of mind. He believed Le Lubez to be a thorough Republican and he hoped that the members would sign an address expressive of their sympathy for him. The report of the Standing Committee was accepted nem con. |

|22| Carnets and Continental Secretaries

The Secretary stated that Citizen Dupont had arranged to get the Carnets executed. Jung said a Secretary for Italy was wanted and proposed Carter for that office. Carried Nem Con. The extraordinary power of nominating a Secretary for Belgium was conferred upon Dupont.

Report from the London Trades Council

Jung, Cremer, Whitehead and Carter waited on this body at its last meeting and the result would appear in the periodical reports of the Council and would be laid before a general Delegate meeting on November 28th. Jung said that a member of the Trades Council objected to being affiliated with an unskilled body like the Excavators. Citizen Collet attended on behalf of the "National Reform League" of Denmark Street, Soho; on the motion of himself and Mr Harris it had been decided that that body should consider the propriety of joining. The discussion would come on next Sunday after 8 O'clock. He desired the presence of a deputation. Jung, Weston, Carter and Fox were appointed as the deputation.

Exhibition of 1867

Dupont brought up from the standing Committee his proposal for the association to take in hand the business of providing by means of their correspondents in Paris for the travelling, boarding and lodging at a fixed tariff [of] British Workingmen and others desiring to visit the said Exhibition. He had opened these proposals to the Parisian Delegates at the Congress and they were ready to cooperate heartily with

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the Council. The Standing Committee recommended, that a special committee be appointed for carrying out this plan and had appointed himself, Cremer, Whitehead, Lucraft, Carter and Lessner. The report and appointment of the Standing Committee were adopted. |

|23| Carter proposed that the question of helping Workingmen who desired to become exhibitors be referred to the Special Committee. Dupont seconded and, it was Carried Nem Con.

The Edenbridge Riot between English and Belgian Navvies

On the interpellation of Citizen Weston, Citizen James Lee the Secretary of the United Excavators' Society made the following statement. He had made enquiries on the spot concerning the origin of the "difficulty" between the Belgian and the English navvies, and he found that it did not arise from a jealousy of the Continental labourers as such. The Messrs. Waring, who had brought the Belgians over, gave notice to the English navvies to quit the huts in which they were living, and which they had built. Now, as the English held that their huts were castles, they became irate and assaulted the Belgians. The quarrel was not one of wages or nationality, as had been represented, but one of house and home. Mr Lee further stated that he had conversed through an interpreter with the Belgians who considered that they had been completely "gulled" by Messrs. Waring's agents who had represented that they would receive from four to six francs a day, whereas they only receive three francs a day for which they must fill 18 waggons a day instead of 15, which is the average amount. Messrs Waring are demanding from these poor Belgians more than any other contractors in the Kingdom are demanding from the native navvies. The consequence of this has been that many of the Belgians have found that they could stand neither the climate nor the work and have returned. The others would return if they had their passage money. I

)24) The United Excavators' society, being above national prejudices, is not only willing but desirous to enroll the remaining Belgian navvies among its own ranks, and the Belgians seem well disposed to accept the proposals made to them by the agents of the said society.

The Meeting then adjourned. /

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Meeting of the General Council October 30, 1866

/24/ Oct 30

V.P. Eccarius in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed-

The Sec. read a letter from Cit. Le Lubez which complained of the conduct of the
'5 London delegates to Geneva and suggested that his friends should present him with an address.

Delegate from the Basket Makers.

i Samuel Brighting a delegate from the "Old London" Society of Basket Makers, which meets at the Bell Inn, Old Bailey was now heard.

10 He stated that the masters were threatening to import Belgian workmen. He asked the Council to use its influence to circumvent this dodge. He declared that he was empowered to affiliate his Society to a new Association. The Belgian and Hollandish Sees, were instructed to communicate with their respective countries.

Mr Brighting stated that the master who was engaged in hiring the Belgians was
i5 Frederick George Packer of New Cross. On motion of Shaw and Whitehead Cit. Brighting after having signed the application for admission was elected a member
i> of the General Council.

Gas fittings.

a The Sec. mentioned the matter of the gas fittings and bell work. Mr. Miall wished
Í0 the International ||25| Association either to pay the bill or pay 10 per cent of the amount, viz. 16s. per annum.

On motion of Whitehead and Dell the latter alternative was adopted unani-
- mously.

The Sec. then read an alteration in the form of advertisement in the *Common-*
25 *wealth* which met with the approval of the Council.

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Report of deputation to the National Reform League.

The Sec. brought up this.

He said that Carter, Weston, Dupont, and himself had attended the National Reform League which met at the Eclectic Institute Denmark Street, Soho, on Sunday last. He stated what passed. He was questioned by the members as to the terms of admission and reserved the subject for the consonance of the General Council. The point was, could a political party like the National Reform League be allowed to enter on the same terms as the Trade Societies?

Shaw, Dupont, Carter, Whitehead, Hales, Dell and Weston delivered their opinions on this question and it was ultimately referred to the Standing Committee to report to the next meeting.

Lyons chômage.

Dupont read the letter of Fribourg, inviting the General Council to solicit general subscriptions throughout Europe for the Lyons' sufferers but as the attendance was so small, he would adjourn the matter until next week.

Hales spoke of the feeling of the men of Coventry in reference to the French ribbon and lace trade and also of the state of trade at Coventry.

The meeting then adjourned. |

Meeting of the General Council November 6, 1866

[26] November 6th

Cit Jung was voted into the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed,

v Cit. Zabicki presented a letter from the chairman and secretary of the Central
;5 London Section of the United Polish exiles requesting that Cit. Anthony Zabicki be
accepted as the Secretary for Poland instead of Cit. Konstantin Bobczynski who
had left London for Birmingham.

On motion of Dupont this nomination was ratified by the General Council.

φ A Letter from the Secretary of the Elastic Web Weavers' Society was read an-
nouncing their readiness to receive a deputation. Weston, Jung and Dupont were
appointed a deputation to wait on that body.

The Sec. read a letter from Mr. Patterson of Guildford in reference to the Coun-
cil's Universal Exhibition of 1867 scheme which was handed over to the Special
»*. Committee.

15 A representative of the Freundschaft-Gesellschaft was informed that the price of
cards for individual members was Is. and not 3d. as he had been led to believe.

f. The Sec. stated that a lady had undertaken to translate the report of the Congress
of Geneva given in the *Vorbote*.

20 The Sec. announced that he had received a copy of the Parisian *Mémoire* read at
the Geneva Congress and described its contents.

I; Dupont laid on the table the *Tribune du peuple* containing the appeal to the gar-
çons Coiffeurs made by their London brethren. |

fc [27] He announced that he had nominated Cit. Besson, as Sec. for Belgium and
that this nomination had been approved by the Standing Committee. The nomina-
25 tion was then confirmed by the General Council.

' He then brought up the report of the Standing Committee in reference to the
Lyons subscription.

‡ The Committee thought any action taken by the Association at the present time
& would only reveal their pecuniary weakness and destroy their prestige.

Í0 He then read from the *Cooperation* [on] the progress of the Cooperative principle
' at Fleurieux-sur-Saône and Neuville among members of the Association.

W. Cit. Carter thought that the fact that the agricultural population of France were

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beginning to practise the principle of Cooperation ought to receive publicity. He requested the Sec. to translate it for insertion in the *Commonwealth* next week. The Sec. promised to do so.

The National Reform League.

The Sec. brought up the report of the Standing Committee. They recommended the N. R. L. be admitted on the same terms as those offered to Trade Societies.

Shaw and Odger supported the report of the Committee.

Hales moved that it was inexpedient to adopt the report of the Standing Committee, but after explanation of some of the members thereof, Hales withdrew his opposition and the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.]

[28] The Sec. then brought up the following recommendation of the Standing Committee, "That no member at the Central Council meetings be allowed to speak more than 5 minutes."

Odger objected to this and on motion of Hales it was unanimously rejected.

The Sec. then brought up the following resolution from the Standing Committee,

1. "That any member of the Central Council who shall be absent for more than 4 sittings from Council meetings without giving satisfactory reasons therefor shall be liable to have his name erased from the list of the Council."

2. "This resolution to be immediately communicated to every member of the Council."

A lively discussion sprang up on this resolution. Carter, Lessner, Hales and Jung being in favour of it and Eccarius, Fox and Weston against it. Weston thought that at least so important a resolution should not be carried in so thin a meeting and until notice had been given in the *Commonwealth*. He moved that the debate be adjourned until next week; Lessner seconded this and the adjournment was carried unanimously.

The Council then adjourned. |

[29] Nov'r. 13

President Odger in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The General Secretary read a letter from Cit. Le Lubez in reference to the action
5 he contemplated taking in vindication of himself against the stigma put upon him
by the Congress of Geneva.

In the course of the discussion that accused [him] the Chairman stated that he
held up his hand against the resolution ostracising Le Lubez.

On Jung denying this fact Odger again vouched for it and added that he was
10 sneered at for his singularity.

Cremer, Carter, Jung, Hales, Fox, and Weston took part in the discussion and
eventually the motion of Hales was carried unanimously that the General Secretary
answer Le Lubez's letter in the sense that the General Council can do nothing in-
consistent with the resolution of the Congress at whose hands it holds its own ap-
15 pointment.

Jung made a communication in reference [to] what was doing at Chaux de
Fonds.

Cit. Brighting, the delegate of the Basket Makers' Society, stated that 12 Belgian
Basket makers had been brought over by the agent of the Masters' Joint Stock Corn-
eo pany, that six of these were at work at the Company's shops under the railway
arches in Blue Anchor Lane, Bermondsey. The trade in London consisted of about
400 men, taking Society and non-Society men together. The masters decided to |
[30] break down the Basket Makers' Society by importing Continentals to take the
place of the Society men. The six Belgians could not be got as he believed they
26 slept on the premises. He requested the aid of the Council in communicating with
!- these men.

(At this stage of the proceedings, Odger left the chair and the room to attend an-
other engagement and Shaw was voted into the Chair).

Dupont stated that Cit. Derkinderen was a Fleming and would be at the service
3P of the Basket makers.

T Shaw and Cremer advised that no time be lost, and Cremer suggested a *ruse*. It
was finally determined that Fox and Derkinderen should meet Cit. Brighting at the

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Bell Inn, Old Bailey, at 1.15 p.m. on the following day and these concert a plan for the enlightenment of the deluded and the enfranchisement of the imprisoned Belgians.

Lessner laid on the table a copy of the *New Yorker Democrat*, a New York Daily paper in the German language, containing an account of the Geneva Congress by its own Special Correspondent at Geneva.

Report of deputation

Jung gave an account of his visit to the Eleastic Web Weavers on Monday last. He was alone. He was well received and he believed that the brother Societies of this trade at Leicester, Derby and Manchester would follow the London Society in joining. Cit. Hales on behalf of the Elastic Web Weavers of London, numbering only 50 men, put down 10s. and received a large card. |

[31] On motion of Fox, David Dry was accepted as the Web Weavers' delegate to this council.

Cit Collet implored the council to lend a hand to the Bakers.

Lessner moved and Hales seconded that Cit. Massman, who was about to take ship for Germany be authorised to act for this Association in Germany. *Carried unanimously.*

Cremer stated that he was going on his Lecturing tour and asked leave to take 300 copies of the Association's Address with him.

Leave granted unanimously.

Cit. Hales gave notice of motion as to the desirability of establishing Branches of the Association on the same plan as the Reform League. Shaw interpellated Cremer about the Balance sheet and received permission to obtain it from Mrs. Cremer.

Report from Excursion Committee

Carter stated that the committee had met and had appointed Fox as its Secretary. The Committee desired Fox to write to the several Railway Companies and to Mr. Cook and to the Universal Tourist Co. to ascertain the fares that would be charged for return tickets for a week and a fortnight first and second class.

Fox undertook the office.

The other matters on the Order of the Day were then adjourned till next week, and

The Meeting then adjourned. |

|32| Nov'r. 20th, 1866

Vice-President Eccarius took the chair and read a letter from Secretary Fox which stated that he would not be present.

The minutes of the last meeting were read, when Cit Jung said that it was very important that the statement made by Cit. Cremer at the last meeting should be entered on the minutes—Viz,—That he, Cremer never saw Odger hold up his hand against the motion that debarred Le Lubez from sitting on the Council. It was agreed that the statement should be entered.

The minutes were then confirmed.

Cit Dry took his seat as Delegate from the Elastic Web Weavers.

Correspondence

Cit Jung said: The Belgians wished to know how the "Trades Societies" were admitted, whether members pay an individual Subscription or a certain amount for the whole of the Society and what rights had the members of Trades Societies when their Societies had joined. He also informed the Council that Brismée could not give an estimate for printing the General Report of the Congress until he knew the size of the pages and the kind of Type.

Basket Makers

Cit Derkinderen stated that he in conjunction with Fox and a member of the Basket Makers' Society went to Blue Anchor Lane on last Wednesday for the purpose of drawing the Belgian Basket Makers out of the shops, after providing themselves with a French and a Flemish Letter Fox and Derkinderen went to the Shops, they saw the Master, and Fox asked him if he ||33| could employ Derkinderen's Brother who was represented to be a Basket Maker and was at present in Belgium. The master said he would employ the brother. He invited Fox and Derkinderen into the workshops and whilst Fox was entertaining the master in conversation Derkinderen

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was pointing out to the Belgians the injury they were inflicting on the English Basket Makers and he succeeded in getting two of them to come out of the Shop to have a glass of drink, although the master objected very much. The two Belgians at their interview with the English Basket Maker were so impressed of the wrong that they were doing to the English that they resolved to go back to the shop, pack up their tools and persuade the other four men to come out. They did not succeed in bringing the four men out that day. They went to the Basket Makers' Society House at the "Bell," Old Bailey. They were well received and provided with a bed and everything they could require by the Basket Makers. On the next day they went back to the shops and induced the other four men to come out. The Basket Makers paid the passage money for the six men to Belgium and supplied them with money as well. They saw them on board ship bound for home and just as the Vessel was starting the Master Basket Makers made their appearance and tried to induce the men to return, but they failed, and the men sailed away determined to prevent any more Belgians coming over here under the same circumstances. The Basket Makers had heard that some more Belgians were coming. ||34| They were on the look out, They saw a Vessel arrive with two Belgians aboard, each had a pattern Basket. Derkinderen spoke to them and explained the state of affairs, took them to a Flemish Hotel where they were kept until Sunday and then sent home by the Basket-Makers' Society. Derkinderen also said that seven Dutch-men arrived on Friday last, the Masters met them at Gravesend and brought them to Bermondsey by Rail. A Letter was sent into the shops to the Dutchmen but none of them could read, so the Master had the letter given to him to read, consequently its object was frustrated. Derkinderen went to the shops on the Saturday afternoon, saw the Master bring the Dutchmen out and take them to several Coffee Houses to obtain Lodgings. Derkinderen tried to persuade the Dutchmen to leave the Master but did not succeed. The Master took the men to his private House to sleep, and the Basket makers consider that the Dutchmen will do the Masters more harm than good, so they have decided to let them stop where they are. Derkinderen said that the Basket Makers had well satisfied him for his trouble.

On the motion [of] Cit. Jung seconded by Cit. Marx a vote of thanks was awarded: to Cit. Derkinderen for his zealous and intelligent services—carried.

On motion of Cit Marx seconded by Cit Jung the Secretary was directed to write to Cit. Collet remonstrating with him on account of his neglect in printing the *Carnets*.

On the Resolution from the Standing Committee ||35| being read with regard to Absentees the following Amendment was carried,

"That a Book be provided for the Members of the Council to sign their names in ; the said Book to be presented to Congress for inspection; and, if any Delegate from: a Society should be absent more than four Nights without assigning a reason for so: doing, the Secretary shall write to the Society he represents and inform them of the: Neglect." •

Cit. Hales' proposition for establishing Branches of the Association fell to the ground as being impracticable at the present time. ?

Cit. Jung reminded the Council, that a Deputation must wait upon the Trades

Meeting of the General Council November 20, 1866

Council on the **28*** instant. Jung, Hales, Dupont, Shaw, Eccarius, Lessner White-head, Cremer and Marx were appointed to go. This meeting will not be **held** until December **12** .

It was proposed by Cit. Marx, and seconded by Cit. Jung, That the Anniversary of the Polish Insurrection be celebrated on the **22nd** of January.

Carried unanimously.

The Meeting then adjourned. |

[36] Nov'r. 27.

Citizen Jung was appointed Chairman.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed. The General Secretary began by stating that he observed an omission in the narrative of Derkinderen *à propos* of the Basket Makers' affair, as rendered by temporary Secretary Shaw. The omission was that the promise had been given by the representatives of the London Basket Makers to the Flemings and to Derkinderen and himself, as representing the General Council, and that Derkinderen and himself had, in their turn, passed [37] their word to the Flemings that the General Council would see to the execution of this promise, which was, that when the dispute was over and trade was good, information of the fact should be sent over to the returned Flemings and that the Basket Makers' Trade Society would do its utmost to procure them work from the moment of their landing and adopt them as members of their Society.

Citizen Dupont said that Derkinderen had stated as much to the General Council.

The Council thereupon resolved that record of this promise and guarantee of the same should be set down in the minutes.

The General Secretary then laid upon the table a copy of the private Prospectus issued by the Master Basket makers for the purpose of starting a joint stock Company, whose object it would be to break down the Trade Societies of the men.

He also laid upon the table a copy of the *Travailleur associé* of Ghent and-gave a summary of its contents.

He further laid upon the table an account from the Proprietors of the "Commonwealth" for 39 insertions of the Association's advertisement therein down to November 24.

He also read a letter from F. Hakowski, the Secretary of the recently-formed Society of Polish workingmen in London, which informed the Council of the organisation and constitution of that Society and enclosed copies of their rules in the Polish language. {

The Secretary was directed to respond to this letter. |

(38| The Secretary then stated that he, Marx and Eccarius had been invited to attend the Polish Celebration of the Anniversary of Nov'r. 29, 1830, and that he intended certainly to attend. Marx also declared that he should attend. {

Meeting of the General Council November 27, 1866

He then gave the reason why the lady, who had promised to translate the account of the Congress of Geneva as given in the *Vorbote* for the *Commonwealth* had not yet completed and forwarded her work and further stated the concessions he had made to her religious scruples in the matter of the translation.

In his capacity of American Secretary, he desired the Secretaries for Germany and France to procure certain information for him in reference to the scale of postage on letters to the United States from France and Northern Germany respectively.

Resignation of Secretaryship.

Fox then stated, with regret, that circumstances compelled him to tender his resignation of the office of General Secretary to the Association. He was about to engage actively in a commercial pursuit which would specially occupy his evenings and nights during the winter season, and to give up an evening would therefore be to give up a day. He desired that his resignation should take effect as from and after Dec'r. 1. He would then have served the Association as interim and regular General Secretary for the space of three calendar months.

Jung and Marx thought the notice given by Fox was not long enough and Fox agreed to hold on to the office until Tuesday, the 4th December, but could not undertake to be present at the Council's sitting on that evening. [

[39] Jung stated that he had received a remittance from Cit Dupleix amounting to £4 as a first instalment towards the publication as ordered by the Congress, of its transactions. Dupleix's letter stated that an appeal had been made to the Swiss sections and that, when the fruits of this appeal had matured, he would send more money. He, Dupleix, was surprised that money could not be procured in England to suffice for this purpose. He implored the Council to hasten the printing of the Transactions of the Congress as they were being called for on all sides. The delay was operating very prejudicially to the Association.

Jung further stated that three packages of newspapers had been sent from Geneva addressed severally to himself, Marx and Lessner and neither packet *had come* to hand. They had been sent through Prussia in order to avoid the clutches of Buonaparte. The precaution had been futile, for the Hohenzollern was at least as inquisitorial as the Buonaparte. In a word, their communication with Geneva by means of newspapers was intercepted as both the German and French routes were blocked up.

Jung further mentioned the case of a manufacturer of St. Imier who had absconded when largely in debt to his work people. The *ouvriers* of St. Imier requested that a universal, cosmopolitan hue and cry should be raised against this scoundrel, so that on this wide earth there should be no foot of ground that would not parch the soles of his feet.

The Council were of opinion that they could not take action in this melancholy affair.

Jung added to his first statement that Becker [40] had sent the August number of

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the *Vorbote* three times, twice through France and once through Prussia, addressed to him (Jung) and all three times it had been intercepted.

Cit. Zabicki suggested that the fault lay in not paying sufficient postage, the route through Germany being more expensive than that through France. In this case, the newspapers would be lying at the Genevese or some other Continental post office.

Jung also reported the formation of another branch in the vicinity of Chaux-de-Fonds.

Fox asked Dupont if he had received any letters from France lately. Dupont replied that all his lines of communication had been suddenly cut. He had not received a single letter.

Fox then proceeded to say that the French Government had, since the close of the Geneva Congress, departed from its policy of neutrality towards them and was levying war upon them. The French Government had allowed us two years' growth and we were now able to defy the Continental blockade which the French and the Prussian Governments had declared against us. We could no longer trust the French and Prussian Post Offices; we must seek indirect and secret means of communication with our Continental friends.

Marx said that we must force Buonaparte to declare himself, in order that any credit he may have gained for his liberality in letting us flourish unmolested might be lost to him.

Carter suggested that we had better await the result of the Secretary's application to Lord Stanley in reference to the papers seized on Jules Gottraux before bringing the matter before the public and the good sense of this immediateley commended itself to all and the policy of "Wait-a-little longer" received unanimous adhesion.

The Hatters' Society.

Fox regretted the delay that had taken place in reference to our deputation to this important body. Odger had told him that the Hatters met at the "Marquis of Granby" public house in the Boro', but he (Fox) had forgotten the name of the Street. He begged the Council to get the address and push the matter forward.

The Council then adjourned./

I,

/41/ Dec'r. 4.

Vice-President Eccarius took the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed. Jung stated that the Standing Committee requested Shaw to accept the post of minute-taker.

Shaw said that it was highly probable that he should have to leave London to find work, but he did not decline the office pressed upon him.

Fox who acted as Secretary for the evening then read a letter from Lord Stanley, dated Nov'r. 29, informing him (Fox) that he (Lord Stanley) had requested Lord Cowley to inquire into the case of Jules Gottraux and the papers taken from him.

Application for rent.

Fox further stated that Mr. Arthur Miall had applied for the quarter's rent due last Michaelmas.

The Council ordered the consideration of this matter to be postponed as there were so few members present.

Basket Makers and the Belgians.

Fox recommended that Derkinderen should obtain from the leading Basket makers a written confirmation of the promises ^{||42|} they made to the imported Flemings in the presence of himself and Derkinderen. The General Council were the natural guarantors of this promise.

- 20 in reference to the address of the Hatters' Society Lee promised to obtain it and transmit it to the General Council.

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The Polish celebration of Nov'r. 29.

Fox stated that himself and Eccarius had been present as invited guests at the dinner given by the Poles at Grzeszkowski's Hotel de Pologne, 1 Nassau St., Soho. Illness had prevented Marx from attending.

He then laid down his office of General Secretary.

The United Excavators' soirée.

Jung and Carter gave in their report of their evening's doings on the 29th. They had attended by invitation the above soirée at the Temperance Hall, Cherry Garden Street with two friends and had had a pleasant time of it. Carter took a note of the blooming beauty of the young women of the Excavators' families.

Swiss news.

Jung had heard from Dupleix during the week, the letter and the November "Vorbotes" having arrived as merchandise in a box for which he had to pay 6s. 10d. The Lyonnese had informed Dupleix that no letters had been received by them from Dupont which default they attributed to the French Post Office authorities. The Lyonnese were quite opposed to the Parisian proposal to raise a subscription for the unwillingly idle workmen. The money would only get into the hands of the Buonapartists. Many hundreds, however, were anxious to emigrate to America and commence the manufacture of silk there.

Jung here requested Fox, as Secretary for the United States to make a note of this and Fox said he knew a good channel for publishing this fact in the United States.

[43] Jung continued. A letter from Becker in the same box announced the formation of numerous branches in Germany. Becker had also received a letter from a Genoese member of our Association, which stated that the annual Congress of Italian workingmen's Associations was to have been held at Palermo, but the disturbances of which that city had been the theatre, forbade the execution of that design. The said Congress would probably assemble at Venice before the close of this year and one of the chief subjects for discussion would be the expediency of adhering to this Association.

From the Standing Committee.

Jung said that the Standing Committee had met on the previous Saturday.

Orsini had returned from the United States and had made a statement thereat. Orsini had had interviews with Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner and Horace Gree-

Meeting of the General Council December 4, 1866

ley who had all joined our Association. Wendell Phillips said he could give the proceeds of one of his lectures to the Association, when he was authoritatively informed of the purposes to which the money would be put. Orsini had no doubt some 3,000 to 4,000 francs could at once and easily be procured from the United States. James Stephens, the Irish Republican leader, had joined our Association.

The Standing Committee proposed that new Credentials should be issued to Orsini, who was returning to America in January, 1867.

Jung further stated that through some neglect, Orsini's name was not inserted among the printed list of the General Council.

The Council ordered this omission to be repaired on the next occasion of printing the list of the General ||44| Council.

The Standing Committee further requested the Delegates to the Geneva Congress to meet together to settle the form in which the minutes should be printed and to confirm the accuracy of the draft of them which had been made.

Balance-Sheet.

Jung pressed upon the Council the desirability of sending a copy of the Balance Sheet to the Amalgamated Carpenters' and Bricklayers' Societies respectively.

Shaw said he had been unable to extract the balance-sheet from Cremer, who had failed to keep his promise to forward it to him (Shaw).

Mazzini's attitude towards the Association.

Orsini, who had just entered the room, desired to state the substance of an interview of several hours' duration which he had had that morning with Joseph Mazzini. The whole of that time had been devoted to conversation concerning the Association. Mazzini acknowledged that he had been deceived by the reports of Wolff, Lama and others. Mazzini claimed that for 35 years he had preached the abolition of wages' slavery and the right of the workman to participate in the profits of his work. That for all that, he did not concur in every sentiment given utterance to in the original Address of the Association. That he was ready to enter into a debate concerning the principles of our Association; that he would be happy to receive a deputation from the General Council to talk the matter over with him at his private house; that he could not attend in Bouverie St. on account of the infirmity of his health, and that he disavowed any responsibility for anything that might have been said by Wolff or others concerning himself. |

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1451 Letters to friends in America.

Orsini requested Fox to write a letter to six German and French politicians whom he named and whose addresses he gave to Fox to inform them of the objects for which the Council stood in need of funds.

Fox undertook to write, as requested, immediately.

Communications with France.

Dupont, on being interpellated, stated that he had received not a single letter from France.

The £4 from Switzerland.

Fox requested Jung to account to Shaw for the £4 he had in hand from Geneva.

The Council then adjourned. /

/45/ Council Meeting Dec'r. 11th

Citizen Eccarius in the Chair, Shaw Secretary.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read. Confirmed.

Dupont read a Letter from the Paris Bookbinders consisting of men and women
5 who had joined the Association; the writer said it was a happy thing that the Association was in existence in order to resist the importation of foreign Workmen as in the case of the Basket-makers. Varlin said that no Letters had been received from Dupont for 6 Weeks. Fribourg, Chemalé and others had written, but had received no answers. The Letter contained a variety of addresses for Dupont to write to so as
10 to evade the Police, it also requested Dupont to state in each letter that he wrote the date of the last letter he had received.

A letter was read from the Tailors of Paris, thanking the Tailors of London for their Address and promising to help when need might occur. |

[46] A deputation was present from the Coach Trimmers and Harness makers' Society, held at "The Globe," North-Audley-Street, Grosvenor Square. They were anxious to know something about the principles of the Association. They were supplied with the Laws which they partly read and then said they would bring the matter before their Society on the quarterly Night which would be on the first Monday in February. A deputation was promised to be sent to them on that night.

20 Mr Lee then gave in the Address of Hatters' Society as follows: "Anchor and Eight Bells," Bermondsey Street, Bermondsey. The Secretary's name is William Harrison and he works at Christy's in the same street.

Mr Lee also stated that in consequence of the suspension of the works of the Messrs. Waring the Belgian Navvies were almost starving. He had been making en-
25 quiries and he had found that Waring's Agent had told the Belgians that they could earn from 5 to 6 Franks per day whereas they had only been able to earn from 2/4 to 3/6 per day. The Agent had also promised them 25 Franks each for travelling expenses as well as food, but they had had neither and as none of them could produce a written agreement it was impossible to do anything with the Messrs Waring for
30 breach of contract.

Jung said he had received a letter from Geneva stating that much progress had been made in the Association since the Congress. The Watch-makers had joined in

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great numbers. Lawrence, Secretary of the Tailors' Society sent an apology to the Council for his non-attendance. He should like the meeting-night changed. The subject of changing the night was discussed with no result. Jung drew attention to the Trades Council Meeting which would take place on the 12th, the names of the deputation were read over, all that were present were requested to attend.

The Meeting then adjourned. |

|47| Council Meeting December 18th

Citizen Jung in the Chair, Shaw Secretary pro tern.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Jung reported that the deputation had attended the Trades Council on the 12th instant but the meeting was adjourned until the 19th on which date the council would be heard on the first opening of the business. The members of the deputation were strictly enjoined to attend.

Correspondence from France

Dupont stated that the two Letters that he had sent to Lyons on the 2nd and 24th of November had arrived safe but the *Carnets* had not arrived although they had been sent three weeks ago. He also read extracts from the "Courrier Français" which were favorable to the association as well as the programme for electing the new administration of Paris which would be decided on the 13th of January 1867.

Correspondence from Switzerland

Jung stated that great activity was being displayed in Switzerland by the Association. A meeting had been held at Locle, on the 25th of November. A Branch was opened, a committee appointed and a large number of members made, besides a large number that had joined other branches of the Association. Jung also said, that branch of the Association was being formed in Clerkenwell.

Holland

Van Rijen reported that he had translated the rules and address and made arrangements for the publication of them in a Dutch Newspaper.

Marx reported that "Revue des Deux Mondes" and "Revue Contemporaine" had

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been commenting on the doings of the Association, and, although they did not agree with the objects of the association entirely, still, they acknowledged it to be one of the leading events of the present Century. Marx also said that the "Fortnightly Review" had been commenting on the matter. |

|48| Celebration of the Polish Insurrection of 1863

Citizen Bobczynski said he understood that the council intended to celebrate the Polish Insurrection on the 22nd of January 1867. He should like to know what form it would take. After some discussion it was agreed "That a tea-party and public meeting should take place under the auspices of this association and the Polish Society. Music to accompany the tea-party. Addresses to be delivered and resolutions submitted to the meeting and that the standing Committee prepare the programme and submit it to the Council on its next meeting."

The Council then adjourned until Jan'y 1st/67./

Meeting of the General Council January 1, 1867

/48/ 1867.

Jan. 1, 1867.

V. P. Eccarius in the Chair.

5 Fox stated that he had received a communication from the British Foreign Office, dated Dec'r. 21/66 and a packet of books, pamphlets, newspapers and letters. The letter informed him that the package contained the papers etc seized upon Jules Gottraux in Sept'r. last and for which application [had] been made to the French Minister of the Interior and to Lord Stanley. Fox then detailed the contents of the package, which included a bundle of copies of the *Tribune du peuple* which
10 had *not* been seized on Gottraux.

The General Council, then, on the motion of Fox, passed the following resolution:

"That the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association tenders its thanks to Lord Stanley for his just and efficacious ||49| intervention with the
15 French Government with a view to obtain for the said General Council the papers and letters belonging to it which were seized upon the person of Jules Gottraux, a British subject, on Sept'r. 30, 1866."

Fox was directed and undertook to communicate this resolution to Lord Stanley.

20 In reference to publishing an account of this transaction, Fox argued against a too large ventilation thereof, but recommended that its publication be confined either to the *Commonwealth* alone or to the said paper and *Reynolds'*. After some discussion it was unanimously resolved that it should be published in the *Commonwealth* and in *Reynolds's*.

The Lyons' silk weavers.

25 Fox asked for and received the authorisation of the Council to correspond with the American Protectionist Journals and Statesmen in reference to the Lyons' silk weavers who desire to emigrate to the United States.

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Correspondence from France.

Dupont said he was happy to announce that he had received several communications from the French provinces after the interruption put to his correspondence during the last three months.

He read (1) a summary of a letter from Lefebvre of Neufchâteau (Vosges) which called for the *compte-rendu* of the Geneva Congress.

(2) from Fleurieux-sur-Saône which lamented the seizure of the *carnets*, sent from London, but announced that they had 107 members and that their Cooperative Coal Store was succeeding beyond their expectations. |

[50] (3) From Bordeaux, calling for the *compte-rendu*.

(4) From Rouen, saying that the delay of the General Council in publishing the *compte-rendu* of the Congress was ruining the Association in Normandy. The letter sent the contributions of 20 members towards this object (in French postage stamps).

5. A letter from Cheval, a French member in Belgium, announcing the sale of some cards.

Dupont handed in an article on our Association published in the *Écho de la Gironde* and also the last number of the *Courrier Français*, containing an announcement from the Paris Managing Committee that the *Mémoire* presented by them to the Geneva Congress and which had been printed in Belgium, because no French printer would publish it, had been seized at the Belgian frontier; also remarks by the Editor of the *Courrier Français*.

Dupont also asked for permission to cut from 12 copies of the report of the Geneva Congress in the French language—about 50 copies of which were among the papers received from the British Foreign Office—the pages containing the *règlements* of the Association, in order that he might send them by letter to his correspondents in the provinces of France. Leave granted.

Jung gave some information in reference to the progress of the Association in Switzerland, and also read some extracts from the *Espiègle* containing another fulminating letter from *Vésinier*. \

%

[51] At this moment a letter was received from Citizen Cremer. The letter contained the Balance Sheet of the funds of the Association and announced his resignation of membership in the Council, the reason being that the Council had concerted with a trio of well-known ancient enemies of his to damage his reputation and had threatened to make public the fact that he had neglected to return the Balance Sheet to the General Secretary.

No action was taken hereupon.

Polish Celebration.

Fox then stated the arrangements which had been made by the Standing Committee at its meeting on Saturday and read the contents of the card of admission. 4¾

Meeting of the General Council January 1, 1867

Shaw laid on the table the cards of admission to the soirée and meeting.

Inasmuch as Citizen Odger had sent no letter saying whether his engagements would permit him to take the chair on the 22nd, and inasmuch as the printing of the Bills was thereby hindered, it was resolved that the announcement in the Bills should be "The Chair will be taken by a member of the General Council of the International W.A."

A member of the French branch announced that that branch would take part in the meeting and move a resolution.

The Council then adjourned. /

/51/ Council Meeting Jan'y 8th 1867

Citizen Jung was appointed to take the chair. A deputation from the Pattern-drawers and Block-Cutters, Middleton Arms, Mansfield Street, Kingsland Road attended for the purpose of joining the ||[52]|| Association. They also stated that they were on strike against one Employer (Viz Mr Huntington of Holloway) and that they had been led to believe that men had been engaged in France to come over to supplant them. Eccarius then took the Chair and Citizen Jung moved and Cit Lessner seconded, That the Block-cutters and Pattern-drawers be admitted as an Affiliated Society—Carried Nem. Con.

On the Motion of Citizen Jung—Dupont was directed to write to Paris on the subject of the Block-Cutters' dispute.

Minutes

Citizen Fox read the Minutes of the last Meeting which were confirmed.

Citizen Collet was elected as the Delegate from the French Branch of the Association on the Motion [of] Citizen Jung seconded by Citizen Dupont. 1

Citizen Fox read a letter from Naples, stating that Dassi had been unable to write in consequence of severe illness. He also gave satisfactory reasons why he had not published the resolution of the Council to Lord Stanley in the Commonwealth.

A Letter was read from Mr Reaveley of the Coachmakers' Society, Green Man, Berwick Street, stating that a Deputation might attend on Wednesday Evening. Cit- 20
izens Jung and Combault were appointed to attend.

Courrier Français

Citizen Fox read several passages from this journal relating to this association.

Citizen Dupont said the Musical Instrument-Makers would hold a General Meet- I
ing on Monday the 14th at 8 o'clock, p.m. and would receive a deputation from this 2
Council. Carter, Lessner, Collet, Lafargue, and Van Rijen were appointed to attend.

Meeting of the General Council January 8, 1867

On the Motion of Citizen Fox, it was unanimously agreed, That the thanks of the Council be sent to Miss Hosburgh for translating the report of the Geneva Congress from the *Vorbote*.

Trades Council

A long discussion took place as to what plan of action should be submitted to the Trades Council which ended by most of the members promising to attend the Council on Wednesday Evening.

Citizen Lee stated, that the Excavators intended holding their first annual Meeting on the 21st of January at the Lambeth Baths. He invited the Council to attend if convenient.

A Letter was read from the Reform League inviting the Council to take part in the Demonstration. A Letter was read from Cremer stating that the Organ Builders had joined this Association. A Letter was read from Odger requesting the Council to meet the Trades Council at the Bell Inn, Old Bailey, on Wednesday Evening.

The Council adjourned to Jan'y 15th./

/[53]/ Council Meeting January 15th /67

Citizen Eccarius in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and after an addition suggested by Citizen Fox confirmed.

Citizen Fox then asked the Council to allow Mr Luscombe the "author" of a Reform Song to use the Address of the Association for the purpose [of] furthering its sale; permission was granted unanimously.

Mr Cohn then paid over £1.9.0 as the Annual Subscription from the Cigar Makers' Society, and stated that the Cigar Makers of *Bremen* had applied to the London Cigar Makers for copy of their Laws for the purpose [of] forming a Society at Bremen on the same principles. |

[54] Citizen Fox reported that his article on the conduct of the French Government with regard to this Association and the vote of thanks to Lord Stanley was published in "Commonwealth" and "The International Courier" and suggested that it should be placed in the Minute Book which was agreed to accordingly.

The French Government and the International Association
of Working Men.

During the first two years of the existence of this association, and until after the assembling of the Geneva Congress, the general council had little or no complaint to make of the conduct of the French Government towards the International Working Men's Association. The council's communications, with its correspondents in France, were not interrupted; the sale of tickets not seriously impeded. If here and there, the local authorities threatened dire consequences to the council's agents, if they proceeded to enrol members, those threats were but "brutum fulmen," and were not executed upon those who had the courage to act in defiance of them.

This much is quite consistent with the fact that the very existence of the French Empire and of the laws of public safety, which it declares, are necessary for its maintenance, did greatly impede the progress of the association. In the first place, the non-existence of the right of public meeting prevented the members of the association from meeting together and organising their sections in an overt and formal

manner. But the general council neither expected nor desired that the laws of the empire should be specially modified to suit their interests. The damage done to them in this manner had nothing in it "specially" invidious to themselves. It was an injury which was inflicted primarily on the whole French nation, and secondarily upon every advanced Liberal and Democrat in Europe, all of whom have an interest in the existence of the right of public meeting in France. Hence, they make no public complaint on this account.

In the second place, the general spirit of terrorism, upon which the French Government so much relies, could not but have deterred many Frenchmen who agreed with the principles and design of the association, from becoming members thereof and linking themselves to its fortunes in France. But this damage also, is general and indirect. Moreover, it was known to the founders of the association that this would be one of the obstacles to its success in France. The general council were prepared for a certain amount of up-hill work, in consequence of the prevailing terror in all that relates to independent political action in France, and therefore they do not come forward now to make a complaint on this score.

Had the French Government continued to preserve that attitude of (perhaps contemptuous) neutrality which it observed up to, and during, the Congress of Geneva, the general council would not have been compelled to make the present statement to the members of the Association. But from and after the assembling of the Congress at Geneva the French Government saw fit to alter its attitude towards the association. The motives for this change of policy cannot be found in any special act of antagonism committed either by the General council or by the delegates to the congress, French or non French.

It would have been the height of folly on the part of the general council or the delegates of the congress to court and invite the hostility of the French Government. Some few Parisian members of the association who attended the congress in their individual capacities thought otherwise, but as they were not delegates, they were not allowed to speak at the congress. The delegates went about the weighty business they had in hand, and did not diverge to the right hand or to the left, for the purpose of making an anti-Buonapartist demonstration.

One of the first signs of a change for the worse on the part of the French Government was the case of Jules Gottraux. Jules Gottraux is a native of Switzerland, and a naturalised subject of the British State. He is domiciled in London, and in September last was on a visit to his relatives in or about Geneva. The Managing Committees of the German-Swiss and French-Swiss sections at Geneva entrusted to his care some letters, and a number of pamphlets and newspapers relating to the transactions of the Association, which were all, without exception, to be delivered to the general council in London. On proceeding from Geneva to London, on Sept. 30, the valise of Gottraux was searched by French policemen at the Franco-Swiss frontier, and these letters and printed documents taken from him.

This was an outrage which the general council, when put in possession of the facts, resolved not quietly to endure. That the French Government, which enacts the law, may make it legal to seize printed matter and correspondence coming from abroad and directed to a French citizen, or even a mere resident in France, the

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council did not deny; but for the French Government to exercise the same right of paternal "surveillance" over the communications between Switzers and Britons, or even residents in Great Britain, was a stretch of authority that the general council felt itself bound to oppose. The outrage was not aggravated by the fact that the literature seized in no way concerned the French Government, and did not belong to the category of the anti-Buonapartist philippics, because, whatever the character of the literature the council denies the right of the French Government, while at peace with Switzerland and Great Britain, to intercept the communications between the citizens of the two countries.

The first step taken by the council in this matter was to write a respectful letter to the "Ministre de l'intérieur," stating the facts, requesting an inquiry into their accuracy, and terminating with a petition for the surrender of the letters and printed matter seized upon Gottraux.

The council waited five weeks for a reply to their memorial. None came, and this silence was a proof that the French government assumed responsibility for the act of its subordinate agents. Only then did the council resolve to appeal to Lord Stanley, the British secretary for foreign affairs, for redress, grounding their appeal upon the facts that Gottraux was a British subject, and that the general council was composed of subjects and denizens in Great Britain.

Lord Stanley, be it said to his credit, heard this appeal, and directed Lord Cowley, the British ambassador at Paris, to ask for the restitution of the said letters and printed matter.

On the 21st ult., the council received a letter from Mr. Hammond (of the foreign office) accompanying a parcel sealed with the seal of the British embassy. The letter informed the council that the parcel contained the papers which had been seized upon Gottraux.

It did contain the confiscated letters and printed matter, and also, strange to say, some newspapers not seized upon Gottraux, nor coming from Switzerland. These newspapers were two bundles of the Brussels "Tribune du Peuple," a paper doubtless highly obnoxious to the French Government, and the principal organ of the association in Belgium. These papers had been addressed to some French members, and the council far from having demanded their restitution, were unaware of their having been seized. These two bundles had upon them the official seal of the administration of public safety. |

¡[55] In order to conclude this case of Gottraux's, the undersigned inserts here a resolution passed on the first instant, by the general council.

"Resolved, that the general council of the international workingmen's association tenders its thanks to Lord Stanley for his just and efficacious intervention with the French Government with a view to obtain for the said general council the papers and letters belonging to it, which were seized upon the person of Jules Gottraux, a British subject, on Sep. 30, 1866," at the same time the undersigned was directed to communicate a copy of the same without delay, to Lord Stanley.

In November last, citizen Dupont, the council's secretary for France, found that letters sent by him to the association's agents in France were seized, and also that letters directed to him from all parts of France did not come to hand. "A fortiori,"

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the French post-office was closed against the delivery of printed matter addressed by the council to its agents in France, and "vice versa."

Of course citizen Dupont can no longer confide in the French post-office.

The latest news under this head is that, whereas the blockade against printed matter directed to French citizens and members of the association is still stringently enforced; letters from the French provinces directed to Dupont have of late, once more, come through, although letters so directed from Paris continue to be detained!

Another fact is reported in the last number of the "Courrier Français." The interesting essay contributed by the Parisian delegates to the Geneva congress, parts of which have already been published in the "Courrier Français" without evil consequences, was sent to Brussels to be printed, only because no printer in Paris would undertake to execute the job. This memorial, be it said, is directed against the capitalist class, but is silent concerning the present Government of France. Nevertheless, the printed edition of this memorial has been seized by the postal authorities of France and confiscated.

Under these circumstances it is impossible to say how long the French Government will continue to allow the sale of tickets of membership in the association, and abstain from persecuting the prominent members thereof, who live subject to its jurisdiction.

By order of the General Council,
Peter Fox,

Jan. 5, 1867.

25 Citizen Jung then reported his mission to the Coach Makers' Friendly Society held at the Green Man, Berwick Street and concluded by moving that the Coach Makers be accepted as an affiliated Society. The motion was agreed to unanimously and
' Citizen Reaveley was elected as the Delegate on this Council to represent that Society. Citizen Reaveley then paid 5/as enrolment fee for his Society and 1/0 as his Contribution.

30 A letter was read from Citizen Odger stating that the Resolution passed by the London Trades Council on the 9th instant would be found in the "Times" Newspaper of that day.

The following is the resolution

35 The London Trades Council
and the International Association.

At a meeting of the London Trades Council, held last night at the Bell Inn, Old Bailey, Mr. Danter (president of the Society of Amalgamated Engineers) in the chair, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—"That this meeting is of opinion that the position of the working man can never be much improved, and is in im-
40 minent danger of being seriously depreciated, whilst the people of different countries have no regular intercommunication among themselves for the purpose of

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regulating the hours of labour and assimilating wages. And as the International Association affords the best facilities for bringing about that object, it is hereby resolved to co-operate with that association for the furtherance of all questions affecting the interests of labour; at the same time continuing the London Trades Council as a distinct and independent body as before."

A letter was read from the Secretary of the Reform League inviting this Council to take part in the coming demonstration and requesting the appointment of Delegates to attend the Meeting at Newman Street on the 16th instant. ||[56]|| Lessner, Carter, Collet and Shaw were appointed to attend.

Blockcutters' dispute

Citizen Collet stated, that since the last meeting he had been trying to bring the Blockcutters' dispute to an end. He had seen Mr Huntington of Holloway who had written to Lancashire for the Employers' statement of the Case. The employers had refused to send their statement to Citizen Collet until they knew who he was and whom he represented. Citizen Collet then asked the Council to give him authority to write to these said employers for their statement of the Case.

A Resolution was submitted giving Citizen Collet the required authority. But, on the motion of Shaw seconded by Jung the subject was adjourned until the next meeting and in the meantime a deputation should be invited to attend from Blockcutters' Society.

Shaw reported that he had waited upon the Organ Builders' Society on the previous evening. He had received the enrolment fee 5/0 and the form of application filled up.

Mr Miall's bill was read demanding the rent of the Office. It was proposed, seconded and carried that £2.10.0 be paid to Mr Miall.

Jung said that Dupont had received a letter [from] *Vienne*, stating that they had 300 Members and they wanted their *carnets*.

Jung said he had received a letter from Mr Applegarth inviting him to meet a gentleman at his office, who was very favorable to the objects of our Association and who owned property at Lausanne.

Polish Demonstration

Fox reported that the standing Committee had agreed that 4 Resolutions should be submitted to the meeting. |

I [57] I On the motion of Citizen Eccarius seconded by Carter Citizen Jung was appointed to take the Chair at the Polish Demonstration.

A *letter* was read from Mr Roberti of Lea, Kent, expressing a desire to take part in the Demonstration, the letter was left with Fox to answer as he might think best. The meeting then adjourned until Tuesday the 29th instant. /

/[57]/ General Council Meeting Jan'y 29th

Citizen Eccarius in the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The Secretary then read several letters which he had received since the last meeting. One was from Miss Hosburgh in reply to a vote of thanks sent to her by the Council. Another was from the Coventry Weavers' Association with the annual Subscription of 1.13.4. And two were from the Lancashire, Derbyshire, Yorkshire and Cheshire Block-Printers' Union with the entrance-fee of the Society and annual Subscription for 1,000 *members*. It was then moved by Cit Jung and seconded by Cit Lessner That the L. D. Y. and C. Block-Printers' Union be accepted as an affiliated Branch of this Association.

Citizen Fox then read several letters for Citizen Dupont. One was from the Editor of the *Courrier Français* giving reasons for declining to publish the transactions of the Geneva Congress; another was from Varlin of Paris Bookbinders. This letter Varlin wished to be read to the London Bookbinders by some members of the Council. It also announced that Varlin had sent 18 Francs to the Council.

It was then proposed and seconded that a Deputation wait upon the Bookbinders in order to deliver the statement of the Paris Bookbinders and that the Secretary write to Mr Bockett informing him of the same. Jung, Dupont and Van Rijen agreed to attend.

A letter was read from Liege in Belgium announcing the formation of a new branch of the Association.

A letter was read from Beniere of Fleurieux-sur-Saône and one from Fribourg of Paris.

A deputation from the Block-Cutters' Society being present. The question relating to the Block-Cutters which was adjourned at the last meeting was then introduced by the President. The Secretary stated his reasons for moving the adjournment of the question. Cit Collet said he had done nothing in the matter since the last meeting, and he thought he could do no good now as circumstances had taken place which had caused him to alter his opinion on the subject. Mr Shettleworth said he thought the Council might render some service by holding some communication with 2 men who had come from France to work for Mr Huntington. Jung,

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Dupont and Van Rijen agreed to render their assistance and the subject then dropt.

The invitation of the Reform League to take part in the Reform Demonstration was referred to the standing Committee and the meeting adjourned untilli February 5th 1867./

Meeting of the General Council February 5, 1867

/[58]/ General Council Meeting Feb'y 5th 1867

Citizen Jung in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr Reaveley then introduced Mr Möller a member of the Coach Trimmers' Society held at the "Crown," Broad Street, Golden Square who asked for information relative to the objects of the association. ||[59] He was supplied with a copy of the rules and a deputation was promised to attend upon his Society on the first Tuesday in March next-

Mr Reaveley took up Cards of Membership for Lewis Smith, 36 South St, Manchester Squ. and for Cornelius Reddington, 10 Adam St, Portman Squ. W, for which he paid 2/2, he also "returned 60 cards to the Secretary. Mr Cowell Stepney of Swindon Villa, Upper Norwood, Surrey also took up a card of membership and paid one Guinea.

Cit Fox read a letter from the National Reform League held at the Eclectic Hall, Denmark Street, Soho W. desiring to know on what terms that League could become affiliated to the Association. Fox was desired to give the required information. A discussion then arose as to what date the subscriptions of Societies in affiliation should become due. It was then resolved that all societies should pay their Contributions in advance to clear them up for 12 months from date of enrolment.

Block Cutters.

Jung reported that he had waited upon the two French Block-Cutters who had gone to work for Mr Huntington of Holloway but he had arrived at no satisfactory conclusion as yet; He should see the men again.

Jung reported that he had waited upon the Bookbinders at the Harpers Arms, Theobald's Road but in consequence of their pressure of business he had not been able to read to them the Letter from the Paris Bookbinders. He had however left them a translation of it.

The standing Committee recommended the Council to take part in the Reform Demonstration by sending a Deputation. Fox, Lessner, Lafargue, Dupont and Shaw

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were appointed to represent the Council, and—Simonard, Collet and Neemeier on behalf of the French Branch. |

[[60]] Jung read a letter asking for the General Report from Card of Geneva. The Secretary was instructed to pay £3.0.0 to Mr Leno on account of Printing, and £2.10s to Mr Miall for Rent. Mr Cottam's Bill for printing Cards was referred to the standing Committee.

The Council authorized the standing Committee to get the forms printed for obtaining statistical information to be laid before Congress. |

Meeting of the General Council February 12, 1867

[[61]] General Council Meeting Feb'y 12

In consequence of the small attendance of Councilmen the Meeting was adjourned after the reading of the minutes./

Meeting of the General Council February 19, 1867

/[61]/ General Council Meeting Feb'y 19th

In consequence of the non-attendance of Councilrnen the Meeting was adjourned./

Meeting of the General Council February 26, 1867

/[61]/ General Council Meeting Feb'y 26

V. P. Eccarius in the Chair. Fox Secretary for the night.

The Delegate paid £1.7.0 on behalf of the West-end Cabinet makers, being 5/ for Entrance-fee and £1.2.0 for Annual Subscription of 500 members.

James Cohn then presented his Credentials from the Cigar makers' Society and was accepted by the Council. He stated that his Society numbered 700 men.

Belgian riots and massacre

Cit Collet read a letter from Vesinier appealing for aid for the widows and sufferers. He stated that a Collection had been made by the French Branch but that that Branch was waiting to see what action would be taken by the General Council in the matter. The question of subscription was mooted but generally discounted. I

I [62] I Ultimately it was resolved to appeal to the Miners and Iron Workers of Britain, and Eccarius was ordered to draw up a circular for presentation to the subcommittee on Saturday next.

**Reports from Coach Trimmers at The Globe,
North Audley St, Grosvenor Square**

Lessner reported that he had attended this body since the last meeting of the Council. The members had agreed to become affiliated to the Association.

Correspondence from France

Citizen Dupont paid in a Bill of Exchange equal to 9/2½ English money in payment of balance due from Fleurieux-sur-Saône. Dupont also read a letter from the Paris Commission announcing that all the Delegates to the Geneva Congress had

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been re-elected and giving reasons for the Commission as it now stood. The same letter also set forth the programme which the new Commission had drawn up for the Congress at Lausanne.

Fox announced that the *International Courier* and *Courrier International* had been temporarily suspended by their proprietor and Editor (Collet) in consequence of his inability to find two sureties to the Government. Collet had one, a French man. He wanted a Briton for the second. Fox thought as the two journals were advocating the principles of the Council, they should help Collet over the difficulty. Collet stated that after 48 hours' delay the French Government had allowed the last number containing the first part of the Congress report to circulate in France.

The Polish Celebration of January 22nd

Zabicki translated from the Government organ at Warsaw a ludicrous report of the late demonstration in Cambridge Hall.

The Council then adjourned.

Buckley, Eccarius, Fox, Collet, Yarrow, Zabicki, Lessner, Lafargue, Marx, Dupont, Carter and Cohn were present— |

I [63] I General Council Meeting March 5th

Citizen Odger in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

5 A letter was read from Mr Jackson of Kendal containing 20 postage stamps as the annual contribution of the shoemakers of that Town. A letter was also read from Mr. Butler the Secretary of the Coventry Ribbon Weavers' Association; the letter asked for the rate of Wages paid in *Basle* and other parts of Switzerland as the asserted low price paid to the Swiss Weavers was made the excuse for reducing the price paid to the Ribbon Weavers of England. Jung was then directed to write to
10 Switzerland for the required information.

Jung then read a letter from Chaux de Fonds stating that 4 new Branches of the Association had been formed. He also had a letter from Dupleix which he desired to bring before the Standing Committee. Jung also read 2 letters from Fribourg of Paris relating to the position of the Bronze Workers of Paris on Strike. He stated
15 that a deputation had waited upon the Day Working Bookbinders who had given 5 pounds and lent 10 pounds to Bronze Workers of Paris. The Trades Council had also given Credentials to the Association to enable them to appeal to the Trades of London and Jung, Marx, Lafargue, Dupont, Van Rijen, Collet, Zabicki, Lessner, Eccarius and Carter agreed to wait upon the various trades to solicit their aid.

20 The matter of the Belgian Miners and Iron-workers was then brought forward and postponed until Eccarius had produced the Circular that he had written upon the subject. The Council then adjourned. |

[[64]] **General Council Meeting March 12th**

Citizen Fox in the Chair. Council men present Jung, Van Rijen, Dupont, Marx, Lafargue, Lessner, Carter, Hales, Maurice and Shaw. Citizens Tolain, Fribourg and several other members of the Association were present. The minutes of the previous meeting were confirmed as read. The following resolution from the standing Committee was brought up and confirmed by the Council, Viz "That we approve and endorse the Political Conduct of the Paris Administration and condemn the attacks made upon Dupont, Jung, Dupleix and other members of the Association in the *Espiègle*, *L'avenir de Genève* and other journals."

Dupont reported that Fribourg had cited Le Lubez before a meeting of the members of the French Branch of the Association for the purpose of answering the attacks made by Le Lubez upon Fribourg and others. The meeting condemned the policy of Le Lubez by a majority of 22 out of 23 votes.

On the suggestion of Citizen Fox the following resolution was agreed to unanimously, That this Council acknowledges the value of the services rendered to it and to the interests of the association throughout Europe by Citizen James Cope, a member of this Council, in providing, by his guarantee given to the British Government, for the Continuance of the publications of the proceedings of the Geneva Congress in the *International Courier* and *Courrier International*—two organs of this Association in England.

Copies of the *International Courier*
to be sent to Societies

It was moved and carried with one dissentient that Copies of the *International Courier*, containing the two first parts of the Proceedings of the Geneva Congress, be sent to the Trade and other Societies affiliated with us.

It was also referred to the Standing Committee to consider the propriety of circulating the same among Trade Unions not yet affiliated with us. |

Meeting of the General Council March 12, 1867

[[65] I Paris Bronze Workers' Lock-out

Dupont reported that the members present at the last meeting of the French Branch of the I. W. Association had guaranteed to supply £13.0.0 per month to the Bronze

- Workers as long as the struggle lasted and had paid £6.10.0 on account. The money
5 would be supplied as a loan, and when returned would be formed into a fund to meet future cases that might be brought before the Branch.

Lessner and Maurice reported that the French Polishers' meeting at the "Three Tuns," Oxford Street, would decide what support they would give to the Bronze Workers on Tuesday next the 19th instant. They would also appoint a Delegate to
A0 the Council in the place of Citizen Whitehead.

Carter reported that he had waited upon the Amalgamated Carpenters. They would decide what they would do in the course of a few days.

- Jung reported that he and others had waited upon the Council of the Engineers. He expected to hear what the Council would do, daily. He also stated that he had
15 written to many other Societies and waited upon some, and that the Curriers' meeting at the "Black Jack," Portsmouth Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields would hold a quarterly meeting on Thursday May 2nd at 8 o'clock, at which a Deputation from the Council should attend. Arrangements for attending other Societies on behalf of the Bronze workers were made and several Council men promised to attend.

20 The Day Working Bookbinders' Society

Secretary Bockett paid 17s 6d as annual Contribution for 420 members of the above society, and said he should have the letter from the members of his society to the Bookbinders of Paris ready in a few days and would forward it to the Council for translation and conveyance to Paris. |

- 25 [[66] Citizen Lessner paid £1.7.9 on behalf of the German-Swiss Section of the I.W. Association.

The Secretary was instructed to purchase an Address Book, for the purpose of inserting therein the names, addresses and money account of the Societies affiliated with us.

- 30 The following letter was handed in by Citizen Zabicki and read by the President

March 12th 1867.

*The Central London Section of the United Polish Exiles—
To The General Council of the International Men's Association*

Citizens

- 35 We are instructed to communicate to you that the Central London Section of the United Polish Exiles, at their sitting on the 10th of February, passed unanimously a vote of thanks to the General Council of the International Men's Association for

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the generous and effectual co-operation in the arrangements of the Social Tea-Party and Public Meeting held at the Cambridge Hall in commemoration of the January anniversary of the last insurrection, expressing more especially, their warmest gratitude to the Chairman, Mr. Jung, Mr. P. Fox, Dr. Marx, Mr. Eccarius, and the other speakers, for their noble, warm, and able defence of the Polish Cause, before the assembled Public.

President Louis **OBORSKI, COLONEL**
Secretary **JOHN KRYNSKI**

The Meeting was then adjourned to the 19th instant. |

Meeting of the General Council March 19, 1867

I [67] I General Council Meeting March. 19th

Citizen Lessner in the Chair. Citizen Fox acted as Secretary. The minutes of the previous meeting were confirmed with the amendments that Fox was ordered to make.

Bronze Workers

Citizen Jung reported that the Boot makers of Fetter Lane had voted £5.0.0. The Executive] C[ouncil] had only the power to vote £ 10.0.0.

Tin Plate Workers, Black Jack

Jung stated that the Committee had no power to vote money; it must be voted by a
10 quarterly meeting of the members which would take place on the 10th of April. He also stated that the Society would very likely join us if we sent a deputation to their meeting as above stated.

Coach Trimmers, The Globe, North Audley St

15 Lessner and Hales reported that the above Society could vote money without a Special meeting. They would [pay] their entrance fee to this Association in about a month.

Swiss News

Jung read an extract [from] the "Association Internationale" relating to our Association.

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Reports from Standing Committee

Fox brought up a report recommending that Maurice be paid henceforth 1/6 per week for the use of his room for the meetings of the standing Committee. Carried.

The Swiss section having demanded that the programme of the Lausanne Congress be drawn up and published forthwith. The standing Committee thought it best not to comply with that demand but instead thereof, to refer for study as the only urgent and special question of the moment "The means of making Credit Available for the Working Classes." This recommendation [][68] was unanimously confirmed by the Council.

Circulation of the Report of the Geneva Congress

Fox stated that 2 quires of International Courier would be wanted to supply English Societies and American Correspondents, and 2¾ quires of Courier International for Continental Correspondents. He thought it would take seven numbers without the French Essay. Fox moved and Carter seconded That 2 quires of the I.C. and 2% of C. I. be ordered weekly until the report is concluded. Carried Nem Con.

Collet said he would send 200 of the Working Man to Trades Societies if he had the addresses.

Cohn said that the Cigar makers were spreading all over England. The Liverpool Cigar makers' Society of 300 members had several branches in the North (they were unconnected with London) and he advised the Council to communicate with them as they would see through the exchange of Balance Sheets that the London Society belonged to us.

Odger said he was going to Manchester and he would see what he could do for the Bronze Workers with the Trades Council there; he however should want Credentials. The meeting then adjourned. /

Meeting of the General Council March 26, 1867

/[68]/ **General Council Meeting March 26th**

The Secretary absent. Eccarius took the Chair and the minutes. Citizen Jung read a letter from Paris. M. Barbedienne is going to arrange a Log with his workpeople, other employers are following his example. The Geneva Section of the I.W.A. have
5 agreed to a weekly levy. In Paris the masters discharge men for supporting the Lock-out. (Two days later.) Some employers have agreed to a Log with their men. The masters are holding a Conference respecting a Log. There will be a General
. Meeting next Sunday.

Deputations

10 Citizen Jung received £5 from the Shoemakers ([for the] Bronze Workers) accompanied [[69]] with a very sympathising letter. He had been to the Hatters (Gravel Lane) alone. The Society does not acknowledge one person as a Deputation. It requires a Statement first and Deputation afterwards. The Iron Founders express great sympathy, cannot assist as they are in great difficulties. The West end Cabinet
15 makers have lent £20.0.0. It was resolved to renew the application to the Shoemakers. The Meeting then adjourned. /

Meeting of the General Council April 2, 1867

/[69]/ **General Council Meeting April 2nd**

Citizen Eccarius in the Chair. The minutes of the two previous meetings were read by Fox and Eccarius and confirmed.

Bronze Workers

Jung reported that he had waited upon the Hatters at Gravel Lane on last Friday. They would state what they would do on next Friday Week. He also stated that he had waited upon the Curriers and Tin Plate Workers but should wait upon them again. The Engineers had not done anything, because they had not received any of their loans yet. The Bricklayers' money had not yet arrived at Paris. Dupont stated *La Voix de l'Avenir* contained an Article on the Bronze Workers' Lock Out.

Carter called attention to the Engine Drivers' Strike and said we had fallen short of our mission in that Case.

Dupont said he had waited upon the Committee at 31 Bridge Street, Strand as soon as he heard of the affair and communicated with the Continent that same day, some sharp discussion followed and Jung and Dupont were appointed to do what they could with the Engine Drivers' Committee to forward the objects of this Association. I

[[70]] Several demands for the payment of debts were then read by the Secretary. It was then moved by Fox and seconded by Yarrow, That £1.3.7 be paid to Cit Collet for Courriers supplied to the Council. Carried Nem Con.

It was also moved by Fox and seconded by Jung that £1.10.0 be paid to Mr Leno on account of printing. Carried Nem Con.

The payment of the Advertisement in the Commonwealth was postponed on the motion of Citizen Jung. The Meeting then adjourned. /

Meeting of the General Council April 9, 1867

/[70]/ General Council Meeting April 9th

Citizen Jung in the Chair. The Secretary was absent and no minutes of the previous meeting could be read.

Fox was appointed minute taker for the Evening.

Fox brought up a resolution from the standing Committee to the Effect that a Balance Sheet be made out and the Accounts be audited.

Agreed to nem con—

Hales asked for a report of the Congress for his Society, and Cohn requested that copies of the Courier containing a translation of the Parisian Mémoire be furnished to his Society. It was order'd that a note of these requests be made in the minutes. Hales thought that the Courier should be pushed amongst the Affiliated Societies. After a Short discussion the subject was adjourned until next week and Fox undertook [to] ask Collet to attend.

George Drait was nominated as a member of the Council. 2/2 was paid to Fox as Subscription from Lawrence and Druitt. A Delegate from the Coach Trimmers' Society held at the "Globe," North Audley ||[71]|| Street, Grosvenor Square paid 5/0 entrance fee for his Society to join the Association.

Dupont read a letter from Fribourg (Paris) stating that the French Trades had advanced something like £4,000 to the Bronze Workers. It stated that the Lock out was at an end, but that 17 of the most active members had been excluded from the shops. The Chairman then reported that the Cigar makers had voted £5.0.0 which had been sent to Paris, also that Bricklayers' money had not yet arrived in Paris. He then asked: now the Lock-out was at an end could he canvass Trades Societies for money? Cohn and Hales replied that so long as 17 men were locked out, the Lock-out could not be at an end, and Jung declared himself satisfied by this response from two representatives of English Trades Unions.

Citizen Conn stated that the Cigar Trade was very slack. It would be worse before it was better—one seventh of their men was out of work. Still Belgians, Dutch and Hamburgers were coming over here and suffering greatly. They were working at very low prices having no other alternative but to starve. He said a very skilfull Hollander was working for 1/9 per hundred while he, Cohn, was getting 3/6 per hundred for the same kind of work. He requested the Dutch, Belgian and German Sec-

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retaries to inform their Countrymen of the sad state of things and when there were not more than 25 men out [of work] belonging to the Society the Continentals might come and welcome. It was order'd that the above matter be attended to at once.

Fox then proposed William Hales as a member of the Council. Dupont and Jung were appointed to wait upon the Tin Plate Workers, Black Jack. |

I [72] I Cohn and Jung were appointed to wait upon the Hatters' Committee. The meeting then adjourned.

Members present, Maurice, Fox, Cohn, Hales, Bobczynski, Zabicki, Buckley, Jung and Dupont. /

Meeting of the General Council April 16, 1867

/[72]/ **General Council Meeting April 16th**

Members present, Jung, Maurice, Lessner, Hales, Lafargue, Dupont, Collet, Fox, Shaw and Cohn.

Fox read the minutes of the previous meeting and they were confirmed. Fox proposed and Maurice seconded William Hales as member of the Council. Carried.

Maurice proposed and Dupont seconded George Druitt President of the London Tailors' Society as a member of the Council. Carried.

A letter was read from the Reform League requesting a Delegate to attend at the Sussex Hotel on the 17th instant to receive a memorial Tablet in commemoration of
10 the Reform Demonstration, of Feb'y 11th 1867.

Citizen Collet was appointed to receive the Tablet on behalf of the Council.

Fox read a letter from Mrs Harriet Law on the subject of "Women's Rights" and expressed his opinion that perhaps Mrs Law would go to the Congress at Lausanne if solicited. By mutual consent Fox undertook to write to Mrs Law asking her if she
-15 would be willing to attend the Council meetings if invited.

Dupont read a letter from Paris. It expressed regret that the Tailors' deputation from London to Paris had not been introduced to the Paris Tailors by the Paris Administration of our Association. Maurice stated that the London Tailors' Executive had no time to consult us previous to sending their deputation to Paris, and moved
20 That a Deputation be sent to the Tailors' Meeting at the Alhambra Palace on Monday the 22nd. This motion |[73]| was seconded by Citizen Cohn and Citizens Dupont and Collet and Jung were appointed as the Delegates to attend.

Jung reported his attendance on the Tin Plate Workers, "Black Jack," and the Hatters, "Prince and Princess," Gravel Lane. The Hatters had lent £10.0.0 to the
. 25 Bronze Workers of Paris. They required a written statement of our objects to send round to their Shops before they could do anything towards becoming affiliated to our Association.

The payment of Secretary for the labors of the office was adjourned to the next meeting by common consent.

30 Lafargue (on behalf of Marx) said that the Resolution moved by Odger at one of the Reform Meetings, conferring a vote [of] thanks upon Count Bismarck was calculated to injure the Credit [of] this Association. He therefore demanded that a vote of censure should be passed upon Odger.

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A discussion ensued which ended in instructing the Secretary to write to Odger requesting his attendance at the next meeting.

Courier International and International Courier.

It was proposed, seconded and carried unanimously, "That this Council recommends the International Courier to the various affiliated Societies as the best representative organ of the principles of the Association and that this recommendation be communicated in all Correspondences." |

[[74]] **General Council Meeting April 23^d**

Members present, Citizens Jung, Maurice, Fox, Collet, Lessner, Dupont, Lafargue, Zabicki, Dell, Carter, Eccarius, Shaw and Buckley.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed. The Secretary
5 read a Letter from John Sutcliffe of the Block-Printers' Union. It stated that they had 90 men on Strike against the introduction of the cheap labor of Women and asked for pecuniary Assistance as their Trade was very much depressed and they were unable to meet their outlay.

Citizen Dell moved and Lessner seconded, That the Secretary write for a state-
10 ment of facts, and point out the mode of application which is generally made to the
; Trades Council of London for pecuniary assistance. Carried.

Citizen Collet reported that a Continental Subscriber to the Courier International had written to him requesting information about the association with a view of joining and opening a Branch.

15 **The Tailors' Meeting**

Citizen Collet reported that himself and Jung attended the Tailors' Meeting at the Alhambra Palace. Jung was introduced as the President of the late Congress at Geneva and was received with immense applause. He pointed out to the meeting, that if
20 the I. W. A. could, last year, prevent the Tailors of Paris from Supplanting the men of London, it could do the same thing with the men of Belgium and Germany this year—Consequently the Master Tailors would only be wasting money by sending to those Countries for men. Collet also address'd the Meeting and Eccarius said that Collet's speech had made him a most popular man amongst the Tailors of London. |

[[75]] It was then moved by Maurice and seconded by Collet, That the Council
25 make a special point of sending deputations to all Trade Meetings possible. Carried.

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Engine Drivers and Firemen

Jung reported that with Dupont he had had an Interview with Engine Drivers' Secretary respecting this Association. He was to wait upon the Executive as soon as he received a letter from the Secretary.

Citizen Eccarius then took the Chair. And Citizen Jung proposed and Citizen Lafargue seconded, "That the Secretary be paid for his office." Carried.

Jung then suggested that a special Fund be created by Voluntary Contributions for the purpose of paying the Secretary and the following members subscrib'd at once. Viz

Lafargue	Is
Maurice	2s
Dupont	2 s
Jung	3s
Collet	Is
Carter	6d
Dell	Is

making a sum total of 10/6. It was then proposed by Citizen Lessner and seconded by Citizen Fox, That the Secretary be paid 10/0 per week. Carried.

Lafargue then introduced the subject of Odger proposing a vote of thanks to Count Bismarck at a Reform Meeting, after some discussion in which several members took part the following resolution propos'd by Cit Lessner and seconded by Citizen Lafargue was carried unanimously. Resolved, "That inasmuch as Citizen Odger has proposed a resolution at the Council of the Reform League thanking Mr. Bismarck for what he has done for the Democratic cause in Germany, and inasmuch as Citizen Odger is President of the International Working Men's Association, the General Council feels it to be its duty to repudiate any solidarity with the said resolution and with Citizen Odger's speech in support thereof."

Mr Moller stated that the Coach Trimmers' Society, meeting at the Crown, Broad Street, Golden Square had decided to become affiliated to this Association. He paid over 10/0 on behalf of the Society.

Fox then gave notice that on next meeting night he would move that deputations be appointed to wait upon the Postmaster-General on International Postage.

The Meeting then adjourned. /

Meeting of the General Council April 30, 1867

/[76]/ General Council Meeting April 30^{1b}

Members present, Citizens Eccarius, Lessner, Jung, Fox, Lafargue, Hales, Collet, Maurice, Carter, Dell, Buckley and Shaw. Citizen Eccarius took the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and after being amended were confirmed.

The Secretary read a letter from the Curriers' Society anent their quarterly meeting. He was ordered to answer the said letter and express regret that it had come to hand too late for the Council to attend.

A letter was read from the Commonwealth Office asking for the payment of the account due for advertisement. It was then proposed, seconded and carried That £1.0.0 be paid on account of advertisement in the Commonwealth. It was also proposed, seconded and carried That Citizen Collet be paid 11/3 ||[77]] the balance due for the printing of the French *Carnets*.

The Secretary stated that since the last meeting he had written to the Hatters' Society, to Mr John Kane, of 21 Hood Street, Gateshead, Durham, the Secretary of the Northern Iron Workers' Association and to Mr Woodhatch the Secretary of the Liverpool Cigar makers, 66 Copperas Hill, Liverpool asking them to use their influence to cause their Societies to join the Association. He also stated that he had written to Mr John Sutcliffe the Secretary of the Block printers as directed at the previous meeting. Carter drew the attention of the Council to the fact that himself and Jung had not yet received the £1.0.0 due to each of them on account of their expenses to the Geneva Congress when it was proposed by Citizen Dell and seconded by Citizen Collet That the claim of Carter and Jung be the next that is paid.

Jung read from the April Bulletin of the Lausanne section a paragraph, which stated that very few sections had paid their 3d Contribution towards the expenses of the General Council, and in consequence of this default the General Council had been impeded in its task of bringing out the report of the Geneva congress.

Jung also read a Letter from Besson the Belgian Secretary which also had a letter enclosed from Vésinier. |

[[78]] Citizen Eccarius read the programme of the Working men's party of Germany from the *Vorbote* which was as follows, "The Working men's party adheres to the maxim that the oppressed of all European Countries without distinction of creed, state or race are by their interest bound to unite and render each other mu-

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tual assistance." Citizen Fox drew the attention of the Council to the "American," a new democratic Journal which had just reached its 5th number.

In answer to a question about the rent of the office Citizen Collet made an offer of a room at his place of business at about £6.0.0 per year. Fox moved that the subject be referred to the sub-Committee, which was agreed to accordingly.

Citizen Collet read the following letter, which he had written

To Edmund Beaks, Esq. M. A., President of the Reform League.

Sir,

I am sorry, I was not in time at the last delegate meeting to hear your statement about the measures the executive committee of the League had adopted to carry out Mr. Cremer's motion, as they had been requested to do on the previous Wednesday.

I find from the "organ of the Reform movement," the *Commonwealth*, that you stated that "the Council of the League, acting upon the resolution of last week, had decided upon holding not a promenade, as at first intended, but a *bona fide* meeting in Hyde Park on the 6th of May next," and that, "if any riot or disturbance ensued the blame must rest on the Government." I find it also stated that Mr. Bradlaugh said that "the League had not only called the meeting in Hyde Park, but meant to hold it there, come what might. On this occasion they would not only demand admittance to the Park, but enforce that admittance if required."

I hope, Sir, you will allow me to make a few remarks on this important subject.

I hold that the people have a right to meet in the Park, but I hold also, that before such a serious issue as a defiance to the authorities is raised, men should be prepared to act as men and not as bombastic children.

When I proposed some time ago a promenade in Hyde Park on Good Friday and I felt convinced that the Government would not, and could not prevent the people from going into the Park individually and would not even interfere, if once there, the people held a meeting.

Some of my friends have tested the question and it has been proved that I was right.

Now I believe that when the delegates voted for Mr. Cremer's motion on the 17th inst. their impression was that the same course should be adopted.

From what I have quoted above, from the *Commonwealth*, it would appear that you, with the executive, are determined to call forth a demonstration similar to that of July last and that if the authorities adopt the same *course* they did then, either an appeal to force must be the result, or Reformers would have once more to retire. I believe that it would be, not only unpolitic but criminal to bring the question to such an issue as this, and I will give you my reasons:—

If the people of this country are really prepared to join issue with the government, then they have something better to do than to fight their fellow men of the army and the police, about a question of admittance into the park.

However important the question of the right of meeting may be, if to settle it

Meeting of the General Council April 30, 1867

force must be resorted to and blood spilt, then the people must be prepared either to submit or to destroy the present political fabric.

I think they are not yet ripe for such an issue, and therefore I say that it would be unwise and criminal to necessarily produce violence and bloodshed, to no practical purpose.

Suppose that the Reformers were even to force their way into the park, what then? Do you think that the Government would stop there?

What if they bring armed force against you? Are you prepared to meet them?

What if Parliament were to pass a bill forbidding meetings in the parks? Would you then turn Parliament out?

I conclude by urging upon you to use your influence upon your colleagues of the Council to reconsider a decision, which I do not think they were empowered to take, by the delegates, and simply to invite the Reformers of London to go individually to the Park, avoiding anything that might have the appearance of a defiance, which they are not prepared to support effectively.

When the time comes, if unfortunately it ever should come, that force must be used, I hope the people of this country will be wise enough to discriminate between those who really are their enemies and those of their own ranks and blood whose interests are the same as theirs, although they may for a time be in the ranks of the army or the police.

It is not against men obliged then to earn their livelihood that the working men ought [to] turn their wrath. I hope they will have more sense than to do that, and that they will strike the evil at the root.

I am Sir
Yours respectfully.
Joseph Collet. \

[[79]] A long discourse ensued upon it without any opposite opinions being expressed.

Frederick Card, on the motion of Shaw seconded by Dell was nominated as a member of the Council.

It was then proposed by Citizen Fox and seconded by Citizen Lessner, That the Secretary write to the Postmaster General and ask him to receive a deputation from the Council on the subject of International Postage. Carried.

The Meeting then adjourned. /

Meeting of the General Council May 7, 1867

/[79]/ **General Council Meeting May 7th**

Citizen Eccarius in the Chair. Members present Jung, Lessner, Maurice, Dupont, Bobczynski, Yarrow, Cohn, Reaveley, Dell, Odger and Shaw. The minutes of the previous meeting were confirmed as read. Frederick Card was elected a member of the Council on the nomination of Cits Shaw and Dell. The Secretary stated, that since the last meeting he had written to Brass Finishers at the "Cheshire Cheese," Mount Pleasant, Clerkenwell to receive a deputation from the Council. He had also sent them a copy of the following Letter to the Postmaster General

International Working Men's Association

Central Council Rooms, 18 Bouverie Street, E.C.

May 3rd 1867

My Lord

I am directed to respectfully request your Lordship to be good enough to receive a deputation on the subject of International Postage from the Central Council of the above Association.

The Council would take it as an additional favor if your Lordship would appoint a day as near the middle of the present month as possible for the above purpose.

I am My Lord very obediently

R. SHAW Secretary. |

¶[80] He had also written to 5 Branches of the Amalgamated Bakers' Union enclosing Rules and Address and soliciting them to become affiliated to our Association. He drew the attention of the Council to the fact that the Bakers' Executive met at the Working Men's Hall, Harp Alley, Farringdon Street every Tuesday Night and he was instructed to communicate with that Body.

Jung said he had received a Letter from Basle containing the prices of Silk Weaving as requested by the Coventry Silk Weavers; of which the following is the translation

In accordance with your desire I hereby send you a summary of the wages paid in

the Factories. For the so called Weft 17 Centimes is paid for 100 threads; a day's wages is 1/3. The average wages used to be 1/8 per day.

Piece Work. N^o 24 to 46 = 10 reeds, 300 to 320 Shuttles per inch, 24 Francs and 73 Centimes a piece. N^o 24 to 46 = 8 reeds, 200 Shuttles per inch 18 Francs and 50 Centimes a piece. N^o 21 to 40, 8 reeds, 7 times (something incomprehensible to the translator) 21 Francs a piece. N^o 14 to 36, 10 reeds, double Shuttle, 200 picks per inch, 17 Francs and 25 Centimes a piece—a piece is equal to 120 staves.

With 13 hours work a day, at the very utmost only 2 staves can be made in a day, and the Wages never exceed 10 fr a week, it is indeed more frequent that a fortnight's hard work only amounts to 15 fr. Not only reduced prices but bad silk has contributed to bring about this deplorable state of things. Formerly 20 Centimes were paid per 100 threads; and with good silk 25 fr could be earned in a fortnight; Now the earnings are commonly from 8 to 10 fr.—on rare occasions 12 fr.

The Secretary was ordered to send a Copy of this translation to Coventry.

15 Citizen Jung also read a letter from Geneva which stated that a new Council had been appointed ||[81]] there and the names of Dupleix and Card were absent from the list of Councilmen. He also read a letter from *Chaux-de-Fonds* requesting that the following subject should be put on the programme of the next Congress, Viz. ; "Slackness of Trade. Its Causes and Remedies."

20 Jung read (on behalf [of] Dupont) a letter from Lyons, the said letter requested the Council to forward the address of the Lyonnese to the German Working men through the German Newspapers; the subject of the Address was threatened War in Germany, and it was ordered to be sent to Citizen Marx through Lessner.

A letter was read from Brussels stating that the chiefs of the Firms in the Tailoring trade had signed a tariff agreeable to the men and that on the 21st of April Large meetings of Tailors, Cabinet makers, Marble Polishers, and Dyers had been held on the Wages question.

A Letter was read from Chemale of Paris stating that the Tailors had gone to work at an advance of 10 per cent instead of the 20 per cent for which they struck.

» 30 The 10 per cent was accepted by a small minority in the first place, and the Government withheld their authority for the holding of a meeting to the trade. Consequently the Strike Committee had resigned and given up the Contest.

This letter stated that the Paris Administration had spent £7.0.0 in propagandism and that was the reason why they had not sent their 3d contribution to the General : 35 Council. It also suggested that a certain number of Delegates from various sections should assemble 5 days before the opening of Congress for the purpose of arranging matters so as to ||[82]] save the time of the Delegates when assembled in Congress. The letter stated that a new Branch had opened at *Amiens*. That the Rope-makers of Paris had been on strike 6 weeks, and that the Turners' branch of the Bronze 40 Makers' Trade was not yet settled. The Bookbinders of Paris were desirous of fraternising with the Bookbinders of London if any of them went over to the exhibition.

The President (Odger) then drew attention to the vote of the Council in reference to the Resolution moved by him at a Meeting of the Reform League and having 45 stated that the resolution was meant simply to thank Count Bismarck for giving the

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vote to the people of Germany, and not involving his general policy the Council express'd themselves as perfectly satisfied -with this explanation; and, on the Motion of Shaw seconded by Yarrow, It was agreed that the explanation should be sent to the International Courier for publication.

The Council then adjourned./

[82]/ **General Council Meeting May 14th**

Members present, Odger, Fox, Eccarius, Jung, Yarrow, Dupont, Dell and Shaw.
Citizen Odger in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed. A letter was read
5 from the Westend Ladies' shoemakers' Society requesting the payment of the
£10.0.0 loan. The Secretary was instructed to answer the letter. A letter was read
from the Block printers' Secretary complaining at the Council for not having raised
them money to support their Strike. The Secretary was ordered to answer the Letter.
A letter was read from the Postmaster-General declining to receive a [[83]] deputa-
10 tion from the Council on the subject of International Postage but at the same time
he would be happy to consider any written statement that might be sent to him. Fox
undertook to write a statement on the Subject at his earliest convenience.

A letter was read from MrAppIegarh stating that he had assisted to form a
branch of our association at Lynn in Norfolk. He requested the Council to commu-
15 nicate with the Secretary of the Branch. The Secretary was instructed to thank Ap-
plegarh for his services and open up correspondence with Branch at Lynn.

The President gave in the name of G.B. Stewart of 89 Irish Street, Dumfries as a
man who would open a branch of the Association in that part of Britain.

The Secretary said that he had written the letters as directed at the last meeting,
20 he had also written letters and sent reports of the Congress to Professor Beesly,
Mr Harrison, Mr Walton, the executive of the Bakers' Union and the Affiliated So-
cieties.

Jung then moved and Dupont seconded That the Reporter of the Commonwealth
be admitted to report the proceedings of the Council. Carried Unanimously.

Jung on behalf of Dupont read a letter from our Correspondent at Bordeaux, stat-
ing that he had money to transmit to London and enquiring what were the best
means of transmitting it. In the name of his section he thanked the Working men of
London for what they had done for the Bronze Workers and [[84]] Tailors of Paris.
He also read a Letter from Citizen Vasseur of Marseilles. He wrote in the name of a
number of Working men of Marseilles and its suburbs, who desired to form a
branch there. The matter was left in Dupont's hands.

Jung read several paragraphs from the Tribune du peuple relating to workmen's

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associations in Belgium and the part that our association was taking there. He also reported his attendance upon the Brass Finishers but did not get a Hearing.

On the question of removing the sittings of the Council, It was proposed by Ecarius and seconded by Fox, That the sittings of the Council be not removed and that the use of the Office be offered to the London Trades Council at 1/0 per week. Carried.

Henry Dodd of 26 Caroline Street, Camden Town N. W. took up a Card of Membership and paid 1/2.

The Council then adjourned./

Meeting of the General Council May 21, 1867

/[84]/ **General Council Meeting May 21st**

Members present, Eccarius, Lessner, Carter, Jung, Hales, Dell, Coulson, Odger, Buckley and Shaw. The minutes of the two previous meetings were read and confirmed.

5 Letters were read from Professor Beesly and Mr F. Harrison thanking the Council for forwarding to them the report of the Geneva Congress. Jung read a letter from Paris which stated that a Branch of the Association had been established at Algiers. It also stated that if any Societies were going to the Exhibition word should be sent to that effect so as to enable the Parisians to give them a right hearty welcome. The
10 letter again mentioned the necessity of sending Delegates and Essays to |[85]| Lausanne not later than the 26th of August.

Jung read a letter from Locle which contained a remittance of 17/6 for 73 members and requested that the subject of Phonography should be placed upon the programme for discussion at the next Congress.

15 Odger then gave notice that at the next meeting he should move that a series [of] meetings be held for the purpose of discussing labor questions, the meeting then adjourned./

Meeting of the General Council May 28, 1867

[185] **General Council Meeting May 28th**

Members present Odger, Eccarius, Lessner, Dupont, Jung, Dell, W. and J. Hales, Shaw, Buckley, Card, Maurice and Yarrow. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter was read from Mr Walton of Brecon thanking the Council for sending him a report of the Congress of Geneva and a letter was read from John Kane Secretary to the National Amalgamated Association of Malleable Ironworkers stating that he had inserted the letter of the Secretary in their monthly Circular with suitable comments of his own, and that he would send a copy to the Council and in the meantime he would join the Association individually. 10

Citizen Maurice brought a letter from the London Tailors' Executive Committee which solicited the Council to use their best efforts for the purpose of obtaining money for the Tailors from the Continent of Europe and America. Jung said that Dupont had spoken about the matter some [time] ago and thought such action should be taken [[86]] but he (Jung) had declined to take any steps in the matter because he thought that the Tailors seemed desirous of doing their own work, but now they had applied to the Council he would move "That the Secretaries for the Continent and America write to their Correspondents for monetary aid for the London Tailors." Dupont seconded the motion which was Carried unanimously. 15*

Jung on behalf of Dupont read a letter from Algiers stating that Branch had been formed. 20

He also read a letter from Fuveau near Marseilles stating that there were 300 members in the Branch there and that they expected 500 shortly.

Jung at the request of Dupont again drew the Attention of the Council to the points urged in Chemale's letter which was read last week, Viz the Advisability of sending Delegates and Essays to Lausanne 5 days before the Assembling of Congress. The said Delegates to prepare the programme for the Congress. In referring to the first Article of the Bye Laws agreed to at the last Congress It was found that the production of the Congressional programme was left entirely with [the] General Council and after some discussion, It was agreed on the motion [of] Citizen J.Hales, "That a Committee of 3 draw [up] an Appeal to the Societies in and out of Affiliation inviting them to take part in the Coming Congress and also that the said 25 30

Meeting of the General Council May 28, 1867

Committee draw up the programme for the Congress." The appointment of the Committee was postponed until the next meeting. |

I [87] I The next point that was urged by Jung was that the Societies affiliated to the Association should be informed of Chemale's desire Viz That any Societies or members thereof who were about to visit the French Exhibition should send word to the Paris Administration so as to enable them to give the Britons a right hearty welcome on their arrival. On this subject a general instruction was given to the Secretary to mention the matter in his Correspondence.

President Odger then stated, that, at a meeting of the London Trades Council held on Friday Evening last, It was agreed that series of Meetings should be held in London for the purpose of debating Labor Questions, and he invited the assistance of the Council to carry out that object. It was proposed, seconded and Carried Unanimously, That Citizens Jung and J. Hales cooperate with President Odger and Mr Edgar of the Trades Council for the purpose of arranging the said meetings. The Council then adjourned. /

Meeting of the General Council June 4, 1867

/[87]/ **General Council Meeting June 4th**

Citizen Jung was voted to the Chair. Members present Dupont, Lessner, Cohn, Fox, Zabicki, J. and W. Hales, Dell, Carter, Card, Buckley, Morgan, Eccarius, Maurice and Shaw. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed. Mr Mill's Bill of 3.6.0 for rent and use of fixtures was read and payment postponed until the next meeting. On the motion of Cit Dell, Citizen Carter was paid 1.0.0, the Balance of the expenses incurred by him on going to the [[88]] Congress at Geneva. A letter was read from the Peace Society, 19 New Broad Street, City which had been addressed to the President. It suggested the propriety of British Working men adopting addresses expressing sympathy with the French and German Working men. After some discussion on the motion of Citizen Cohn seconded by Citizen Dell it was resolved, "That the receipt of the Reverend Henry Richard's communication be kindly acknowledged and that we ask for further information concerning the principles of the Peace Society with a view to cooperate with them for the furtherance of the cause of international peace."

Dupont read a letter from our Correspondent near Bordeaux which stated that their Section had money in hand. Jung read several paragraphs from the French-Swiss organ of our Association relating to political affairs that had taken place in London. This Journal expresses a desire that the General Council would now do some active work.

The Tailors' Strike

Eccarius wished to know who was to pay for the Correspondence to Germany on behalf of the Tailors. After some discussion on the motion of Citizen Carter seconded by Citizen Dell, It was resolved That all postage etc. shall be paid by the General Council when writing to Continental Branches for aid to any of our affiliated Societies who may be on Strike or Lock-Out.

It was then moved by Cit. Eccarius and seconded by Cit Carter, That the sum of £ 3 Shillings be voted to pay the postage of 6 letters to the north of Germany on behalf of the Tailors. It was also agreed that Is be voted to pay for a letter to Cit. Sylvie of Philadelphia on the same subject. |

Meeting of the General Council June 4, 1867

[[89]] In reply to Citizen Maurice, Dupont said he had appealed to Paris, Bordeaux, Lyons and Algiers Sections on behalf of the London Tailors. Jung said he had appealed to the French-Swiss Sections through the French-Swiss organ of our Association, and also to Becker on behalf of the German Sections. Fox had done nothing because he had received no intimation on the subject and the Secretary said that the reason Fox had not been acquainted with the matter was the want of his (Fox's) address.

On the question of appointing a Committee to draw up an appeal to Societies and the programme for the Congress, It was unanimously agreed, That Citizens Fox, Marx, Jung, Eccarius and Dupont should undertake that duty.

The meeting then adjourned. /

Meeting of the General Council June 18, 1867

/[89]/ General Council Meeting June 18th 1867

Members present, Eccarius, Lessner, Dupont, J. Hales, Fox, Jung, Dell, Odger, Shaw, Card and Buckley. The minutes of the Meeting of June 4th were read and confirmed.

Eccarius stated that he had not received any reply to his Correspondence on behalf of the London Tailors but that there was a statement in the "Hermann" to the effect that something was being done on the matter in Germany. Fox stated that he had written to America on the same subject.

Citizen Keller was elected a member of the Council to represent the French Branch in the place of Citizen Collet who had resigned. Keller paid 4/9 as the 3d Contribution for 19 Members and Mr Dell paid 1 shilling for John Graham.

Citizen Fox proposed and |[90]| Lessner seconded That Mrs Harriet Law become a Member of the Council.

Jung read some portions of the French-Swiss Organ showing that the Association was making much progress in Switzerland.

On the motion of Citizens Dell and Jung it was agreed "That the Council requests the Committee to produce the programme of the Congress on Tuesday next."

It was proposed by Jung and seconded by Lessner That a deputation wait upon the Engineers on Thursday next. Carried.

On the motion of Shaw and Fox, Odger, Jung and Dupont were elected to wait upon the Engineers.

Fox proposed the following resolutions which were seconded by Citizen Dell and agreed nem con.

International Working Men's Association.

At the ordinary meeting of the General Council on Tuesday evening, after the usual routine business was concluded, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed tei-

1st. "That the General Council of the International Working Men's Association thanks the working men, students, and barristers, who took part in the recent dem-

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onstrations in Paris in favour of Poland, for having reminded the Czar of Muscovy that the domination of an Asiatic and barbarous Power over that portion of Europe called Poles, and that portion of the soil of Europe called Poland, is revolting to justice and common sense."

2nd. "That Maitre Floquet, having been blamed by many toadying or ignorant persons for his spirited and truly cosmopolitan conduct towards the Czar in the Palais de Justice, we hereby declare our approbation of that conduct, and thank the Conseil de l'ordre des Avocats for their refusal to censure Maitre Floquet."

10 3rd. "That the General Council hereby congratulates the British nation and Government on the good fortune of having been deemed unworthy of closer acquaintance by the Czar of Muscovy."

The Continental Secretaries were instructed to publish the above Resolutions.
The Council then adjourned. |

Meeting of the General Council June 25, 1867

[[91]] **Council Meeting June 25th**

Members present, Eccarius, Fox, Lessner, Keller, Dupont, Jung, Dell, Maurice, Shaw, Card and Buckley.

Citizen Eccarius took the Chair. The minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed.

A Letter was read from the Amalgamated Bakers' Union stating that at the Annual Conference of the Union which would take place in August at Nottingham the question of the Union becoming affiliated to the I. W. A. would be submitted. Mrs. Law was accepted as a member of the Council.

Mr Miall the Landlord sent a request for immediate payment of £6.0.0 for Rent with Notice to quit; after some discussion Citizen Maurice offered the use of his room at 16 Castle Street until September next. It was proposed by Citizen Lessner and seconded [by] Citizen Jung That the offer of Citizen Maurice be accepted and that the Council meet there next Tuesday.

Citizen Maurice brought a letter from the London Tailors' Strike Committee. He wished the Council to get it published on the Continent. It was moved by Cit Jung and seconded by Fox—That the letter be sent to Citizen Collet for publication in the Courier International subject to his (Collet's) Editorial discretion. **151**

Fox then read the Congress Committee's Report as follows,

Order of the Day: 1st Report of the General Council. 2nd Programme. 3rd Rest of the Order of the Day.

Programme

1st Combination of efforts of the Working Classes by means of the International Working Men's Association. |

I [92]] 2nd How can the Working Classes utilise for the purpose of their own Emancipation the Credit which they now give to the Middle Classes and the Governments. **251** |

Meeting of the General Council June 25, 1867

Reports

Eccarius stated that he had received a letter from Berlin in reply to his on behalf of the Tailors. This letter said the Berlin Tailors had raised about £18.0.0 for the London Tailors. Eccarius also stated that the Philanthropic Coopers would see about joining the I. W. A. at their next aggregate Meeting. Jung reported that he went to the Engineers last Thursday. Odger was not there, and nothing was done. He had appointed to go next Thursday if it was agreeable. Jung, Dupont were then appointed to go again on Thursday and Odger promised to meet them there. Jung also stated that the appeal that he had sent to Becker on behalf of the London Tailors was published in the Vorbote, and that another new Branch of the Association had been opened in Switzerland.

The Meeting then adjourned. /

Meeting of the General Council July 2, 1867

/[92]/ **Council Meeting July 2nd**

Cit J. George Eccarius in the Chair. On account of the absence of the Secretary Cit Fox read the minutes. They were confirmed as read.

Correspondence.

Cit Jung read a letter from Geneva complaining about the inactivity of the General Council respecting the Congress programme. It also stated that the Peace Congress to be held at Geneva was so arranged that the delegates who would be sent to Lausanne could attend and accomplish a twofold mission.

Vienne. A letter was read announcing that the branch had sent 60 fr. gift and 40 fr. Loan to the Tailors of London on strike. The branch numbered 600 members and might have numbered 1,000 had it not been for the want of Carnets. The branch was likely to send two delegates to the Congress. They had applied for permission to print the rules but the Government authorities had refused. They demand 50 Copies more of the Congress report. Citizen Marcheval of Vienne requested to be authorised to open a branch at Annonay, which was unanimously given.

International Penny Postage.

Cit. Fox gave notice that on the following Tuesday he would present his written statement to the Post Master General.

Cit Fox complained that a member of the French branch Cit. Besson had misconducted himself at the public meeting held under auspices of the German Arbeiter Bildungsverein to commemorate the Insurrection of June 1848. After some conversation the question was adjourned till July 9.

Cit. Fox called attention to the rapid progress of productive cooperative Associations in America.

Members present: Citizens Fox, Law, Eccarius, Dupont, Keller, Cohn, Lessner, and Maurice.

The Meeting then adjourned to Tuesday July 9./

Meeting of the General Council July 9, 1867

/[93]/ Council Meeting July 9.

Cit. Jung in the Chair. Cit Eccarius stated that he had taken notes of the last meeting but had left them at his house. A letter was read from Cit. Shaw in which he stated that having not been able to obtain employment in London he could not continue his functions as General Secretary. There being no alternative his resignation was accepted and on the proposition of Cit. Marx, seconded by Cit. Lessner, a vote of thanks for the services rendered by Cit. Shaw while in Office, was unanimously carried.

Appointment of a General Secretary.

Cit Fox proposed, Cit Buckley seconded that Cit. J. George Eccarius be appointed Secretary of the Association. Carried unanimously.

A letter was read from Mr. Arthur Miall requesting a written statement respecting the rent due to him. Cit. Fox proposed, Cit. Lessner seconded, that |[94]| 2l. 10s. be paid to Mr. Miall. Agreed and the Secretary instructed to pay it.

Correspondence.

America. Cit Fox read letter from Mr. Sylvis, president of the Iron Moulders' Union, U.S., in answer to an appeal on behalf of the London Tailors on Strike. Mr. Sylvis stated that his Union had done a good deal in the way of warring against the Capitalists. It had expended 35,000\$. during the past and 40,000\$. during the present year and had now 2,000 members out of work. It had resolved to turn its attention principally to establishing co-operative foundries which was the only effectual mode of dealing with the labour question. They had several foundries in full blaze and more would be erected. Their funds were too low to grant relief but he would see what could be done in the shape of voluntary contribution. It also contained information about a labour convention to be held next month at Chicago. Cit. Fox was instructed to write to Mr Jessup the organiser of the Convention.

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Italy. Cit Jung read a letter from G. Dassi in Naples complaining that his former letters had not been answered, and he asked for the Rules of the Association. Cit Carter was instructed to reply.

France. Cit Dupont announced that the Bronze-workers of Paris had voted a gift of 10/. and a loan of the same amount to the London Tailors on Strike. The Bordeaux branch had sent *II*.12s. to the Tailors and *II*. 8s. contribution to the Council. At Fleurieux-sur-Saône and Rouen public meetings were to be held in support of the Tailors.

Cit. Dupont inquired about the publication of the Geneva Congress report in Pamphlet form. The secretary was instructed to invite Cit. Collet to attend the standing Committee on Saturday July 13.

Castelnaudary. Complaints were being made about police restrictions but promises made to do the best to organise the Association.

London. A letter was read from the manager of the Commonwealth requesting payment for the Advertisement. It was agreed to discontinue the advertisement.

Deputations

Amalgamated Engineers. Cit. Jung reported that Cit. Odger had not kept his appointment and in consequence of that his own presentation had been delayed to such a late hour that but a very brief statement could be made and the Council of the Engineers had adjourned without a decision. The secretary was instructed [to write] *[[95]]* to Mr. Allan. The secretary was also instructed to write to the London compositors, and the brass finishers.

General Affairs

Cit Marx proposed and Cit. Lafargue seconded, that the following be the first Congress resolution: On the practical means, by which to enable the International Workingmen's Association to fulfil its function of a common centre of action for the working classes, female and male, in their struggle tending to their complete emancipation from the domination of Capital. Agreed.

Cit. Eccarius read the subjoined address which was unanimously adopted. It was further agreed that 300 should be printed for circulation, and that Cit. Lafargue should render it in the French language and bring it before the standing Committee on Saturday July 13.

Respecting Cit. Besson's misconduct it was agreed that he should attend the standing Committee July 13, and the secretary was instructed to write to him. Cit. Fox brought his written statement to the Post Master General before the Council. Cit. Eccarius, Jung, and Carter, all of whom waited on the Postmaster of Switzerland, suggested some additions which Cit. Fox readily accepted and stated that he would complete the document in the course of the week. The meeting then adjourned.

Meeting of the General Council July 9, 1867

Members present: Buckley, Carter, Dupont, Eccarius, Fox, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Stepney, Lafargue, Yarrow, and Zabicki. |

[[96]] Address of the General Council
of the International Working Men's Association.

To the Members and affiliated Societies.

"Fellow Working Men,—According to the reports we have received from time to time—our continental members are very persevering in propagating the principles and extending the ramifications of our Association, particularly in Switzerland, where most of our branches are actively engaged in establishing benefit and credit funds, and co-operative societies of production in connection with our Association—the progress of the British section has been greatly interfered with by the Reform movement. As the council looks upon the political enfranchisement of the working classes as a means to complete their social emancipation, it was but natural that the British members should take a leading part in the Reform agitation and that our affiliated societies should, for the time being, throw their whole weight into the balance against reactionary phrase-mongers and malignant obstructives to bring matters to a crisis. However, now that the heat of the agitation has subsided, that no more monster demonstrations have to be organised, and the time appointed for the meeting of the second annual congress is drawing near, it is high time that those who have absented themselves during the height of the contest should resume their seats at the Council board, and our affiliated branches should make an effort to lend us a helping hand. The aims of our Association are not ephemeral; our labours will continue to absorb the attention of the working population until wages-slavery has become a matter of history. What the lot of the labouring population would be if everything were left to isolated, individual bargaining, may be easily foreseen. The iron rule of supply and demand, if left unchecked, would speedily reduce the producers of all the wealth to a starvation level, since in the actual condition of society every improvement of the productive powers, every abridgement of manual labour, tends but to lower wages and increase the hours of toil. Surely the labouring poor, the producers of all wealth, have a human, an inherent, a natural claim to participate in the fruits of their own toil, but this claim can only be enforced and realized by the union of all. Sectional efforts are of little avail, and partial successes are but short-lived. Nothing short of a thorough union and combination of the work-people of all countries can achieve the satisfactory solution of the labour question. Much has already been done in that direction, but more remains to be done. The periodical meeting of the representative men of the different countries has the effect of removing time-honoured national antipathies, cementing friendship, and smoothing the path for a common mode of action towards a common end. We therefore appeal to you, to do what is in your power to send as many representatives of the British branches as possible to the ensuing congress of our Association, which will assemble on Monday, Sept. 2nd, 1867, at Lausanne.

According to the regulations passed at the first annual congress, every branch is

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entitled to send a delegate. Branches numbering above 500 members may send a delegate for every full 500 members. Branches that do not consider it advisable to send delegates of their own may contribute towards the expense of delegates representing groups of branches.

The principal questions to be settled by the congress are:—

1. On the practical means by which to enable the International Working-men's Association to fulfil its function of a common centre of action for the working-classes, female and male, in their struggle tending to their complete emancipation from the domination of capital.

2. How can the working-classes utilise for the purpose of their own emancipation the credit which they now give to the middle-classes and the government.

An early reply stating your decision is requested.

By order of the Council,

George Odger, President.

J. George Eccarius, Gen. Sec.

16, Castle-street East London, W., July 9, 1867." |

I [97] I Council Meeting July 16

Citizen Jung in the Chair. The minutes of the two previous meetings were read and confirmed.

General Report.

5 The general secretary reported that he received a letter from John Kane secretary of National Association of Malleable Iron workers announcing the intention of that
• body to join. The secretary of the Engineers had sent rather an evasive answer, and promised to lay the case before the general Council of the Engineers. The secretary of the London Trades Council asked for a deputation to attend the annual meeting
10 of that body.

Correspondence.

Switzerland. The people of Geneva identify the Sheffield outrages and Trades Unions with the International Association. The section desired a refutation but as the Geneva papers had only reproduced extracts from the British Journals, it was
15 agreed not [to] do anything in the matter. Extracts from a leading article in the Voix de l'Avenir were read pointing out the fact that Maximilian, the imperial invader of Mexico, had proclaimed sentence of death, which had been executed
- within 24 hours of its promulgation, against every Mexican that had been found
' fighting for his own country against a foreign intruder; and the official press of Eu-
20 rope, in the face of such facts, dared to extenuate his monstrous Crimes.

France. The French secretary handed over **21.** as part of the annual contribution of the Lyons Branch. The Lyons branch asked to be authorised to form a central
; committee for the Rhône département which was unanimously granted. The mem-
! bers of the Lyons Branch were very hard up and might only be able to send one del-
25 egate to the Congress. To be able to hold periodical meetings they had resolved to register themselves as a co-operative Association but were not silly enough to be-

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lieve that their savings would emancipate them from the domination of Capital. They had prepared a form of cards and a project of Rules that would be in harmony with the laws. A new Branch had been established at Villefranche, Cit. Chassin Secretary which would send a delegate to Lausanne. Another had been established at Castelnaudary. Schettel had received all the numbers of the Courier, [they] would gladly [[98]] subscribe but were too poor. The Voix de l'Avenir was their organ [but they] were rather more radical than it.

General Business

Report of standing committee. Cit. Besson justified his conduct 1, by asserting that in French meetings one man could surrender his place to another, 2, that he had not understood the Chairman; 3, that he did not consider it a fault to raise a discussion; 4, that he owned he had been much excited.

Cit. Fox on bringing up the Report objected to various points and gave notice of motion to take it into consideration at a future opportunity. The written statement to the Postmaster General was agreed to and it was resolved that it should be signed by all the secretaries.

Cit. Marx, Cohn, Fox, Dupont and Eccarius were appointed as the deputation to attend the annual meeting of the London Trades Council, on Thursday July 25, 1867, Bell Inn, Old Bailey.

It was agreed that the congress programme should be discussed during the month of August.

Members present: Cohn, Buckley, Eccarius, Fox, Dupont, Jung, Lessner, Mrs. Law, Keller, Maurice, Yarrow, Zabicki.

The meeting then adjourned to Tuesday July 23./

[Auszug aus The Commonwealth]

The Commonwealth:
Nr. 226, 20. Juli 1867

A letter from the tailors of Berlin was read, stating that the cigarmakers had raised a levy, and some cabinetmakers had joined to get money for the London tailors. The proceeds of a concert, together with the subscriptions, amount in all to **221.**, for which a cheque was received. The following extract from the appeals published in the Berlin papers was read:—

"The council of the International Working-men's Association has appealed to, the Berlin tailors for pecuniary aid. The case of the London tailors is not a matter of charity, it is a matter of duty. They have conscientiously entered upon a giant struggle against capital, well knowing that if they are defeated theirs will be a sorry lot for years to come, and it will re-act upon the whole labouring population, at least in England, since it is not simply a contest between operative and master tailors, but a struggle of labour against the domination of capital. May the working- J

Meeting of the General Council July 16, 1867

men of Berlin show that they understand the importance of the solidarity of the working-men as well as their English compeers, who prove it by their continuous contributions. The working-men's interests are everywhere the same." The secretary for Switzerland reported that the Romain section of Geneva had sent 149 francs, ; and the German section 100 francs for the London tailors. The secretary for France announced the establishment of new branches at Villefranche and Castelnaudary. The Lyonnese sent part of their annual contribution, and stated, in a letter, that they very much deplored their fate in not being able to render any pecuniary assistance to those heroic champions of labour—the London tailors—in then giant j struggle against the domination of the capitalists. They state that the silk trade is in such a bad state, and employment so scarce, that many workmen are literally in rags. To evade the police restrictions on public meetings the Lyons branch has constituted itself a Co-operative Association under which title periodical meetings are lawful. An extensive lock-out in the stuff printing trade was also reported. The firm i of Zautmann, at Puteaux, discharged four workmen for being members of a mutual credit society. When their fellow labourers in the factory became aware of the reason of the discharge, they with one accord demanded the return of the discharged. : Upon this being refused they struck work, and the proprietors of the stuff-printing establishments of Paris, Puteaux, Saint-Denis, Sevres, Saint Germain, and Le Pecq, 20 with the exception of the house of Malsis and Chaquel, have their workpeople out, and declared that they will not re-open until Zautmann's people, minus the four, resume work.

/[98]/ **Council Meeting July 23.**

Citizen Jung in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The General Secretary reported that he had received a letter from Mr. Dodshon the Secretary of the Amalgamated Cordwainers, [stating] that the rule which [enabled] his executive to grant 5% towards the Congress fund last year had been rescinded by the Conference of 1867. The Amalgamation had never affiliated itself, which had been stated on one occasion to a deputation. The Secretary asked leave to write to the London Working Men's Association which was agreed after some discussion.

Correspondence

America. Cit. Marx had received letters, one from New York announcing the affiliation of the Communist Club, which rejects all revealed religion, [[99]] and every [doctrine] not founded upon the perception of concrete objects. It advocates the destruction of individual property, the equality of all persons and its members bind each other to carry these maxims into practice. The other letter was from a kindred Association at Hoboken, N. J., also announcing its adhesion. It called upon the council to send documents, and spoke of the great danger there was of the working men of America being traduced by the professional politicians,—the greatest rascals under the sun who were advocating working men's measures to retain their places. Senator Wade had made an almost Communistic Speech the other day but had explained it away before a bourgeois audience.

Citizen Marx called the attention of the Council to a Parliamentary Blue book, "Reports by Her Majesty's Secretaries of Embassy and Legation on the manufactures and commerce of the countries in which they reside, 1867," of which the following is an extract:—During the first eleven months of 1864 the imports into Belgium of raw cast iron were 7,200 tons, of which 5,300 were British; in the corresponding period of 1865 they rose to 18,800 tons, of which 17,000 tons were British; and in 1866 they rose to 29,590 tons, of which 26,200 tons were British. On

and may not be grounded upon the possession of concrete objects. It advocates the destruction of individual property, the equality of all persons & its members had each other to carry these maxims into practice. The other letter was from a kindred association at Glasgow N.J. It ^{was} ^{referred to} ^{the} ^{council} ^{to} ^{use} documents, and spoke of the great danger there was of the working men of America being betrayed by the professional politicians, the greatest rascals under the sun who were advocating working men's measures to retain their places. He said that he had made an almost Communist speech the other day but had explained it away before a bourgeois audience.

Clamen Marx called the statistics of the Council in a Parliamentary Blue book. "Reports by Her Majesty's Secretaries of Embassies and Legations on the manufactures and commerce of the countries in which they reside, 1867," of which the following is an extract—
During the first eleven months of 1868 the imports from Belgium of iron cast iron were 7,200 tons, of which 1,900 were British; in the corresponding period of 1869 they rose to 18,000 tons, of which 17,000 were British; and in 1869 they rose to 20,000 tons, of which 20,000 were British. On the other hand, the exports of Belgium rose from during the first eleven months of 1868 amounted to 24,000 tons, 17,000 tons of which went to France, and 6,000 tons to England, whereas in the corresponding period of 1869 they did not amount to more than 16,000 tons, of which 6,000 tons were exported to France, and only 100 tons to Great Britain. The exports of Belgian rails have also fallen from 75,000 tons, during the first eleven months of 1868, to 20,744 tons in 1869.

The following is an exact statement, in a tabular form, of the quantities of iron and steel of all sorts imported from Belgium from Great Britain, and of Belgian iron and steel exported to Great Britain during the first eleven months of 1868, as compared with the corresponding period of 1869.

Imports from Belgium from Great Britain. First eleven months of 1868, and the corresponding period of 1869.

	1868.	1869.
Ore and slag	0	1
Rail, cast, and mild iron	26,711	1,900
Manufactured iron (rails, wire, &c.)	1,251	2,000
Castings	41	30
Wrought iron	255	300
Rail in bars, plates and wire	2,219	1,227
Wrought steel	222	0

Total 31,859 — 3,528

Exports from Belgium to Great Britain. First eleven months of 1868, and the corresponding period of 1869.

	1868.	1869.
Ore and slag	1,768	5,559
Rail, cast, and mild iron	241	5,290
Manufactured iron (rails, wire, &c.)	6,737	9,490
Castings	5	7
Wrought iron	13	0
Rail in bars, plates and wire	30	50
Wrought steel	16	0

Total 8,817 — 20,376

The results may be briefly stated thus—whereas in 1868 (taking the first eleven months of the year) Belgium supplied England with 20,977 tons of iron and steel, in 1869 she only sent 5,147 tons, whilst the exports of British iron and steel to Belgium rose from 6,138 tons in 1868, to 21,229 tons in 1869.

It would be recalled that some of the middle class newspapers had last year raised an outcry about the pernicious effects of the Trade Union, that their doing were driving the iron trade from this country into the hands of the Belgian iron masters. None of the papers that had raised that outcry had even mentioned the appointment of this Blue book much less stated its contents.

After the termination of some routine business the Council adjourned at Ten o'clock, July 30.
16, Cannon-street, W.

Amsterdam. The Geneva letter had alluded to the programme of the Paris congress. The Radical Programme Committee of Geneva called upon the Radical Programme Committee of La Chaux de Fonds to fight against the Social Democratic teachings of the International, which tended to overthrow social order & caused hatred between different classes. The workmen here were assisting themselves of the International Organization to put a stop to a system by which the capitalist paid their workmen at long intervals, and charged the workmen dues money on account.

The Minute Book of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association September 18, 1866 to August 31, 1869. Seite [99] mit dem aufgeklebten Pressebericht über Marx' Rede vom 23. Juli 1867 zur Statistik des neuen Blaublichs

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the other hand, the exports of Belgian cast iron during the first eleven months of 1864 amounted to 24,400 tons, 17,200 tons of which went to France, and 5,900 tons to England; whereas in the corresponding period of 1866 they did not amount to more than 14,000 tons, of which 9,600 tons were exported to France, and only
 5 241 tons to Great Britain. The exports of Belgian rails have also fallen from 75,353 tons, during the first eleven months of 1864, to 62,734 tons in 1866.

The following is an exact statement, in a tabular form, of the quantities *of iron and steel of all sorts* imported into Belgium from Great Britain, and of Belgian iron and steel exported to Great Britain during the first eleven months of 1866, as compared with the corresponding period of 1864:—
 10

Imports into Belgium from Great Britain. First eleven months.—

	1866.	1864.
	Tons.	Tons.
	0	1
15 Ore and filings		
	26,211	5,296
Raw, cast, and old iron		
	1,031	1,777
Hammered iron (nails, wire, etc.)		
	41	24
Castings		
	255	203
Wrought iron		
	3,219	1,227
20 Steel in bars, plates and wire		
	522	0
Wrought steel		
Total	31,289	8,528

Exports from Belgium to Great Britain. First eleven months.—

	1866.	1864.
	Tons.	Tons.
	1,768	5,555
25 Ore and filings		
	241	5,920
Raw, cast, and old iron		
	6,727	9,436
Hammered iron (nails, wire, etc.)		
	3	7
Castings		
	12	0
Wrought iron		
	50	56
30 Steel in bars, plates and wire		
	16	5
Wrought steel		
Total	8,817	20,979

The results may be briefly stated thus:—whereas in 1864 (taking the first eleven months of the year) Belgium supplied England with 20,979 tons of iron and steel, in
 35 1866 she only sent 8,817 tons, whilst the exports of British iron and steel to Belgium rose from 8,528 tons in 1864 to 31,289 tons in 1866.

It would be recollected that some of the middle class newspapers had last year raised an outcry about the pernicious effects of the Trades' Unions, that their doings were driving the iron trade from this country into the hands of the Belgian iron
 40 masters. None of the papers that had raised that outcry had even mentioned the appearance of this Blue book much less stated its contents.

After the transaction of some routine business the Council adjourned to Tuesday, July 30, 16, Castle-street, East, W.

Switzerland. The Geneva section had adhered to the programme of the peace

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congress. The Radical Bourgeois Committee of Fleurieux called upon the Radical Bourgeois Committee of La Chaux-de-Fonds to fight against the Social Democratic tendencies of the International, which tended to overthrow social order and caused hatred between different classes. The watchmakers were availing themselves of the International Organisation to put a stop to [a] system by which the capitalists paid their workmen at long intervals, and charged discount if the workmen drew money on account. |

[[100]] Italy. Cit. Carter stated that he [had] written as directed but that he had only sent the first four numbers of the *Courier* containing the Congress reports.

Cit. Eccarius nominated Cit. Neal president of the City Branch of the Tailors' Association to become a member of the Council.

Cit. Fox announced that he had received an appeal of the Labour Congress Committee in America.

Cit. Marx proposed Lessner seconded "that our Congress programme be published in the *Courier Français*; that no branch has a right to put forth a programme of its own, that the council alone is empowered to draw up the Congress programme and that the General Secretary be instructed to send the council programme to the *Courier* and communicate the foregoing resolution to the Paris Committee." Agreed.

Agreed that the balance sheet to September 1867 be appended to the Congress report.

Cit. Fox was commissioned to enquire about a room in Cleveland Hall. Agreed that branches that wanted the Congress report in Pamphlet Form should send an instalment of the money.

Cit. F[ox] announced that a Social Science Association had been formed in America.

The Council then adjourned to July 30.

Members present: Buckley, Carter, Dupont, Eccarius, Fox, Jung, Lessner, Law, Marx, Maurice, Keller, Stepney, Williams./

/[100]/ Council Meeting July 30

Cit. Carter in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The General Secretary reported that Alfred A. Walton had written that he was prevented going as a delegate by the publication of his book *Our Future Progress*. He sent five shillings to the Congress fund. The Coventry Ribbon Weavers had inquired about the particulars of going to Switzerland with a view of sending a special delegate. Mr. Kane the Secretary of the Malleable Iron workers, was going to try what he could do for the Congress fund. The Coach Trimmers, The Globe, will consider the question about the Congress fund. The Curriers' Society had consented to entertain a deputation on August 1. The Eintracht, a German Club in Whitechapel, had voted 10s. to the Congress fund, and the Tailors of Bremen had sent 4l.10s. for the Tailors on Strike. The Polish branch announced by letter that it would appoint a Polish Exile resident in Switzerland as delegate to Congress and contribute according to its means to the Congress fund. It [would] send two years' contribution.

Cit. Neal was unanimously elected as a member of the Council.

Correspondence

France. Cit. Vasseur, the Marseilles Correspondent, wrote from Fuveau a coal-mining village about 30 Kilometres from Marseilles, that the Capitalists of that place were doing all in their power to turn the miners, about 500 in number, against the International Association. He and a few friends did all they could on the other side and he should not leave before establishing a branch. Tolain had placed the *Courrier Français* at his disposal, which was a great assistance. He asked the French secretary to write an encouraging letter to Marseilles to keep the spirits of the members up.

Cit Talbot of Caen announced in his letter that Longuet was with him; that his branch would send a delegate to Lausanne, and that he would send a guinea for the Council.

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A letter was read from Eugene Benière, of Neuville sur Saône announcing that a delegate would be sent to Lausanne, and that the branch was in favour of the peace congress.

Report of Deputations.

Cit. Fox had made inquiries about the Cleveland Coffee-Room. It was only free Wednesdays, and could be had for half a crown a week. Cit Cohn objected as Wednesday meetings would be tantamount to his exclusion, because the committee of his society met that night. The question was adjourned.

Cit. Cohn gave a report of the proceedings of the London Trades Council who had [taken] up the entire evening with a quarrel between the Council and some branches of the Amalgamated Carpenters. The meeting stood adjourned to August 3, and he volunteered to attend again. Cit. Hales was appointed to accompany him.

Citizens Hales and Eccarius were appointed to attend the Curriers' delegate | [[102](meeting on August 1.

Cit. Marx gave notice of motion that the peace programme be taken into consideration on the 6th of August.

Cit. Carter gave notice that at the next Council [meeting], he should move that 4 delegates to the Congress be appointed. The Council then adjourned to Tuesday August 6.

Members present Buckley, Carter, Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Fox, Gardner, Hales, Keller, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Shaw, Zabicki.

Cit. Isard, a member of the French branch was authorised to act as agent of the Association in the United States. /

/[102]/ Council Meeting August 6.

Cit. Jung in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

5 The General Secretary reported that Citizen Howell had sent 2s. 6d. to the Congress fund and applied for a letter of introduction to the Paris members. The Board of management of the Coventry Ribbon Weavers had referred the subject of sending a delegate to the Congress to a meeting of Trade delegates which would take place in a few days. The Alliance Cabinet Makers had written that the pressure upon their funds had been so great that it was impossible to grant anything for the
10 Congress. The Organ Builders had sent their annual subscription 2s. Id. but could not give anything towards the expenses of the Congress. The Arbeiter Bildungs Verein was going to hold a summoned meeting to see what could be done about the Congress. The Executive of the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners had agreed to an annual contribution of £2 leaving it optional for the branches to affiliate themselves separately. The delegates meeting of the Curriers' Society had received the Deputation favourably, but according to a letter of the Secretary the Question would have to be submitted to the members for decision.

Correspondence. |

20 [[103]] France. A letter was read from Cit. Toutain, Condé (Calvados), stating that there were only 4 members left; that they had sent 5 fr. to Cit. Fribourg, and that [they] would unite with the Caen Branch to send a delegate. Cit. Marcheval wrote from Vienne (Isère) that the Question of sending a delegate was being discussed. He stated that he wanted some Congress reports. He wanted to go to Annonay and required to show something. A letter from Cit Suire at Nantes announced that the
25 Congress reports as well [as] the Address and invitation to the next Congress had been received. Many of the former members had not renewed their annual contributions fearing that as the Association was political it might get them into trouble. It was very difficult to make propaganda at Nantes. There were many benefit and charitable institutions and the people were on the whole very religious. Any one

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who asked for money to accomplish any thing was looked upon as a rogue. The writer had been disparaged by people who had formerly been his associates. Cit. Dupont stated that with much trouble he had succeeded to get the Congress address and programme published in the *Courrier de l'Europe*. He also received an invitation for the Council to send a delegate to the co-operative Congress to be held at Paris on the 16th, 17th, and 18th of the present month.

Cit. Fox announced that he had received an Address from the Labour Congress Committee, U.S., and that by this he had discovered that the Address he formerly had was wrong. The *Chicago Workingman's Advocate* had published several parts of our Congress reports and stated in [an] article on the ensuing labour Congress in America that one of the Questions to be decided was the advisability of sending a delegate to the International Congress in Europe, to prevent the inundations of Workpeople brought over by the Capitalists from Europe to depreciate the value of labour, and to bring about an understanding between the working people of the two Continents.

Deputations.

Cit. Hales stated that he had attended with Cit. Cohn at [[104]] the London Trades Council but that the other business had taken up the whole evening and the question of the Congress had not come on for discussion. There would be no other meeting before the Congress.

Citizens Hales and Jung were appointed to attend the Brass Finishers' meeting next Monday.

Cit. Carter proposed Cit Yarrow seconded that Cit. Howell be asked to attend the Cooperative Congress at Paris as delegate of the Council and Cit Dupont furnish him with credentials. Unanimously agreed.

The question about the Cleveland Coffee-room was again adjourned, Mrs Law volunteered to make inquiries whether it could not be had on Tuesdays. Cit. Maurice was instructed to inquire about the Franklin Hall.

Cit. Carter proposed that four delegates be appointed and that whatever money might come in should be equally divided amongst them and that they should be requested to advance the remainder. After some discussion the motion was withdrawn.

Citizen Hales then *proposed* and Cit. Lessner seconded, that the money be given to the delegates according to the number of votes, that is he who had the highest number of votes should receive the first £10 and so in rotation as far as the money that might come in would reach. This resolution was carried by 7 against 5 votes. It was then agreed that four delegates be appointed; that the nomination should be proceeded with at once and the ballot take place on Tuesday August 13. Citizens Jung, Odger, and Shaw declined to be nominated. The following were nominated as candidates: Cit. Carter, Dupont, Eccarius, Fox, Law, and Marx.

The meeting then adjourned to August 13. |

[[105]] **International Working Men's Association.**

The ordinary weekly council meeting was held last Tuesday evening, August 13. Citizen Jung in the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The General Secretary reported that he had received notice that the two societies of basket-makers were going to have a special meeting, when the question concerning the delegate to the International Congress would be decided. The Chelsea branch of the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners had passed a resolution urging upon the Executive Council of that Association the necessity of taking the votes of all the members for or against affiliating the entire body to the International Association. The Executive of the Amalgamated Tailors' Association had agreed to propose the affiliation of that Association as a substantial resolution at the next conference; they were not permitted by their rules to grant any assistance to the Congress fund. The French branch had appointed Citizen Dupont as special delegate to the Congress, and the Arbeiter Bildungs Verein would appoint a special delegate in the course of the ensuing week. The Berlin cigar makers had sent 25 thalers for the tailors on strike.

Citizen Hales announced that the Elastic Web Weavers' Association had granted £1 to the Congress Fund.

It was then agreed that the balloting should be proceeded with.

Citizen Marx stated that he was not in a position to go to the Congress this year, and must therefore withdraw.

As Citizen Dupont was already appointed by the French branch, the ballot simply turned upon which of the proposed delegates should have the preference in case the means should prove insufficient to send the four. While the balloting was going on,

Citizen Marx called attention to the Peace Congress to be held at Geneva. He said it was desirable that as many delegates as could make it convenient should attend the Peace Congress in their individual capacity; but that it would be injudicious to take part officially as representatives of the International Association. The International Working Men's Congress was in itself a Peace Congress, as the union of the working classes of the different countries must ultimately make international

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was impossible. If the promoters of the Geneva Peace Congress really understood the question at issue they ought to have joined the International Association. The present increase of the large armies in Europe had been brought about by the revolution of 1848; large standing armies were the necessary result of the present state of society. They were not kept up for international warfare, but to keep down the working classes. However, as there were not always barricades to bombard, and working men to shoot, there was sometimes a possibility of international quarrels being fomented to keep the soldiery in trim. The peace-at-any-price party would no doubt muster strong at the Congress. That party would fain leave Russia alone in the possession of the means to make war upon the rest of Europe, while the very existence of such a power as Russia was enough for all the other countries to keep their armies intact. It was more than probable that some of the French Radicals would avail themselves of the opportunity to make declamatory speeches against their own Government, but such would have more effect if delivered at Paris. Those who declined putting their shoulders to the wheel to bring about a transformation in the relations of labour and capital ignored the very conditions of universal peace. He ended by proposing "That the delegates of the Council be instructed not to take any official part in the Peace Congress, and to resist any motion that might be brought forward at the Working Men's Congress tending to take an official part."

Citizen Keller stated that the delegate of the French Branch had already received instructions to that effect.

After some observations by Citizens Fox and Eccarius the resolution was unanimously agreed to.

The result of the ballot was:—Citizens George Eccarius, 1st; Peter Fox, 2nd; James Carter, 3rd; Mrs. Law, 4th.

On the motion of Mrs. Law it was agreed that the next meeting, on Tuesday, August 20th, be held at the Cleveland Hall Coffee-room. The subjects to be discussed are, the annual report and the Congress programme.

The meeting then adjourned. |

[[106]] International Working Men's Association.

The General Council met on Tuesday last, August 20, in the Cleveland Hall Coffee-Room, where the regular Tuesday night's meetings will be held in future. There was a muster of members who have lately devoted their energies entirely to the Reform
5 movement, now that the Bill has become law they will resume their seats at the Council Board. Citizen Jung occupied the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The General Secretary reported that the London cigar-makers had voted £1 Is. to the Congress fund, and the West-end ladies' boot-makers £5. The Coventry ribbon
10 weavers had appointed a special delegate, and Citizen Alfred A. Walton, of Brecon, had announced his intention of representing the National Reform League, of which he is the President.

The Swiss secretary announced the formation of a branch at Berne.

The French secretary read a letter from the miners of Fuveau, who have estab-
15 lished a branch. He also announced that the rules of the association had been printed in Algiers.

The secretary for America read a letter from Mr. Wm. J. Jessup, vice-president and orderly officer of the National Labour Union for the state of New York, of which the following is an extract:—"It gives me the greatest pleasure to acknowl-
20 edge your welcome letter and accompanying papers, for which favour please accept my most sincere thanks. I have long desired to open correspondence with the working-men of England, and have written two or three letters with that end in view. The corresponding secretary of the National Labour Union is very dilatory in answering. As an officer of the National Labour Union I exceedingly regret that your kindness
25 in furnishing report and information relating to the Geneva Congress, has not been reciprocated on the part of our corresponding secretary, as I hold it as a matter of great importance that the working men of both the old and the new countries should be in close communication in relation to the labour movement, as I believe it will prove of mutual benefit to all. I much regret that the day will be too far ad-
30 vanced when our national body meets to take action upon sending a delegate to the Congress at Lausanne. I would much like to see the working men of the United States represented therein. I shall take much pleasure in complying with your re-

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quest to inform the Chicago Congress of the assembling of your Congress on September 2nd. I shall also take the liberty in making my report to that body to read your letter, believing it of sufficient importance to make it public. I desire to assure your General Council that, having been elected delegate to Chicago from the Working Men's Union of this city, I will immediately on my return write them full information as to the action taken by the union, and will forward such papers as contain the fullest account of the proceedings. My official term as vice president will terminate with the sitting of the union. I would like to maintain our correspondence in my other official position as President of the New York State Working Men's Assembly, or Corresponding Secretary of the New York Working Men's Union, and will be at all times happy to exchange documents relating to the labour question. I recognize the necessity of frequent intercourse between our two bodies, and if I hold an official position therein another year, I will do all in my power to maintain such intercourse, and will willingly furnish any information in my power that you or the General Council may desire, or exchange papers or documents of interest. Many of the trades of San Francisco are on strike against an increase of hours of labour, having been employed on the eight hours' system the past nineteen months."

The General Secretary then read his draft of the third annual report of the Association, which, with an additional paragraph about the action taken by the Council respecting international penny postage, and some verbal amendments, was agreed to. It appears from this report that the British section of the Association has been increased by the affiliation of ten organised bodies. In France, seven new branches have been established, and one in Algiers. In Switzerland several trade societies, as well as co-operative and political societies, have been affiliated.

The special report of the secretary for America was also agreed to.

A conversation then arose about some of the Council members that were appointed at the last Congress, but have not put in an appearance for some time, nor paid their annual contributions. It was resolved, "That the names of all members of the Council whose contributions are not paid by Tuesday, August 27th, be struck off the list of Council members."

As the evening was too far advanced, the discussion of the Congress questions was adjourned to Tuesday next. |

[[107]] Council Meeting Tuesday August 27.

Citizen Shaw in the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed. The General Secretary reported that the United Society of Journeymen Curriers had announced their affiliation and the secretary had paid the entrance fee. The London Basket makers paid their annual contribution and 12s. 6d to the Congress fund.

The balance sheet was then read and Citizens Maurice and Hales appointed as auditors.

Upon the proposition of Citizen Fox seconded by Citizen Marx it was resolved that the Congress delegate should receive 12£.

Citizen Fox read a letter from the Postmaster General in answer to the memorial sent by the Council, in favour of a reduction of international Postage. The Postmaster General concurred in the views expressed in that document.

The special report of the American secretary was read and adopted.

Discussion of the Congress Questions.

The regular payment of Contributions was considered to be of the utmost importance as one of the practical means to enable the Association to fulfil its functions.

Citizen Hales thought the Council should depend less on ~~trades~~ unions and enter more into a general propaganda to attract the foremost thinkers in the various localities. Citizen Fox thought we have local agents in various places. Citizen Carter maintained that with the exception of our interference in Strikes we had done nothing and neglected every thing regarding the practical application of the great principles of the Association.

Cit. Fox mentioned that it was owing to the International that the Polish question had been kept alive.

Cit. Odger said we required discussions upon the most important questions of the day to attract public notice and make [[108]] our meetings more entertaining which would increase our funds and enable us to carry out our principles. There was not sufficient publicity at present.

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Citizen Marx was rather against turning our Association into a debating Club. We had made considerable progress abroad and had obtained a good standing in France. For weeks together none of the British members except Fox, Shaw, Carter and Buckley had come near us. He was not against discussing great questions. Citizen Odger thought special meetings might be held for particular questions. Carter, Mistress Law, Hales, and Fox spoke in favour of debates. It was then proposed that a special meeting be held on Thursday to discuss the second question which was agreed to. /

Special meeting of the General Council August 29, 1867

/[108]/ At the special meeting the balance sheet was adopted. Citizen Waltön and Citizen Swann the provincial delegates announced in former meetings were present. Citizen Walton paid the entrance fee and the annual contribution of the National Reform League and Citizen Tatschky the Contribution of the Arbeiter Bildungs Verein.

Cit Fox spoke on the Credit question and in a lengthy Statement, showed that the Currency laws of Gt. Britain impeded the growth of popular Credit Associations in these islands.

Cit. Walton spoke on the general subject of Credit. No one else took part in the discussion and the meeting adjourned. |

Friedrich Leßner
Wiedergabe einer Rede von Karl Marx auf dem
27. Stiftungsfest des Deutschen Arbeiterbildungsvereins
in London

/ Karl Marx sprach über die Lohnarbeit und das Kapital, und wies mit großer Klarheit nach wie die Arbeiter das Kapital geschaffen, wie sie durch das Produkt ihrer eigenen Arbeit in || der Sklaverei erhalten würden, und wie das Kapital fortwährend benutzt werde ihre Ketten fester zu schmieden. Der sogenannte freie Arbeiter habe wohl das Bewußtsein freier Arbeiter zu sein, aber er sei um so mehr in der Gewalt der Kapitalmacht als er gezwungen sei seine Arbeit für einen elenden Lohn zu verkaufen um die allernöthigsten Lebensbedürfnisse dafür zu erhalten. Der freie Arbeiter stehe materiell in den meisten Fällen unter dem Sklaven und dem Leibeigenen. Die Arbeiterklasse brauche nicht das persönliche Eigenthum abzuschaffen, das sei längst abgeschafft, und werde Tag täglich abgeschafft, was jedoch abgeschafft werden müsse sei das bürgerliche Eigenthum, welches doch nur auf Betrug begründet sei. ;(p)

In Betreff der sozialen Verhältnisse in Deutschland bemerkte Marx daß das deutsche Proletariat noch am ersten fähig sei, eine Radikalkur siegreich durchzuführen. Erstens hätten sich die Deutschen am meisten von allem religiösen Unsinn befreit; Zweitens brauchten sie nicht die langwierige bürgerliche Bewegung durchzumachen wie die Arbeiter anderer Länder; und drittens werde sie ihre geographische Lage zwingen dem östlichen Barbarismus den Krieg zu erklären, denn von dort aus, von Asien, sei alle Reaktion gegen den Westen ausgegangen. Dadurch werde die Arbeiterpartei auf den revolutionären Boden hingedrängt, auf welchem sie handeln **TH** müsse um sich gänzlich zu befreien. /

Artikel, Dokumente und Übersetzungen,
die unter Mitwirkung von Marx oder Engels
verfaßt wurden

Carl Siebel
Notiz über Friedrich Engels' Broschüre
„Die preußische Militärfrage und die deutsche
Arbeiterpartei" für die „Barmer Zeitung"

Barmer Zeitung.
Nr. 53, 3. März 1865

** Hamburg, 28. Febr. Die Presse hat schon mehrfach ausgesprochen, daß sie die Ansichten und Lehren der Socialisten von 1848 mit dem Auftreten der heutigen Social-Demokraten nicht in Einklang zu bringen vermöchte. Die Führer der socialen Partei der Revolutionszeit waren vor Allen die Redakteure der in Cöln erschienenen rothen „Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung" und unter diesen namentlich Carl Marx und Friedr. Engels. Der Erklärung, die diese beiden Männer gegen den berliner „Social-Demokraten", das Organ der Lassalle'schen Partei, veröffentlicht haben, folgt in diesen Tagen eine Brochure, die vom Standpunkt der 1848er Socialisten aus, eine Kritik der gegenwärtigen Verhältnisse giebt. Ihr Titel ist: „Die preußische Militärfrage und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei" von Friedr. Engels. (Verlag von Otto Meißner in Hamburg.) Die Brochure ist durchaus eine Streitschrift, - ein hingeworfener Fehdehandschuh. Bismarck, die Fortschrittspartei, - Lassalle und die Feudalen; - sie Alle werden aufgefordert, den Handschuh aufzunehmen. Der Verfasser lebt seit der Revolutionszeit als Flüchtling in England. Seine Kritik steht nicht so unter dem Einflüsse der täglichen Begebenheiten und täglich wechselnden Meinungen, wie die Kritik derer, die die Wandlungen im deutschen Vaterlande seit 1848 selbst mitgemacht haben. Sie ist rücksichtsloser, aber auch gerechter. Daß die Brochure großen *Beifall* finden wird, glauben wir nicht. *Bedeutendes Aufsehen* aber wird sie machen; sie wird nicht durch ihre Freunde, sondern durch ihre Feinde ihre Geltung documentiren.

Carl Siebel

Notiz über Friedrich Engels' Broschüre
„Die preußische Militärfrage und die deutsche
Arbeiterpartei“ für die „Düsseldorfer Zeitung“

Düsseldorfer Zeitung.
Nr. 62, 3. März 1865

*** London, 28. Februar. In diesen Tagen erscheint bei Otto Meißner in Hamburg eine Broschüre von Friedr. Engels: „Die preußische Militärfrage und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei“. Sie verdankt ihren Ursprung einer Aufforderung von Seiten eines sogenannten „sozial-demokratischen“ Blattes an den Verfasser, sich über diesen Gegenstand in diesem Blatte auszusprechen. Eine eingehende Behandlung des Gegenstandes erforderte jedoch mehr Raum, als einer Zeitung zu Gebote stand, und die bismarckophile Richtung, die die neueste „Sozial-Demokratie“ genommen, machte es außerdem den Leuten von der „Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung“ unmöglich, an dem Organe dieser Sozial-Demokratie mitzuarbeiten. So entwickelt denn die Broschüre den Standpunkt, den die „Sozialdemokraten von 1848“ sowohl der Regierung wie der Fortschrittspartei gegenüber einnehmen. Lassalle war auch ein Sozialdemokrat von 1848. Er ging aus der Schule von Karl Marx hervor. Ein Kritiker anderer Partei aber behauptete einmal: Lassalle sei in dieser Schule nur bis zur Quarta avancirt.**

Carl Siebel
Notiz über Friedrich Engels' Broschüre
„Die preußische Militärfrage und die deutsche
Arbeiterpartei" für die „Elberfelder Zeitung"

Elberfelder Zeitung.
Nr. 62, 3. März 1865

S *Hamburg*, 28. Febr. Ihre Zeitung brachte vorgestern die Erklärung, durch die Carl Marx und Friedrich Engels, die Redacteurs der ehemaligen Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung, sich vom „Social-Demokrat" und damit von der heutigen Lassalle'schen Partei lossagen. Friedrich *Engels* motivirt diese Lossagung in einer Broschüre, die hier bei O. Meißner in diesen Tagen erscheinen wird. Ihr Titel ist: „*Die preußische Militärfrage und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei*". Zwei Broschüren, die zur Zeit des italienischen Feldzugs von Engels erschienen: „Po und Rhein" und „Savoyen, Nizza und der Rhein" werden ihren Lesern noch im Gedächtniß sein. Sie haben ihrer Zeit verdientes Aufsehen gemacht, obgleich ihr Verfasser damals seinen Namen nicht nannte. Diese neueste Broschüre ist gewissermaßen ein Glaubensbekenntniß der Socialisten, deren Schüler Lassalle war; sie criticirt diesen Schüler, sein Verhältniß zu Bismarck, seine Fortschrittsfeinde, und wahrt das Princip der alten socialistischen Partei.

Wilhelm Liebknecht
Notiz über Friedrich Engels' Broschüre
„Die preußische Militärfrage und die deutsche
Arbeiterpartei" für die „Berliner Reform"

Berliner Reform.
Nr. 53, 3. März 1865

In diesen Tagen wird bei Otto Meißner in Hamburg (Preis 6 Sgr.) eine Brochure von *Friedr. Engels* erscheinen, des Titels: „Die Preußische Militärfrage und die Deutsche Arbeiterpartei"; im Gegensatz zu der neuesten, „socialdemokratischen" Parteitaktik stellt sich dieselbe wiederum auf den Standpunkt, den die literarischen Vertreter des Proletariats von 1846-51 einnahmen und sie entwickelt diesen Standpunkt sowohl der Reaction wie der fortschrittlichen Bourgeoisie gegenüber an der jetzt gerade vorliegenden Militär- und Budgetfrage.

Johann Jacob Klein
Notiz über Friedrich Engels' Broschüre
„Die preußische Militärfrage und die deutsche
Arbeiterpartei" für die „Rheinische Zeitung"

Rheinische Zeitung.
Nr. 62, 3. März 1865

* Hamburg, 1. März. (*Die preuß. Militärfrage und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei.*) Für die Leser der Rheinischen Zeitung, welche in Nr. 60 eine an die Redaktion des „Social-Demokrat" gerichtete Erklärung von Friedrich Engels und Karl Marx in England brachte, wird die Nachricht von Interesse sein, daß in diesen Tagen bei O. Meißner
5 in Hamburg eine Broschüre von Friedr. Engels unter dem Titel: „Die preußische Militärfrage und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei" erscheint, worin der Verfasser, im Gegensatz zu der neuesten social-demokratischen Taktik, den Standpunkt, den die Neue Rheinische Zeitung in den Jahren 1848 und 1849 gegenüber der Reaktion, wie der Bourgeoisie eingenommen hatte, auch heute noch behauptet und an dieser
10 speziellen Frage entwickelt.

Wilhelm Liebknecht
 Korrespondenz für den „Oberrheinischen Courier“
 über den Bruch mit dem „Social-Demokraten“ und über
 Friedrich Engels' Broschüre „Die preußische Militärfrage
 und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei“

Oberrheinischer Courier.
 Nr. 56, 7. März 1865

9 *Berlin*, 3. März. Nicht geringes Aufsehen erregt hier der Bruch, welcher innerhalb
 der „sozial-demokratischen“ Partei stattgefunden hat. Die entschiedeneren Fle-
 mente dieser Partei hatten das Liebäugeln Lassalle's mit der Reaktion mißbilligt.
 Nach dem Tod des Agitators kam aber zwischen ihnen und seinen Anhängern eine
 Art von Compromiß zu Stand, und *Marx*, *Engels* und *Liebknecht* erklärten sich zur
 Mitarbeiterschaft an dem neuzugründenden Organ des allgemeinen deutschen Ar-
 beitervereins unter der Bedingung bereit, daß der preußischen Regierung nicht die
 mindeste Concession gemacht werde. Der „Social-Demokrat“ wurde gegründet, al-
 lein die Bedingung ist Seitens der Redaktion nicht eingehalten worden, und die ge-
 nannten Männer haben sich dämm von dem Blatt lossagen müssen. Liebknecht,
 der in Berlin lebt, benutzte (am Dienstag) einen Vortrag im Buchdruckerverein, um
 seine und seiner Parteigenossen Stellung zu der Fortschritts- und der Junkerpartei
 klar zu legen und die Arbeiter vor dem Judaskuß der Herren Wagener und Consor-
 ten zu warnen. Die heutige „Reform“ bringt einen ziemlich ausführlichen, wenn
 auch der Preßverhältnisse wegen sehr abgeschwächten Bericht.

Von Engels - in Manchester wohnhaft - wird dieser Tage bei *Otto Meißner* in
 Hamburg eine Broschüre erscheinen, des Titels: „Die preußische Militärfrage und
 die deutsche Arbeiterpartei“. Im Gegensatz zu der Lassalle'schen Parteitaktik stellt
 sich dieselbe wiederum auf den Standpunkt, den die literarischen Vertreter der Ar-
 beiterklasse 1846-1851 einnahmen, und sie entwickelt diesen Standpunkt sowohl
 der Reaktion wie der fortschrittlichen Bourgeoisie gegenüber an der jetzt gerade
 vorliegenden Militär- und Budgetfrage. Die Schrift wird sicherlich ebenso pikant
 als lehrreich sein. Der Verfasser, dessen Name schon eine hinreichende Bürgschaft
 bietet, hat sich während der letzten 6-7 Jahre vorwiegend mit den Militärwissen-
 schaften beschäftigt; von ihm rührt u. A. die Broschüre: „Po und Rhein“ her, die
 1859 solche Sensation machte.

Wilhelm Liebknecht
Korrespondenz für die „Osnabrücker Zeitung“
über den Bruch mit dem „Social-Demokraten“ und über
Friedrich Engels' Broschüre „Die preußische Militärfrage
und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei“

Osnabrücker Zeitung.
Nr. 250, 9. März 1865

(S) Berlin, 7. März. Nicht geringes Aufsehen erregt hier der Bruch, welcher innerhalb der „social-demokratischen“ Partei stattgefunden hat. Die entschiedeneren Elemente dieser Partei hatten das Liebäugeln Lassalle's mit der Reaction mißbilligt, und ihm jede Unterstützung verweigert. Nach dem Tode des Agitators kam aber zwischen ihnen und seinen Anhängern eine Art von Compromiß zu Stande, und Marx, Engels und Liebknecht erklärten sich zur Mitarbeiterschaft an dem neu zu gründenden „Organ des allgemeinen deutschen Arbeitervereins“ unter der Bedingung bereit, daß der jetzigen preußischen Regierung nicht die mindeste Concession gemacht werde. Der „Social-Demokrat“ wurde gegründet, allein die Bedingung ist Seitens der Redaction nicht eingehalten worden, und die genannten Männer haben sich darum von dem Blatte lossagen müssen. Liebknecht, der in Berlin lebt, benutzte einen Vortrag im Buchdrucker-Verein (am vorigen Dienstag), um seine und seiner Parteigenossen Stellung zu der Fortschritts- und der Junkerpartei klarzulegen, und die Arbeiter vor dem „Judaskuß der Herren Wagener und Consorten“ zu warnen. Der stürmische Beifall, welcher dem Redner wurde, liefert einen Beweis dafür, daß die Arbeiter Berlins, wenn sie auch mit der Fortschrittspartei gerade nicht sonderlich zufrieden sind, doch ihre Interessen und Pflichten sehr wohl kennen, und keine Lust haben, sich der Reaction in die Arme zu werfen. - Ich will hier noch erwähnen, daß in den nächsten Tagen bei Meißner in Hamburg eine Brochure von Engels erscheinen wird, betitelt: „Die preußische Militärfrage und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei“. Der Verfasser wendet sich darin auf das Entschiedenste gegen die preußische Regierung und weist nach, daß ein Bündniß der Arbeiter mit der Reaction für die ersteren nur die schlimmsten Folgen haben könnte.

Jenny Marx
Atheistische Vorträge in London

Der Vorbote.
Nr. 2, Februar 1866

[31] In religiöser Hinsicht geht jetzt in dem verdumpften England eine bedeutungsvolle Bewegung vor sich. Die ersten Männer der Wissenschaft Huxley (Darwins Schule) an der Spitze mit Charles Lyell, Bowring, Carpenter usw. geben in St. Martin's Hall höchst aufgeklärte, wahrhaft kühne, freigeistige Vorlesungen für [32] das Volk, und zwar an Sonntagabenden, gerade zu der Stunde, wo sonst die Schäflein zur Weide des Herrn pilgerten; die Halle war massenhaft voll und der Jubel des Volkes so groß, daß am ersten Sonntagabend, wo ich mit meiner Familie zugegen war, mehr als 2000 Menschen keinen Einlaß mehr in den zum Ersticken angefüllten Raum finden konnten. Drei Mal ließen die Pfaffen das Entsetzliche geschehen. - Gestern Abend jedoch wurde der Versammlung angekündigt, daß keine Vorlesungen mehr gehalten werden dürften, bis der Prozeß der Seelsorger gegen die Sunday evenings for the people (Sonntagsvorträge für das Volk) erledigt sei. Die Entrüstung der Versammlung sprach sich entschieden aus und mehr als 100 Pfund Sterling wurden sofort zur Führung des Prozesses gesammelt. Wie dumm von den Pfäfflein sich einzumischen. Zum Aerger der Frömmelbande schlossen die Abende auch noch mit Musik. Chöre von Händel, Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn und Gounod wurden gesungen und mit Enthusiasmus von den Engländern aufgenommen, denen bisher an Sonntagen nur erlaubt war „Jesus, Jesus meek and mild“ (Jesus, Jesus sanft und mild) zu grölen, oder in den Ginpalast (Schnapschenke) zu wandern. |

Hermann Jung
Lettre ouverte à Pierre Vésinier
publiée dans «L'Écho de Verviers»

18 Bouverie Street.
Fleet Street.
London.

Monsieur Vésinier.

- 5 L'Echo de Verviers dans son N° 293, suivant à la date du 16 Décembre 1865, a publié un article, ayant pour but ostensible d'éclairer les travailleurs sur l'esprit qui anime la majorité des membres du conseil central de l'association internationale des travailleurs ; le citoyen Le Lubez, qui l'a présenté au conseil (comme il en avait été chargé), a reconnu, que quoiqu'anonyme, cet article était dû à votre plume.
- 10 Après en avoir été saisi, le conseil central, dans son assemblée du 9 Janvier 1866, a adopté la résolution suivante : Le citoyen Vésinier est sommé d'établir les faits qu'il avance, en cas de refus ou d'incapacité il sera rayé de l'association internationale des travailleurs.

Votre article s'écartant entièrement de la vérité, le conseil central a cru de son

15 devoir de rétablir les faits dans toute leur intégrité; le conseil central a la conscience de sa mission et du mandat qu'on lui a confié ; il ne repoussera pas les calomnies par des calomnies ni les mensonges par des mensonges ; il ne s'abaissera pas à des accusations personnelles, mais il laissera, à ceux qui sont accusés, le soin de se justifier eux-mêmes ; il ne s'arrêtera devant aucun obstacle et, malgré les faux

20 amis, il ne laissera derrière lui ni tache ni souillure.

Entr'autres, les passages suivants méritent principalement d'être signalés :

- I -

« Bientôt tous les membres français et Italiens donnèrent leur démission motivée sur la présence au sein du comité et sur les intrigues de MM. Tolain et Fribourg » (Echo de

25 Verviers N° 293).

Sur 9 membres français 2 seulement se retirèrent savoir: MM. Dénouai et Le Lubez et même ce dernier rentra peu de temps après ; - quant aux Italiens, un seul (le Citoyen Wolff) motiva sa démission «non sur la présence au sein du comité et sur les intrigues de MM. Tolain et Fribourg» mais sur une résolution du Conseil Central, présentée par le Sous Comité, concernant le citoyen Lefort en faveur de laquelle il

30 , avait lui-même voté, quelques heures auparavant, comme membre du Sous Comité.

Hermann Jung

- II. -

«Le Comité continua à fonctionner en leur absence jusqu'à aujourd'hui» (Echo de V N° 293).

Sur 2 membres français qui se retirèrent, le Cit. Le Lubez, ex-secrétaire pour la France, rentra peu de temps après, comme délégué de la Section de Deptford ; donc le Comité ne fonctionna pas longtemps en son absence. 5"

- m - 1

[[3]] «Il (Le Comité) publia un manifeste et un règlement provisoire, le premier dû à la plume d'un publiciste éminent de race latine, etc, » (Echo de V. N° 293).

Le manifeste et le règlement furent publiés avant la retraite des 2 membres français et des membres Italiens ; le manifeste n'est pas dû à la plume d'un publiciste éminent de race latine, mais à la plume d'un écrivain de race Teutone; le manifeste fut adopté unanimement par tous les membres du Conseil Central, y compris les français et les Italiens, avant même que le publiciste éminent de race latine en eût eu connaissance; Loin d'en être l'auteur, s'il en avait eu connaissance, il l'aurait fait opposer, à cause de ses tendances anti-bourgeoises, par les membres Italiens mais, arrivé trop tard, il ne réussit qu'à empêcher que ces derniers n'en fissent la traduction en italien ; c'est même au caractère si prononcé de notre manifeste qu'est due la retraite des italiens ; il est évident que vous n'avez jamais lu ce manifeste et que le publiciste [[4]] éminent de race latine ne vous saura pas bon gré de ce que vous lui en ayez attribué la paternité. 10
15
20"

- IV -

«A-t-il (le Comité) poursuivi le but qu'il s'était proposé, l'émancipation sociale complète des travailleurs ? Non ! au lieu de cela il a perdu un an de temps précieux pour aboutir aux conférences et au programme du Congrès qui doit avoir lieu à Genève, etc, » (Echo de Verviers N° 293.) 25

Le Conseil Central ne commença guère à fonctionner que vers le commencement de l'année 1865. «Donc 9 mois pour arriver aux conférences» ; il employa ces 9 mois «de temps précieux» à établir des relations internationales et à étendre ses relations en Angleterre. Chaque semaine, pendant plusieurs mois, des deputations composées de membres du Conseil, furent envoyées auprès des différentes sociétés ouvrières pour les engager à se joindre à l'association ; En voici le résultat : Lors des conférences, [[5]] l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs comptait : en Angleterre 14 000 adhérents ; entr'autres les sociétés si importantes des Cordonniers et des Maçons s'étaient affiliées ; les hommes les plus influents et les plus éminents de ces immenses organisations ouvrières (Trades Unions) étaient membres du Conseil Central. Un journal était fondé dont le titre (Workman's Advocate) indique •m
!" !

18 Bowditch Street
Fleet Street

Monsieur Vésinier, London
L'Écho de Verviers dans son n° 293, à la date
du 16 Décembre 1885, a publié un article, ayant pour but
ostensible d'éclairer les travailleurs sur l'histoire qui
anime la majorité des membres du conseil central de l'association
internationale des travailleurs. Le citoyen de Lubex, qui l'a
présenté au conseil comme il en avait été chargé, a
reconnu que quoiqu'ancien, cet article était de sa
sotte plume. Après en avoir été saisi, le conseil
central, dans son assemblée du 9 Janvier 1886 a adop-
té la résolution suivante: Le citoyen ~~de Lubex~~
est nommé à établir les faits par lui avancés, en cas
de refus ou d'incapacité il sera nommé de l'association
internationale des travailleurs.
Notre article se cantonne strictement à la suite,
le conseil central a eu le devoir de établir les
faits dans toute leur intégrité; le conseil central a
la conscience de sa mission. Du moment qu'on lui a
confié; il ne recourra pas les calomnies par des calomnies
ni les mensonges par des mensonges. Il ne débauchera
pas ses accusations personnelles, mais il laissera
à ceux qui contesteront, le soin de se justifier eux-mêmes,
il ne débrâtera devant aucun obstacle & malgré les fausses
amis, il ne laissera derrière lui ni tâche ni saillies
extrêmes, les passages suivants méritent principalement
être signalés:
Quant tous les membres français & italiens donneront
leur décision motivée sur la présidence au sein du
comité & sur les intrigues de M. M.

Hermann Jung: Lettre ouverte à Pierre Vésinier
publiée dans «L'Écho de Verviers». Seite [1]

quelle est sa mission ; un journal qui toujours et partout défend les intérêts de la classe ouvrière; L'Association pour le Suffrage Universel en Angleterre (*Reform League*) était fondée : Association qui compte ses membres par milliers et dont le Secrétaire et la majorité des membres du Conseil Exécutif sont choisis dans notre sein.

En France plusieurs milliers d'adhérents - :

A Paris: une administration forte, active et à l'abri de tout reproche [6] avec plus de 2 mille adhérents ; des ramifications à Lyon, Rouen, Nantes, Caen, Neufchâteau, Pont l'Evêque, Pantin, S'-Denis, Lisieux, Puteaux, Belleville, etc, etc, etc,

En Suisse.-A Genève : une administration composée des meilleurs éléments avec 500 adhérents et des ramifications à Lausanne, Vevey, Montreux et dans le Canton de Neuchâtel.

En Belgique, le mouvement se formait sous les meilleurs auspices et le Conseil Central avait lieu de croire que l'Espagne ne tarderait pas à la suivre.

- V -

«Non ! il (le Comité) n'a pas même fait venir à ses conférences de Septembre 1865 un délégué de l'Allemagne, qui compte tant de Sociétés d'ouvriers, pas un seul non plus des Sociétés si nombreuses de l'Angleterre, pas un seul de celles d'Italie, si bien organisées, pas un seul de celles qui existent en France ; Car Tolain, Fribourg et C ne sont les délégués d'aucune Société d'ouvriers Français, ils se sont délégués eux-mêmes, ils n'ont fourni la preuve d'aucun mandat dont ils aient [7] été revêtus. Loin d'être les délégués d'associations ouvrières françaises, leur présence a été la seule cause qui a empêché celles-ci d'envoyer des délégués aux Conférences de Londres. Nous pourrions citer plusieurs d'entr'elles qui ont refusé pour ce motif d'y adhérer etc, etc.» (Echo de Verviers 293.)*

En principe, seules les sections de l'association Internationale des ouvriers et les Sociétés qui avaient adhéré à ses principes pouvaient être représentées aux Conférences ; l'état de nos finances nous enjoignait de limiter le nombre des délégués au plus bas minimum.

De l'Allemagne qui compte tant de Sociétés d'ouvriers, les seules qui auraient pu être représentées sont les Sociétés de consommation fondées par Schulze-Delitzsch et celles de Lassalle, A.D.A.V. ; les premières, à l'insu de leurs membres, n'étaient que l'instrument de la Bourgeoisie libérale de Prusse dont Schulze-Delitzsch est un des matadores ; celles de Lassalle étaient et sont encore aujourd'hui en complète dissolution ; une [8] partie s'était coalisée avec Bismark tandis que l'autre partie, qui ne s'était pas encore reconstituée, reconnaissait pour chef J. Ph. Becker, délégué Suisse aux conférences ; pendant la Séance des conférences ce dernier reçut un mandat de la part des ouvriers des fabriques de Solingen ; tandis que la Société Allemande de Genève D. A. B. V. était aussi représentée par lui ; La Société Allemande de Londres D. A. B. V. fut représentée par ses délégués auprès du Conseil Central. Outre les entraves que les ouvriers rencontrent dans la formation de Sociétés en Allemagne, la législation leur défend encore d'appartenir à des Sociétés étrangères, cependant quelques sections furent formées dans le Nord et le Sud de

l'Allemagne. En présence de toutes ces difficultés est-il extraordinaire que l'Allemagne n'ait pas été aussi bien représentée que le Conseil Central aurait pu l'espérer.

Les Sociétés Anglaises furent fort bien représentées par les membres anglais | **k**
|[9]| du Conseil Central: Odger, le président, est secrétaire du Trades Council **J**
(conseil suprême de toutes les Trades Unions de l'Angleterre); Cremer, le Secré- **-i**
taire Général est membre du Conseil exécutif des Charpentiers; Howell, Secrétaire
de la Reform League et membre du Conseil exécutif des maçons et Coulson, Secré-
taire de cette dernière Société, sont tous deux délégués par elle auprès du Conseil
Central; Wheeler, gérant d'une assurance mutuelle sur la vie est membre du i||
Conseil Central. Les Cordonniers (forts de 5500 membres) sont représentés par Od-
ger, Morgan et Cope tandis que Shaw représente les peintres en bâtiment, etc, etc,
etc,

Le Citoyen Wolff, qui assista au Congrès des ouvriers Italiens, à Naples, en 1864
et les autres membres Italiens du Conseil, quoiqu'ils prissent une part très-active .15
aux travaux du Conseil Central, ne réussirent cependant jamais à faire un seul :f
adhérent en Italie; c'est une source de regrets pour le Conseil |[10]| Central de voir, §|
que les membres italiens, même avant leur retraite, ne jouirent pas assez de la *3
confiance «de ces Sociétés si bien organisées de l'Italie» pour engager une seule
d'entr'elles à se joindre à l'association Internationale. 20'

« Pas une seule de celles qui existent en France car Tolain, Fribourg et C ne sont les dé- 1
légués d'aucune Société française, ils se sont délégués eux-mêmes. » '4

Les membres de la Section Lyonnaise regrettaient que le manque de fonds les 78/4
empêchât d'envoyer des délégués, mais de même que ceux de la Section de Caen et i\$
ceux de la Section de Neufchâteau, ils envoyèrent un manifeste par lequel ils parti- 25
cipaient aux travaux du Conseil Central.

Tolain, Fribourg, Limousin et Varlin furent nommés au Suffrage universel par la
Section de Paris; cette section est composée d'ouvriers de tous les métiers et de
plusieurs centaines de membres de l'association du crédit au Travail, Beluze gérant
de cette association, en fait aussi partie; tous ont pris ou ont pu prendre part à 30
l'élection des délégués; Limousin un des quatre délégués de Paris est Secré-
taire de la gérance du Journal *l'Association*, l'organe international des Sociétés co-
opératives. Mr. Clariol fut délégué par la Société des typographes de Paris; sur l'in-
vitation du Conseil Central MM. Schily, Dumesnil-Marigny et autres vinrent de
Paris pour assister aux conférences auxquelles ils prirent une part très-active. : 35

Quelles sont les autres Sociétés dont vous parlez qui furent empêchées par la pré-
sence de Tolain, Fribourg et C^e d'envoyer des délégués aux conférences? Serait-ce
la Société du 10 Décembre? La seule qui soit autorisée sous le présent régime en
France.

Le compte rendu des conférences parut dans tous les journaux libéraux de Paru 40
sans évoquer une seule plainte ou une seule réclamation de la part des membres de
l'Association Internationale ou des Sociétés co-opératives de France; le mandat
dont les délégués étaient revêtus a été vérifié et approuvé par le Sous Comité du
Conseil Central.

Dès le début des conférences les délégués |[12]| Parisiens rendirent un compte 45.

Lettre ouverte à Pierre Vésinier publiée dans «L'Écho de Verviers»

détaillé et fidèle sur leur administration et la gestion de leurs finances, à l'appui duquel ils mirent leurs livres et toute leur correspondance à la disposition du Conseil Central ; le Conseil Central peut se féliciter sur l'efficacité des moyens employés par l'administration de Paris pour la fondation et la propagation de l'association Internationale en France.

- VI -

«La Belgique en a envoyé un très-capable, le citoyen De Paepe, mais c'est le seul pour ce pays qui compte beaucoup d'associations» (Echo de Verviers N° 293)

Il est à regretter que la Belgique n'ait envoyé qu'un seul délégué et que ce délégué soit celui qui représentât le moins de mandataires, néanmoins ce pays a été noblement représenté dans la personne de César De Paepe.

- VII -

«La Suisse ou plutôt Genève en a envoyé deux qui ne sont pas Suisses, savoir: Un réfugié Français et un réfugié Badois qui sont venus aux conférences avec les deux soi-disant délégués français nommés plus haut; au total 5 ou 6 de la même valeur et un véritable et sérieux celui de la Belgique» (Echo de Verviers N° 293) |

[[13]] Les délégués de la Suisse furent élus au suffrage universel par tous les membres des différentes sections de l'Association Internationale en Suisse, la Société du Griitly, entièrement composée de Suisses, et la Société Allemande D.A.B.V. prirent aussi part aux élections par leurs délégués auprès de l'Association Internationale en Suisse : Par le choix de leurs délégués, les membres de l'Association en Suisse, se sont acquis une place honorable dans l'histoire de l'Association Internationale.

Les délégués Suisses vinrent aux conférences, non, *«avec les deux soi-disant délégués français»* mais avec les quatre délégués Parisiens.

Le citoyen Becker, un des délégués aux conférences, est naturalisé Suisse depuis plus de vingt ans ; la Bourgeoisie de la ville de Bienne lui fut présentée en reconnaissance des services qu'il rendit à la cause démocratique universelle. Ouvrier, il s'est distingué comme agitateur, soldat, administrateur et écrivain ; ses talents si multiples ont toujours été employés pour la cause des travailleurs ; il est ridicule de voir des [[14]] Pygmées s'attaquer à de pareils Géants et il est certain que leur valeur ne saurait être mise en question, que par des hommes d'une probité et d'un désintéressement connus.

Hermann Jung

- Vili -

«*Nous le demandons est-ce là un résultat satisfaisant*» (Echo de Verviers N° 293)

Le Conseil Central est composé presque exclusivement d'ouvriers habitués à manier le marteau et la lime et ce n'est qu'au prix de sacrifices personnels qu'ils peuvent les remplacer par la plume ; quand ils ont recours à la plume, c'est toujours pour défendre ou propager une noble cause et non pour la vendre au Bonapartisme ; si le résultat n'est pas aussi satisfaisant que les ouvriers en général auraient pu l'espérer, nous sommes convaincus qu'ils prendront en considération les veilles passées après une longue journée d'un travail fatigant et les angoisses que leurs frères ont éprouvées pour l'amener à ce point.

- I X -

«*Cédant à des influences fâcheuses, il a inscrit dans le programme du Congrès de Genève des questions en dehors du but de l'association telle que celle ||[15]|| d'anéantir l'influence russe en Europe.* » (Echo de Verviers N° 294)

Quelles sont les influences fâcheuses auxquelles le Conseil Central a cédé en inscrivant sur son programme ; qu'il était nécessaire d'anéantir l'influence Moscovite en Europe «*non l'influence Russe*» qui veut dire tout autre chose. La nécessité «*d'anéantir l'influence Moscovite en Europe*» est reconnue en principe dans notre manifeste qui certainement n'a pas été publié sous des influences fâcheuses. Quelles sont les autres questions inscrites sur le programme dues à des influences fâcheuses?

- X -

«*Cette faute énorme a déjà eu de fatales conséquences ; les Polonais ont demandé en masse à faire partie du Comité et sous peu ils seront en immense majorité*» (Echo de Verviers, N° 294)

Les Polonais n'ont pas demandé en masse à faire partie du Conseil Central et au lieu d'y être en immense majorité ils n'en forment pas même la vingtième partie.

Le moyen de raisonner avec un écrivain qui dit «*Le Comité a élaboré et fait voter un programme de douze questions comprenant presque tous les problèmes les plus généraux de l'économie politique, mais sans ||[16]|| émettre une question scientifique*» et qui quelques lignes plus bas sans même reprendre son souffle reconnaît «*l'importance scientifique*» de ces mêmes questions.

Le Conseil Central, loin d'être exclusif a toujours cherché à s'entourer des lumières de tous les amis sincères de la cause des travailleurs ; il a cherché par tous les moyens en son pouvoir, à propager ses grands principes et à unir les ouvriers de tous les pays. A cet effet, trois Journaux ont été fondés en Suisse : Le Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, et la Voix de l'Avenir, publiés en lan-

Lettre ouverte à Pierre Vésinier publiée dans «L'Écho de Verviers»

gue française et le Précurseur (Vorbote) publié en langue Allemande, un en Angleterre (The Workman's Advocate) le seul journal anglais qui, par l'application du droit qu'ont les peuples de disposer d'eux-mêmes, reconnaît que les Irlandais ont le droit de secouer le joug anglais.

Le Conseil Central n'est pas juge de ses propres actions, le Congrès de Genève, décidera s'il est digne de la confiance dont il a été honoré ou s'il a abandonné de gaieté de cœur le but sublime dont il avait été chargé.

Je suis, Monsieur, votre
dévoué serviteur

H. Jung,

au nom du Conseil central de
l'association internationale des travailleurs
15 Février 1866. |

Paul Lafargue
Sur des précurseurs de l'Association Internationale
des Travailleurs

La Rive Gauche.
Nr. 22, 3. Juni 1866

Nous remercions beaucoup le citoyen Talandier de sa lettre et nous nous faisons un vrai plaisir de l'insérer, car nous tenons à dégager de la forte personnalité de Lardaux cet amour puissant de l'Humanité, qui lui a fait coopérer activement à l'*Association internationale* de 1855 et à celle de 1864.

Nous ferons remarquer cependant au citoyen Talandier que l'Association internationale de 1855 n'était pas la première de ce genre. Déjà en 1846, des révolutionnaires socialistes, sentant venir le mouvement, voulurent organiser dans tous les pays des groupes pour propager la Révolution.

Le comité central de l'*Association démocratique internationale* avait son siège à Bruxelles. Le citoyen Mellinet, le père du général bonapartiste, en était le président honoraire ; parmi les autres membres, pour ne citer que les morts, se trouvaient Lelewel (Polonais), Imbert (Français), etc. ... Ce comité était représenté dans tous les pays de l'Europe, l'Italie exceptée.

A Londres il avait des relations avec la société des «*Fraternal democrates*», à la tête de laquelle étaient les chefs les plus fougueux du mouvement chartiste. Cette association y avait une telle influence, qu'en 1848 les Anglais envoyèrent à Paris une députation, dans laquelle se trouvaient Ernest Jones, Julian Harney, etc., pour les représenter au gouvernement provisoire.

En France, le comité central était en rapport avec Proudhon et les rédacteurs de la *Réforme*, entre autres Flocon.

Le comité avait fondé aussi des groupes à Cologne, Berlin et autres centres du mouvement allemand.

Longtemps avant cette association, Mazzini avait fondé une association internationale : *La jeune Europe*; mais sur d'autres bases et avec d'autres vues que les trois précédentes.

P. L.

Karl Marx
Manifeste
de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs
(Adresse inaugurale)
Übersetzung aus dem Englischen

**131 Manifeste
de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs (1).**

Ouvriers,

C'est un fait très-remarquable que la misère des masses travailleuses n'a pas diminué de 1848 à 1864, et pourtant cette période défie toute comparaison pour le développement de l'industrie et l'accroissement du commerce. En 1850, un organe modéré de la bourgeoisie (2) anglaise, très-bien informé d'ordinaire, prédisait que si l'exportation et l'importation de l'Angleterre s'élevaient de 50 pour cent, le paupérisme tomberait à zéro. Hélas! le 7 avril 1864 le chancelier de l'échiquier charma son auditoire parlementaire en lui annonçant que le commerce anglais d'importation et d'exportation était monté en 1863 «à 443 955 000 livres sterling (11098 875 000 fr.), somme étonnante qui surpasse presque des deux tiers le commerce de l'époque relativement récente de 1843». Mais en même temps il parlait éloquemment de la « misère ». « Songez, s'écria-t-il, à ceux qui vivent sur le bord de cette horrible région. » Avec non [[4] moins d'éloquence il parlait des salaires qui n'augmentaient point, de la vie humaine «qui dans neuf cas sur dix n'est qu'une lutte pour l'existence».

Encore ne disait-il rien des Irlandais que remplacent graduellement les machines dans le Nord, les troupeaux de moutons dans le Sud, quoique les moutons eux-

(1) Ce manifeste, dû à la plume d'un socialiste allemand éminent, membre du Conseil central de Londres, a été publié, en anglais, il y a dix-huit mois, à la suite du meeting où a été fondée l'Association internationale.

Nous avons pensé que nos lecteurs seraient heureux de le connaître.

(Note du traducteur.)

(2) Le manifeste dit : « middle-class », littéralement : classe moyenne. Mais cette expression, dans la plupart des pays du continent, n'a pas le même sens qu'en Angleterre. En France, l'ouvrier affranchi du salariat, celui qui travaille à son compte, appartient, comme le boutiquier, à la classe moyenne.

La classe moyenne en Angleterre, c'est plutôt la bourgeoisie capitaliste ou rentière, qui, dans les pays où n'existe plus l'aristocratie héréditaire et privilégiée, est devenue la classe supérieure.

(Note du traducteur.)

mêmes diminuent dans ce malheureux pays, moins rapidement, il est vrai, que les hommes. Il ne répétait pas ce que venaient de dévoiler, dans un accès soudain de terreur, les représentants les plus élevés des «dix mille supérieurs» (1).

Lorsque la panique des garrotteurs atteignit un certain degré, la chambre des lords fit faire une enquête et un rapport sur la transportation et la servitude pénale. Le meurtre fit ainsi son apparition et tint sa place dans le volumineux Livre bleu de 1863 et il fut alors prouvé, par faits et chiffres officiels, que les pires des criminels condamnés, les forçats de l'Angleterre et de l'Ecosse, travaillaient beaucoup moins et étaient beaucoup mieux nourris que les travailleurs agricoles des mêmes pays.

Mais ce n'est pas tout.

Quand la guerre d'Amérique eut jeté sur le pavé les ouvriers des comtés de Lancaster et de Chester, la même chambre des lords envoya un médecin dans les provinces manufacturières, en le chargeant de rechercher la quantité minimum de carbone et d'azote, administrable sous la forme la plus simple et la moins chère, qui pût suffire en moyenne «à prévenir la mort d'inanition». Le docteur Smith, le médecin délégué, trouva que 28 000 grains de carbone et 1330 grains d'azote par semaine étaient nécessaires, en moyenne, à un adulte, rien que pour le garantir de la mort d'inanition, et de plus il trouva que cette quantité n'était pas fort éloignée de la maigre nourriture à laquelle l'extrême détresse venait de réduire les ouvriers cotonniers.

Mais écoutez encore. Le même savant médecin fut un peu ||5| plus tard délégué de nouveau par le département médical du Conseil Privé, afin d'examiner la nourriture des classes travailleuses les plus pauvres. Le *Sixième rapport sur l'état de la santé publique*, publié par l'ordre du Parlement dans le courant de cette année (1864), contient le résultat de ses recherches. Qu'a découvert le docteur? Que les tisseurs en soie, les couturières, les gantiers, les tisserands de bas, etc., ne recevaient pas toujours, en moyenne, la misérable pitance des ouvriers cotonniers, pas même la quantité de carbone et d'azote «suffisant à prévenir la mort d'inanition».

«En outre», nous citons textuellement le rapport, «l'examen de l'état des familles agricoles a démontré que plus du cinquième d'entre elles est réduit à une quantité moins que suffisante d'aliments carboniques, et plus du tiers à une quantité moins que suffisante d'aliments azotés ; que dans les comtés de Berks, d'Oxford et de Somerset, l'insuffisance des aliments azotés est, en moyenne, le régime local. Il ne faut pas oublier, ajoute le rapport officiel, que la privation de nourriture n'est supportée qu'avec répugnance, et qu'en règle générale le manque de nourriture suffisante n'arrive jamais que précédé de bien d'autres privations. La propreté même est regardée comme une chose très-chère et difficile, et quand le respect de soi-même s'efforce de l'entretenir, chaque effort de la sorte est nécessairement payé par un surcroît des tortures de la faim. Ce sont des réflexions d'autant plus douloureuses, qu'il ne s'agit pas ici de la misère méritée par la paresse, mais, dans tous les cas, de la détresse d'une population travailleuse. En fait, le travail qui n'assure qu'une si maigre pitance est pour le plus grand nombre excessivement prolongé.»

(1) *The upper ten thousand*. Cette expression toute anglaise s'emploie très-fréquemment et s'applique tout naturellement à la classe aristocratique.

MANIFESTE
DE
L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE
DES TRAVAILLEURS
SUIVI
DU RÈGLEMENT PROVISOIRE.

Prix : 10 centimes.

BRUXELLES,
ALLIANCE TYPOGRAPHIQUE. — M. J. POOT ET COMPAGNIE.
Rue aux Choux, 55 n°.

1866

[Karl Marx:] Manifeste de l'Association Internationale
des Travailleurs suivi du Règlement provisoire.
Bruxelles 1866. Titelblatt

Manifeste de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs (Adresse inaugurale)

Le rapport dévoile ce fait étrange et même inattendu: «que de toutes les parties du Royaume-Uni», c'est-à-dire l'Angleterre, le pays de Galles, l'Ecosse et l'Irlande, «c'est la population agricole de l'Angleterre», précisément de la partie la plus opulente, «qui est incontestablement le plus mal nourrie», mais que même les plus
5 pauvres laboureurs des comtés de Berks, d'Oxford et de Somerset sont beau-
|6|coup mieux nourris que la plupart des ouvriers en chambre de l'Est de Londres.

Telles sont les données officielles publiées par ordre du Parlement, en 1864, dans le millénaire du libre-échange, au moment même où le chancelier de l'échiquier racontait à la chambre des communes «que la condition des ouvriers anglais s'est
10 améliorée, en moyenne, d'une manière si extraordinaire, que nous n'en connaissons point d'exemple dans l'histoire d'aucun pays, ni d'aucun âge». De quel son discordant ces exaltations officielles sont percées par une brève remarque du non moins officiel rapport sur l'état de la santé publique : «La santé publique d'un pays signifie la santé de ses masses, et il est presque impossible que les masses soient
15 bien portantes, si elles ne jouissent pas jusqu'au plus bas de l'échelle sociale, au moins, de la plus modeste prospérité.»

Ébloui par le «Progrès de la Nation (1)» le chancelier de l'Échiquier voit danser devant ses yeux les chiffres de ses statistiques. C'est avec un accent de véritable extase qu'il s'écrie: «De 1842 à 1852, le revenu imposable du pays s'est accru de
20 6 p.c. ; dans les huit années de 1853 à 1861, il s'est accru de 20 p.c. ; c'est un fait si étonnant qu'il est presque incroyable! ... Cette enivrante augmentation de richesses et de puissance», ajoute M.Gladstone, «est exclusivement restreinte à ceux qui possèdent».

Si vous voulez savoir à quelles conditions de santé perdue, de morale flétrie et de
25 mine intellectuelle, cette *enivrante augmentation de richesses et de puissance, exclusivement restreinte aux classes qui possèdent*, a été et est produite par les classes laborieuses, examinez la peinture qui est faite des ateliers de tailleurs, d'imprimeurs et de modistes, dans le dernier Rapport sur l'état de la santé publique! Comparez le *Rapport de la commission pour examiner le travail des enfants*, où il est constaté, par
30 exemple, que «la classe des potiers, hommes et femmes, présente une population très-dégénérée, tant sous le rapport physique que sous le ||7| rapport intellectuel»; que «les enfants infirmes deviennent ensuite des parents infirmes»; que «la dégénération de la race en est une conséquence absolue»; que «la dégénération de la population du comté de Stafford serait beaucoup plus avancée, n'était le recrute-
35 ment continuel des pays adjacents et les mariages mixtes avec des races plus robustes». Jetez un coup d'oeil sur le Livre bleu de M. Tremenheere, *Griefs et plaintes des journaliers boulangers*. Et qui n'a pas frissonné en lisant ce paradoxe des inspecteurs des fabriques, certifié par le Registrar General, d'après lequel la santé des ouvriers du comté de Lancaster s'est améliorée considérablement, quoiqu'ils soient
40 réduits à la plus misérable nourriture, parce que le manque de coton les a chassés des fabriques cotonnières ; que la mortalité des enfants a diminué, parce qu'enfin il est permis aux mères de leur donner, au lieu du cordial de Godfrey, leurs propres mamelles.

(1) C'est un chapitre spécial du Livre bleu chaque année.

Mais retournez encore une fois la médaille ! Le Tableau de l'impôt des revenus et des propriétés, présenté à la chambre des communes le 20 juillet 1864, nous apprend que du 5 avril 1852 au 5 avril 1863, treize personnes ont grossi les rangs de ces heureux de la terre, dont les revenus annuels sont évalués par le collecteur des impôts à 50000 l. st. (1250000 fr.) et plus, car leur nombre est monté, dans une seule année, de 67 à 80 (1). Le même Tableau dévoile le fait curieux que 3000 personnes, à peu près, partagent entre elles un revenu annuel d'environ 25 000000 de liv. sterl. (750000000 fr.), plus que la somme totale distribuée annuellement entre tous les laboureurs de l'Angleterre et du pays de Galles. Ouvrez le registre du cens de 1861 et vous trouverez que le nombre des propriétaires terriens en Angleterre et dans le pays de Galles, s'est réduit de 16 934 en 1851, à 15 066 en 1861 ; qu'ainsi la concentration de la propriété territoriale s'est accrue en dix années de 11 p. c. Si la concentration de la propriété foncière dans la main d'un petit nombre suit toujours le même progrès, la question territoriale deviendra singulièrement simplifiée, comme elle l'était dans l'empire romain, quand Néron grinça des dents (2), à la nouvelle que la moitié de la province d'Afrique était possédée par six chevaliers.

Nous nous sommes appesantis sur ces «faits si étonnants, qu'ils sont presque incroyables», parce que l'Angleterre est à la tête de l'Europe commerciale et industrielle. Rappelez-vous qu'il y a quelques mois à peine un des fils réfugiés de Louis-Philippe félicitait publiquement le travailleur agricole anglais de la supériorité de son sort, sur celui moins prospère de ses camarades de l'autre côté de la Manche. En vérité, si nous tenons compte de la différence des circonstances locales, nous voyons les faits anglais se reproduire sur une plus petite échelle dans tous les pays industriels et progressifs du continent. Depuis 1848, un développement inouï de l'industrie et une expansion inimaginable des exportations et des importations a eu lieu dans ces pays. Partout «l'augmentation de richesses et de puissance exclusivement restreinte aux classes qui possèdent», a été réellement «enivrante». Partout, comme en Angleterre, une petite minorité de la classe ouvrière a obtenu réellement une petite augmentation de salaire ; mais, dans la plupart des cas, la hausse monétaire des salaires ne dénotait pas plus l'accroissement du bien-être des salariés, que l'élévation du coût de l'entretien des pensionnaires dans l'hôpital des pauvres ou dans l'asile des orphelins de la métropole, de 7 liv. 7 sh. 4 p., en 1852, à 9 liv. 15 sh. 8 p., en 1862, ne leur bénéficiait et n'augmente leur bien-être. Partout la grande masse des classés laborieuses descendait toujours plus bas, dans la même proportion au moins, que celles qui sont au-dessus d'elle *montaient plus* haut sur l'échelle sociale. Dans tous les pays de l'Europe - c'est devenu actuellement une vérité incontestable à tout esprit impartial, et déniée par ceux-là seulement dont l'intérêt consiste à promettre aux autres monts et merveilles - ni le perfectionnement des machines, ni l'application de la *science* à la production, ni la découverte de nou-

(1) Le marquis de Westminster a un revenu annuel de 800000 liv. st. (20000000 fr.).

(2) Le mot «grind» veut dire non-seulement grincer des dents, mais indique encore la férocité du sourire. Néron, en tuant ses sangsues gorgées d'or, éprouva une joie féroce, car il trouva ainsi le moyen de remplir les coffres de l'État, qui se vidaient à mesure que la propriété foncière se concentrait.

(Note du traducteur.)

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nelles communications, ni les nouvelles colonies, ni l'émigration, ni la création de nouveaux débouchés, ni le libre-échange, ni toutes ces choses ensemble ne sont en état de supprimer la misère des classes laborieuses ; au contraire, tant que la base fautive d'à présent existera, chaque nouveau développement de la force productive du travail creusera nécessairement un abîme plus large et plus profond entre les différentes classes et fera ressortir davantage l'antagonisme social.

Durant cette enivrante époque de progrès économique, la mort d'inanition s'est élevée à la hauteur d'une institution sociale dans la métropole britannique. Cette époque est marquée, dans les annales du monde, par les retours accélérés, par l'étendue de plus en plus vaste et par les effets de plus en plus meurtriers de la peste sociale, appelée : *la crise commerciale et industrielle*.

Après la défaite des révolutions de 1848, toutes les associations et tous les journaux politiques des classes ouvrières furent écrasés, sur le continent, par la main brutale de la force ; les plus avancés parmi les fils du travail s'enfuirent désespérés de l'autre côté de l'Océan, aux États-Unis, et les rêves éphémères d'affranchissement s'évanouirent devant une époque de fièvre industrielle, de marasme moral et de réaction politique.

Dû en partie à la diplomatie anglaise, qui agissait alors comme maintenant dans un esprit de solidarité fraternelle avec le cabinet de Saint-Pétersbourg, l'échec de la classe ouvrière continentale répandit bientôt ses effets contagieux de ce côté de la Manche. La défaite de leurs frères du continent, en faisant perdre aux ouvriers anglais toute virilité, toute foi dans leur propre cause, rendait en même temps au seigneur de la terre et au seigneur de l'argent, au propriétaire et au capitaliste, leur confiance quelque peu ébranlée. Ils retirèrent isolement les concessions déjà annoncées. I

[10] La découverte de nouveaux terrains aurifères amena une immense émigration et creusa un vide irréparable dans les rangs du prolétariat de la Grande-Bretagne. D'autres parmi ses membres les plus actifs jusque-là furent séduits par l'appât temporaire d'un travail plus abondant et de salaires plus élevés et devinrent ainsi des «noirs politiques» (1).

En vain essaya-t-on d'entretenir ou de réformer le mouvement chartiste, tous les efforts échouèrent complètement. Dans la presse les organes de la classe ouvrière moururent l'un après l'autre de l'apathie des masses et, en fait, jamais l'ouvrier anglais n'avait paru accepter si entièrement sa nullité politique.

Donc, s'il n'y avait pas eu solidarité d'action entre la classe ouvrière de la Grande-Bretagne et celle du continent, il y avait en tout cas entre elles solidarité de défaite.

Cependant cette période écoulée depuis les Révolutions de 1848 a eu aussi ses compensations. Nous n'indiquerons ici que deux faits très-importants.

Après une lutte de trente années, soutenue avec la plus admirable persévérance, la classe ouvrière anglaise, profitant d'une brouille momentanée entre les maîtres de la terre et les maîtres de l'argent, réussit à enlever le bill des dix heures.

Les immenses bienfaits physiques, moraux et intellectuels qui en résultèrent

(1) On appelle ainsi, en anglais, l'homme qui trahit ses principes et est infidèle à sa cause.

pour les ouvriers des manufactures ont été enregistrés dans les rapports bisannuels des inspecteurs des fabriques, et de tous côtés on se plaît maintenant à les reconnaître. La plupart des gouvernements continentaux furent obligés d'accepter la loi anglaise dans les manufactures, sous une forme plus ou moins modifiée, et le Parlement anglais est lui-même chaque année forcé d'étendre et d'élargir le cercle de son action.

Mais à côté de son utilité pratique, il y avait dans la loi certains autres caractères bien faits pour en rehausser le merveilleux succès. Par l'organe de ses oracles les plus connus, tels que le docteur Ure, le professeur Senior et autres ||11| philosophes de cette trempe, la bourgeoisie avait prédit et, à sa grande satisfaction, démontré que toute intervention de la loi pour limiter les heures de travail devait sonner le glas de l'industrie anglaise qui, semblable au vampire, ne pouvait vivre que de sang, et du sang des enfants, elle aussi. Jadis le meurtre d'un enfant était un rite mystérieux de la religion de Moloch, mais on ne le pratiquait qu'en des occasions très-solennelles, une fois par an peut-être, et encore Moloch n'avait-il pas de penchant exclusif pour les enfants du pauvre.

Ce qui, dans cette question de la limitation légale des heures de travail, donnait au conflit un véritable caractère d'acharnement et de fureur, c'est que, sans parler des terreurs de l'avarice, la question engagée soulevait de nouveau et décidait même en partie la grande querelle entre la loi aveugle de l'offre et la demande, qui est toute l'économie politique de la classe bourgeoise, et la production sociale contrôlée et régie par la prévoyance sociale, qui constitue l'économie politique de la classe ouvrière.

Le bill des dix heures ne fut donc pas seulement un succès pratique ; ce fut aussi le triomphe d'un principe : pour la première fois, au grand jour, l'économie politique de la bourgeoisie avait été battue par l'économie politique de la classe ouvrière.

Mais il était réservé à l'économie politique du Travail de remporter bientôt un triomphe plus complet encore sur l'économie politique du Capital. Nous voulons parler du mouvement coopératif et surtout des manufactures coopératives créées par l'initiative isolée de quelques «bras» entreprenants. La valeur de ces grandes expériences sociales ne saurait être surfaite. Elles ont montré par des faits, non plus par de simples arguments, que la production sur une grande échelle et au niveau des exigences de la science moderne pouvait se passer d'une classe de patrons employant une classe de bras ; elles ont montré qu'il n'était pas nécessaire à la production de la richesse que l'instrument de travail fût monopolisé et servît ainsi d'instrument de domination et d'extorsion contre le travailleur lui-même; elles ont montré que, comme le travail esclave, comme le ||12| travail serf, le travail salarié n'était qu'une forme transitoire et inférieure, destinée à disparaître devant le travail associé apportant à sa tâche un bras ferme, un esprit dispos, un cœur joyeux. En Angleterre, c'est Robert Owen qui jeta les germes du système coopératif; les entreprises des ouvriers, tentées sur le continent, ne furent en fait que la réalisation pratique des théories, non découvertes, mais hautement proclamées en 1848.

En même temps l'expérience de cette période (1848 à 64) a prouvé jusqu'à l'évidence que, si excellent qu'il fût en principe, si utile qu'il se montrât dans l'application, le travail coopératif limité étroitement aux efforts accidentels et particuliers

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des ouvriers, ne pourra jamais arrêter le développement, en proportion géométrique, du monopole, ni affranchir les masses, ni même alléger un tant soit peu le fardeau de leurs misères. C'est peut-être précisément le motif qui a décidé de grands seigneurs spécieux, des philanthropes bourgeois et même des économistes pointus à accabler tout à coup d'éloges affadissants ce système coopératif qu'ils avaient en vain essayé d'écraser, lorsqu'il venait à peine d'éclorre, ce système coopératif qu'ils représentaient alors d'un ton railleur comme une utopie de rêveur, ou qu'ils anathématisaient comme un sacrilège de socialiste.

Pour affranchir les masses travailleuses, la coopération doit atteindre un développement national et, par conséquent, être soutenue et propagée par des moyens nationaux. Mais les seigneurs de la terre et les seigneurs du capital se serviront toujours de leurs privilèges politiques pour défendre et perpétuer leurs privilèges économiques. Bien loin de pousser à l'émancipation du travail, ils continueront à y opposer le plus d'obstacles possibles. Qu'on se rappelle avec quel dédain lord Palmerston rembarra les défenseurs du bill sur les droits des tenanciers irlandais, présenté pendant cette session (1864): «La Chambre des Communes, s'écria-t-il, est une chambre de propriétaires fonciers !»

La conquête du pouvoir politique est donc devenue le premier devoir de la classe ouvrière. Elle semble l'avoir compris, car en Angleterre, en Allemagne, en Italie, en France, on a vu renaître en même temps ces aspirations communes, et en même temps aussi des efforts ont été faits pour réorganiser politiquement le parti des travailleurs.

Il est un élément de succès que ce parti possède : il a le nombre ; mais le nombre ne pèse dans la balance que s'il est uni par l'association et guidé par le savoir. L'expérience du passé nous a appris comment l'oubli de ces liens fraternels qui doivent exister entre les travailleurs des différents pays et les exciter à se soutenir les uns les autres dans toutes leurs luttes pour l'affranchissement, sera puni par la défaite commune de leurs entreprises divisées. C'est poussés par cette pensée que les travailleurs de différents pays, réunis en un meeting public à Saint-Martin's hall, le 28 septembre 1864, ont résolu de fonder l'Association internationale.

Une autre conviction encore a inspiré ce meeting.

Si l'affranchissement des travailleurs demande, pour être assuré, leur concours fraternel, comment peuvent-ils remplir cette grande mission, si une politique étrangère, mue par de criminels desseins et mettant en jeu les préjugés nationaux, répand dans des guerres de pirates le sang et l'argent du peuple? Ce n'est pas la prudence des classes gouvernantes de l'Angleterre, mais bien l'opposition de la classe ouvrière à leur criminelle folie, qui a épargné à l'Europe occidentale l'infamie d'une croisade pour le maintien et le développement de l'esclavage de l'autre côté de l'Océan. L'approbation sans pudeur, la sympathie dérisoire ou l'indifférence idiote, avec lesquelles les classes supérieures d'Europe ont vu la Russie saisir comme une proie les montagnes-fortresses du Caucase et assassiner l'héroïque Pologne, les empiétements immenses et sans obstacles de cette puissance barbare dont la tête est à Saint-Pétersbourg et dont on retrouve la main dans tous les cabinets d'Europe, ont appris aux travailleurs qu'il leur fallait se mettre au courant des mystères de la politique internationale, surveiller la conduite diplomatique de leurs

Karl Marx

gouvernements respectifs, la combattre, au besoin, par tous les moyens en leur pouvoir et enfin, lorsqu'ils seraient impuissants à rien empêcher, s'entendre pour une protestation commune et revendiquer les lois de la morale et de la justice qui doivent gouverner les relations des individus, comme la règle suprême des rapports entre les nations.

Combattre pour une politique étrangère de cette nature, c'est prendre part à la lutte générale pour l'affranchissement des travailleurs.

Prolétaires de tous pays, unissez-vous !

Karl Marx
Règlement provisoire de l'Association Internationale
des Travailleurs
Revidierte Übersetzung aus dem Englischen

|15| **Règlement provisoire.**

Considérant :

« Que l'émancipation des travailleurs doit être l'œuvre des travailleurs eux-mêmes ; que les efforts des travailleurs pour conquérir leur émancipation ne doit pas tendre à constituer de nouveaux privilèges, mais à établir pour tous des droits et des devoirs égaux et anéantir la domination de toute classe ;

Que l'assujettissement économique du travailleur aux détenteurs des moyens de travail, c'est-à-dire des sources de la vie, est la cause première de sa servitude politique, morale, matérielle ;

0 Que l'émancipation économique des travailleurs est conséquemment le grand but auquel tout mouvement politique doit être subordonné comme moyen ;

Que tous les efforts faits jusqu'ici ont échoué, faute de solidarité entre les ouvriers des diverses professions dans chaque pays, et d'une union fraternelle entre les travailleurs des diverses contrées ;

15 Que l'émancipation du travail n'étant un problème ni local ni national, mais social, embrasse tous les pays dans lesquels la vie moderne existe et nécessite pour sa solution leur concours théorique et pratique ; |

k |16| Que le mouvement qui reparaît parmi les ouvriers des pays les plus industriels de l'Europe, en faisant naître de nouvelles espérances, donne un solennel
-
!0 avertissement de ne pas retomber dans les vieilles erreurs et les pousse à combiner immédiatement leurs efforts encore isolés ;

Par ces raisons :

Les soussignés, membres du Conseil élu par l'Assemblée tenue le 28 septembre 1864, à Saint-Martin's Hall, à Londres, ont pris les mesures nécessaires pour fonder : *l'Association internationale des Travailleurs*.

25 Ils déclarent que cette Association internationale ainsi que toutes les sociétés ou individus y adhérant reconnaîtront comme devant être la base de leur conduite envers tous les hommes : la *Vérité*, la *Justice*, la *Morale*, sans distinction de couleur, de croyance ou de nationalité.

30 Ils considèrent comme un devoir de réclamer pour tous les droits d'homme et de citoyen. Pas de devoirs sans droits.

f. C'est dans cet esprit qu'ils ont rédigé le règlement provisoire de *l'Association internationale*.

Karl Marx

Art. 1^{er}. Une association est établie pour procurer un point central de communication et de coopération entre les ouvriers des différents pays aspirant au même but, savoir : le Concours mutuel, le Progrès et le complet Affranchissement de la classe ouvrière.

Art. 2. Le nom de cette Association sera : *Association internationale des Travailleurs*.

Art. 3. En 1866 aura lieu la réunion d'un Congrès général. Ce Congrès devra faire connaître à l'Europe les communes aspirations des ouvriers. Arrêter le règlement définitif de l'Association internationale. Examiner les meilleurs moyens pour assurer le succès de son travail et élire [17] le Conseil central de l'Association. Le Congrès se réunira une fois l'an.

Art. 4. Le Conseil central siégera à Londres et se composera d'ouvriers représentant les différentes nations faisant partie de l'Association internationale. Il prendra dans son sein, selon les besoins de l'Association, les membres du bureau, tels que Président, Secrétaire général, Trésorier et Secrétaires particuliers pour les différents pays.

Art. 5. A chaque Congrès annuel, le Conseil général fera un rapport public des travaux de l'année. En cas d'urgence, il pourra convoquer le Congrès avant le terme fixé.

Art. 6. Le conseil général établira des relations avec les différentes associations d'ouvriers, de telle sorte que les ouvriers de chaque pays soient constamment au courant des mouvements de leur classe dans les autres pays ; Qu'une enquête sur l'état social soit faite simultanément et dans un même esprit ; - Que les questions proposées par une Société, et dont la discussion est d'un intérêt général, soient examinées par toutes, et que lorsqu'une idée pratique ou une difficulté internationale, réclamerait l'action de l'Association, celle-ci puisse agir d'une manière uniforme. Lorsque cela lui semblera nécessaire, le Conseil central prendra l'initiative des propositions à soumettre aux Sociétés locales ou nationales.

Art. 7. Puisque le succès du mouvement ouvrier ne peut être assuré dans chaque pays que par la force résultant de l'union et de l'association ; - que, d'autre part, l'utilité du Conseil central dépend de ses rapports avec les sociétés ouvrières, soit nationales ou locales, les membres de l'Association internationale devront faire tous leurs efforts, chacun dans son pays, pour réunir en une association nationale les diverses sociétés d'ouvriers existantes, ainsi que pour créer un organe spécial.

Il est sous-entendu cependant que l'application de cet article dépendra des lois particulières de chaque pays et que, abstraction faite de ces obstacles légaux, chaque Société locale indépendante aura le droit de correspondre directement avec le Conseil central de Londres. |

[18] Art. 8. Jusqu'à la première réunion du Congrès ouvrier, le Conseil élu en septembre agira comme Conseil central provisoire. Il essaiera de mettre en communication les Sociétés ouvrières de tous pays. Il groupera les membres du Royaume-Uni. Il prendra les mesures provisoires pour la convocation du Congrès général, il discutera avec les Sociétés locales ou nationales les questions qui devront être posées devant le Congrès.

Art. 9. Chaque membre de l'Association internationale, en changeant de pays, recevra l'appui fraternel des membres de l'Association.

Règlement provisoire de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs

Art. 10. Quoique unies par un lien fraternel de solidarité et de coopération, les sociétés ouvrières n'en continueront pas moins d'exister sur les bases qui leur sont particulières.

**POUR LE CONSEIL GÉNÉRAL DE L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE
DES TRAVAILLEURS.**

Le président,
Odger.

Le secrétaire général,
Cremer.

Le trésorier,
Wheeler. /

LA RIVE GAUCHE

REVUE

JOURNAL INTERNATIONAL DE LA JEUNE RÉPUBLIQUE

ASSOCIATION

Directeur: Hermann
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Rédaction: Hermann

PARAISANT LE DIMANCHE

Librairie internationale, 1, Rue de Valenciennes, 1, Paris
Londres
Abonnement: 1 fr. 50 par an

ABONNEMENTS: Belgique, par J. B. de la Poite, au n. 43 F. V. Strasbourg, le port en sus.

ADMINISTRATIF GÉNÉRAL

Administration: Hermann, G. Lafargue, P. Lafargue
Librairie internationale, 1, Rue de Valenciennes, 1, Paris
Londres

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Directeur: H. G. Lafargue, à Londres
1, Rue de Valenciennes, 1, Paris
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(Belgique)

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Le 17 juin 1866. — Le 17 juin 1866, jour de la manifestation de la jeunesse internationale, nous sommes allés à la messe de 11 heures. La manifestation de la jeunesse internationale, nous sommes allés à la messe de 11 heures. La manifestation de la jeunesse internationale, nous sommes allés à la messe de 11 heures.

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La Rive Gauche. Bruxelles. Nr. 24, 17. Juni 1866.
Titelkopf und Seite 2 mit dem Beginn des Artikels
„Aperçu sur la marche de l'Association Internationale
des Travailleurs" von Hermann Jung und Paul Lafargue

Hermann Jung/Paul Lafargue
Aperçu sur la marche de l'Association Internationale
des Travailleurs

La Rive Gauche.
Nr. 24, 17. Juni 1866

**Aperçu sur la marche de l'Association internationale
des travailleurs.**

L'assemblée fondatrice de *Y Association internationale des travailleurs* s'est tenue le 28 septembre 1864, à Londres, dans «St-Martin's Hall». Cette assemblée était composée des représentants des principales nations européennes (Allemagne, Pologne, Suisse, France, Belgique, Italie). On élut provisoirement un comité central chargé de rédiger le manifeste, d'élaborer le règlement et de constituer des groupes dans toute l'Europe.

Nous voulons aujourd'hui, avant le congrès, porter à la connaissance de tous les membres de *Y Association* et de tous ceux qui ne se sont pas encore joints à elle, un aperçu des progrès accomplis.

Angleterre.

Un grand nombre de sociétés ouvrières anglaises⁽¹⁾ ont adhéré aux principes, et se sont jointes à *Y Association internationale* (société des poseurs de briques, des cordonniers, des ébénistes, des tailleurs, etc ...).

En ce moment, les sociétés des charpentiers, des tonneliers, des menuisiers, etc., sont prêtes à se joindre.

Le mouvement réformiste a absorbé pendant un moment toute l'attention de la classe ouvrière et toute l'activité du conseil central. Mais depuis quelque temps des deputations, émanant du conseil central, sont envoyées dans toutes les sociétés ouvrières pour leur faire connaître les principes, et les prier de se joindre. Ces **deputations** sont partout accueillies chaleureusement.

A Londres, le conseil central a fondé un journal, le *Commonwealth*, qui est devenu son organe officiel.

⁽¹⁾ Le lecteur ne doit pas oublier que la classe ouvrière anglaise est en partie organisée. En effet, les sociétés (*Trade-Unions*) comprennent dans leur sein tous les membres d'une même industrie. Quelques-unes de ces sociétés se composent d'un nombre considérable d'hommes, celle des cordonniers compte 5000 membres environ.

Aperçu sur la marche de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs

Une branche allemande et une branche française de *l'Association internationale* ont été formées.

Mais son plus grand titre à l'attention publique est d'avoir réveillé et entretenu dans la classe ouvrière anglaise la conscience de sa force politique, sentiment qu'elle avait perdu depuis la réaction de 48, comme le constate le manifeste. L'impulsion qu'elle a donnée dans ce sens a été si considérable que la société des cordonniers a effacé de ses statuts l'article qui leur défendait de s'occuper de politique, celle des maçons est en train de faire de même.

C'est *l'Association internationale* qui a fait persévérer les ouvriers dans leur politique anti-esclavagiste, lors de la guerre américaine. C'est elle, l'une des premières qui adressa une lettre de félicitation à Lincoln, à cause de sa réélection. Lincoln a répondu et a engagé fortement les membres à continuer leur mouvement d'union et de concorde. - *L'Association* a pris l'initiative du mouvement de la «Reform-league». Après le premier meeting réformiste, un comité organisateur et agitateur fut nommé, il était composé de 27 membres dont 24 appartenaient au conseil central et ce sont eux qui ont réclamé le suffrage universel. Pendant que toute la presse anglaise battait des mains et approuvait la conduite du gouvernement contre les féniens, le *Commonwealth* seul osa élever la voix et les défendre. Le conseil central envoya même au secrétaire d'État une requête pour obtenir une entrevue avec le ministre, dans le but de demander un adoucissement dans le sort des prisonniers. L'entrevue fut refusée.

L'Association internationale a dernièrement remporté un succès qui a modifié à son égard l'opinion de la presse. Les ouvriers tailleurs avaient été mis dehors (*lock-out*) par leurs patrons⁽¹⁾, qui immédiatement envoyèrent des agents sur le continent pour recruter des ouvriers. Le conseil central prévint ses correspondants qui, par des communications, soit verbales, soit par la voie de la presse, déjouèrent les projets des patrons. Cependant un certain nombre d'ouvriers allemands venus des villes où *l'Association internationale* n'avait pas de membres, arrivèrent à Edimbourg. Deux de leurs compatriotes leur furent envoyés de Londres, et à leur retour ils firent un rapport au conseil central et lui annoncèrent leur départ, ce qui arriva en effet quelques jours après⁽²⁾.

Suisse.

C'est surtout en Suisse que *l'Association internationale* a pu se généraliser le plus promptement et arriver à des résultats positifs. Elle a fondé des groupes dans presque toutes les villes de la Suisse : Genève, Lausanne, Vevey, Montreux, la Chaux-de-Fonds, St-Imier, Sonvilliers, Porrentruy, Bienne, Bale, Zurich, Aubonne, Wetzi-kon, etc.

⁽¹⁾ En Angleterre les patrons comme les ouvriers font grève. Ils ferment leurs ateliers et jettent sur le pavé leurs misérables employés. C'est ce qui se passe présentement à Sheffield, les ouvriers fabricants de limes sont sans travail, toutes les autres sociétés sont venues à leur secours.

⁽²⁾ Sur la demande de son président Odger, le conseil central va discuter la question de la guerre et il va convoquer un grand meeting ouvrier pour consulter l'opinion populaire.

Hermann Jung/Paul Lafargue

L'Association internationale est propriétaire de trois journaux, deux écrits en français, la *Voix de l'Avenir*, le *Journal de l'Association internationale*, et un en allemand, le *Vorbote* (Précurseur). Tous les journaux suisses ont mis leur publicité au service de *l'Association*.

A Lausanne, les membres de *l'Association* ont entrepris l'hiver dernier des travaux pour l'État, environ pour 24 000 francs, dans le but de fournir du travail aux ouvriers pendant la mauvaise saison. Le chantier spécialement dirigé par des ouvriers, sans l'intervention d'aucun patron, faisait l'étonnement des visiteurs et des autorités de la ville. Ils ont fondé une banque nommée la *Caisse du crédit mutuel*, dont le capital de 20 000 francs est divisé en actions de 5 francs. - Un cercle d'ouvriers a été créé.

A La Chaux-de-Fonds, une boulangerie coopérative a été établie, et une boucherie coopérative est annoncée. A peine la boulangerie inaugurée, les boulangers abaissèrent le prix du pain à 0,16 c. la livre. Le projet de boucherie coopérative n'est pas resté sans effet sur le prix de la viande; les bouchers l'ont réduit déjà de 0,09 c.

A Genève, une société de consommation est en train de s'organiser. A Lausanne, on a décidé de créer des fonds pour la construction de maisons ouvrières, analogue au familistère de Guise, près Paris.

Allemagne.

L'Association internationale en Allemagne, comme en France, n'a pas pu prendre une grande extension, grâce au manque de liberté ! Elle a pu cependant former des groupes à Leipzig, Magdebourg, Hanovre, Mayence, Berlin, Peterswaldau, Solingen, Langenbielau, Pinneberg, Wuste-Giersdorf, Emsdorf, etc.

Depuis les approches de la guerre, plus de liberté ayant été laissée, *l'Association* est en train de prospérer. Tous les principaux chefs du mouvement ouvrier allemand [dans la Saxe] ont adhéré aux principes et s'occupent activement de les propager.

France.

L'Association internationale a des groupes dans différentes villes: Paris, Lyon, Bordeaux, Caen, Neufchâteau, Argentan, Rennes, Rouen, Granville, etc., etc.

Quoiqu'elle soit peu développée, elle a rendu un service à la classe ouvrière à Lyon, les ouvriers tullistes étaient en grève, ils allaient céder, car leurs patrons les menaçaient de faire venir des ouvriers anglais, qu'on payait meilleur marché selon eux. Les ouvriers s'informèrent et le conseil central leur répondit que tout le contraire avait lieu; ils persévérèrent et obtinrent leur demande.

Aperçu sur la marche de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs

Belgique.

plusieurs groupes se sont créés à Bruxelles, Anvers, Liège, Verviers, Gand, Namur, Patignies, etc. La société *le Peuple* s'est fédérée avec *Y Association internationale*, et son organe la *Tribune du Peuple* appartient maintenant à l'Association.

C'est l'Association qui, dans le mouvement réformiste belge, a exercé le plus d'influence et par ses nombreux meetings a nettement placé la question de la réforme sur le terrain du suffrage universel.

Italie.

Jusqu'à présent l'Italie préoccupée des questions d'unité n'a pas pu songer beaucoup aux questions sociales. Cependant le comité central de toutes les sociétés ouvrières italiennes a adhéré aux principes et se charge de développer l'idée de *Y Association internationale*. Des groupes existent déjà à Gênes, Milan, etc.

Amérique.

L'Association est en communication avec New-York et différentes villes du Massachusetts.

Paul Lafargue

Paul Lafargue
La lutte sociale
(Extrait)

La Rive Gauche.
Nr. 28, 15. Juli 1866

La lutte sociale.

Le champ est envahi par les ronces, les orties et autres plantes malfaisantes. L'époque de la semaille venue, le paysan ne s'amuse pas à les arracher une à une ou à les couper ras de terre. - Non. - Il prend sa charrue, l'enfonce profondément et retourne le champ sens dessus dessous. Les ronces et les orties privées d'air et de soleil, pourrissent, engraisent la terre.

Dans notre société nous trouvons une foule de produits nuisibles, parasites: magistrature, clergé, armée, fonctionnarisme, État, etc., etc. ... Et vous voulez que nous entrions en composition avec chacune de ces institutions en particulier. -* Non. - L'heure est venue d'aller au fond et au tréfond de la question ; d'attaquer en face, énergiquement, la propriété bourgeoise. Elle est la base de tout le système ; la cause de tous les maux.

I

Mouvement théorique.

La question économique domine tout ; sa solution amène fatalement la solution de toutes les autres questions. 15^o?

L'antinomie existe dans le monde social. Les classes sont perpétuellement en antagonisme, la bourgeoisie contre la noblesse, le prolétariat contre la bourgeoisie.

Écoutons l'éminent socialiste allemand Karl Marx faisant la théorie de cet antagonisme :

«La féodalité avait aussi son prolétariat - le servage qui renfermait tous les germes de la bourgeoisie. La production féodale aussi avait deux éléments antagonistes qu'on désigne sous le nom de *bon côté* et de *mauvais côté* de la féodalité, sans considérer que c'est toujours le mauvais côté qui finit par l'emporter sur le bon côté. Le mauvais côté produit le mouvement, fait l'histoire en établissant la lutte. 25*.
Si à l'époque du règne de la féodalité, les économistes enthousiasmés des vertus chevaleresques, de la bonne harmonie entre les droits et les devoirs, de la vie patriarcale des villes, de l'état de prospérité de l'industrie domestique dans les campagnes, du développement de l'industrie organisée par corporations, jurandes, maî-

La lutte sociale (Extrait)

Ip trises, enfin de tout ce qui constitue le beau côté de la féodalité, s'étaient proposés
i d'éliminer tout ce qui faisait ombre au tableau - servage, privilèges, anarchie -
f. qu'en serait-il arrivé? On aurait anéanti tous les éléments qui constituent la lutte et
étouffé dans son germe le développement de la bourgeoisie. On se serait posé l'absurde
5 problème d'éliminer l'histoire.

I Lorsque la bourgeoisie l'eut emporté, il ne fut plus question ni du bon, ni du
fr mauvais côté de la féodalité. Les forces productives qui s'étaient développées par
elle sous la féodalité, lui furent acquises. Toutes les anciennes forces économiques,
les relations civiles qui leur correspondaient, l'état politique qui était l'expression
10 officielle de l'ancienne société civile, étaient brisées.

Ainsi pour bien juger la production féodale, il faut la considérer comme un mode
de production fondé sur l'antagonisme. Il faut montrer comment la richesse se produisait
. en dedans de cet antagonisme, comment les forces productives se développaient en même
temps que l'antagonisme des classes, comment l'une des classes, le
15 mauvais côté, l'inconvénient de la société, allait toujours croissant jusqu'à ce que
les conditions matérielles de son émancipation fussent arrivées au point de maturité.
N'est-ce pas due assez que le mode de production, les rapports dans lesquels
les forces productives se développent, ne sont rien moins que des lois éternelles,
20 mais qu'ils correspondent à un développement déterminé des hommes et de leurs
forces productives et qu'un changement survenu dans les forces productives des
, hommes amène nécessairement un changement dans les rapports de production?
Comme il importe avant tout de ne pas être privé des fruits de la civilisation, des
forces productives acquises, il faut briser les formes traditionnelles dans lesquelles
elles ont été produites. Dès ce moment la classe révolutionnaire devient conserva-
25 trice.

La bourgeoisie commence avec un prolétariat qui lui-même est un reste du prolé-
tariat des temps féodaux. Dans le cours de son développement historique, son caractère
antagoniste se trouve au début plus ou moins déguisé, et n'existe qu'à l'état
latent. A mesure que la bourgeoisie se développe, il se développe dans son sein, un
30 nouveau prolétariat, un prolétariat moderne, il se développe une lutte entre la
classe prolétaire et la classe bourgeoise, lutte qui avant d'être sentie des deux côtés,
aperçue, appréciée, comprise, avouée et hautement proclamée, ne se manifeste que
par des conflits partiels et momentanés, par des faits subversifs. D'un autre côté si
tous les membres de la bourgeoisie ont le même intérêt en tant qu'ils forment une
35 classe vis-à-vis des autres classes, ils ont des intérêts opposés, antagonistes, en tant
qu'ils se trouvent les uns vis-à-vis des autres. Cette opposition des intérêts découle
des conditions économiques de leur vie bourgeoise. De jour en jour il devient donc
plus clair que les rapports de production dans lesquels se meut la bourgeoisie n'ont
pas un caractère un, un caractère simple, mais un caractère de duplicité, que dans
40 les mêmes rapports dans lesquels se produit la richesse, la misère se produit aussi,
que dans les mêmes rapports dans lesquels il y a développement de forces produc-
tives, il y a une force productive de répression ; que ces rapports ne produisent la
ri-
chesse bourgeoise c'est-à-dire la richesse de la classe bourgeoise qu'en anéantissant
continuellement la richesse des membres intégrants de cette classe et en produisant
45 un prolétariat toujours croissant.

Tant que le prolétariat n'est pas encore assez développé pour se constituer en classe, que par conséquent la lutte même du prolétariat avec la bourgeoisie n'a pas encore un caractère politique et que les forces productives ne sont pas encore assez développées dans le sein de la bourgeoisie elle-même, pour laisser entrevoir les conditions matérielles, nécessaires à l'affranchissement du prolétariat et à la formation d'une société nouvelle, ses théoriciens (les socialistes et les communistes) ne sont que des utopistes qui pour obvier aux besoins des classes opprimées improvisent des systèmes. Mais à mesure que l'histoire marche et qu'avec elle la lutte du prolétariat se dessine plus nettement, ils n'ont plus besoin de chercher de la science dans leur esprit, ils n'ont qu'à se rendre compte de ce qui se passe devant leurs yeux et de s'en faire l'organe. Tant qu'ils cherchent la science et ne font que des systèmes, tant qu'ils sont au début de la lutte, ils ne voient dans la misère que la misère, sans y voir le côté révolutionnaire subversif, qui renversera la société ancienne. Dès ce moment, la science produite par le mouvement historique et s'y associant en pleine connaissance de cause, a cessé d'être doctrinaire, elle est devenue révolutionnaire⁽¹⁾. »

La lutte des classes est donc une des conditions du mouvement historique.

⁽¹⁾ Malgré sa longueur, nous avons tenu à citer cette puissante critique du docteur *Karl Marx*. Nos lecteurs, nous en sommes convaincus, nous en sauront gré, car elle est extraite d'une brochure la *Misère de la Philosophie* réponse à la *Philosophie de la Misère de P.-J. Proudhon*, devenue très rare en librairie. Elle a été publiée en français, à Paris.

Karl Marx
Rapport du Conseil Central.
Sur les différentes questions mises à l'étude
par la Conférence de septembre 1865
Übersetzung aus dem Englischen von Paul Lafargue

Le Courrier International.
Nr. 6/7, 16. Februar 1867

**Rapport du conseil central.
Sur les différentes questions mises à l'étude
par la conférence de septembre 1865.**

1. - Organisation de l'Association.

Le conseil provisoire de Londres recommande le *plan d'organisation* comme il est tracé dans les statuts provisoires. L'expérience de deux ans a prouvé sa force et sa facilité d'adaptation aux circonstances particulières des différentes contrées, sans entraver toutefois l'unité d'action. Pour l'année prochaine, nous recommandons Londres comme le siège du conseil central. La situation politique du continent rendant impossible tout changement.

Les membres du conseil central seront élus par le congrès (art. 5 des statuts provisoires) et auront cependant le droit de s'adjoindre de nouveaux membres.

Le *secrétaire général* sera choisi par le congrès (pour un an) et sera le *seul membre* payé de l'Association. Nous proposons deux livres sterling (50 fr.) par semaine pour son salaire.

Le *comité permanent* formant en fait l'exécutif du conseil central, sera choisi par le congrès ; la fonction de chacun de ses membres sera déterminée par le conseil central.

Comme *contribution annuelle et uniforme* que doit payer *chaque membre de l'Association* à la caisse du conseil central, nous recommandons un sou (peut-être deux sous). Le prix des cartes ou livrets sera payé en sous.

Quoique conseillant aux membres de l'Association de former des sociétés de secours mutuels et d'établir un lien international entre ces sociétés, nous laissons l'initiative de ces questions («établissement des sociétés de secours mutuels. Appui moral et matériel accordé aux orphelins de l'Association,») aux Suisses, qui les ont proposées aux conférences de septembre.

Karl Marx

2. - Combinaison internationale des efforts,
par le moyen de l'association, pour la lutte du travail
contre le capital.

a. D'un point de vue général, cette question embrasse toute l'activité de l'Association internationale, dont le but est de combiner, de généraliser et de donner de l'uniformité aux efforts, encore désunis, accomplis dans les différentes contrées pour l'émancipation de la classe ouvrière.

b. Une des principales fonctions de l'Association, fonction remplie déjà avec grand succès dans différentes circonstances, est de contrecarrer les intrigues des capitalistes, toujours prêts, dans les cas de grèves ou de fermeture d'ateliers (*lock-out*) à user des ouvriers étrangers comme instrument pour étouffer les justes plaintes des travailleurs indigènes. C'est un des grands buts de l'Association de développer chez les ouvriers des différents pays non-seulement le *sentiment* mais le *fait* de leur fraternité et de les unir pour former l'armée de l'émancipation.

c. Nous proposons à l'adoption du congrès, comme une «grande combinaison d'efforts», une *statistique des conditions des classes ouvrières de toutes les contrées faite par les ouvriers eux-mêmes*. Evidemment, pour agir avec quelque chance de succès, on doit connaître les matériaux sur lesquels on veut agir. En même temps les travailleurs, en prenant l'initiative d'un si grand ouvrage, montreront qu'ils sont capables de tenir leurs destinées entre leurs mains. C'est pourquoi nous proposons :

Que dans chaque localité où il existe des branches de notre Association, le travail doit être commencé immédiatement et les faits doivent être rassemblés sur les différents sujets spécifiés dans le sommaire ci-joint :

Que le congrès appelle tous les ouvriers de l'Europe et d'Amérique à collaborer, en ramassant les éléments de cette statistique sur la classe ouvrière ;

Que les rapports et les faits soient envoyés au conseil central ;

Que le conseil central les condense en un rapport et le fasse suivre d'un appendice contenant les faits ;

Que ce rapport et cet appendice soient prêts pour le prochain congrès, et qu'après en avoir reçu la sanction il soit publié aux frais de l'Association.

Sommaire général de l'enquête. (Il peut être étendu suivant les besoins de chaque localité.)

1. Industrie, son nom.
2. Age et sexe des ouvriers.
3. Nombre des employés.
4. Salaires et gages, *a.* Apprentis, *b.* Salaires à la journée ou à la pièce. Taux des paiements par les sous-entrepreneurs. Salaire moyen pour la semaine et l'année, etc.
5. *a.* Heures de travail dans les manufactures, *b.* Heures de travail chez les petits patrons et du travail domestique, *c.* Travail de jour et de nuit.
6. Heures de repas et traitement.
7. Description de l'atelier et du travail. Encombrement et ventilation insuffisante. Privation de lumière. Emploi du gaz. Condition de propreté, etc.

Rapport du Conseil Central

8. Nature de l'occupation.
9. Effets du travail sur l'état sanitaire.
10. Condition morale. Education.
11. Description de l'industrie. Si l'industrie change avec les saisons ou si elle se distribue avec plus ou moins d'uniformité pendant toute l'année. S'il y a de grandes fluctuations de prospérité et de stagnation ; si elle est exposée à la concurrence étrangère. Si elle produit généralement pour le marché intérieur ou pour le marché étranger, etc.

3. Réduction des heures de travail.

Nous considérons la réduction des heures de travail comme la condition préliminaire sans laquelle toutes les tentatives ultérieures d'amélioration et d'émancipation avorteront. Il faut rétablir l'énergie et la santé des classes laborieuses, qui forment le véritable corps de la nation. Il n'est pas moins nécessaire de leur fournir la possibilité du développement intellectuel, des relations sociales et de l'activité politique et sociale.

Nous proposons *huit heures de travail* comme limite *légal* du jour de travail. Cette limite étant généralement demandée par les ouvriers des Etats-Unis d'Amérique ; le vote du congrès en fera l'étendard commun de toutes les réclamations des classes ouvrières de l'univers.

Pour l'instruction des membres continentaux, dont l'expérience sur les lois régissant les fabriques est d'une date plus récente que celle des ouvriers anglais, nous ajoutons que toute loi pour la limitation de la journée de travail avortera et sera brisée par les capitalistes si la *période de jour* pendant laquelle les huit heures de travail doivent être prises n'est pas déterminée. La longueur de cette période doit être portée à huit heures avec l'addition des heures de repos. Par exemple, si les différentes interruptions pour les repas s'élèvent à *une heure*, la *période légale du jour* doit être limitée à *neuf heures*. De sept heures du matin à quatre heures du soir ou de huit heures du matin à cinq heures du soir, etc.

Le *travail de nuit* doit être exceptionnellement permis dans certaines industries spécifiées par la loi. La loi doit tendre à supprimer tout travail de nuit.

Cette limitation des heures de travail regarde seulement les adultes des deux sexes. Les femmes cependant doivent être rigoureusement exclues de *n'importe quel travail de nuit*, et de toute sorte de travail où la pudeur serait blessée et où leurs corps seraient exposés à des poisons ou à d'autres agents délétères.

Nous proposons de considérer comme adulte toute personne ayant atteint l'âge de dix-huit ans.

4. - Travail des jeunes personnes
et des enfants des deux sexes.

Nous considérons la tendance de l'industrie moderne à faire co-opérer les enfants et les jeunes personnes des deux sexes dans le grand mouvement de la production sociale comme un progrès et une tendance légitime, quoique la manière dans laquelle cette tendance est réalisée sous le joug du capital soit une abomination. Dans une société rationnelle *n'importe quel enfant*, dès l'âge de neuf ans, doit être un travailleur productif, de même qu'un adulte ne peut s'exempter de la loi générale de la nature : «*qui ne travaille pas ne mange pas.* » Mais en disant travail, nous voulons parler surtout du travail manuel. Néanmoins, à l'heure présente, nous n'avons à nous occuper que des enfants et des jeunes gens des classes ouvrières.

A cause de raisons physiologiques, nous jugeons convenable de diviser les enfants et les jeunes personnes des deux sexes en trois classes, qui doivent être traitées différemment. La première classe comprend les enfants de 9 à 12 ans, la seconde classe, de 12 à 15 ans, et la troisième classe, de 15 à 18 ans. Nous proposons que l'emploi de la première classe dans tout travail, soit dans les fabriques ou les maisons particulières, soit légalement restreint à *deux* heures, la seconde, à *quatre*, et la troisième, à *six*. Pour la troisième classe, il doit y avoir une interruption d'une heure au moins pour le repas et la récréation.

Il serait désirable que les écoles élémentaires commençassent l'instruction des enfants avant l'âge de 9 ans; mais pour le moment nous n'avons qu'à songer aux mesures absolument réclamées pour contrecarrer les tendances d'un système social qui dégrade l'ouvrier au point de le rendre un simple instrument pour l'accumulation du capital et qui transforme les parents en des marchands d'esclaves, en leur faisant vendre leurs propres enfants. Les droits des enfants doivent être revendiqués puisqu'ils ne peuvent le faire par eux-mêmes. C'est pourquoi le devoir de la société est d'agir en leur faveur.

Si la bourgeoisie et l'aristocratie négligent leurs devoirs envers leurs descendants, c'est leur affaire; jouissant du privilège de ces classes, les enfants sont condamnés à en subir les conséquences.

Le cas des classes ouvrières est tout à fait différent. Chaque ouvrier ne peut éviter les abominations qui lui sont imposées par ses pressants besoins. Il est trop souvent même trop ignorant pour comprendre le véritable intérêt de son enfant ou les conditions normales du développement humain. Cependant la partie la plus éclairée des classes ouvrières comprend pleinement que l'avenir de leur classe, et par conséquent de l'espèce humaine, dépend de la formation de la génération ouvrière qui grandit. Ils comprennent que surtout les enfants et les jeunes personnes doivent être préservés des effets destructeurs du système présent. Ceci peut seulement être accompli par la transformation de la *raison sociale* en *force sociale* et dans les circonstances présentes nous ne pouvons faire ceci que par des *lois générales* mises en

Rapport du Conseil Central

vigueur par le pouvoir de l'Etat. En créant de telles lois, les classes ouvrières ne fortifieront pas le pouvoir gouvernemental, de même qu'il y a des lois pour défendre les privilèges de la propriété, pourquoi n'en existerait-il pas pour en empêcher les abus ? Au contraire, ces lois transformeraient le pouvoir dirigé contre elles en leur propre agent. Le prolétariat fera alors par une mesure générale ce qu'il essaierait en vain d'accomplir par une multitude d'efforts individuels.

Partant de ces points établis, nous disons :

La société ne peut permettre, ni aux parents, ni aux patrons, d'employer pour le travail les enfants et les jeunes personnes, à moins de combiner ce travail productif avec l'éducation. Par éducation, nous entendons trois choses :

1° Education mentale;

2° Education corporelle, telle qu'elle est produite par les exercices gymnastiques et militaires.

3° Education technologique, embrassant les principes généraux et scientifiques de tout mode de production et en même temps initiant les enfants et les jeunes personnes dans le maniement des instruments élémentaires de toute industrie.

A la division des enfants et des jeunes personnes en trois classes de 9 à 18 ans doit correspondre une marche graduée et progressive pour leur éducation mentale, gymnastique et technologique.

En exceptant peut-être la première classe, les dépenses de ces écoles polytechniques doivent être en partie couvertes par la vente de leurs produits.

Cette combinaison du travail productif payé avec l'éducation mentale, les exercices corporels et l'apprentissage technologique, élèvera les classes ouvrières bien au-dessus du niveau des classes bourgeoises et aristocratiques.

Il est sous-entendu que l'emploi de toute personne de 9 à 18 ans dans tout travail de nuit ou dans toute industrie dont les effets sont nuisibles à la santé doit être sévèrement interdit par la loi.

5. Travail co-opératif.

L'œuvre de l'Association Internationale est de combiner, de généraliser et de donner de l'uniformité aux *mouvements spontanés* des classes ouvrières, mais non de les diriger ou de leur imposer n'importe quel système doctrinaire. Par conséquent le congrès ne doit pas proclamer un *système spécial* de co-opération, mais doit se limiter à renonciation de quelques principes généraux.

(a) Nous reconnaissons le mouvement co-opératif comme une des forces formatrices de la société présente, basée sur l'antagonisme des classes. Leur grand mérite est de montrer pratiquement que le système actuel de *subordination du travail au capital*, despotique et paupérisateur, peut être supplanté par le système républicain de l'association de *producteurs libres et égaux*.

(b) Mais le mouvement co-opératif limité aux formes microscopiques de développement que peuvent produire par leurs combinaisons des esclaves individuels salariés, est impuissant à transformer par lui-même la société capitaliste. Pour convertir la production sociale en un large et harmonieux système de travail co-opératif, des

Karl Marx

changements sociaux généraux sont indispensables. *Les changements des conditions générales de la société* ne seront jamais réalisés sans l'emploi des forces organisées de la société. Donc le pouvoir gouvernemental, arraché des mains des capitalistes et des propriétaires fonciers, doit être manié par les classes ouvrières elles-mêmes.

(c) Nous recommandons aux ouvriers d'encourager la *co-opération de production* plutôt que la *co-opération de consommation*. Celle-ci touchant seulement la surface du système économique actuel, l'autre l'attaquant dans sa base. J

(d) Nous recommandons à toutes les sociétés co-opératives de consacrer une partie de leurs fonds à la propagande de leurs principes, de prendre l'initiative de nouvelles sociétés co-opératives de production et de faire cette propagande aussi bien par la parole que par la presse.

(e) Dans le but d'empêcher les sociétés co-opératives de dégénérer dans les sociétés ordinaires bourgeoises (sociétés de commandite) tout ouvrier employé doit recevoir le même salaire, associé ou non. Comme compromis *purement temporaire*, nous consentons à admettre un bénéfice très minime aux sociétaires. I

6. Sociétés ouvrières (trades' unions) leur passé, leur présent, leur avenir.

(a) Leur passé.

Le capital est la force sociale concentrée ; tandis que l'ouvrier ne dispose que de sa force productive individuelle. Donc le contrat entre le capital et le travail ne peut jamais être établi sur des bases équitables, même en donnant au mot équitable le sens que lui attribue une société plaçant les conditions matérielles du travail d'un côté et l'énergie vitale productive de l'autre. Le seul pouvoir social que possèdent les ouvriers, c'est leur nombre. La force du nombre est annulée par la désunion. La désunion des ouvriers est engendrée et perpétuée par la *concurrence inévitable faite entre eux-mêmes*. Les *trades' unions* (associations de métiers) originaires sont nées des essais *spontanés* des ouvriers luttant contre les ordres despotiques du capital, pour empêcher ou au moins atténuer les effets de cette *concurrence faite par les ouvriers entre eux*. Ils voulaient changer les termes du contrat, de telle sorte qu'ils pussent au moins s'élever au-dessus de la condition de simples esclaves. L'objet immédiat des *trades' unions* est toutefois limité aux nécessités des luttes journalières du travail et du capital, à des expédients contre l'usurpation incessante du capital, en un mot, aux questions de salaire et d'heures de travail. On ne peut y renoncer tant que le système actuel dure ; au contraire, les *trades' unions* doivent généraliser leur action en se combinant. 20 <• 25 30 35

D'un autre côté, les *trades' unions* ont formé à leur insu des centres organisateurs de la classe ouvrière, de même que les communes et les municipalités du moyen-âge en avaient constitués pour la classe bourgeoise. Si les *trades' unions*, dans leur première capacité, sont indispensables dans la guerre d'escarmouches du travail et du capital, elles sont encore plus importantes dans leur dernière capacité, comme organes de transformation du système du travail salarié et de la dictature capitaliste. 40

Rapport du Conseil Central

(b) Leur présent.

jJ- Les *trades' unions* s'occupent trop exclusivement des luttes immédiates. Elles
x n'ont pas assez compris leur pouvoir d'action contre le système capitaliste lui-
li même. Néanmoins, dans ces derniers temps elles ont commencé à s'apercevoir de
j?5 leur grande mission historique. Par exemple, la résolution suivante, récemment
£. adoptée par la grande conférence des différents délégués des *trades' unions* tenue à
Ü Sheffield : « Cette conférence, appréciant à leur juste valeur les efforts faits par F As-
si; sociation internationale des travailleurs pour unir dans un lien fraternel les ouvriers
p de tous les pays, recommande très sérieusement à toutes les sociétés représentées
j* de s'affilier à cette Association, dans la conviction que l'Association internationale
forme un élément nécessaire pour le progrès et la prospérité de toute la commu-
nauté ouvrière. »

(c) Leur avenir.

A part leur œuvre immédiate de réaction contre les manœuvres tracassières du
: capital, elles doivent maintenant agir sciemment comme foyers organisateurs de la
classe ouvrière dans le grand but de son émancipation radicale. Elles doivent aider
tout mouvement social et politique tendant dans cette direction. En se considérant
et agissant comme les champions et les représentants de toute la classe ouvrière, el-
; les réussiront à englober dans leur sein les « *non-society men* » (hommes ne faisant
l:120 point partie des sociétés) ; en s'occupant des industries les plus misérablement rétri-
* buées, comme l'industrie agricole, où des circonstances exceptionnellement défa-
% vorables ont empêché toute résistance organisée, elles feront naître la conviction
√ dans les grandes masses ouvrières qu'au lieu d'être circonscrites dans des limites
i étroites et égoïstes, leur but tend à l'émancipation des millions de prolétaires foulés
\$25 aux pieds.

Le Courier International.
Nr. 11, 16. März 1867

7. Impôts directs et indirects.

(a) Aucune modification de la forme de perception des impôts ne saurait pro-
duire un changement important dans les relations du capital et du travail.

I |0 (b) Néanmoins, ayant à choisir entre deux systèmes d'impôts nous recomman-
dons l'abolition totale des impôts indirects et leur substitution complète par les im-
pôts directs ; parce que la perception des impôts directs est à meilleur marché et
f' n'intervient pas dans la production ; parce que les impôts indirects haussent le prix
fV des marchandises, les commerçants les chargeant non-seulement du montant de
f~ ces impôts, mais encore de l'intérêt et du profit du capital avancé dans le paiement ;
p35 parce que la méthode des impôts indirects mystifie le contribuable sur ce qu'il paye
à l'Etat, tandis que les taxes directes n'admettent pas de déguisements. C'est pour-
quoi les impôts directs tiennent éveillé le contrôle du gouvernement par chaque
membre de l'Etat, tandis que les impôts indirects tuent la tendance au *self-govern-
ment* (gouvernement par soi-même).

8. Crédit international.

Laissé à l'initiative des Français, qui l'ont proposé aux conférences de septembre.

9. De la nécessité d'anéantir l'influence russe en Europe
pour l'application du droit des peuples
de disposer d'eux-mêmes et de reconstruire une Pologne
sur des bases démocratiques et sociales.

(a) Pourquoi les ouvriers d'Europe prennent à cœur cette question? En premier lieu parce qu'il y a conspiration du silence de la part des écrivains et des agitateurs bourgeois; quoiqu'ils patronisent toutes sortes de nationalités, même l'Irlande sur le continent.

D'où vient ce silence? Parce que ensemble, bourgeois et aristocrates comptent sur ce sinistre pouvoir asiatique placé dans l'arrière scène, qui doit faire son apparition lorsque la marée montante de la classe ouvrière débordera. Ce pouvoir ne peut être renversé réellement que par la reconstruction d'une Pologne sur des bases démocratiques.

(b) Avec les changements récents de l'Europe centrale, et spécialement de l'Allemagne, une Pologne démocratique et indépendante est plus que jamais nécessaire, car de son existence dépendra le sort de l'Allemagne, devenant l'avant-garde de la Sainte-Alliance ou la co-opératrice de la France républicaine. Le mouvement ouvrier sera continuellement interrompu, entravé et retardé jusqu'à ce que cette grande question soit résolue.

(c) Il est spécialement du devoir des classes ouvrières allemandes de prendre l'initiative de cette question, l'Allemagne ayant été participatrice du démembrement de la Pologne.

10. Armées permanentes; leurs rapports avec la production.

(a) L'influence délétère des grandes armées permanentes sur la production a été suffisamment dénoncée par les congrès bourgeois de toute couleur et de toute dénomination (congrès de paix, congrès des économistes, congrès de statistique, congrès philanthropique, congrès sociologique). Nous pensons pour cela qu'il est tout à fait superflu de s'étendre sur ce point.

(b) Nous proposons l'armement universel du peuple et son instruction complète dans le maniement des armes.

(c) Comme nécessité transitoire, nous acceptons de petites armées permanentes, pour servir d'école aux officiers de la milice, chaque citoyen étant obligé de passer un temps très court dans cette armée.

Rapport du Conseil Central

11. Des idées religieuses; leur influence sur le mouvement social,
politique et intellectuel.

Laissé à l'initiative des Français, qui l'ont proposé aux conférences de Londres.

Special Regulations
voted at the Geneva Congress (1866)
Von Laura Marx aufgezeichnete englische Fassung

I Special Regulations.

- 1.) The general Council is commissioned to carry into Effect the resolutions of the Congress.
 - a. For this purpose it receives all documents that the Central Committees of the different countries forward to it and all such as they can procure by other means.
 - b. It is charged with organizing the congress and communicating the programme of the congress to each branch, by the means of the different Central Committees.
- 2.) As often as the means of the general Council shall permit, it shall publish a report, giving information upon all matters likely to interest the International Workingmen's Association. It shall principally attend *to* the demand for and the offer of work, Co-operative Societies, and the condition of the working-Classes throughout all countries.
- 3.) This report, to be published in the different languages, shall be forwarded to all the Corresponding Committees whose business it will be to send one copy to every branch.
- 4.) To render possible the discharge of these obligations laid upon the general Council, there shall be levied, for the year 1866-67 Exceptionally, a contribution of 30 cent. (3d.) on Every member of the International Workingmen's Association.

These contributions, generally, are intended to meet the numerous outlays of the general Council, such as the salary of the general secretary, and the expenses of publications, correspondence, arrangements and other work preparatory for the congress and so forth.
- 5.) In all parts, circumstances permitting, Central Councils shall be organized. Their functionaries, appointed by the respective branches but always liable to be dismissed, shall send to the general Council their reports, at least once a month and if necessary more frequently.
- 6.) The costs of the Central Councils shall be borne by the various branches connected with them. |
- 7.) The corresponding Central Councils, as well as the general Council, are only

Special Regulations voted at the Geneva Congress (1866)

bound to make good the credit given to the members of the Association by their respective branches when their carnets have been countersigned by the secretary of that branch to which the bearer belongs.

If funds be wanting in that branch where the bearer intends making use of his credit, the said branch is entitled to draw a bill at sight on that office or branch which has issued the assignation.

- 8.) The Central Councils and branches must gratuitously grant, upon demand, to Every member of the Association, inspection of the report of the general Council.
- 9.) Every branch, whether large or small, has the right to send a delegate to the congress. Where a branch is not in a position to send a delegate, it is to associate itself with other branches which will then nominate in common one delegate.
- 10.) The delegates shall be indemnified by such branches or amalgamation of branches as have appointed them.
- 11.) Every member of the International Workingmen's Association has the right to vote and to be elected.
- 12.) Every branch or group numbering more than 500 members has the right to send an extra delegate for Every additional 500.
- 13.) Each delegate has but one vote in congress.
- 14.) Every branch is free to accomodate its local statutes and regulations to its local circumstances and to the peculiar constitution of its country. These local regulations, however, must contain nothing contradictory to the general statutes and regulations.
- 15.) The present statutes and regulations may be revised by Every congress, provided that two-thirds of the delegates present demand such change. |

Règlements spéciaux votés au Congrès de Genève. (1866)

**Von Paul Lafargue mit Unterstützung von Laura Marx
redigierte französische Fassung**

131 - Règlements spéciaux -

Art. 1 - Le Conseil général est nommé pour mettre en exécution les résolutions du Congrès.

a) A cet effet il reçoit tous les documents que les Comités centraux des différents pays lui envoient et tous ceux qu'il peut se procurer par d'autres moyens.

b) Il est chargé d'organiser le Congrès et de communiquer le programme du Congrès à chaque branche, par l'aide des Comités centraux.

Art. 2 - Aussi souvent que ses moyens le lui permettront, le Conseil central publiera un rapport, donnant des détails sur tous les sujets intéressant l'association internationale des travailleurs. Ce rapport aura trait principalement à l'offre et à la demande du travail, aux sociétés coopératives et aux conditions des classes ouvrières de tous les pays etc.

Art. 3 - Ce rapport sera publié dans différentes langues et sera expédié aux Comités correspondants, qui seront chargés d'envoyer un exemplaire à chaque branche.

Art. 4 - Pour que le Conseil général puisse accomplir ces résolutions, exceptionnellement pour l'année 1866-67, il sera levé une contribution de 0 f. 30^c (3 pence) sur chaque membre de l'association internationale des travailleurs.

Ces contributions sont principalement faites dans le but de couvrir les nombreuses dépenses du Conseil général, telles que salaire du secrétaire général, les frais de publications, des correspondances, des arrangements et autres travaux préparatoires du Congrès etc. ...

Art. 5 - Dans tous les endroits, où les circonstances le permettront, des Conseils centraux seront organisés. Leurs fonctionnaires nommés par les branches respectives, et toujours susceptibles d'être destitués, enverront au Conseil général leurs rapports, au moins une fois par mois et s'il est utile plus souvent.

Art. 6 - Les dépenses des Conseils centraux seront couvertes par les différentes branches en rapport avec lui.

Art. 7 - Les Conseils centraux correspondants, aussi bien que le Conseil général, ont pour seule mission de reconnaître le crédit fait aux membres de l'association par leurs branches respectives, lorsque leurs livrets sont contresignés par le secrétaire de la branche à laquelle le porteur appartient.

Règlements spéciaux votés au Congrès de Genève (1866)

Si la branche, à laquelle le porteur s'adresse, pour faire usage de son crédit, manque de fonds, celle-ci est autorisée à tirer à vue sur le bureau ou la branche d'où émane le crédit. |

|4| Art. 8 - Les Conseils centraux et les branches doivent, sur demande, communiquer gratuitement à chaque membre de l'association les rapports du Conseil général.

Art. 9 - Chaque branche, petite ou grande, a le droit d'envoyer un délégué au Congrès. Lorsque la branche n'a pas les moyens d'envoyer un délégué, elle peut s'associer avec d'autres branches, qui réunis nommeront un délégué commun.

Art. 10 - Les frais du délégué seront payés par la branche ou l'association des branches qui l'ont nommé.

Art. 11 - Chaque membre de l'association internationale des travailleurs a le droit de participer au vote et d'être élu.

Art. 12 - Chaque branche ou groupe comptant plus de 500 membres a le droit d'envoyer un délégué de plus par chaque 500 membres.

Art. 13 - Chaque délégué a seulement un vote au Congrès.

Art. 14 - Chaque branche est libre d'accommoder ses règlements et statuts aux circonstances locales et à la constitution particulière de sa contrée - Cependant ces règlements locaux ne doivent contenir rien de contradictoire aux statuts et règlements généraux.

Art. 15 - Les présents statuts et règlements peuvent être révisés par chaque Congrès, pourvu que les deux tiers des délégués présents en demandent le changement. I

Association Internationale des Travailleurs.
Compte rendu du Congrès de Genève (1866)

Liste des délégués

Le Courrier International.
Nr. 6/7, 16. Februar 1867

**Association Internationale des Travailleurs.
Compte rendu du Congrès de Genève.**

*Liste des Délégués
présents au Congrès Ouvrier du 3-8 Septembre 1866.*

Délégués des Sections
de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs.

Délégués du comité central de Londres, 18, Bouverie street, E. C. : George Odger, cor-
donnier; Carter, parfumeur; Jung, horloger; Eccarius, tailleur; Cremer, charpentier.

Délégué de la section française de Londres : Dupont, facteur d'instruments de
musique.

Délégués des sections de Paris, 44, rue des Gravilliers : Tolain, ciseleur; Caméli-
nat, monteur d'appareils à gaz; Bourdon, graveur; Perrachon, monteur en bronze
d'art; Murât, mécanicien; Guyard, monteur en bronzes pour meubles; Chemalé,
commis architecte; Cultin, corroyeur; Benoît Malon, journaliste; Varlin, relieur;
Fribourg, graveur décorateur.

Représentant les sections de Lyon, à l'adresse de Schettel, à Lyon, 1, rue de
l'Hospice-des-Vieillards : Richard, teinturier; Schettel, mécanicien; Secrétaire, tis-
seur en soie; Baudy, mécanicien.

Représentant la section de Fleurieux, à l'adresse de Schettel, à Lyon, 1, rue de
l'Hospice-des-Vieillards : Baudrand de Neuville-sur-Saône.

Représentant la section de Rouen, 12, rue de l'Amitié : Aubry, lithographe.

Délégués de la section française de Genève, rue de la Pélisserie, 4 : Duplex, re-
lieur; J. Card, journaliste.

Représentant la section de Lausanne : Cornaz.

Représentant la section de Montreux : Bocquin, menuisier.

Délégués de la section allemande de Genève, 33, près l'Evêché: Jean Philip
Becker; Charles Heidt, agent de commerce.

Délégué de la section de Zurich : Charles Burkli.

Représentant la section française de La Chaux-de-Fonds, à l'adresse du docteur
Coullery, 8, me de la Place-Neuve: Coullery; Jules Vuilleumier, monteur de boîtes

Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Compte rendu du Congrès de Genève (1866)

de montres; Joseph Vanza, graveur; Jean-Marie Fournier, fabricant de cadrans; Otterstaetter, graveur.

Représentant la section allemande de La Chaux-de-Fonds : Philippe Peter.

Représentant la section allemande de Lausanne : Pierre Eggenweiler.

Section de Neuchâtel : Dagond, agent d'affaires ; Huguenin, employé du service civil.

Section de Locle, canton de Neuchâtel: Guillaume, professeur.

Sections de Saint-Imier et Sonvilliers, canton de Berne : Schwitzguébel, graveur.

Section de Bienne, canton de Berne : Pierre Mosimann, graveur.

Section de **Bale**, Bourgweg, 7 : Frey, tisseur de rubans.

Section de Stuttgart, Wurtemberg : Louis Muller, cordonnier.

Section Magdeburg, Hirschgasse, n° 9 : Frédéric Butter.

Sections de Cologne et de Solingen : Frédéric Moll.

Délégués des Sociétés Adhérentes.

Délégué de la société des tailleurs de Londres : Lawrence, tailleur.

Délégués de la société des graveurs de Genève : Masson ; Bonnet, John ; Perret, Henri.

Délégués de "la société des monteurs de boîtes de montres de Genève: Vismar; Grass.

Délégué de la société des faiseurs de boîtes de musique : Marcel, Louis.

Délégué de la société la Famille de Genève : Maguin.

Délégué de la société l'Union, section de Genève : Guilmeaux.

Délégué de la société des menuisiers de Genève : Varinard.

Délégué de la société des charpentiers de Genève : W. Rau.

Délégué de la société d'enseignement des ouvriers allemands de Genève: Aug. Hoppenworth, relieur.

Délégué de la société d'enseignement des ouvriers allemands de Lausanne-Schlaifer, tailleur.

Délégué de la société d'enseignement des ouvriers allemands de Vevey: Moessner, ébéniste.

En tout, 60 délégués, dont 46 représentant 25 sections de l'Association Internationale et 14 représentants de 11 sociétés adhérentes.

Le Courrier International.

Nr. 6/7, 16. Februar 1867;

Nr. 8-10, 9. März 1867;

Nr. 11, 16. März 1867

Rapport du conseil central.

*Sur les différentes questions mises à l'étude par la conférence
de septembre 1865.*

[Siehe S. 635-643.]

LE COURRIER INTERNATIONAL

PARTIE FRANÇAISE

Paraissant tous les Samedis.

NO 8-10-1877

LE VENDREDI, 9 MARS 1867

LENDRES, CHEZ M. V. GUYOT, 10, RUE DE LA HARPE

PARIS: CHEZ M. V. GUYOT, 10, RUE DE LA HARPE

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ADONNEMENTS

En France: — Paris, 10, RUE DE LA HARPE, 10.
En Belgique: — Bruxelles, 10, RUE DE LA HARPE, 10.
En Suisse: — Genève, 10, RUE DE LA HARPE, 10.
En Angleterre: — Londres, 10, RUE DE LA HARPE, 10.

ABONNEMENTS

En France: — Paris, 10, RUE DE LA HARPE, 10.
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En Suisse: — Genève, 10, RUE DE LA HARPE, 10.
En Angleterre: — Londres, 10, RUE DE LA HARPE, 10.

LE COURRIER INTERNATIONAL

Le Courrier International n'a pas pu publier le numéro du 23 février et le 24 mars dernier. Il a été retardé par suite de la mort de son directeur, M. V. GUYOT, et de son absence pendant plusieurs semaines. Le Courrier International n'a pas pu publier le numéro du 23 février et le 24 mars dernier. Il a été retardé par suite de la mort de son directeur, M. V. GUYOT, et de son absence pendant plusieurs semaines.

ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS

Revue de la situation des travailleurs

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RELAIS DES SOCIÉTÉS ADHÉRENTES

Revue de la situation des sociétés adhérentes

Revue de la situation des sociétés adhérentes

Revue de la situation des sociétés adhérentes

Revue de la situation des sociétés adhérentes

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LES IMPRESSIONS D'UN ANGLAIS A PARIS

Par un Anglais

(Par le numéro du 10 février)

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Le Courrier International.

Londres, Nr. 8-10, 9. März 1867. Titelseite mit dem Beginn

des „Compte rendu du Congrès de Genève (1866)“

Séance du 3 septembre 1866

Le Courrier International.
Nr. 12, 23. März 1867

Congrès de Genève.
Société Internationale des Travailleurs.
Compte rendu des débats.

Séance du 3 Septembre.
Président : le citoyen *Dupleix*.

La section de Genève, ayant été chargée par le conseil central de faire les préparatifs nécessaires pour la tenue du congrès, procède à la vérification des pouvoirs.

La présentation des mandats a donné le résultat suivant : Délégués des sections, 45 ; Délégués des sociétés adhérentes, 15 ; total, 60.

Une discussion très-vive a été provoquée par la demande de quelques personnes qui, sans pouvoir présenter de mandats, se croyaient en droit d'être admises, comme délégués des sections de Paris, à prendre part aux travaux du congrès. Ils alléguaient la situation administrative de la France, où les réunions ne sont point permises. Quelques membres appuyaient leur demande, d'après eux l'organisation du congrès n'étant ni complète ni définitive, il ne convenait pas d'être trop exigeant, et qu'au contraire il serait plus utile d'admettre aux travaux du congrès tout homme de bonne volonté. Les délégués anglais affirmaient, au contraire, qu'étant les représentants de sections et de sociétés comptant plusieurs milliers de membres, ils étaient venus au congrès avec la conviction que le système représentatif en formerait la base et qu'en cas d'admission de personnes ne représentant aucun corps constitué, ils seraient dans les discussions et les votes sur le pied d'une inégalité contraire à la justice et que leurs droits comme représentants en seraient lésés. L'assemblée, en passant outre, décide que le droit de prendre part dans les discussions et au vote appartient exclusivement aux délégués ayant leurs mandats en règle.

Les délégués, après cette interruption, se sont occupés de l'élection de leur président, et le citoyen Jung, délégué du conseil central, a été choisi pour diriger les débats du congrès à une majorité de 45 voix.

Le citoyen Dupleix, de la section française de Genève et le citoyen Becker, de la section allemande de la même ville, ont été nommés vice-présidents.

Les citoyens Coullery (de La Chaux-de-Fonds), Card (de Genève), Bourdon (de Paris), Moll (d'Allemagne) ont été nommés secrétaires.

On a décidé qu'il y aurait deux séances par jour, la première à 9 heures du matin et la deuxième à deux heures de l'après-midi.

Le citoyen Cremer (Londres) demande à ce que tout membre qui fait une proposition n'ait que 15 minutes pour l'introduire et l'appuyer; et qu'il ne reprenne la parole qu'une seule fois pour répondre aux objections faites, et qu'alors il n'ait plus que dix minutes et que les membres qui parleront sur la question ne gardent la parole que pendant dix minutes.

La proposition est votée à l'unanimité.

Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Compte rendu du Congrès de Genève (1866)

Séance du 4 Septembre 1866.

Neuf heures du matin.

Président : le citoyen *Jung*.

Le citoyen Fribourg donne lecture, au nom de la section de Paris, du rapport établissant l'état des recettes et dépenses de la société dans cette ville. Ce rapport fait connaître aussi le résultat moral obtenu en France.

Le citoyen Cremer donne également lecture du rapport administratif du conseil central de Londres. De ce rapport il résulte que déjà 25173 citoyens de diverses professions font partie de l'Association. Le rapport fait espérer que plus de 20 000 nouveaux membres s'y adjoindront prochainement. Le résultat moral obtenu par l'Association internationale a été très grand en Angleterre. 10-

Le citoyen Coullery remercie, au nom de l'assemblée, les ouvriers anglais de tout ce qui a été fait par eux.

Le citoyen Fribourg, au nom de tous les délégués français, remercie le conseil central et demande que la dette de Londres soit considérée comme internationale. 153

Sur la proposition d'une grande partie des membres de l'assemblée, le citoyen Dupont donne lecture de la traduction du mémoire rédigé par le conseil central de Londres, qui embrasse presque toutes les questions mises à l'étude par le programme de l'Association internationale.

Le citoyen Chemalé donne ensuite lecture, toujours au nom de la section de Paris, du mémoire comportant l'étude de toutes les questions du programme. 20-1

Cette lecture est interrompue par l'heure de la clôture.

Séance du 4 Septembre 1866.

Deux heures du soir.

Président : le citoyen *Jung*.

25 3

Le citoyen Chemalé (Paris) continue à donner lecture du rapport de la section parisienne.

Le citoyen Tolain propose que tous les rapports soient lus et relus ; et qu'ensuite la discussion générale sur les rapports s'ouvre.

La proposition est adoptée à une grande majorité. 30

Le citoyen Eccarius fait la lecture en allemand du rapport du comité central de Londres.

Sur la question de l'instruction existe un rapport rédigé par la minorité et un par la majorité de la section parisienne.

La délégation de Lyon, après la lecture du rapport parisien, dit qu'elle renonce à faire la lecture du sien et adhère complètement à ce dernier, celui-ci contenant ses idées, ses principes. Cependant sur la question de l'instruction, elle se prononce pour l'éducation donnée par la famille. 35

Le citoyen Fribourg (Paris) ayant déposé sur le bureau un mémoire provenant de deux membres de l'Association de Paris, qu'il venait de recevoir à l'instant même, 40

Séances du 5 septembre 1866

on se demande ce que l'on devait faire de mémoires envoyés par des membres individuellement.

Sur la proposition du citoyen Cremer (Londres), l'assemblée décide que le comité Genevois serait chargé de les examiner et d'en faire un rapport sommaire à l'assemblée".

Le citoyen Card (Suisse) propose la nomination d'une commission chargée de rédiger les statuts définitifs.

Adopté à l'unanimité.

Le citoyen Card (Suisse) veut que chaque nationalité soit représentée par un nombre de membres proportionné au nombre des membres de la délégation.

La proposition de Card est adoptée.

Allemands, 4 : Burkli, Hoppenworth, Becker, Schlaifer.

Anglais, 3 : Eccarius, Carter, Dupont.

Français, 5 : Varlin, Fribourg, Scheitel, Tolain, Aubry.

Suisses, 2 : Dupleix, Coullery.

Séance du 5 Septembre 1866.

Neuf heures du matin.

Président: le citoyen *Jung*.

Le citoyen Card (Suisse) propose la discussion du programme, article par article. Il demande qu'on rédige pour chaque question une formule qui servira de point de départ pour la discussion publique.

La proposition du citoyen Card est appuyée par tous les membres présents.

La deuxième question allait être mise à l'étude, conformément à cette proposition, lorsque le citoyen Cremer (Londres) fit remarquer qu'on ne pouvait discuter avec fruit sans la présence de tous les délégués, car il pourrait arriver que les membres de la commission rejetassent une ou plusieurs résolutions prises par l'assemblée. Le citoyen fait aussi remarquer que tous les programmes ne sont pas semblables. L'ordre des questions est interverti, quelques articles même du programme français n'existent pas sur le programme anglais et genevois.

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Séance du 5 Septembre 1866.

Deux heures du soir.

Président: le citoyen *Jung*.

Le citoyen Card (Suisse) lit une lettre adressée de Milan par le citoyen Stampa aux membres du congrès. Dans cette lettre, les citoyens italiens expriment le regret de ne pouvoir assister à la grande réunion qui assemble les ouvriers de tous les pays. Ils espèrent que leur adhésion sera considérée comme un acte de présence. Cette lettre produit une grande impression sur l'assemblée, elle est accueillie par d'una-

^o Ce rapport n'a pas été fait faute de temps.

nimes applaudissements. Plusieurs membres demandent que cette lettre soit traduite en allemand et en anglais et insérée dans le procès-verbal du congrès. Cette proposition est acceptée par tous les délégués.

Le président fait connaître que les journaux anglais, le *Times* et le *Daily News*, viennent de publier chacun un article sur le congrès et sur l'Association internationale, qu'ils avaient dédaignés jusqu'aujourd'hui. Il ajoute que ce fait a une grande importance pour l'Angleterre, ces deux journaux étant les plus considérables de Londres.

Le citoyen Coullery (Suisse) est ensuite appelé à donner lecture, au nom de la commission nommée pour l'élaboration des statuts, du rapport de cette commission.

Plusieurs membres demandent qu'on fasse en entier la lecture des statuts, qui seront ensuite discutés un à un.

La proposition acceptée, le rapporteur commence la lecture.

Sur l'article 1, ayant trait à la nomination du secrétaire général, les délégués se trouvent très divisés. La délégation anglaise propose qu'il soit nommé par le congrès afin de rendre sa responsabilité plus grande.

Les citoyens Tolain (Paris) et autres, veulent, au contraire, que le secrétaire général soit nommé par le conseil central. Ces citoyens veulent éviter toute scission qui pourrait naître de ces deux pouvoirs issus du même vote, le conseil central et le secrétaire général. Les conflits qui pourraient en résulter dureraient peut-être jusqu'au prochain congrès et entraveraient la marche de l'Association.

Cette dernière opinion obtient la majorité de l'assemblée.

Sur l'article 2, concernant la fixation du congrès, le citoyen Card dit qu'il croit que le choix du jour et du lieu du congrès doit être laissé à l'initiative du conseil central.

Cette proposition est appuyée par les délégués allemands et anglais. Elle est combattue par beaucoup d'autres membres des délégations française et suisse.

Le citoyen Murât, fait la proposition suivante : que l'époque du congrès soit irrévocablement fixée chaque année par le congrès lui-même et que la faculté de choisir le lieu, suivant les circonstances, où devra se tenir l'assemblée, soit laissée à l'initiative du conseil central.

Les membres qui appuient cette proposition désirent que les délégations des divers pays puissent, quelle qu'en soit la décision du conseil central, se réunir à une époque fixe, sans convocation aucune.

La proposition du citoyen Murât est acceptée par la majorité.

Le citoyen Tolain prend la parole sur une question d'ordre, il propose qu'on emploie pour les amendements faits aux différentes propositions la méthode employée au Corps législatif français et dans d'autres parlements étrangers, qui consiste à déposer sur le bureau les amendements écrits. Le président les met en discussion en commençant par celui qui s'éloigne le plus de la proposition.

La proposition du citoyen Tolain, combattue par les délégués anglais, est appuyée et adoptée par la majorité.

La discussion des articles des statuts continue.

A propos du congrès annuel, les citoyens Cremer et Odger disent qu'ils ne

croient pas utile de tenir un congrès tous les ans ; leur principale raison en faveur de leur dire est le prix dispendieux du voyage,

i La majorité des membres croit que chaque congrès amènera une recrudescence
de vie dans l'Association et attirera un plus grand nombre de membres, ce qui per-
5 mettra de trouver plus facilement les moyens d'action.

L'assemblée décide qu'un congrès aura lieu chaque année.

Les articles 4, 5 et 6 sont adoptés à l'unanimité.

Sur l'article 7, qui a rapport aux avances à faire aux membres qui voyagent d'un
pays à l'autre, les délégués émettent des avis partagés. Les uns veulent que l'on ne
10 donne pas aux sections le pouvoir d'accorder à tous les membres un crédit dont
elles pourraient devenir victimes. Ils disent que l'ouvrier doit s'habituer à l'écono-
mie et ne compter sur aucun secours d'argent. Ils ajoutent que l'Association inter-
nationale doit seulement s'occuper de trouver de l'ouvrage à l'ouvrier qui se pré-
sente et lui accorder ce que dans certains pays on nomme un *viatique*.

¿15 Les citoyens Tolain et Fribourg, répondent qu'il est très facile de parer à ces in-
convénients et proposent le moyen suivant : chaque section à laquelle appartiendra
le membre qui se déplace se portera nécessairement garant de sa solvabilité envers
la section ou les sections correspondantes qui feront des avances au membre voya-
geur. Et dans le cas, très rare, où le bureau correspondant n'aurait pas d'argent en
20 caisse, il n'aurait qu'à tirer immédiatement à vue sur le bureau expéditeur afin de
se faire rembourser de suite l'avance faite. De cette façon, il n'y aura ni charité ni
production. C'est un droit qui appartiendra à tout citoyen. La section est seule juge
de la manière dont elle doit créditer le membre demandeur.

¿ La délégation anglaise demande l'ajournement de cette question. Il n'est pas ac-
25 cepté. Et la proposition est votée à la majorité. - Deux opposants.

Sur l'article 8, qui a trait aux conditions exigées pour faire partie de l'Association
internationale, une discussion très animée a lieu.

Une partie de l'assemblée demande que tout citoyen qui, quoique ne travaillant
pas manuellement, concourt à l'émancipation de la classe ouvrière, soit admis à
•30 faire partie de l'Association internationale des travailleurs.

Les délégués de Paris et plusieurs de la Suisse demandent, au contraire, que la
qualité de travailleur manuel soit exigée. Leur raison est que bien des ambitieux et
des intrigants s'introduiraient dans l'Association afin de s'en rendre maître dans un
temps plus ou moins long et de la faire servir à leur intérêt personnel, et par conse-
ns quent ils la détourneraient de son but.

Après une longue discussion, l'assemblée se prononce pour la proposition sui-
vante, présentée par les membres de la commission :

Sera admis membre de l'Association internationale des travailleurs tout homme
pouvant justifier de sa qualité de travailleur; de cette façon chaque section restera
¿40 maîtresse d'admettre sous sa responsabilité qui bon lui semblera.

Les articles 9, 10, 11, sont admis à l'unanimité.

Séance du 6 Septembre 1866.

Neuf heures du matin.

Président: le citoyen *Jung*.

Art. I du programme.

Organisation de l'Association.

Les citoyens Dupont (Londres) et Carter (Londres) proposent de nommer une commission de 5 membres pour rédiger les règlements spéciaux de l'Association. Cette proposition est acceptée. Sont nommés :

Les citoyens Eccarius, Fribourg, Burkli, Coullery et Schettel.

Le citoyen Tolain (Paris) demande si les travaux, les mémoires présentés au congrès seront publiés aux frais du conseil général.

Le citoyen Card (Polonais) demande qu'on nomme une commission pour juger des choses nécessaires à publier, en laissant aux sections la liberté de publier leurs travaux dans le cas de non insertion au procès-verbal du congrès.

Le citoyen Becker (Allemagne) s'oppose à la nomination de cette commission et soutient que ce travail, qui nécessite dix à quinze jours, doit être confié aux soins du conseil général de Londres.

La proposition du citoyen Becker est votée à l'unanimité.

Le citoyen Tolain (Paris) propose que les trois rapports des délégations anglaise, allemande et françaisesTM soient publiés in extenso dans les comptes rendus du congrès.

Voté à l'unanimité.

Le citoyen Dupont demande que toutes les publications faites par les différentes sections soient envoyées au conseil général pour être conservées dans les archives de l'Association internationale.

La proposition du citoyen Dupont est adoptée.

Le citoyen Tolain propose que la lettre du citoyen Stampa soit publiée in extenso dans les comptes rendus.

Le bureau propose d'écrire une lettre en réponse à celle des ouvriers italiens.

Cette proposition est approuvée.

⁽¹⁾ Le conseil général a décidé que le mot «français» comprend le mémoire lyonnais aussi bien que le mémoire parisien.

Séances du 6 septembre 1866

Séance du 6 Septembre 1866.

Deux heures du soir.

Président: le citoyen *Jung*.

Le citoyen Dupont (Londres) appelle l'attention de l'assemblée sur un fait qui s'est passé à Ferney et qu'il est important de faire connaître à tous les délégués. La musique de Ferney, composée de travailleurs, avait manifesté l'intention de participer au congrès en offrant son concours gratuit pour la fête de dimanche. Un arrêté préfectoral les en a empêchés. L'autorité a retiré en même temps au chef de musique l'allocation qui lui était accordée.

Le citoyen Dupleix (Genève) confirme les faits avancés par le citoyen Dupont.

Le citoyen Fribourg (Paris) émet la proposition suivante :

«Le congrès manifeste hautement son étonnement à propos de l'acte administratif dont le chef de la musique de Ferney a été victime, et charge son président de lui exprimer ses regrets et l'assurance de ses sympathies.»

La proposition est votée.

Le citoyen Dupont (Londres) fait remarquer qu'un groupe de Français étant venu à Genève sans délégation pour participer aux travaux du congrès, il serait utile que la réunion votât immédiatement l'admission d'un membre de ce groupe pour faire connaître le sujet qu'ils désirent traiter en séance publique; et il ajoute que ce groupe accuse la délégation parisienne de vouloir mettre la lumière sous le boisseau.

Le citoyen Fribourg (Paris) donne, au nom des Français, un démenti formel à cette accusation et dit que la délégation parisienne a toujours demandé et demande encore l'admission du groupe dissident.

Plusieurs membres allemands et anglais disent qu'ils ne comprennent pas pourquoi cette question est encore soulevée, et demandent l'ordre du jour.

Un tumulte s'étant élevé dans la salle, le citoyen Dupleix dit que le congrès étant placé sous les auspices du comité genevois, il engage les membres de cette section à rétablir l'ordre.

L'ordre du jour étant proposé, il est accepté par la majorité. 17 opposants.

Art. II du programme.

Combinaison des efforts au moyen
de l'association pour les différentes luttes sociales
entre le capital et le travail.

Le citoyen Dupont (Londres) donne lecture du passage du rapport du conseil central ayant trait à cette question et ajoute ces paroles :

J'appelle l'attention du congrès sur la statistique proposée par le conseil central. C'est une des premières et des plus importantes questions que nous ayons à résoudre, car c'est elle seule qui nous fournira des données positives sur la position res-

pective des classes ouvrières de tous les pays ; alors seulement nous pourrons agir en connaissance de cause, car nous connaissons les éléments de la lutte sociale.

Le citoyen Lawrence prend la parole sur cette question et explique quelles combinaisons doivent être employées pour activer cette lutte et pour lui donner un caractère de jour en jour plus accentué. Il veut que des liens s'établissent entre les classes ouvrières des différents pays, afin qu'elles connaissent leurs situations respectives. Par ce moyen on parviendra à déjouer les projets des patrons. A l'appui de son raisonnement, il cite la dernière grève des tailleurs de Londres. Les patrons, pour éluder les justes demandes de leurs ouvriers, firent venir des ouvriers allemands, qui, une fois arrivés, se trouvèrent sans travail et au milieu d'une population dont ils ne comprenaient point la langue ; aussi furent-ils exploités d'une manière indigne par les patrons, qui les faisaient travailler au-dessous du prix payé aux Anglais. La société des tailleurs de Londres et le conseil général ont fait leur possible pour ces pauvres ouvriers, les ont aidés à retourner dans leur pays ou à recevoir leur salaire légitime. Un fait analogue vient de se passer avec les terrassiers des chemins de fer de Londres. Puisque les capitalistes, grâce aux moyens fournis par l'industrie, ont tant de puissance pour pressurer l'ouvrier, celui-ci n'a qu'un moyen de secouer le joug, c'est l'entente entre tous les travailleurs de tous les pays pour déclarer une lutte à mort à la race des capitalistes. Pour établir cette lutte, il faut que chaque section de l'Association internationale devienne un bureau de renseignements où chaque ouvrier puisse trouver des données positives sur l'état de la classe ouvrière du pays où il veut aller. Dans ce but, le citoyen Lawrence fait la proposition suivante :

Que les différentes sections de cette Association entrent en communication avec les sociétés ouvrières ou les travailleurs individuels, là où il n'existe pas de société, qu'elles fassent un rapport sur l'état économique et politique de la classe ouvrière du pays et le communiquent aux autres sections.

Le citoyen Murât (Paris) appuie la proposition du citoyen Lawrence.

Le citoyen Coullery (Suisse) s'appesantit sur ceci, que les capitaux amassés par les ouvriers ne doivent pas retomber aux mains des capitalistes, mais doivent servir à former des associations de co-opération, qui enrichiront la classe ouvrière et augmenteront sa puissance dans la lutte contre la classe des exploiters, et il termine par ces mots : l'exploitation capitaliste est le vol reconnu par la loi.

Le citoyen Dupont (Londres) dit que l'on doit considérer la proposition de Lawrence comme non avenue, car le conseil général a prévu le cas en proposant une statistique devant fournir toute espèce de détails sur la position de la classe ouvrière. Cette statistique est impérieusement réclamée, ajoute-t-il, car la position de l'ouvrier en présence du patron est des plus précaires. Jugez-en par ce fait: un ouvrier avait été à Sheffield embauché pour deux ans par un patron. Une grève arrive, les ouvriers obtiennent une augmentation de salaire ; l'ouvrier embauché veut jouir de la même augmentation ; le patron refuse, alors l'ouvrier cesse de travailler. Le patron a recours alors aux tribunaux, qui condamnent l'ouvrier à trois mois de prison. A sa sortie le patron réclame l'ouvrier, mais celui-ci de nouveau refuse énergiquement tout travail ; le magistrat le menace d'un emprisonnement de trois mois à trois ans, si immédiatement il ne rentre dans l'atelier au prix convenu antérieure-

ment à la grève. Vous le voyez, tout est tourné contre l'ouvrier, qui, en présence du capitaliste, est livré sans défense. Il faut au moins que par cette statistique nous lui fassions connaître le terrain sur lequel il marche.

Le citoyen Tolain (Paris) dit qu'en Angleterre, grâce à la liberté, le mouvement social s'est manifesté par la résistance, par la grève ; tandis qu'en France, à cause des entraves apportées à l'organisation de la classe ouvrière, la grève n'a été qu'un moyen extrême ; et l'association a été considérée comme le seul moyen d'émancipation.

Le citoyen Odger (Londres). Dans nos grèves d'Angleterre, les patrons obligent leurs ouvriers à céder par l'importation d'ouvriers continentaux, ou par la seule menace de leur importation. Il faut que, grâce à l'Association internationale, des faits pareils ne puissent plus se renouveler. Et, comme la cause première d'où dérivent ces importations gît dans l'infériorité des salaires des ouvriers sur le continent, les ouvriers anglais appuieront de leur côté toute réclamation des ouvriers continentaux et feront au besoin des sacrifices pécuniaires pour les soutenir dans leur lutte.

Le citoyen Eccarius (Londres). Les grèves ne doivent plus se borner à une seule nation, la centralisation capitaliste est devenue si puissante que les patrons les déjouent soit par l'autorisation des ouvriers étrangers, soit en commandant le travail dans d'autres pays, c'est ce qui est arrivé dernièrement pour la grève de Sheffield ; les patrons ont fait commander en Amérique pour paralyser le mouvement de leurs ouvriers, mais les travailleurs américains ont refusé de se prêter à leurs machinations. Des faits semblables n'arrivent pas tous les jours, ordinairement le patron triomphe par ce moyen. Donc, aujourd'hui, pour rendre la grève profitable, il faut qu'au même moment les ouvriers de tous les pays refusent de travailler ; que la grève soit universelle. Demander la grève universelle, c'est réclamer la révolution.

Le citoyen Cremer (Londres) reconnaît la nécessité de cette statistique, et, pour en faire comprendre toute l'importance, il cite ce qui s'est passé en Angleterre en 1859, lors de la fameuse grève des building's trades (ouvriers constructeurs de bâtiments). Cette grève gigantesque était faite par plusieurs milliers d'ouvriers, des milliers de livres sterling ont été dépensés pour la soutenir, toutes les associations ouvrières anglaises ont voulu contribuer à cette lutte, toutes ont ouvert leur caisse. Les patrons ont menacé de faire des importations en masse des ouvriers étrangers. Les ouvriers immédiatement ont écrit à toutes les sociétés ouvrières étrangères, mais, n'ayant pas les relations que possède l'Association internationale, les ouvriers ont dû céder après 38 semaines de grève. D'après ce fait, vous le voyez, pour mener à bonne fin la lutte que le travail a entreprise contre le capital, il faut qu'une publicité immense soit mise au service des classes ouvrières. Et pour éviter l'importation des ouvriers d'un pays à l'autre, il faut arriver à établir un salaire à peu près uniforme et on n'y parviendra qu'en aidant toutes les manifestations tendant à élever les salaires et à diminuer les heures de travail.

Le citoyen Becker (Allemagne) fait la proposition suivante :

Que les sociétés ouvrières dans toutes les parties du monde soient engagées à entrer en communication les unes avec les autres au moyen du conseil général, qu'elles s'instruisent réciproquement sur le montant des salaires, des heures du travail, du mode de louer le travail, etc. De cette manière on pourra parvenir à égaliser

les salaires dans les différents pays. Comme la question des salaires n'est pas nationale mais internationale, nous engageons les ouvriers des différents pays à s'assister autant que possible par l'intermédiaire du conseil central dans leur lutte journalière contre le capital; et par ce moyen ils empêcheront les patrons de faire venir des ouvriers étrangers pendant une lutte sociale des ouvriers indigènes.

Adoptée. 8 opposants.

Le citoyen Cornaz (Suisse) propose la création des bureaux de renseignements dans chaque ville où les ouvriers pourront s'adresser pour trouver de l'ouvrage et les patrons pour trouver des ouvriers.

Le citoyen Card (Polonais) condamne la grève en principe. C'est un moyen barbare, dit-il, qui confirme le salaire que nous voulons abolir. C'est l'association que nous devons préconiser, car elle organise la classe ouvrière, lui assure la jouissance de son travail et développe son intelligence.

Le citoyen Jung (Londres) quitte le siège présidentiel, pour défendre la grève, du moins telle que les conditions économiques l'ont faite en Angleterre. Les grèves anglaises sont des actes de défense contre les exactions infames des patrons. Ordinairement ce sont les patrons qui ferment leurs ateliers, comme cela vient d'arriver pour les tailleurs et les ouvriers de Sheffield. La grève, quoique coûtant cher, rapporte davantage aux Anglais qui sont bien organisés, soit qu'elle soit faite pour diminuer les heures de travail, soit pour une augmentation des salaires.

Le citoyen Card (Polonais) et le citoyen Camélinat (Paris) protestent contre la grève et ne croient pas aux bénéfices que les Anglais en ont retirés.

Le citoyen Dupont (Londres) dit que les Anglais ne préconisent pas la grève comme principe, mais comme moyen de lutte. La grève, ajoute-t-il, a organisé la classe ouvrière anglaise, et aucun pays Européen n'offre un spectacle pareil, et la grève seule, dans la position actuelle, pouvait accomplir cette œuvre; l'association, réduite aux moyens insignifiants dont elle peut disposer, aurait été impuissante à atteindre ce résultat. C'est pourquoi si l'on condamne la grève en principe on doit l'admettre comme le seul moyen de lutte dont dispose la classe ouvrière ... Et revenant sur le projet de statistique, il soumet à l'approbation de l'assemblée le plan de statistique proposé par le conseil général, qui est adopté à l'unanimité.

Les citoyens Card (Polonais) et Tolain (Paris) font la proposition suivante :

Le congrès déclare que, dans l'état actuel de l'industrie, qui est la guerre, on doit se prêter aide mutuelle pour la défense du salaire, mais qu'il croit de son devoir de déclarer qu'il y a un but plus élevé à atteindre, qui est la suppression du salariat. Il recommande l'étude des moyens économiques basés sur la justice et la réciprocité.

Cette déclaration est adoptée.

Séances du 7 septembre 1866

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Art. VI du programme⁽¹⁾.

Sociétés ouvrières. Leur passé, leur présent, leur avenir.

Le citoyen Fribourg (Paris), au nom de la délégation parisienne, fait la proposition suivante :

Le passé, c'est la corporation, c'est-à-dire le despotisme ; le présent, c'est l'insolidarité ; l'isolement, c'est-à-dire l'antagonisme et l'asservissement au capital ; l'avenir, c'est l'identité du consommateur, du producteur et du capitaliste amené par la co-opération.

Cette proposition est adoptée, ainsi que l'extrait du rapport anglais ayant trait à
|- 10 cette question.

Séance du 7 Septembre 1866.

Neuf heures du matin.

Président : le citoyen *Jung*.

Art. V du programme.

Travaux co-opératifs.

Le citoyen Eccarius (Londres) donne lecture du rapport du conseil central, qui est adopté à l'unanimité.

Les citoyens Fribourg et Chemalé (Paris) font l'addition suivante :

20 Le congrès recommande aux Sociétés d'éviter la forme d'administration par un seul et de laisser aux associés le droit plein et entier d'administration sur tous les points conformément au contrat consenti par eux.

Le citoyen Bocquin (Montreux) propose de féliciter la section de Lausanne, qui, l'hiver dernier, a entrepris à ses frais des travaux pour occuper les ouvriers.

25 Le citoyen Cremer (Londres) cite un fait pareil. Les ouvriers terrassiers de Londres ont entrepris à leur frais des travaux pour plus de 20000 livres sterling (500000 fr.).

Art. VI du programme.

Voir ci-dessus.

(1) Le congrès a probablement entrepris la discussion de cet article en dehors du programme
;30 de Londres parce qu'il avait été discuté incidemment pendant la discussion de l'article II.

Art. VII du programme.
Impôts directs et indirects.

Le travail du conseil central sur cette question est lu. Après une courte discussion, la délégation parisienne soumet aux votes du congrès la proposition suivante :

L'impôt est la quote part à payer par chacun pour acquitter les dépenses générales: c'est donc un échange entre les citoyens et la collectivité représentée par l'Etat. Les citoyens étant seuls juges des services dont ils ont besoin et du prix qu'il leur convient d'y mettre, ont donc seuls le droit de voter et lever l'impôt.

L'impôt doit être aussi direct que possible de façon à ce que la part de chacun soit nettement déterminée et sa juste répartition facilement contrôlée.

Le citoyen Coullery (La Chaux-de-Fonds) voudrait introduire un amendement dans cette proposition, qui tendrait à remplacer les mots : *l'impôt doit être aussi direct que possible*, par *l'impôt doit être direct*; qui sont les propres termes du rapport anglais.

Mais après une courte discussion il retire son amendement, et la proposition est acceptée par l'assemblée.

Art. VIII du programme.
Crédit international.

Le citoyen Fribourg (Paris) développe la proposition suivante :

1° Le congrès met à l'étude le crédit international et invite toutes les sections de l'Association à faire parvenir leurs travaux sur ce point au conseil général, qui les insérera dans le bulletin, de cette façon la question sera connue de tous et pourra être résolue par le prochain congrès.

2° Le congrès met dès maintenant à l'étude l'idée d'une fédération de toutes les banques ouvrières créées ou à créer pour les relier plus tard par un établissement central de l'Association internationale des travailleurs.

La proposition soutenue par le citoyen Coullery (La Chaux-de-Fonds) est adoptée à l'unanimité.

Art. III du programme.
Réduction des heures de travail.

Le citoyen Dupont (Londres) lit le rapport du conseil central :

1° Le congrès considère la diminution des heures de travail comme un des premiers pas vers l'émancipation du travailleur.

2° Il propose que la journée de travail soit limitée à *huit heures*.

3° Que le travail de nuit ne doit être permis que dans des cas exceptionnels et prévus par la loi, et seulement pour les hommes.

La délégation française fait la proposition suivante :

Séances du 7 septembre 1866

1° L'homme n'est libre qu'à la condition de développer toutes ses facultés, en conséquence toute prolongation de travail qui le rendrait incapable de développer et de jouir de toutes ses aptitudes, doit être condamné comme anti-physiologique et anti-sociale.

2° Dès à présent nous considérons un travail de dix heures par jour comme devant être suffisant à la création des services nécessaires à la vie.

3° L'Association doit donc faire tous ses efforts pour affirmer l'équivalence des fonctions en établissant un minimum de salaire rétributaire du service rendu par l'individu à la collectivité.

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Séance du 7 Septembre 1866.

Deux heures du soir.

Président: le citoyen *Jung*.

Le citoyen Odger (Londres). Quant à ce qui touche à la fixation du minimum du salaire, il croit l'exécution de ce projet difficile. Mais il tient essentiellement à ce
15 que les huit heures de travail proposées par le conseil central soient maintenues par le congrès. Huit heures de travail sont plus que suffisantes pour payer les dépenses de l'ouvrier; Elles sont suffisant pour qu'un homme fournisse grandement sa part dans la production sociale. N'oubliez pas que Owen, le fameux communiste, a démontré pièces en main que trois heures de travail données par tous les hommes se-
; 20 raient assez pour produire la richesse sociale actuelle, et songez que depuis Owen, les mécaniques ont fait des progrès immenses, et que tous les progrès tendent à abrégé le travail humain.

Le citoyen Cremer (Londres) dit que le citoyen Odger, en parlant d'un minimum de salaire, parle en son nom personnel, car il croit qu'il est impossible d'établir ce
; 25 minimum. Dans cette proposition, la question vraiment importante est celle des heures de travail; c'est la seule que nous devons résoudre dans un sens positif, et nous devons réclamer énergiquement huit heures de travail. En Amérique, il existe en ce moment un grand mouvement dans la classe ouvrière, pour réduire la journée de travail à huit heures. L'Association internationale a été prise en grande conside-
ro ration par les prolétaires américains, précisément à cause de cette question ; ils sont convaincus que nous les soutiendrons dans cette lutte. Nous ne pouvons les abandonner en demandant moins qu'eux. D'ailleurs, plus nous demanderons, plus nous obtiendrons. Dernièrement, les ouvriers en bâtiments ont fait une grève pour obtenir
35 une réduction dans les heures de travail; si, au lieu de neuf heures, ils en avaient réclamé huit, ils auraient obtenu ce qu'il demandaient.

Donc, que huit heures de travail soit le mot d'ordre de la classe ouvrière de tous les pays. Cette demande n'est pas trop prétentieuse, je suppose.

Le citoyen Coullery (La Chaux-de-Fonds) dit que c'est la plus importante question que le congrès puisse agiter. Avant tout, pour faire la révolution nous devons
40 avoir des hommes, et le régime manufacturier actuel les tue, les réduit au simple rôle de rouages. Huit heures de travail sont déjà trop, surtout pour la femme. Les capitalistes eux-mêmes en Angleterre ont commencé les premiers à demander la ré-

duction des heures de travail, et cela à leur point de vue seul, car ils ont compris que l'excès du travail diminuait la force productive de l'animal humain.

Le citoyen Card (Pologne). Nous n'avons pas besoin d'aller chercher nos exemples en Angleterre, nous les trouvons ici. Les patrons du canton de Saint-Gall ont pris aussi l'initiative de ce mouvement et sont parvenus à des résultats. Aujourd'hui, l'heure légale du travail est de 14 heures pour les fabriques, qui, de même que les maisons de tolérance, sont soumises à la surveillance de la police.

Le citoyen Ch. Burkli (Allemagne) défend fortement la proposition du conseil central. Tous ceux qui veulent l'instruction du peuple doivent voter pour les huit heures de travail, car, dit-il, que pouvez-vous demander à un homme qui travaille 12 et 14 heures par jour, peut-il, en rentrant chez lui, trouver la force et le courage d'ouvrir un livre? Et puis, nous autres du continent, nous devons soutenir nos frères d'Angleterre et d'Amérique dans leur lutte contre les capitalistes et ce serait les trahir que de demander une diminution inférieure à leur réclamation.

Le citoyen Murât (Paris). Quoique le développement industriel ne soit pas partout parvenu au même degré, ce qui fait que les classes ouvrières des différents pays ne sont pas dans les mêmes positions dans leur lutte contre le capital, et que par conséquent des lois générales s'appliquant à tous les pays ne peuvent être prises, cependant ici nous ne pouvons faire rien de mieux que d'encourager par notre approbation le mouvement des classes ouvrières anglaise et américaine, car ces pays sont ceux où l'industrie est la plus développée, et quand la France aura un développement semblable, nous serons obligés de faire la même demande; et nous serons heureux de trouver le précédent approuvé par le premier congrès ouvrier.

Le citoyen Fribourg (Paris) dit qu'ils ne demandent pas une réduction semblable, la délégation parisienne tient seulement à ce que le travail des ouvriers ne soit pas défavorable au développement naturel de leurs facultés et aptitudes; et qu'elle ne croit pas qu'il soit possible d'établir aucune réglementation à ce sujet.

L'extrait du rapport du conseil central qui a trait aux heures de travail, est mis aux voix et adopté à la majorité. Dix opposants.

La délégation parisienne présente cette proposition :

Que l'Association doit faire tous ses efforts pour affirmer l'équivalence des fonctions en établissant le minimum de salaire rétributif du service rendu par l'individu à la collectivité.

Elle est adoptée à l'unanimité.

Art. IV du programme.

Travail des femmes et des enfants.

Le citoyen Dupont (Londres) donne lecture du rapport du conseil central.

Le congrès doit s'occuper sérieusement de l'apprenti. Un contrat existe entre le patron et l'apprenti. Celui-ci est tenu de le remplir, et le patron s'en moque, car, pendant la durée de l'apprentissage, l'enfant est exploité de toute manière par le patron, qui le fait servir à toutes sortes de travaux en dehors de sa profession; aussi ne commence-t-il à apprendre son métier que du jour où il a fini son apprentissage et

devient ouvrier. Nous devons nous appesantir sur cette question, car l'exploitation de l'enfant a quelque chose de plus inique que celle de l'homme.

Le citoyen Coullery (La Chaux-de-Fonds). Je suis heureux de voir le congrès s'occuper de la femme ; nous devons déclarer d'une façon catégorique que nous travaillons aussi bien pour l'émancipation de la femme que pour celle de l'homme. Il faut que non-seulement nous l'arrachions à la prostitution de la rue, mais encore à celle de l'atelier. Il faut que, comme celle de l'homme, son instruction soit complète, pour qu'elle ne devienne la proie des ministres d'aucune religion. En un mot, il faut qu'elle puisse se développer complètement, cérébralement et corporellement, car elle est l'espoir de l'espèce humaine.

Les citoyens Chemalé, Fribourg, Perrachon, Camélinat font la proposition suivante :

Au point de vue physique, moral et social, le travail des femmes et des enfants dans les manufactures doit être énergiquement condamné en principe comme une des causes les plus actives de la dégénérescence de l'espèce humaine et comme un des plus puissants moyens de démoralisation mis en œuvre par la caste capitaliste.

La femme, ajoutent-ils, n'est point faite pour travailler, sa place est au foyer de la famille, elle est l'éducatrice naturelle de l'enfant, elle seule peut le préparer à l'existence civique, mâle et libre. Cette question doit être mise à l'ordre du jour du prochain congrès, la statistique fournira des documents assez puissants pour que nous puissions condamner le travail des femmes dans les manufactures.

Le citoyen Varlin (Paris). Comme vous tous, je reconnais que le travail des femmes dans les manufactures, tel qu'il se pratique, ruine le corps et engendre la corruption. Mais partant de ce fait, nous ne pouvons condamner le travail des femmes d'une manière générale; car vous qui voulez enlever la femme à la prostitution, comment pourrez-vous le faire si vous ne lui donnez le moyen de gagner sa vie. Que deviendront les veuves et les orphelines? Elles seront obligées ou de tendre la main ou de se prostituer. Condamner le travail des femmes, c'est reconnaître la charité et autoriser la prostitution.

Le citoyen Fribourg (Paris). Les veuves et les orphelines seront toujours une exception et ne peuvent en aucune façon infirmer la loi que nous posons. Car, dit-il, en voulant que tous les hommes travaillent, nous savons parfaitement que beaucoup en seront empêchés par des accidents naturels, et cependant nous réclamons la loi générale. Les veuves et les orphelines sont dans le même cas que les infirmes.

Le citoyen Tolain (Paris). Tant que la manufacture existera pour la femme, elle ne sera jamais un être libre, elle ne pourra jamais développer ses facultés naturelles. L'atelier l'abâtardit.

Le citoyen Lawrence (Londres). Il y a quelque chose de plus fort que tous les raisonnements que nous tenons ici, de plus vrai que tous les sentiments philanthropiques que nous émettons : c'est la marche de la Société. Nous ne devons pas faire des théories, nous sommes des ouvriers, des hommes pratiques et non des utopistes. Eh bien ! si nous voulons aider d'une façon efficace l'émancipation de notre classe, il faut que notre rôle se borne à observer ce qui se passe autour de nous, à comprendre le mouvement social et non à lui imposer nos sentiments et nos vues particulières. Comme le rapport du conseil central le dit très bien la tendance de

l'industrie moderne, est de faire coopérer la femme et l'enfant à la production sociale. Et ceci est tellement vrai que dans certaines parties de l'Angleterre, la femme ne demeure plus à la maison, et c'est l'homme qui est réduit à faire la cuisine. Nous sommes cependant loin d'admirer la manière dont on fait travailler la femme; mais le fait existe et ce serait folie que de vouloir condamner d'une façon générale le travail de la femme; mais ce que nous pouvons faire, c'est protester énergiquement contre l'exploitation de la femme telle que la pratique la caste capitaliste.

L'extrait du rapport du conseil central, concernant le travail des femmes, est mis aux voix et voté à la grande majorité.

L'amendement suivant, présenté par les citoyens Varlin (Paris) et Bourdon (Paris), tendant à accentuer davantage le rapport anglais, est mis aux voix et rejeté.

Le manque d'éducation, l'excès de travail, la rémunération trop minime et les mauvaises conditions hygiéniques des manufactures sont actuellement pour les femmes qui y travaillent des causes d'abaissement physique et moral; ces causes peuvent être détruites par une meilleure organisation du travail, par la co-opération. La femme ayant besoin de travailler pour vivre honorablement, on doit chercher à améliorer son travail et non à le supprimer. Quant aux enfants, on doit retarder leur entrée dans la fabrique et restreindre autant que possible la durée de leur travail.

La proposition des citoyens Chemalé, Fribourg, Perrachon, Camélinat, est mise aux voix et adoptée.

Au sujet de l'éducation des enfants, la délégation française fait la proposition suivante, qui est adoptée à l'unanimité :

Le congrès déclare que l'enseignement professionnel doit être théorique et pratique, sous peine de voir se constituer une aristocratie à l'aide de l'instruction spéciale, qui ferait non des artisans, mais des directeurs d'ouvriers.

Le Courrier International.
Nr. 15, 13. April 1867

Séance du 8 Septembre 1866.

Neuf heures du matin.

Président: le citoyen *Jung*.

Art. 10 du programme.

Des armées permanentes et de leurs rapports avec la production.

Le citoyen Dupont (Londres) ouvre la discussion en lisant le rapport du conseil central ayant trait à ce sujet.

Le citoyen Vuilleumier (Chaux-de-Fonds) propose la résolution suivante :

a) Le congrès reconnaît que le système d'armées permanentes est contraire à la marche et au développement actuel de l'organisation sociale.

b) Que sachant l'impossibilité de changer immédiatement cet état de choses, il

n'en est pas moins pénétré d'une grande confiance que l'association de tous les travailleurs devra amener leur disparition.

La délégation française fait les propositions suivantes:

5 a) Les armées permanentes enlèvent aux travaux pacifiques les hommes les plus robustes pour les rendre à la société (si elles les rendent) incapables d'un travail régulier. L'emploi qu'on en fait, tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur, augmente encore les dangers qu'elles font courir à la production.

b) Le système de milice, c'est-à-dire de la nation entière armée, est le seul qu'on puisse admettre à titre de transition.

10 c) Le congrès voyant avec bonheur les efforts tentés pour l'abolition des armées permanentes, de l'extinction de la guerre et de l'antagonisme international, témoigne ses sympathies à tous ceux qui se sont préoccupés de répandre ces idées et en particulier aux fondateurs de la *Ligue du bien public*.

15 Le citoyen Heidt (Allemand) fait la proposition suivante: appuyée par les citoyens Rau et Burkli (Allemands):

Le congrès recommande aux sections de former partout où les circonstances le permettent, des sociétés d'exercices militaires, autant que possible sur les mêmes bases et selon les mêmes principes, pour accélérer l'armement général du peuple.

20 Le citoyen Heidt. Déjà il existe des sociétés pareilles en Allemagne, et là où les gouvernements défendent ces exercices, dans les cercles gymnastiques on remplace les fusils par des bâtons.

Toute l'assemblée approuve les principes développés par les orateurs, et admet toutes les résolutions.

Article XI du programme.

25 Des idées religieuses, de leur influence sur le développement social, politique et individuel.

La délégation française soumet la proposition suivante:

30 Le congrès affirme la liberté physique et intellectuelle de l'espèce humaine et constate que l'influence des idées religieuses tend à nier le libre-arbitre et la dignité de l'homme; cependant, toutes les idées religieuses se dérobaient aux investigations de la raison, le congrès se borne à protester contre cette influence et à passer outre.

35 Le citoyen Peter (Allemagne). Aujourd'hui nous ne devons plus confondre la religion et la morale, ce sont deux choses distinctes, contradictoires même. Il faut que nous réclamions énergiquement leur séparation complète et que nous réunissions tous nos efforts pour combattre la religion, qui a engendré plus de maux que les armées permanentes.

40 Le citoyen Coullery (Chaux-de-Fonds). La morale a été attachée aux flancs de la religion, qui en a fait sa vassale et l'a traînée dans toute espèce de mauvais lieux; et l'a fait servir à excuser, à autoriser même tous ses crimes; il faut que nous émancipions la morale de cette tutelle. La morale doit trouver sa base dans la raison et la science; ainsi élaborée, elle doit être inculquée aux enfants; il faut donc que l'enseignement religieux soit banni d'une manière absolue des écoles.

Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Compte rendu du Congrès de Genève (1866)

Le citoyen Muller (Allemagne) s'élève contre la confusion de la morale et de la religion. La religion pervertit la morale. C'est surtout dans les campagnes que la religion exerce ses ravages, c'est là surtout qu'il faut réclamer le bannissement de la religion et l'enseignement de la morale rationaliste.

Le citoyen Schlaifer (Allemagne) développe l'antagonisme de la religion et de la morale, et s'élève contre l'influence cléricale.

Le citoyen Card (Pologne) combat l'enseignement religieux surtout pour la femme.

Le citoyen Bocquin (Montreux) réclame énergiquement la séparation de la morale et de la religion.

Les citoyens Vuilleumier (Suisse) et Schwitzguébel (Allemagne) émettent la proposition suivante :

Que le congrès déclare qu'il veut la liberté de conscience, la séparation de l'Eglise de l'Etat et l'exclusion dans toutes les écoles de toute espèce d'enseignement religieux.

Le citoyen Tolain (Paris). Les progrès de la science détruiront les préjugés religieux et ramèneront l'homme au sentiment de la dignité. Il propose que le Congrès n'approuve aucune résolution.

Tous les membres du Congrès ont été unanimes sur la nécessité de débarrasser l'homme de toute espèce de préjugés religieux ; et, en constatant l'unanimité de ses membres, l'assemblée passe à l'ordre du jour.

Art. IX du programme.

De la nécessité d'anéantir l'influence du despotisme
et de l'absolutisme de la Russie en Europe,
par l'application du droit des peuples de disposer d'eux-mêmes
et de reconstruire une Pologne
sur des bases démocratiques et sociales.

Les citoyens Card et Becker (Pologne et Allemagne) voulaient que le Congrès se prononçât affirmativement sur cette question ; mais l'assemblée la rangeant parmi les questions politiques, l'a écartée du débat en laissant aux membres allemands et suisses la faculté de signer la proposition de Becker en faveur de la reconstitution de la Pologne.

Considérant que par le développement et la consolidation de l'Association internationale des travailleurs tout despotisme disparaîtra, la reconstruction de la Pologne démocratique et sociale se fera d'elle-même.

Séances du 8 septembre 1866

Séance du 8 septembre 1866.

Deux heures du soir.

Président : le citoyen *Jung*.

Etablissement des Sociétés de secours mutuels.

5 Appui moral et matériel accordé aux orphelins de l'Association.

Le citoyen Dupleix (Suisse) dit que toutes les personnes qui ont adhéré à l'Association internationale ont réclamé la création d'une institution générale de secours mutuels. Les différentes sociétés de secours mutuels étant locales, beaucoup d'ouvriers perdaient leurs droits en changeant de pays. La section de Genève a es-
10 sayé de fonder une association comprenant: secours en cas de maladie, crédit mutuel et appui donné aux orphelins de l'Association. La section de Genève demande au Congrès son appui, afin que cette Association devienne internationale; car son établissement nous aidera puissamment à atteindre le but que nous nous proposons.

15 Le citoyen Becker (Allemagne) voudrait qu'on laissât à chaque section le soin de fonder sa société de secours; et qu'on les engageât à consacrer une partie de leurs fonds à cette œuvre.

Le citoyen Chemalé (Paris) serait d'avis de fédéraliser ces diverses sociétés de secours mutuels; mais il est difficile de réaliser cette idée en France; les sociétés de
20 secours mutuels se trouvant dans la main du gouvernement et leur argent étant versé dans les coffres de l'Etat.

Le citoyen Bocquin (Montreux) prétend que la société de Genève résout toutes les difficultés qu'on pourrait rencontrer dans les différents pays. Pour cela chaque société n'aurait qu'à tirer à vue sur la branche à laquelle appartient le membre se-
25 couru, afin de rentrer dans ses avances; et il pense que ce moyen serait parfaitement applicable en France.

Le citoyen Muller fait, au nom de la section de Stuttgart, la proposition suivante :

Un seul règlement doit régir toutes les associations de secours fédérées, sans quoi le but international serait manqué. Déjà en Allemagne, en Suisse, etc., il
30 existe des sociétés de secours de ce genre qui sont loin de pouvoir suffire aux besoins; ce n'est qu'en fondant une masse énorme dans une seule association que l'on pourra obtenir de meilleurs résultats.

En conséquence, une *organisation centrale* nous paraît indispensable. Elle recevrait les cotisations de toutes les sections et serait chargée de pourvoir à leurs frais.
35 Ce que nous vous proposons là est déjà mis en pratique par les assurances sur la vie, contre l'incendie, etc., on n'aurait qu'à suivre leur exemple.

La délégation anglaise fait la proposition suivante :

Que ce Congrès approuve entièrement les mesures prises par la section de Genève dans l'établissement de sociétés de secours mutuels, et qu'il recommande au
40 conseil central d'étudier les meilleurs moyens à adopter pour établir le principe sur une base internationale.

La proposition est mise aux voix et adoptée.

Les délégations lyonnaise et parisienne émettent le vœu suivant :

L'assemblée des délégués, en reconnaissant qu'il est désirable qu'il soit établi des sociétés de prévoyance et de secours mutuels, ne croit pas cependant devoir en faire pour le moment l'objet d'une mesure générale, et laisse sous ce rapport chaque groupe libre de se constituer dans son sein ces sociétés, ainsi que celle de crédit. Elle fait de plus appel aux sections qui sont entrées dans cette voie pour établir une *statistique spéciale* destinée à favoriser le développement de ces sociétés.

Adopté à l'unanimité.

Art. XIII du programme.

Discussion des règlements spéciaux.

Le citoyen Coullery donne lecture des statuts, article par article, qui sont votés séparément.

Les articles 1, 2 et 3 sont adoptés à l'unanimité.

L'article 4 ayant trait à la cotisation annuelle de chaque membre, devient le sujet de la discussion suivante :

Le citoyen Duplex (Suisse) dit que cet article ne concerne que les membres individuels, les différentes sociétés adhérant aux principes de l'Association internationale, versant une somme annuelle sans avoir égard au nombre de leurs membres.

Le citoyen Coullery désirerait que les membres des diverses associations eussent à verser une somme moins forte.

La délégation française propose, au contraire, que la cotisation soit personnelle et par conséquent égale pour tous.

Le citoyen Lawrence (Londres) voudrait qu'on n'épouvantât pas les différentes sociétés adhérentes, et qu'on encourageât leurs efforts en faisant une diminution en leur faveur.

Le citoyen Fribourg (Paris). Il y aurait inégalité de droits, puisqu'il y aurait inégalité de devoirs ; aussi conclut-il à ce que tous les membres supportent les mêmes charges.

Le citoyen Chemalé (Paris) dit qu'en principe il faudrait que tous les sociétaires eussent à payer la même contribution : néanmoins, il propose qu'en raison de la situation exceptionnelle des sociétés anglaises déjà adhérentes et de celles qui pourraient s'adjoindre, on fit une réduction de 50 p. c. en leur faveur.

Le citoyen Camélinat (Paris) croit qu'on ne peut établir une cotisation inégale sans faillir à la devise de l'Association internationale : *Pas de devoirs sans droits*.

La discussion sur ce sujet continue pendant un temps assez long encore ; les citoyens Varlin, Fribourg, etc. prennent tour à tour la parole, et se prononcent pour que la cotisation de 0 fr. 30 c. soit établie exceptionnellement pour l'année 1866-1867, et qu'elle soit individuelle.

L'article est mis aux voix et adopté.

Séances du 8 septembre 1866

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Les articles 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 et 10 sont adoptés à l'unanimité.

L'article 11 ainsi conçu : Chaque membre de l'association a le droit de participer au vote et d'être élu, devient le sujet de la discussion suivante :

Le citoyen Tolain (Paris). S'il est indifférent d'admettre, comme membre de l'Association internationale, des citoyens de toute classe travailleur ou non; il ne doit pas en être de même, lorsqu'il s'agit de choisir un délégué. En présence de l'organisation sociale actuelle dans laquelle la classe ouvrière soutient une lutte sans trêve ni merci contre la classe bourgeoise, il est utile, indispensable même, que tous les hommes qui sont chargés de représenter des groupes ouvriers soient des travailleurs.

Le citoyen Perrachon (Paris) parle dans le même sens, et va plus loin, car il croit que ce serait vouloir la perte de l'association, que d'admettre comme délégué un citoyen qui ne serait pas ouvrier.

Le citoyen Vuilleumier (Suisse) en éliminant quelqu'un de notre association, nous nous mettrions en contradiction avec nos règlements généraux, qui admettant dans son sein tout individu sans distinction de race, ni de couleur, et par le seul fait de son admission il est apte à prétendre à l'homme d'être délégué.

Le citoyen Cremer (Londres) s'étonne de voir cette question revenir de nouveau à la discussion, il n'en comprend pas la nécessité, car, dit-il, parmi les membres du conseil central se trouvent plusieurs citoyens qui n'exercent pas de métiers manuels, et qui n'ont donné aucun motif de suspicion, loin de là il est probable que sans leurs dévouement l'association n'aurait pu s'implanter en Angleterre d'une façon aussi complète. Parmi ces membres je vous citerai un seul, le citoyen Marx, qui a consacré toute sa vie au triomphe de la classe ouvrière.

Le citoyen Carter (Londres) : On vient de vous parler du citoyen Karl Marx, il a compris parfaitement l'importance de ce premier congrès, où seulement devaient se trouver des délégués ouvriers, aussi, a-t-il refusé la délégation qu'on lui offrait dans le conseil central. Mais ce n'est point une raison pour l'empêcher lui ou tout autre, de venir au milieu de nous, au contraire, des hommes se dévouant entièrement à la cause prolétaire sont trop rares pour les écarter de notre route. La bourgeoisie n'a triomphé que du jour où riche et puissante, par le nombre elle s'est alliée à la science, et c'est la prétendue science économique bourgeoise, qui, en lui donnant du prestige, maintient encore son pouvoir; que les hommes qui se sont occupés de la question économique, et qui ont reconnu la justice de notre cause et la nécessité d'une réforme sociale, viennent au congrès ouvrier battre en brèche la science économique bourgeoise.

Le citoyen Tolain (Paris). Comme ouvrier je remercie le citoyen Marx de n'avoir pas accepté la délégation qu'on lui offrait. En faisant cela le citoyen Marx a montré que les congrès ouvriers devaient être seulement composés d'ouvriers manuels. Si ici nous admettons des hommes appartenant à d'autres classes, on ne manquera pas de dire que le congrès ne représente pas les aspirations des classes ouvrières, qu'il n'est pas fait pour des travailleurs, et je crois qu'il est utile de montrer au monde que nous sommes assez avancés pour pouvoir agir par nous-mêmes.

L'amendement du citoyen Tolain voulant la qualité d'ouvriers manuels pour recevoir le titre de délégué, est mis aux voix et est rejeté, 20 pour et 25 contre.

L'article 11 est mis aux voix et adopté à la majorité, 10 votant contre.

Les articles 12, 13, 14, 15 sont votés à l'unanimité.

L'assemblée décide par un vote que le siège du conseil central pour l'année 1866-67 sera Londres.

Le citoyen Eccarius (Londres) propose que les pouvoirs de l'ancien conseil central soient continués.

La délégation parisienne veut bien appuyer la proposition, mais par l'intermédiaire du citoyen Fribourg elle demande l'élimination du conseil central du citoyen Le Lubez comme s'étant rendu coupable d'imputations calomniatrices contre lui, Fribourg, et contre le citoyen Tolain en particulier, et contre la section parisienne de l'association internationale en général.

Une discussion très-grave s'engage à ce sujet, les citoyens Fribourg et Tolain demandent à ce que la délégation du conseil central réponde, si oui ou non, les faits avancés par eux et concernant le citoyen Le Lubez sont vrais.

La délégation du conseil central ayant répondu qu'en effet le citoyen Le Lubez s'était rendu coupable des calomnies dénoncées. L'assemblée déclare qu'un membre du conseil central ayant failli au contrat de l'association en répandant des accusations fausses sans les appuyer d'aucune preuve, ni même d'aucun semblant de preuves, ce membre devrait être rayé de la liste des membres du conseil central.

L'assemblée adopte ensuite sur les citoyens Fribourg et Tolain la résolution suivante: -

Le congrès déclare que les citoyens Fribourg et Tolain n'ont jamais démerité de l'association, et que leur conduite a toujours été loyale.

L'assemblée porte alors le nombre des membres du conseil central à 50, et décide que leurs pouvoirs soient prolongés.

Sur la proposition du citoyen Cornaz qui a été chargé d'en faire la demande, l'assemblée décide à l'unanimité que le prochain congrès se tiendra à Lausanne et que le jour du congrès sera fixé au premier lundi de septembre de l'année 1867.

Le citoyen Cremer (Londres) propose que tous les délégués en restant dans leurs pays fassent des efforts pour amener leurs gouvernements à établir une taxe postale unique, qui réduirait à 0,10 c (1 penny), le port de lettres d'une nation à l'autre. Il propose qu'une commission soit nommée pour aller à Genève, Berne, Paris, et Londres faire cette demande.

L'assemblée adopte la proposition du citoyen Cremer et nomme comme commission la délégation anglaise.

Sur ce, le président déclare la session du congrès terminée.

[Extraits des Appendices]

Le Courrier International.
Nr. 17, 27. April 1867

Résolutions du Congrès Ouvrier Américain de 1866.

Tandis que le Congrès de l'Association internationale des travailleurs se tenait à Genève, les ouvriers américains se réunissaient, eux aussi, pour formuler leurs
* 5 vœux et leurs aspirations. Comme la classe prolétarienne se trouve unie par le même lien, la même nécessité de s'organiser pour pouvoir résister à la classe capitaliste et pour arriver à son entière émancipation ; nous croyons utile de faire suivre les résolutions du congrès genevois par ceux du congrès américain, tenu à Baltimore le 20 août 1866. La classe ouvrière européenne sera heureuse de constater que
10 le mouvement ouvrier n'est pas seulement concentré en Europe, mais s'affirme aussi en Amérique d'une manière d'autant plus énergique que la liberté politique dont jouit ce pays a appris aux prolétaires américains à n'accepter aucun compromis avec les meneurs de la classe bourgeoise.

I

15 «Attendu qu'un congrès international d'ouvriers va avoir lieu dans la ville de Genève, et comme l'époque en est trop rapprochée pour pouvoir y envoyer un délégué représentant les Etats-Unis, nous proposons :

Que le conseil exécutif de l'Association nationale des travailleurs soit chargé de faire parvenir les souhaits de cette convention à l'Association internationale des
20 travailleurs avec une copie des débats de cette assemblée, priant Dieu de les aider dans leur glorieuse entreprise ; et que le conseil exécutif soit autorisé d'envoyer un délégué au congrès européen, s'il avait lieu, avant la prochaine réunion de notre convention.»

II

25 «Attendu que l'histoire et la législation du passé ont démontré ce fait qu'aucune confiance ne peut être accordée dans les questions touchant les intérêts des classes ouvrières, aux professions de foi et aux garanties des partis politiques existants,

Il est résolu :

30 Que le temps est venu pour la classe ouvrière américaine de briser tous les liens et toutes les affections qui l'attachaient aux anciens partis et de s'organiser en *Ligue du travail national*. L'objet de cette ligue sera d'abord de forcer le congrès national et les législatures d'Etat de promulguer une loi réduisant à *huit heures* la journée de travail et de nommer des hommes chargés de soutenir et de représenter les intérêts de la classe ouvrière ;

Que les moyens les plus efficaces pour arriver aux résultats désirés sont une agitation systématique et l'établissement de *ligues de huit heures de travail* avec le concours de la presse et des orateurs publics ; et ce congrès recommande à tous ses membres à leur retour dans leurs foyers de démontrer à leurs camarades ouvriers la nécessité d'une organisation immédiate ;

Que dans l'intention de mettre à exécution les résolutions du congrès, nous recommandons à tout ami du mouvement ouvrier de n'accorder son vote qu'au candidat qui, sans équivoque, reconnaîtrait la nécessité de promulguer une loi réduisant à *huit heures* la journée de travail et qui consentirait à réclamer toutes les réformes demandées par le mouvement ouvrier ;

Que partout où un ouvrier offrirait les garanties exigées pour remplir n'importe quel emploi, il soit choisi de préférence à tout autre.»

III

«Comme les empiétements accroissants et alarmants des privilèges de la classe, l'étude calme et approfondie des moyens les plus appropriés, les plus efficaces, pour diriger la classe ouvrière vers le même but nous adoptions les propositions suivantes :

Que le premier et le grand *desideratum* de l'heure présente pour affranchir le travail de l'esclavage dans lequel il se trouve, est l'adoption d'une loi qui porterait à *huit heures* la journée légale du travail dans tous les Etats de l'Union américaine, et pour cela il faut que la classe ouvrière se décide à ne jamais discontinuer ses efforts jusqu'à ce que ce glorieux résultat soit obtenu :

Que c'est un devoir impératif pour tout ouvrier des Etats-Unis de s'incorporer dans les *ligues du travail*, là où il en existe et dans les endroits où il n'en existerait pas de commencer immédiatement à en former sur la même base ; il est également du devoir de chaque ligue de se faire représenter dans les *Trades' Unions* (associations de métiers) et d'apporter son concours pour la formation d'une organisation nationale et internationale des travailleurs.

Que dans la co-opération nous trouvons un remède certain et durable contre les abus du système industriel actuel, et que nous appelons de tous nos vœux la fondation de magasins et fabriques co-opératives dans ce pays et conseillons leur formation dans chaque partie de cette contrée et dans chaque branche de l'industrie.

Que le système des maisons pénitentiaires, tel qu'il est pratiqué dans ce pays, est non-seulement offensant pour les classes productrices, mais est une invitation pour les patrons rapaces d'obtenir par l'entremise du gouvernement une diminution de prix sur le travail, en conséquence nous recommandons aux ouvriers de ne patroner que les partis qui n'admettent le travail des prisonniers que s'il est rémunéré de la même façon que dans les fabriques avoisinantes.

Que nous accordons notre protection, tant individuelle qu'associée, aux fileuses et aux femmes industrielles et sollicitons ardemment leur co-opération, car nous savons qu'il n'existe pas de classe industrielle dont la position nécessite plus d'amélioration que celles des fileuses ou ouvrières de l'industrie ;

Résolutions du Congrès Ouvrier Américain de 1866

Qu'aujourd'hui nous devons tendre la main aux laboureurs dans l'intérêt de l'agriculture, c'est pourquoi nous déclarons : 1° que nos différentes ligues devront adopter la même résolution: <Que toute l'étendue du territoire américain soit possédé seulement par les cultivateurs; 2° Que des membres particuliers de cette convention soient nommés à l'effet de surveiller l'exécution de cette résolution ;>

Que ce congrès condamne ce que communément l'on nomme grèves, et recommande aux ouvriers de n'y recourir que lorsqu'ils n'auront le moyen de faire autrement;

Que l'institution d'écoles technologiques et polytechniques, de bibliothèques et la construction d'édifices à cette intention est recommandée aux ouvriers de tous les pays et de toutes les villes comme un moyen d'activer leur culture intellectuelle et leur progrès social.»

International Association of Working Men.
Report of the Congress of Geneva (1866)

The list of the delegates

The International Courier.
Nr. 6/7, 20. Februar 1867

**International Association of Working Men.
Congress of Geneva.**

*The List of the Delegates
present at the Working Men's Congress of Sept. 3-8, 1866.*

- 5 Delegates from the Sections
of the International Working Men's Association.
- Delegated by the Central Council of London, 18, Bouverie street: George Odger, ladies shoemaker; Carter, hair dresser; Jung, watchmaker; Eccarius, tailor; Cremer, carpenter.
- 10 Delegated by the French branch in London: Dupont, musical instrument maker.
Delegated by the Paris sections, 44, rue des Gravilliers: Tolain, bronze chaser; Camélinat, gas-fitter; Bourdon, engraver; Perrachon, moulder in bronzes; N^orat, machinist; Guyard, moulder in bronzes; Chemalé, architect's clerk; Cultin, currier; Benoît Malón, journalist; Varlin, binder; Fribourg, decorative engraver.
- 15 Delegated by the Lyons' sections, 1, rue de l'Hospice-des-Vieillards: Richard, dyer; Schettel, machinist; Secrétant, silk weaver.
Delegated by the section at Fleurieux-sur-Saône: Baudrand.
Delegated by the Rouen section, 12, rue de l'Amitié: Aubry, lithographer.
Delegates from the French section of Geneva, rue de la Pélisserie, 4: Duplex,
- 20 binder; J. Card, journalist.
Delegate from the Lausanne section: Cornaz.
Delegate from the Montreux section: Bocquin, joiner.
Delegates from the German section at Geneva: Becker J. Philip; Heidt Charles, commercial agent.
- 25 Delegate from the Zurich section: Bürkli Charles.
Delegates from the French section of Chaux-de-Fonds, 8, rue de la Place-Neuve: Coullery; Vuilleumier Jules, watch case maker; Vanza Joseph, engraver; Fournier Jean-Marie, watch dial maker; Otterstaetter, engraver.
Delegate from the German section at Chaux-de-Fonds: Philippe Peter.
- ³⁰ Delegate from the German section at Lausanne: Eggenweiler Peter.

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Delegate from the Neuchâtel section: Dagond, attorney; Huguenin, employé of the civil service.

Delegate from the Locle section (Neuchâtel canton): Guillaume, professor.

Delegate from the St. Imier and Sonvilliers sections (Berne canton): Schwitz - guébel.

Delegate from the Bienne section (Berne canton): Mosimann Peter, engraver.

Delegate from the **Bale** section: Frey, ribbon weaver.

Delegate from the Stuttgart section: Müller Louis, shoemaker.

Delegate from the Magdeburg section: Butter Frederick.

Delegate from the Cologne and Solingen sections: Moll Frederick.

Delegated from Affiliated Societies.

Delegate from the tailors of London: Lawrence.

Delegates from the engravers' society of Geneva: Masson; Bonnet; Perret.

Delegates from the watch case makers of Geneva: Vismar; Grass.

Delegate from the musical box manufacturers' society: Marcel Louis.

Delegate from the society called "the Family" of Geneva: Maguin.

Delegate of the "Union" society (Geneva branch): Guilmeaux.

Delegate of the joiners' society of Geneva: Varinard.

Delegate from the carpenters' society of Geneva: W. Rau.

Delegate from the Bildungs-Verein of the German working men of Geneva: Hoppenworth August, binder. 20

Delegate from the Bildungs-Verein of the German working men of Lausanne: Schlaifer, tailor. ;

Delegate from the Bildungs-Verein of the German working men of Vevey: Moessner, cabinet maker. 25

Making a total of 60 delegates, of whom 46 represented 25 sections of the International Association of Working Men and 14 represented 11 affiliated societies.

The International Courier.
Nr. 6/7, 20. Februar 1867;
Nr. 8-10, 13. März 1867

*Instructions for the Delegates
of the Provisional General Council.*

The different questions.

[Siehe S. 225-235.]

3D

Sitting of September 3, 1866

The International Courier.
Nr. 11, 20. März 1867

Sitting of September 3.
Citizen *Dupleix* in the Chair.

Verification of powers.

The Geneva branch having been commissioned by the Central Council to make the necessary preparations for the holding of the Congress, proceeded to verify the credentials of the delegates.

The credential tally gave the following result:

Delegates of branches, 45; delegates of affiliated societies, 15; total, 60.

Right of admission.

10 A warm discussion arose on the demand of some individuals who, though unprovided with credentials, considered that they had a right to be admitted as delegates of the Paris sections, and to take part in the proceedings of the Congress. They alleged the state of the law in France, where meetings were not allowed. Several members supported their demand. In their opinion, the organisation of the Congress was neither complete nor definitive; therefore one ought not to be too exclusive or exacting; that on the contrary it would be better to admit to the proceedings
15 of the Congress every well-meaning individual.

The British delegates insisted on the contrary that they had come to the Congress as representatives of branches and societies, reckoning several thousands of members, and that, as such, they were of the opinion that the representative system
20 should form the basis of the Congress, and that were individuals, representing no organised body, to be admitted, they would violate the rule of equality by voting, and that the rights of themselves (the representative Britons) would thereby be damaged.

25 The meeting decided that the right of taking part in the debates and decisions belonged exclusively to the delegates who had regular credentials.

Election of Chairman and officers.

The delegates, after this interruption, set to work at the election of a Chairman, and citizen Jung, a delegate of the Central Council, was elected to preside over the discussions of the Congress by a majority of 45 votes.
30

Citizen Dupleix, of the French branch of Geneva, and citizen Becker, of the German section of the same city, were appointed vice-presidents.

Citizens Coullery, of Chaux-de-Fonds, Card, of Geneva, Bourdon, of Paris, Moll, of Cologne, were appointed Secretaries.

International Association of Working Men. Report of the Congress of Geneva (1866)

Rules of meeting.

It was resolved that there should be two sittings daily, the first at 9 a.m. and the second at 2 p.m.

Citizen Cremer (London) proposed that every member who brought forward a motion should have 15 minutes, and no more, for his opening speech, and only one speech in reply, not to occupy more than ten minutes, and that the members who should speak upon the question should only speak for ten minutes each at the most.

This proposition was resolved in the affirmative unanimously.

Sitting of September 4, 1866.

(9 a.m.)

Citizen *Jung* in the Chair.

Reading Reports.

Citizen Fribourg, in the name of the Paris section, read the report and balance sheet of the receipts and expenses of the Association in that city. This report also made known the moral result which had been obtained in France.

Citizen Cremer read the executive Report of the London Central Council. This report states that 25,173 citizens were members of the Association. The report expressed hope that more than 20,000 new members would soon adhere to the same. The moral effect of the International Association had been very great throughout Britain.

Citizen Coullery, in the name of the meeting, thanked the working men of Britain for what they had done.

Citizen Fribourg, in the name of the French delegates, expressed gratitude to the Central Council, and moved that the debt due by the said Council be considered as international.

Reading of Essays.

At the request of many members, Citizen Dupont read a translation of the essay drawn up by the Central Council of London,—an essay which discusses almost all the questions propounded by the programme of the International Association.

Citizen Chemalé, of Paris, then read, in the name of the Paris branches, the Parisian essay, which dealt with *all* the questions set down upon the programme.

This reading was interrupted by the hour of closing.

Sittings of September 4, 1866

2 o'clock Sitting.
Citizen Jung in the Chair.

Reading of Essays.

- Citizen Chemalé (Paris) concluded the reading of the report of the Parisian branch.
- 5 Citizen Tolain (Paris) proposed that all the reports be read in the three languages and that then the general discussion on these reports should commence.
This motion was adopted by a large majority.
- Citizen Eccarius (London) read in German the report of the Central Council of London.
- 3 On the question of Popular Education, there was presented a report drawn up by the minority and one by the majority of the Paris section.
The Lyons delegation, after the reading of the Parisian essay, said that they abstained from reading their report and that they entirely adhered to the said essay, in as much as it contained their ideas and principles. On the question of popular edu-
- 5 cation, they pronounced in favour of Home Education.

Essays of individual members.

Citizen Fribourg having laid on the table an essay which he had just received from two members of the Association at Paris, the question arose as to what should be done with this and many other essays contributed by individual members of the Association⁶.

It was unanimously resolved, on the motion of citizen Cremer, that the Geneva committee of management should take these essays in charge and make a summary report thereupon to the Congress⁷.

Organization Committee.

Citizen Card (Geneva) proposed the appointment of a committee to draw up the definitive rules for the government of the Association.

Adopted unanimously.

Citizen Card proposed that every nationality be represented by a number of members in proportion to the number of the delegates.

Card's proposition is adopted.

The following Committee was appointed:

Germans, 4: Bürkli, Hoppenworth, Becker, Schlaifer. British, 3: Eccarius, Carter, Dupont. French, 5: Varlin, Fribourg, Schettel, Tolain, Aubry. Swiss, 2: Duplex, Coullery.

⁶ See catalogue of this in the Appendix.

⁷ For want of time, this report was never drawn up.

Sitting of September 5, 1866.

Morning Sitting.

Citizen *Jung* in the Chair.

Citizen Card (Geneva)⁽¹⁾ proposed the discussion of the programme, article by article. He demanded that for every question a resolution be drawn up which should 5
serve as the basis of the public discussion.

Card's proposition was supported by all the members present.

The second question was about to be formulated according to the above proposal, when citizen Cremer (London) pointed out that the meeting could not discuss the resolution profitably except in the presence of all the delegates, for it might happen 10
that the members of the Committee would reject one or more of the resolutions come to by the meeting. He also pointed out that the various programmes were not alike. The order of the questions varied in each, and some heads of the French programme did not appear in the London and Genevese programmes.

Afternoon Sitting.

15

Citizen Card read a letter from Milan addressed by citizen Stampa of that city to the members of the Congress. In behalf of the Italian working classes the writer expressed his regret that none of their delegates could take part in this remarkable International Congress of the working classes. Those in whose behalf he wrote hoped that their adhesion would be deemed equivalent to their presence. 20

This letter produced a great impression on the meeting, and was greeted by unanimous applause. Several members demanded that it be translated into German and English and inserted in the minutes of the Congress.

The letter was accordingly translated and the motion for its insertion was carried.

The Chairman announced that the London journals the *Times* and the *Daily News* 25
had both inserted articles on the Congress. He added that this fact was a cheering one, in as much as these journals were two of the most consideration in England. They had hitherto not deigned to mention the Association.

The Rules of the Association.

Citizen Coullery (Switzerland) was then called upon in the name of the Committee 30
appointed to draw up the rules or constitution of the Association, to read the report of this Committee.

Several members asked that the Rules be read through to the end, and that they then be taken up one by one.

This mode of proceeding was approved of and adopted. 35

Concerning article 1, having reference to the appointment of the general secretary, the delegates were divided in opinion. The London delegates proposed that he be appointed by the Congress in order to render his responsibility greater.

◇ By birth a Pole.

Citizen Tolain and others argued, on the other hand, that the General Secretary should be appointed by the General Council. They argued that a difference might arise between these two authorities if they both held office on the same tenure. The difference and conflict might last from the dissolution of one Congress to the reassembling of another and might check the march of the Association.

The latter opinion obtained the sanction of the majority of the members.

On article 2, which concerned the fixing of the date of the Congress, citizen Card said that he thought that the selection of the time and place for the Congress should be left to the initiative of the General Council.

This proposition was supported by the German and London delegates. It was opposed by many members of the French and Swiss delegates.

Citizen Murat made the following motion:

That the fixing of the time of the reassembling of the Congress be irrevocably settled every year by the Congress itself, and that the power of choosing the place be left to the General Council.

The members who supported this motion demanded that the delegations of the different countries irrespective of the decision of the General Council, should have the right of assembling without any convoking of a Congress.

Murat's motion was accepted by the majority.

Citizen Tolain spoke to a question of order. He proposed that in the disposal of amendments made to the different motions, the procedure of the French Legislature be adopted. This procedure was to draw up written amendments and to lay them on the table. The President then brings them forward for discussion, beginning with the one which is most at variance with the original motion.

This proposition was adopted by the majority, although opposed by the London delegates.

The discussion of the articles continued.

A propos of annual Congress, citizens Cremer and Odger (London) urged that it was inexpedient to hold Congress so often as once a year; their principal reason in favour of their conclusion was the travelling and other expenses of the delegates.

The majority of the members thought that every Congress would produce a new flood of life to the Association and would attract a larger number of members, which would correspondingly increase their funds.

The meeting decided that the Congress should be held annually.

Articles 4, 5 and 6 were unanimously adopted.

On article 7, which relates to advances to be made to members who pass from one country into another, the delegates emit contrary opinions. Some argue that the power ought not to be granted to the branches to grant to all the members a credit by which those branches might be victimised. They said that the working man must break himself in to economy and not reckon on any pecuniary aid. They add that the International Association ought only to try and find employment for the emigrating working man and grant him only what in some countries is called *a viaticum*.

Citizens Tolain and Fribourg (Paris) replied that it was easy to meet these difficulties, and proposed the following means of doing so. His branch will be guarantee

for the monies advanced to the emigrating member. And in case the hospitable branch shall have no funds in hand, let it draw at sight on the home branch the amount advanced. In this way, there would be neither charity nor hospitality. The migrating citizen would simply exercise his *right*. The home branch is the sole judge of the way in which it will accredit its migrating member. 5

The London delegation demanded the adjournment of this question. This adjournment was voted down. The original proposition was carried with two dissentients.

On article 8, which related to the conditions necessary for admission to the International Association of Working Men, a very animated discussion took place. 10C

A part of the meeting desired that every man, hand-worker or otherwise, who contributes to the emancipation of the working class, be admissible to the Association.

The Parisian and several Swiss delegates demanded, on the contrary, that the condition of hand-worker be dispensed with. Their reason was that many self-seeking men would worm themselves into the Association in order to make themselves masters of it and to make it serve their personal ends. In this way, they would divert the Association from its true aim. 15

After a long discussion, the meeting pronounced in favour of the following proposition, which was presented by the members of the Organising Committee. 20

"Every one who can make good his title to working-man-hood shall be admissible as a member of the Association; so as that every branch shall have the right of admitting whomsoever it pleased on its own responsibility."

Articles 9, 10, 11, were voted unanimously.

The International Courier.
Nr. 12, 27. März 1867

Sitting of September 6, 1866. 25
(9 a.m.)

Citizen *Jung* in the Chair.

First Article of the Programme.
Organisation of the Association.

Citizens Dupont and Carter, both of London, proposed that a committee of five be appointed to draw up the rules of the Association. 30

Motion accepted.

The members appointed were Eccarius, Fribourg, Bürkli, Coullery and Schettel.

Publication of Essays and Programmes.

Citizen Tolain (Paris) asked if the Essays and *mémoires* presented to the Congress are to be published at the expense of the General Council. 35

Citizen Card (Switzerland) proposed that a Committee be appointed to decide as

Sittings of September 6, 1866

to what should be published at the general expense and what not, leaving to the several sections the right to publish their contributions in case of their non-insertion in the official report of the Congress.

Citizen Becker opposed the appointment of this Committee and maintained that this work of selection which would require from ten days to a fortnight to accomplish must be entrusted to the General Council of London.

The proposition of Becker's was voted unanimously.

Citizen Tolain (Paris) proposed that the three Programmes of the London, German and French delegations be published *in extenso* in the official Report of the Transactions of the Congress.

Voted unanimously.

Dupont proposed that all the contributions published by the several sections be sent to the General Council in order that they may be there preserved among the archives of the Association.

This proposition was adopted.

Stampa's letter.

Tolain proposed that Citizen Stampa's letter be published *in extenso* in the official Report.

Passed unanimously.

The Managing Committee (*bureau*) proposed that a letter in reply to that of the Italian working men be sent.

Passed.

Afternoon Sitting.

Citizen *Jung* in the Chair.

Citizen Dupont called the attention of the Association to a circumstance which had passed at Ferney and which it was important to make known to all the delegates. The band of Ferney, which was composed of working men, had manifested the intention of taking part in the Congress by offering its gratuitous services for the Sunday festival. A Prefectoral order had prohibited them from doing so. The *Prefect* had at the same time withdrawn from the band-master the stipend which was allotted to him.

Citizen Dupleix, of Geneva, corroborated the facts advanced by Citizen Dupont.

Citizen Fribourg, of Paris, proposed the following resolution:

"This Congress is astonished at the stretch of authority of which the band-master at Ferney has been the victim and instructs its President to convey to him its regret and its sympathy."

The resolution was passed.

The Parisian malcontents.

Citizen Dupont (London) points out that a group of Parisian members having come to Geneva without credentials with a view to take part in the proceedings of the Congress, it would be expedient that the meeting should vote the immediate admission of a member of this group to make known the subject matter which the group wanted to have discussed, and adds that this group accused the Parisian delegates of wishing to stifle discussion.

Citizen Fribourg, in the name of the Parisian delegation, gave a formal denial to this accusation and said that the Parisian delegates have always contended for and do still contend for the admission of the malcontent group.

Several German and British members said that they did not understand why this question was exhumed and demanded the order of the day.

A "row" having been raised in the hall, Citizen Duplex said that the Congress was placed under the auspices of the Genevese Committee and he accordingly invited the members thereof to re-establish order.

The order of the day was voted by a majority; 17 votes being thrown against it.

Second Article of the Programme.
Combination of efforts by means
of the Association in the different national struggles
between capital and labour.

Citizen Dupont read the Commentary on this article made by the General Council and added these words:

"I request the particular attention of the Congress to the statistics proposed by the General Council. It is one of the most important questions that we have to solve; for it alone will furnish to us positive *data* on the relative position of the working classes of every country; then only shall we be able to act with the advantage of that complete knowledge which familiarity with the elements of the social struggle will give us."

Citizen Lawrence (London) proceeded to detail what combinations ought to be employed to develop this struggle and give it a constantly increasing intensity. He wished to see such ties formed between the working classes of every country that they may attain to a mutual knowledge of their respective situations; in this way they would be able to baffle the schemes of the employers. In proof of his allegations, he cited the last strike of the tailors of London and Scotland. The employers, in order to escape from the just demands of their workmen, brought over into Britain some German operative tailors, who, on arrival, found themselves without work and surrounded by a population whose language they did not understand. The consequence was that they were *exploités* by the employers and made to work at a lower price than that paid to the British operative. The Trade Society of the London tailors and the General Council of the Association did what they could for these poor men. They helped them to return to their country or to obtain the full wages for

their work in Britain. Something similar to this had just taken place in the case of the excavators of the South of England. Since the capitalists, thanks to the means furnished them by industry, have so many ways of putting "the screw" upon working men, the latter have but one way of shaking off the yoke, and that is an understanding between working men of every country to declare war to the knife against the race of capitalists. With a view to prepare for this war, every section of the International Association ought to be an *Information Office* where every working man may be able to obtain trustworthy intelligence concerning the condition of the working classes and of the particular trade to which he belongs in the country to which he desires to emigrate.

For the above reasons, Lawrence proposed the following resolution:

"That the different sections enter into communication with the Trade Societies (or individual working men where no Trade Society exists) with a view to obtain a report upon the economical and political condition of the working classes of the country. Such report to be communicated to the other sections."

Citizen Murat (Paris) seconded the resolution of Citizen Lawrence.

Citizen Coullery insisted upon this, that the capitals saved and amassed by the working men ought not to return to the hands of the capitalists, but ought to be employed in the establishment of cooperative associations, which will enrich the working classes and augment their power in the struggle against the class of exploiters; and he concludes by this *mot*: "Capitalist exploitation is legalised robbery."

Citizen Dupont said that the resolution of Lawrence was unnecessary inasmuch as the General Council had foreseen the proposition by proposing a scheme of statistics, which would furnish every kind of detail concerning the position of the working man. This scheme, he added, is imperiously called for, the position of the working man in presence of the employers is precarious in the extreme. Judge by the following fact: A workman had been hired at Sheffield by an employer for the term of two years. A strike takes place, the workmen obtain an increase of wages. The working man under contract wishes to participate in the benefit of the increase. The employer refuses to pay him the advance; the workman thereupon ceases to work. The employer takes out a summons, and the workman is condemned to three months imprisonment. On coming out of prison, the employer claims the benefit of the contract; the workman again refuses to work; the magistrate threatens him with successive three monthly terms of imprisonment, until the term of service has expired, if he do not immediately return to the workshop, at the wages agreed on previous to the general advance. You see everything is turned against the workman, who, in presence of the capitalist, is without means of defence. It is necessary that, by means of these statistics, he may at least have an opportunity of knowing the ground on which he stands.

Citizen Tolain said that in Britain, thanks to the genius of British liberty, the class movement manifested itself by a policy of resistance, whereas in France by reason of the shackles imposed upon the organisation of the working classes, a strike has only been a rare and extreme measure and cooperation has been there deemed to be the only means of working class emancipation.

Citizen Odger (London): "In our British strikes, the employers compel their

working men to give way by the importation of continental working men or by the mere threat of importing them. The International Association must put an end to this state of things. And as the primary cause of these importations is the comparatively low scale of wages on the Continent, the working men of Britain will support the claims of the Continental working men and in case of need, will make pecuniary sacrifices to sustain them in their warfare."

Citizen Eccarius (London). Strikes should no longer be confined to a single nation; the capitalist centralisation has become so strong that the employers baffle the national strikers either by importations of foreign workmen or by giving orders to be executed in other countries. This is what occurred in the recent strike in the Sheffield file trades. The Sheffield employers sent orders to the United States in order to paralyse the movement of their operatives; but the American file-smiths refused to lend themselves to these stratagems. However such a fact is extraordinary; as a rule, the employers are able to avail themselves of this weapon and triumph by means of it. Therefore in order to render a strike profitable at the present juncture of the World's history, it is expedient that at the same moment the workmen of every country should refuse to work, that the strike be universal, worldwide! To demand a Universal strike is to demand the Revolution.

Citizen Cremer (London) perceived the necessity of these statistics and adduced in proof thereof what took place in England in 1859 at the time of the famous strike of the Building-Trades. This gigantic strike was made by several thousands of working men, thousands of pounds sterling were spent in sustaining it, all the English Trade Unions contributed to the funds spent in maintaining this strike. The employers threatened to import foreign workmen in mass. The English workmen immediately wrote to all the foreign working men's associations, but, as they had not the relations which the International Association possesses, the workmen were forced to give in after a 38 weeks' cessation from work. This fact makes it plain that to guarantee success to the working class in the battle which they have to wage against capital, it is necessary that immense means of publicity be placed in the hands of the working classes. And to avert the importation of working men from one country to another, we must try and establish a nearly uniform rate of wages and one can only do that by aiding every movement for the augmentation of wages and the diminution of the hours of labour.

Citizen Becker (Germany) makes the following proposition:

"That the working men's Societies in all parts of the world be invited to enter into communication with each other through the medium of the General Council, that they give mutual information concerning the amount of wages, the hours of labour, the mode of hiring labour, etc. That in this way it will be possible to arrive at the desideratum of a uniform rate of wages in all countries. As the wages question is not national but international, we invite working men of every country to aid each other as much as possible (through the medium of the General Council) in their daily struggles with Capital; and that by these means they would hinder the employers from obtaining foreign workmen during a class-battle of the native working men."

Resolution adopted. Eight votes against it.

Sittings of September 6, 1866

Citizen Cornaz (Switzerland) proposed the establishment of information offices in every town where the working men might apply for work and where the employers might apply for workmen.

Citizen Card (Switzerland), condemns strikes on principle. He said it was a barbarous method and one that strengthened the wage system, which they all wished to abolish. We ought to preach the benefits of cooperation, for it organises the working classes, guarantees to them the enjoyment of the fruits of their labour, and develops their intelligence.

Citizen Jung left the Presidential chair to defend strikes, at least under the economic conditions of England. British strikes were acts of defence against the infamous exactions of the employer class. Generally, it was the employers who closed their workshops and locked out their workmen, as was the case with the London tailors and the file operatives of Sheffield. Although the strike was often dearly paid for, it brought back more on the balance to the well organised trades than it cost, whether it was entered upon for the sake of diminishing the hours of the working day or for an increase of wages.

Citizen Card and citizen Camélinat of Paris protest against strikes and do not believe in the benefits said to be derived from them by the British workman.

Dupont (London) argued that the British do not endorse strikes on principle, but only as a weapon of war. It is by means of this weapon alone that the British working class have been organised, and no other European country offers such an example of compact organisation. Cooperation reduced to the insignificant resources of which it can dispose would have been powerless to attain this result. For this reason, even if strikes be condemned on principle, they ought to be sanctioned as the only weapon which the working class have at their disposal. And, recurring to the statistical project, he submits for the approval of the meeting

the Plan of Statistics

proposed by the General Council, which was unanimously adopted.

Card, of Switzerland, and Tolain, of Paris, propose the following resolution:

"This Congress declares that, in the present condition of industry, which is a state of war, the working classes ought to proffer to each other aid for the defense of the scale of wages. But it also believes it to be its duty to declare that there is a more elevated aim to be sought after, which aim is the suppression of the wages' system, and it recommends a search after economical systems based on justice and reciprocity."

Resolution adopted.

Article VF».

Trades' Unions. Their past, present and future.

Citizen Fribourg (Paris), in the name of the Parisian delegation, moved the following proposition:

"The past was the guild, that is despotism; the present is each man for himself, that is mutual antagonism and universal subjection to capital; the future is the identification of the consumer, the producer and the capitalist brought about by co-operation."

This resolution was unanimously adopted as was also the extract from the London Commentary bearing upon the subject.

Sitting of September 7, 1866.
(9 a.m.)

Citizen *Jung* in the Chair.

Article V.

Co-operative labour.

Citizen Eccarius (London) read the commentary of the General Council, which was unanimously adopted.

Citizens Fribourg and Chemalé (Paris) made the following addendum thereto:

"The Congress recommends co-operative associations to avoid the form of a one-man executive and to leave to the associates the plenary right of management on all points conformably to the articles of agreement signed by them."

Citizen Bocquin (Montreux) proposed to congratulate the Lausanne section, which, during the last winter, had undertaken at its risk public works for the sake of employing the working class.

Citizen Cremer (London) quoted an analogous fact. The excavators of London have contracted to execute works amounting to more than £20,000 (500,000 fr.).

Article VI.

See *antea*.

⁽¹⁵⁾ The Congress took up this article out of its order on the London programme probably because it had been incidentally discussed during the deliberation on article II.

Sittings of September 7, 1866

Article VII.

Direct and indirect taxation.

The Commentary of the General Council on this question was read.

After a short discussion, the Parisian delegates submitted the following resolution to the Congress:

"Taxes are the quota paid by the individual citizen towards the general expenses; it is therefore an exchange between the citizen and society represented by the government. The citizens being the sole judges of the services it requires and of the remuneration to be paid, therefore they are alone entitled to vote and levy the tax.

The tax ought to be as direct as possible so as that the quota of each be clearly defined and its just incidence be easily controlled."

Citizen Coullery (Chaux-de-Fonds) proposed an amendment to this resolution, substituting for the words "as direct as possible" the word "direct" without more, which was on all fours with the London Commentary.

But after a short discussion, he withdrew his amendment and the resolution was accepted by the meeting.

Article VIII.

International Credit.

Citizen Fribourg (Paris) brought forward the following series of resolutions.

"1. The Congress refers the subject of international credit to the study of the members of the Association and invites all the sections of the Association to send the result of their reflections on this question to the General Council which will insert it in its Bulletin in order that the question may be brought to the cognisance of all and be ready for solution by the next Congress.

2. The Congress refers in the same manner the idea of a federation of all working class banks now formed or hereafter to be formed by means of a central establishment under the management of the International Association of Working Men."

These resolutions were seconded by citizen Coullery and unanimously adopted.

Article III.

Limitation of the working day.

Citizen Dupont read the recommendations of the General Council hereanent.

The French delegates enunciated the following propositions:

"1. That man only can be free who has the opportunity of developing all his faculties. Consequently all prolongation of toil which would render a man incapable of developing and enjoying all his capacities should be condemned as hostile to health and antisocial.

2. Under present circumstances, we deem ten hours *per diem* labour as what ought to suffice to produce or procure the necessities of life.

3. The Association ought therefore to exert all its efforts to procure the recognition of the equal value of employments by establishing a minimum of wages in payment for the services rendered by the individual to society."

Afternoon Sitting.

Citizen *Jung* in the Chair.

Article III. (Continued.)

Citizen Odger (London) spoke as follows. Regarding the fixing of the minimum of wages, he thought it difficult to carry out. But he was decidedly of opinion that the 8 hours of work, as proposed by the General Council, should be supported by the Congress. Eight hours work are more than enough to pay the expenses of the working man. They are enough to enable him to furnish a due share to the sum of social products. Do not forget that Robert Owen, the famous communist, demonstrated with the greatest exactness that *three hours work* per day, if given by all without exception, would be enough to produce the actual amount of social riches and reflect that since Owen's time, machinery has made immense progress and that its progress has tended to abridge human labour.

Citizen Cremer (London) thought it would be impossible to establish a minimum of wages. In this debate, the really important question is that of the hours of labour. It is the only one which we need resolve in a positive sense and we must energetically claim an eight hours day. In America, a great movement among the working class is on foot to obtain this object. The International Association is well thought of by the American workingmen simply because of this question, for they are convinced that we shall back them in this struggle and set on foot ourselves an eight hours' movement. We cannot abandon them by demanding less than they do. Besides the more extensive our demands are, the more we shall get. Of late the artisans in the building trades struck to obtain a reduction in the hours of work to 9 hours; if instead of claiming 9 hours they had claimed eight, victory would have perched upon their eagles. Therefore let the rallying cry of the working classes of the world be "Eight hours per day!" I presume we are not too presumptuous in making such a demand.

Citizen Coullery (Chaux-de-Fonds) said that this was the most important question which the Congress had to pronounce upon. In order to accomplish the social revolution we must have *men*, and the present manufacturing regime kills the human being and reduces him to a mere wheel. Eight hours work per day even are too much, especially for women. English capitalists themselves were the first to demand a reduction in the hours of toil for their "hands" and this from their point of view only, for they knew that excess of toil diminished the productive strength of the human animal.

Citizen Card (Poland) said: We need not go so far as England to seek our examples, they are here in Switzerland. The masters of the Canton of Saint-Gall have also taken the initiative in this movement for the reduction of the hours of labour

and have accomplished something. At present, the legal hours are fourteen for factories which are subjected to the *surveillance* of the police.

Citizen Bürkli (Germany) warmly defended the proposition of the General Council. Those who desire the instruction of the people ought to vote for the eight hours' principle for what can you expect from a man who works from 12 to 14 hours a day? Can he on coming home have the strength left to study a book? Secondly, the continental working men ought to stand by our brethren of England and America in their struggle against the capitalists and to demand a less diminution than they do, would be to betray them.

10 Citizen Murat (Paris). The development of industry has not reached the same level everywhere; the consequence of which is that the working classes of the civilised world are not in the same relative position in their struggle with capital, and that therefore general rules applying universally to all countries cannot be laid down. Nevertheless in this Congress we cannot do better than accord our approbation to
15 the movement among the working classes of England and America, for those are the countries where industry is most highly developed and when France shall have achieved a similar state of development we shall be obliged to make the same demand, and we shall be glad to find the principle of the same endorsed by the first working men's Congress.

20 Citizen Fribourg (Paris) said that they, the Parisian delegates, do not ask for such a reduction. All that those in whose name he spoke asked for is that the toil of the workmen be not such as to be unfavourable to the natural development of their faculties and aptitudes, and they do not think it possible to adopt any fixed rule on this subject.

25 The extract of the Commentary of the General Council relating to the hours of labour was then put to the vote and adopted by the majority. 10 votes being then thrown in the negative.

The Parisian delegates then brought forward the following resolution:

30 "That the Association ought to make every effort to affirm the principle of the equal value of occupations by establishing a minimum of wages payable for the service rendered by the individual to Society."

This resolution was adopted unanimously.

Article IV.

The labour of women and children.

35 Citizen Dupont (London), read the commentary of the General Council upon this subject. He added:

The Congress ought to give its serious attention to the question of the apprentice. A contract exists between the employer and the apprentice. The latter is compelled to fulfil his part of the bargain, but the master sets his part at naught, for during the
40 term of the apprenticeship, the apprentice is *exploité* in every way. He is made to perform all kinds of work which is quite aside from his trade. Therefore he only commences to learn his trade when he has finished his apprenticeship and becomes

a workman. We should insist upon this question for the exploitation of the *child* has something in it more iniquitous than that of the man.

Citizen Coullery (Chaux-de-Fonds), said—I am happy to see the Congress take up the question of woman. We ought to declare in a categorical manner that we work as much for the emancipation of woman as for that of man. We must rescue her from the prostitution of the workshop as well as from that of the streets. It is necessary that her education be as complete as that of man, in order that she may not become the dupe of the ministers of any religion whatever. In a word, she should have the means of developing herself completely, both in mind and body, for she is the hope of the human species.

Citizens Chemalé, Fribourg, Perrachon and Camélinat (Paris), proposed the following resolution:

"On physical, moral and social grounds the labour of women and children in factories ought to be energetically condemned on principle as one of the most prolific causes of the degeneracy of the human species and as one of the most powerful means of demoralisation put in motion by the capitalist caste."

Women, they added, are not made to work hard; their place is at the family fire-side; they are the natural educators of the children; they alone can prepare their children for a civic and free life. This question ought to be debated at the next Congress. The scheme of statistics that has been voted will furnish a powerful body of facts whereon we may base our condemnation of women's labour in factories.

Citizen Varlin (Paris), said—Like the rest of you, I admit that female labour in factories, as it is practised at present, ruins the body and is corrupting. But do not let us generalise upon this fact so as to condemn female labour in general, for how can you, who wish to rescue women from prostitution, effect your purpose unless you give her the means of earning her livelihood. What would become of widows and orphan girls? They will be obliged either to become recipients of charity or prostitutes. To condemn female labour is to sanction charity as an institution and authorise prostitution.

Citizen Fribourg (Paris). Widows and orphan girls will always be exceptions and cannot in any way impair the force of the rule we lay down. For while desiring that all men shall work, we know perfectly well that many men will be prevented from so doing by natural accidents, yet we insist upon the rule. Widows and orphan girls will be as much exceptions to the general rule of their sex as infirm men will be to the rule which requires all men to work.

Citizen Tolain said—So long as the factory is open to women, they will never be free beings, nor able to develop their natural aptitudes. The workshop unsexes women.

Citizen Lawrence (London), said—There is something stronger than all our speeches here; there is something more true than all the philosophic sentiments we utter in this building and that is, *the march of Society*. We ought not to be theorising, we are working men and therefore should aim at being practical rather than Utopian. Accordingly, if we wish to aid in an efficient manner the emancipation of our class, we must limit our *rôle* to observing what is taking place around us, to gaining a comprehension of the social movement and not to think of imposing upon it our

Sittings of September 8, 1866

personal sentiments and theories. As the commentary of the General Council very well phrases it "the tendency of modern industry is to make the woman and the child cooperate in productive labour." This is so true that in certain parts of England, the wife goes out to work and the man remains at home and does the house-
5 work. We of the London delegation are however far from admiring the way in which woman is obliged to work, but the fact exists and it would be folly on our part to condemn female labour in an unqualified manner, but what we may do is to protest energetically against the exploitation of woman as it is carried on by the capitalist caste.

10 The commentary of the General Council on this subject was put to the vote and carried by a large majority.

The following amendment presented by Citizens Varlin and Bourdon, of Paris, and tending to add point to the English Commentary, was put to the vote and rejected.

15 "The lack of education, the excess of toil, the low scale of remuneration and the bad hygienic conditions of factories are, under the present state of things, causes of physical and moral debasement for the women who work therein. These causes may be destroyed by a better organisation of labour, by cooperation. Woman has need to work in order to be able to lead an honourable life. Our aim should be to ameliorate her labour and not to suppress it. As to children we ought to put off the period
20 of their entrance into the factory as much as possible and curtail as much as possible their hours of labour."

The proposition of Citizens Chemalé, Fribourg, Perrachon and Camélinat was put to the vote and adopted by the majority.

25 On the subject of the education of children, the French delegates proffered the following resolution which was unanimously adopted.

"This Congress declares that technical education ought to be both theoretical and practical. In default thereof, it will lead to the establishment of an aristocracy based upon a special training which is calculated to make not artisans, but foremen
30 and overseers of artisans."

The International Courier.
Nr. 14, 10. April 1867

Sitting of September 8, 1866.
(9 a.m.)

Citizen *Jung* in the Chair.

Article X.

35 On standing armies and their effects on production.

Citizen Dupont (London) opened the discussion by reading the Commentary of the General Council on this question.

Citizen Vuilleumier (Chaux-de-Fonds) proposed the following resolutions:

1. The Congress acknowledges that the system of a standing army is in flagrant contradiction to the rational progress of society.

2. And while aware of the impossibility of immediately effecting a radical change in this state of things it is full of confidence that the association of all working men will ultimately cause the abolition of standing armies.

The French delegates proposed the following series of resolutions:

1. Standing armies take away from industrial labour the most robust men to return them (when they are returned) unfit for regular work. The use made of them both at home and abroad still further augments the dangers wherewith such an institution menaces industry.

2. The militia system, that is to say the arming of the whole nation, is the only one which can be admitted as a transitional process.

3. The Congress gladly sees the efforts which are being made for the abolition of standing armies and the extinction of war and antagonism between nations and expresses its sympathies with all those who have devoted themselves to the diffusion of those ideas and in particular to the founders of the *Ligue du bien public*.

Citizen Heidt (Germany) proposed the following resolution, which was supported by citizens Rau and Biirkli (both from Germany) :

The Congress recommends the sections, wherever circumstances permit them, to form associations for military exercise as much as possible on the same basis and plan, and this with a view to accelerate the general arming of the people.

Citizen Heidt said: Already there exist such associations in Germany and where the Governments prohibit these exercises, sticks are substituted for guns in the gymnastic schools.

The whole meeting approved the principles developed by the speakers and adopted all the resolutions.

Article XI.

Religious ideas; their influence upon social, political and intellectual progress.

The French delegates submitted the following resolution:

"The Congress affirms the physical and intellectual liberty of the human species and declares that the influence of religious ideas tends to deny man's free will and his dignity; nevertheless inasmuch as all religious ideas shun the test of inquiry, the Congress confines itself to a protest against this influence and goes on to the next question."

Citizen Peter (Germany) said: We must cease to confound religion with morality; they are two things entirely distinct from each other and even contradictory to each other. We must energetically go in for their complete separation and we must unite our efforts to combat religion, which has been a greater curse than standing armies have been.

Citizen Coullery (Chaux-de-Fonds) said: Morality has been tacked on to the skirts of religion and been subjected and dragged through the mire by the latter.

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Morality has been compelled by religion to excuse and to authorise all the crimes committed by the latter. We must emancipate morality from this fatal tutelage. Morality should be based upon reason and science. Thus elaborated, it should be inculcated to children. Religious instruction should be banished from the schools
5 in an unqualified manner.

Citizen Müller (Germany) protested against the confounding of morality with religion. Religion perverts morality. It is the country parts where religion perpetrates its ravages. It is there especially that we must guard against it and go in for the inculcation of a rationalistic morality.

10 Citizen Schlaifer (Germany) dwelt upon the antagonism between morality and religion and protested against the influence of the clergy.

Citizen Card (Poland) denounced religious instruction, the injurious effects of which were particularly felt by the female sex.

Citizen Bocquin (Montreux) spoke in the same sense as citizen Schlaifer.

15 Citizen Vuilleumier (Switzerland) and Schwitzguébel (Germany) proposed the following resolution:

"The Congress declares that it desires liberty of conscience, the separation of Church and State and the exclusion from all schools of any kind of religious instruction."

20 Citizen Tolain (Paris) said: The progress of science will gradually destroy religious prejudices and will bring mankind to a sense of its dignity. He recommended that the Congress should not come to any resolution on the subject.

All the members of the Congress were unanimous in favour of ridding the human race of every variety of religious prejudices. It desired that note be made of this
25 unanimity and thereupon it passed to the next question.

Article IX.

The necessity of annihilating the influence
of Muscovite despotism in Europe by the application
of the right of nations to dispose of their own destiny
30 and by the reconstitution of Poland
on a democratic basis.

Citizen Card (Poland) and Becker (Germany) were desirous that the Congress should declare in favour of this question, but the meeting considering it as a purely political one decided not to discuss it, but to leave to the German and Swiss mem-
35 bers the power to sign the following resolution of Becker in favour of the reconstitution of Poland.

"Considering that by the development and consolidation of the International Association of Working Men every despotism will disappear, the reconstitution of Poland on a democratic basis will follow as a matter of course."

Afternoon Session.
Citizen *Jung* in the Chair.

Article XII.

The establishment of Benefit Societies.

The affording of moral and material aid to orphans left
by members of the Association¹⁾. 5

Citizen Dupleix (Switzerland) said that all the adherents to the Association have called for the establishing of a *general* Society of mutual aid. The different benefit societies being merely local ones, many working men lost their rights on migrating to another country. The Geneva section had endeavoured to found an association 10 whose objects are help in case of sickness, mutual credit and support to the orphans left by members of the Association. The Geneva section demands from the Congress its endorsement of this Benefit Society in order that it may become an international one.

Citizen Chemalé (Paris) would recommend that the different Benefit Societies 15 be linked together by a federal tie; but it would be difficult to realise this idea in France, as all these societies are under the thumb of the Government and their money was deposited in the coffers of the State.

Citizen Bocquin (Montreux) claims that the Geneva Benefit Society obviated all the difficulties that were to be encountered in the different countries. For this purpose, each Society would have only to draw at sight upon the branch to which the member aided belonged, in order to get its advances repaid, and he thought that 20 this method would be completely practicable in France.

Citizen Müller, in the name of the Stuttgart section, spoke as follows: A uniform code of rules ought to govern all the federated Benefit Societies without which the international aim would fail. Already in Switzerland, Germany etc., there exist 25 Benefit Societies which are far from sufficing for the public needs. It is only by merging an enormous mass of them into one mammoth Association that better results can be obtained. Consequently a central organisation appears to us to be indispensable. It would receive the contributions of all the sections and would undertake to provide for their outlay. What we propose is already carried out by fire and 30 life insurance offices. We should only have to work after their models.

The London delegation proposed the following resolution:

"That this Congress entirely approves of the measures taken by the Geneva Section in the establishment of Benefit Societies and it recommends the General 35 Council to study the best means of establishing the principle of the same upon an international basis."

This resolution was put to the vote and carried.

The Lyonnese and Parisian delegations made the following motion:

¹⁾ This article appears neither on the London nor on the Paris Programme. It was, however, inserted in the Geneva Programme and was therefore introduced by the Swiss delegates. 40 ;

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"The assembled delegates while acknowledging the desirability of establishing Benefit Societies, do not however think that the moment is opportune for making a general measure of it. They therefore leave each section free to constitute these Societies, as well as Loan Societies, in their midst. Moreover they appeal to the sections who have entered on this path to draw up special reports with a view to facilitate the development of those Societies."

Unanimously adopted.

Article XIII.
Settlement of the Rules.

- io Citizen Coullery then read the whole of the rules through. They were then taken up one by one.

Rules 1, 2 and 3 were adopted unanimously.

Rule 4, which relates to the annual contribution of members was the object of the following discussion.

- 15 Citizen Dupleix (Switzerland) said that this article only related to individual members; the different Societies adhering to the principles of the International Association would pay a round sum as composition money for their members.

Citizen Coullery wished that the members of the different affiliated bodies should have to pay a smaller sum than the *per capita* contribution.

- 20 The French delegates, on the contrary, proposed that the contribution be *personal* and therefore equal for all.

Citizen Lawrence (London) warned the meeting not to frighten the affiliated societies and thought that they should be encouraged by allowing them to pay a composition.

- 25 Citizen Fribourg said: Inequality of obligations would entail inequality of rights. Therefore he argued that a uniform rate should be charged to each member.

Citizen Chemalé (Paris) said that as a matter of principle it would be right that all members should pay the same contribution; yet, considering the exceptional situation of the English Trades' Unions, he was willing that a reduction of 50 per cent

- 30 be made in their favour.

Citizen Camélinat (Paris) thought that an unequal contribution could not be charged without being false to the devise of the International Association: "No rights without duties."

The discussion on this point continued for a considerable time.

- 35 Citizens Varlin and Fribourg eventually proposed that a contribution of 30 centimes or 3 pence be established exceptionally for the year 1866-67 and that it be levied *per capita*.

This proposition was put to the vote and adopted.

Article XIII. (Continued.)
Settlement of the Rules.

Rules 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 were unanimously adopted.

Rule 11, relating to the qualification of a delegate gave rise to the following debate: 5

Citizen Tolain (Paris) said: If it is unobjectionable to admit citizens of every social class as members of the International Association, it should not be so when we come to fix the qualifications for a delegate. In presence of the existing social organisation in which the working classes maintain a merciless struggle with the middle classes, it is expedient, yea indispensable, that every representative of a section be a working man. 10

Citizen Perrachon (Paris) speaks in the same strain and adds, that to admit a non-working man to become a delegate would be to aim at the destruction of the Association.

Citizen Vuilleumier (Switzerland) said: By eliminating anyone from our Association, we should set ourselves in contradiction with our general Rules which admit as members every individual without distinction of race or colour, and by the mere fact of his admission, he is fit to become a candidate for election. 15

Citizen Cremer (London) regretted that this invidious question had been raised. Among the members of the General Council there are several citizens who are not hand-workers and who have not given any ground of suspicion. Far from that, it is probable that but for their devoted co-operation, the Association would not have struck so deep a root in Britain. Among those members I will mention one only, Citizen Marx, who has devoted all his life to the triumph of the working classes. 25

Citizen Carter (London) said: The personality of Karl Marx has just been invoked. That distinguished man perfectly understood the importance of having only hand-workers as delegates to this first International Congress of Working Men. Accordingly, he refused the appointment which was offered to him by the General Council. But that sentiment of delicacy is no reason for passing a rule to exclude him, or any one else, from being sent to our Congresses. On the contrary, men who devote themselves to the cause of the *prolétaires* are too rare to make it expedient that they should be "snubbed." The middle class only triumphed when it allied itself with men of Science and it is the pretended science of middle class political economy which gives it prestige and through that prestige, ministers to its power. Let those who have studied political economy from a working class standpoint come, by all means, to our Congresses, there to shiver the fallacies of middle class political economy. 30 35

Citizen Tolain (Paris) said: As a man whose hands are brown with toil, I am deeply grateful to Citizen Marx for having refused to accept the appointment of delegate which was offered to him. By so acting, Citizen Marx intended to inculcate 40

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that delegates to working men's Congresses should be hand-workers, and hand-workers only. If we admit to our Congresses men of other classes, the public will not fail to say that the Congress does not represent the aspirations of the working classes, that it does not consist of working men. I think, moreover, that it is well to
5 show to the world that we are sufficiently advanced to be able to act by ourselves.

The amendment of Tolain wishing to impose the qualification of hand-workers upon delegates to the Congress was put to the vote, and rejected by 25 votes against
20.

The rule as it stood was then put to the vote, and *passed with ten dissentients*.

10 *Rules 12, 13, 14 and 15 were unanimously adopted.*

Seat of General Council.

The Assembly decided that the Seat of the General Council for the years 1866-67 should be London.

Continuation of Powers.

15 Citizen Eccarius (London) proposed that the old General Council be re-appointed.

The Parisian delegation expressed their general assent to this proposal, but they had an exception to make with reference to Citizen Le Lubez, who (said Citizen Fribourg) had been guilty of calumnies against himself and Tolain in particular, and against the Parisian Section of the International Association in general.

20 A serious debate arose on this point.

Citizens Fribourg and Tolain having challenged the London delegates to reply categorically to the question, whether the facts stated by them concerning Le Lubez were true, and the London delegates having admitted the accuracy of the statements made by Tolain and Fribourg, the meeting declared,

25 "That a member of the General Council having failed in his duty to the Association by spreading false accusations, without supporting them by any proof, or any semblance of proof, that member must be struck off the list of members of the General Council."

30 The meeting fixes the number of members of the General Council at 50, and prolongs their powers until the next Congress.

Certificate of Good Conduct.

The meeting adopted in reference to Citizens Fribourg and Tolain the following resolution:—

35 "The Congress declares that Citizens Fribourg and Tolain have never failed in their duty to the Association, and that their conduct has ever been upright."

International Association of Working Men. Report of the Congress of Geneva (1866)

Time and Place of next Congress.

On the motion of Citizen Cornaz, the Meeting unanimously decided that the next Congress should be held at Lausanne, and that the day for the re-assembling of the Congress be on the first Monday in September, 1867.

International Penny Postage.

Citizen Cremer (London) proposed that the assembled delegates after their return to their respective homes, should exert themselves in favour of establishing a uniform postal-rate, which would reduce to 1 penny the charge on a letter going from one nation to another. He proposed that a committee be appointed to go to Geneva, Berne, Paris and London to make this request.

The Meeting adopted the motion of Citizen Cremer, and appointed as its committee, for this purpose, the London delegates.

The President then announced the termination of the Congress.

[Extract from the Appendices]

Appendix A.

The Congress received several letters expressing the concurrence of the writers with the objects of the International Working Men's Association, and regret at their inability to attend the Congress. We give a list of the senders of the same.

1. Eugène Jaccard, of Chaux-de-Fonds, formerly editor of the *Progrès*, a Swiss newspaper.
2. G.G. Casareto, L.D. Canessa, Pietro Piccarolo, in the name of the Council of the Association of Working Men's Societies at Genoa (44 members). To this letter the Congress sent an official reply.
3. Dr. Augustus Ladendorf, of Zürich. This letter has been published in full in the Geneva *Vorbote* of February, 1867.
4. Friedrich Beust, of Zürich, German republican exile.
5. Martiny, of Kaukehmen (Prussia). This letter has been published in full in the Geneva *Vorbote* of February, 1867.
6. Friedrich Albert Lange, of Duisburg, writer on social economy. This letter has been published in the Geneva *Vorbote* of February, 1867.
7. Schmiedrich, Augsburg.
8. H. Wuttke, Leipzig, teacher of history at the University of Leipzig. Letter published in the *Vorbote* of March, 1867.
9. W. Fischer, of Breslau, letter published in the *Vorbote* of March.
10. Regnauld, of Paris, steel-engraver.
11. Schily, of Paris.
12. Dr. Timothée Riboli, of Turin.
13. Joseph Dassi, of Naples, representative of the Working Men's Societies of Cerignola. This letter has been published in the *Vorbote* of December, 1866.

Extract from the Appendices

The International Courier.
Nr. 16, 24. April 1867

14. Dr. Louis Büchner, the author of *Kraft und Stoff*, letter ordered by the General Council to be published in full in English and French.

(Translation.)

"Darmstadt, August 28, 1866.

5 All the political changes in Europe which at present so strongly preoccupy men's
minds are in point of real significance transitory when compared with the changes
which are germinating in the bosom of European Society, and the public on the ap-
pointment of new ministers and party leaders should inquire more curiously about
their *social ideas and capabilities* than about their *political* ones. What avails the full-
10 est political liberty if the largest part of the human race is at the same time suffer-
ing from want and destitution and if one portion of society is doomed to slave and
suffer eternally in order that the other portion may enjoy itself? Whenever this idea
has penetrated into the minds of the destitute classes and the resolution to better
their situation has been firmly taken, the social revolution is at once accomplished.
15 For as these classes form an immense majority, there can be no question about re-
sisting them. Unfortunately the recognition of this fact among working men is still
far too exceptional and sparse, hence their want of unity and mutual understand-
ing. The more you, by means of your Association, strive for the diffusion of right
views and disposition among the largest conglomerations of the working classes, so
20 much the more will you aid the good cause and the international bond you seek to
form is an excellent means of arriving at the result at which you aim. In this way it
will become clear that unadulterated humanity is everywhere one and the same and
that the European peoples are destined to form a large, affectionate and mutually-
aiding family, whereas previously they have been hounded on by their rulers to
25 mutual murder and destruction like a characterless herd. In this way it cannot long
remain concealed from the working classes that the division which has been made
in the last ten or twenty years between the so-called 'working men' and the so-
called 'Social' question is an unnatural and artificial one and enuring to the great
disadvantage of the needy classes. According to my rooted conviction the working
30 man's question can never be thoroughly solved by itself and apart from the social
question and all the infinitely numerous proposals for the amelioration of the con-
dition of the working classes, whether they are issued from the Schulze-Delitzsch,
Lassalle or intermediary mints, are all mere *palliatives* which simply prolong the
agony of death. Especially are the Co-operative Associations of production, as
35 preached by Lassalle, and from which his adherents hope to extract a panacea for
all evils, only a means for raising up a Fourth Estate, as formerly the Third Estate
was elevated, and to make room for a still more suffering Fifth Estate consisting of
working men not employed in the said Co-operative Associations and of the general
mass of working men. The root of the evil is much deeper than these gentlemen and
40 their adherents believe or wish to believe, and it draws its nourishment not from the

neglected interest of a single class, but from the unnatural and unjust condition of society itself. For as long as the good things of life or the means of subsistence are by the laws of inheritance and without any personal merit divided in the unequal manner that has hitherto prevailed, it is nonsense to talk of a successful competition of the less-favoured individual in the great battle of life, except of course, in rare and peculiar cases. The liberal middle class of our day who are demanding as the highest aim of personal freedom 'a free course of all,' in other words, free play for the development of all their powers by the removal of all limitations imposed by the State, entirely forget that the freedom of the course is not sufficient to make a successful competition possible but that, for that purpose, there is needed an equality of ways and means, for the sustaining of that competition.

The most vigorous and accomplished working man, if empty handed, can bear up against the power of Capital as little as the naked savage can against artillery and the needle-gun. All this is so self-evident that one has to use some compulsion over one's self to induce one's self to repeat it, but antiquated custom has so blinded the majority of mankind that they are not in a condition to comprehend even such simple truths as the foregoing.

Of course I do not mean to say withal that the working man should give up his previous efforts for improving his condition. On the contrary, he should go on with them and with everything else that can procure him even a merely transitory alleviation and this in the most zealous manner, in expectation of the time which will permit him to deal with the evil in a radical manner. But while doing that which lies nearest to his hand, let him never forget the great aim of the future, for which he must make, and which alone can furnish him a radical and lasting cure for his evils. Every working man who makes that the aim of his life, must be not only the friend and defender of his class, he must at the same time be a socialist, he must embrace in the range of his intellect and feeling not only the sufferings of his class, but also those of society itself. In this latter case he will be a *humanitarian* and a *Cosmo-politan*, while in the other case he will be only a class-egotist.

Finally, warn your working men in their efforts for the future to confide only in themselves and in a few tried friends if they desire to avoid manifold illusions. Neither the present possessors of power, nor the liberal middle class, nor the political democracy, will ever do anything earnest and fundamental for them except upon compulsion. Let them adopt, therefore, as their motto the device of 'self-reliance'. Amid the hurley-burley of political life, you will be sure to hear many who will proclaim themselves to be 'friends of the people', but who in reality are, in some respects, their most dangerous enemies. Therefore be upon your guard! Let *deeds*, not *words*, speak!

These are the only observations I have to make to you and your friends. One subject of moment I have not mentioned, I mean intellectual emancipation. I take it for granted that the working man who is striving for freedom from social tyranny has already completed in his interior his own intellectual liberation, or at least has begun the process of so doing. The slavery of the mind must have fallen before the bondage enforced by the State and by society can fall.

How glad I should have been to have been present at your Congress; I regret to

Extract from the Appendices

say domestic matters make this impossible this year. With the best wishes for your success and for the rapid dissemination of your admirable work,

I subscribe myself,
Most devotedly yours,
Dr. Büchner."

15. Gaspare Stampa, member of the Central Council of the Working Men's Societies of Italy, ordered by the Congress to be printed in full in the official report of its proceedings".

(Translation.)

Milan, Sept. 2nd, 1866.
Place de St. Ambroise, No. 53.

Brothers,

My colleagues who compose the Central Council of the Working Men's Associations of Italy are scattered throughout the different parts of the Peninsula. Several have taken up arms.

I acknowledge that it would be necessary for our working men to have at least a voice in that great Assembly, but my health is too broken down to allow of my coming to Geneva.

I assure you that the working men's societies feel the need of a federation among themselves, while preserving to each society the autonomy which is befitting. That is why, last year, there was formed, at Naples, a Union of whose statutes I send you a copy. It is the combined forces of many that have ever executed the greatest and most generous projects.

The vital principles for the salvation of the working classes will be discussed by the delegates from the various nationalities. The Italian working men offer you their hands in sign of brotherhood. In the midst of the grave deliberations with which your assembly will be occupied, throw into the balance the votes of Italian working men whenever it shall be proposed to proclaim liberty, equality and emancipation from the modern tyranny of capital. The firm and unanimous will of working men is bound eventually to triumph over the parasites who burden society.

Let our voice aid in fraternising the people!

Fraternally,
Gaspare Stampa.
Member of the Central Council
of the Working Men's Societies
of Italy.

↪ This letter was answered by Citizen Jung, as Chairman of the Congress.—Editor International] C[ourier].

Appendix B.

Two members of the Association only, so far as is known to the General Council, addressed essays to the Congress. These were Citizen Fox, of London, a member of the General Council of the Association, and Citizen Leneveux, of Paris, one of the founders of the Parisian Socialist journal, *L'Atelier*.

The Essay of citizen Leneveux is divided into 15 sections and treats of the principal questions in the Congressional programme. The system of apprenticeship, according to citizen Leneveux, is a domestic drudgery and ought, therefore, to be transformed. A strike is the only means the workman has of defending his livelihood. Combination of effort is the working man's only chance of salvation.

The Essay of citizen Fox is on the necessity of restoring the independence of Poland. The subject is handled under the following six headings.

1. *The connection between the last Polish insurrection and the formation of the International Working Men's Association.*
2. *The claim of Poland on every European party.*
3. *On the atonement which British Democrats owe to Poland.*
4. *The effect of the French revolutions of 1789 and 1792 upon the destinies of Poland.*
5. *The Polish question considered in its bearing upon the past and future relations between Germany and France.*
6. *Concluding appeal to the Congress.*

Johann Georg Eccarius
A working man's refutation of some points
of political economy endorsed and advocated
by John Stuart Mill, Esq., M. P.

The Commonwealth.
Nr. 192, 10. November 1866

**A Working Man's Refutation of Some Points
of Political Economy Endorsed and Advocated
by John Stuart Mill, Esq., M.P.**

II. Capital—Its Formation and Accumulation.

5 In my last I endeavoured to point out under what peculiar circumstances the pre-
requisites of production are capital. But there is both a history and a theory of capi-
tal. The former is generally ignored by middle class economists; the latter, with
them, is the theory of confusion, errors, and sophistry. In the material sciences men
10 commenced with things as they found them, dissolved them into their component
parts, and gradually ascertained their origin. The professors of political economy,
on the contrary, took things as they found them for granted; left the origin of capital
to take care of itself; invented some specious theory respecting its existence and
workings, and all the money-making public cried "Amen!" Had they, like modern
geologists do the rocks, dissolved capital into its component parts, they would have
15 arrived at conclusions different to those they have arrived at. They would not have
met with so much applause at the hands of the magnates of modern society had
they followed this course, they would rather have had to encounter their hostility as
those who are not satisfied with writing apologetic eulogies upon the existing state
of things, but dive deeper into the matter have to do; but political economy would
20 have become a science under their hands, instead of a handmaid of the ruling
classes. The origin of capital is the division of labour. As long as the division of la-
bour was confined to the patriarchal and feudal family, capital was not formed and
was not required. When the division of labour into separate and organized trades
superseded the division of labour in the family, intermeddlers established them-
25 selves to distribute some of the produce of other people's labour. In the transit from
the producer to the consumer a certain amount of this produce stuck to their fin-
gers which they accumulated. In due course of time money making, buying and sell-
ing, became the aim of production. Those who had appropriated and accumulated
the produce of other people's labour found themselves hampered and impeded by
30 the guild and corporation laws, which required personal and technical, not wealth

owning qualifications, to carry on the business of production. The so-called moneyed interest burst these fetters which had been forged to insure a subsistence to the handicraft man, to convert the runaway serf into a free citizen. They were regulations which were only compatible with a production that was for the most part calculated to supply local wants. The enriched intermeddler required a world for his market, and labourers who had either to do his bidding or die of starvation. He furnished the material which he had accumulated out of the past labour of others, and the most needy had to work them up on his own premises under his immediate control. Thus the division of labour was carried into the workshop, the produce of labour became the exclusive property of the employer, the labourer, the producer, became an appendage to, instead of an agent in, the process of production, buying and selling, exchange value, money-making became the aim of production. So much for the history of capital, now for the theory. 5 10

"Parsimony," says Adam Smith, "is the immediate cause of the increase of capital." "Capital is the result of saving," says Mr. Mill. What the father of political economy stated a hundred years ago is repeated in other words by the would-be Adam Smith of the nineteenth century, *the man of new ideas*. Had capitalist production, modern industry, not advanced by more rapid strides than her votaries—those who profess to explain her workings, and to trace the path upon which she is to proceed—it is a dead certainty that journeymen tailors would not be able to publish articles on political economy in working men's papers. Mr. Mill in his sophistical reasoning assumes that abstinence is the foundation of the accumulation of capital. Let us pause to examine this theory. If the man whose income is 50,000*l.* a year is content to live upon 25,000*l.*, he will have 25,000*l.* to dispose of as capital the following year. He thus abstains from consuming 25,000*l.* which he might have done. So far so good. But how does he get the 50,000*l.*? By his own exertions! It never happened. Mr. Mill, again repeating Adam Smith, says:—"Everything which is produced is consumed, both what is saved and what is said to be spent; and the former quite as rapidly as the latter. When people talk of the ancient wealth of a country, of riches inherited from ancestors, and similar expressions, the idea suggested is, that the riches so transmitted were produced long ago, at the time when they are said to have been first acquired. The fact is otherwise. The greater part, in value, of the wealth now existing in England has been produced by human hands within the last twelve months." How then can capital be the result of saving? How does it happen that one man gets 50,000*l.* worth out of the produce of one year's labour? According to Professor Leone Levi's estimate, which I have no reason either to question or endorse, the average earnings of adult male labourers in England is 58*l.* 10*s.* a year. The man with 50,000*l.* therefore gets 1,030 times as much as the labourer. I have nearly forty years of business experience in villages, small towns, and large towns, and different countries, but I never found that a quick and industrious man could, under equal facilities, earn twice as much as a slow and lazy one. But here is a man getting one thousand and thirty times as much as the average labourer. It may be objected that the intellectual labour of direction and superintendence deserves a higher remuneration. We do not know that the 50,000*l.* man directs and superintends. How intellectual labour is remunerated, unless a man is in keeping with 15 20 25 30 35 40 45

certain parties and becomes a bishop or a lord chancellor, we all know. The men who are engaged to direct and superintend may get five, ten, even twenty times as much as a good skilled workman and then it will not amount to thousands. The fate of Mr. Snider is a striking proof what estimate intellectual labour is held in. Some
5 years ago a man discovered that certain poor iron ores in Scotland contained sufficient coal for their own smelting. The capitalists of the neighbourhood would not even advance the money to test the discovery by an experiment on a large scale, the man died in penury, and the capitalists are making fortunes out of his discovery at the present moment. This shews how capitalists value the intellectual acquirements
10 of others—it is for the poor to value theirs. Let us look at the case from another side. According to Professor Leone Levi, the annual produce of the labour of the United Kingdom amounts to 745,000,000/. To raise this produce 10,697,000 people of both sexes, under sixty years of age are employed. They produce on an average 69/. a year and receive as remuneration 38/. a year. Now it is generally acknowl-
15 edged as an axiom in political economy that labour determines the exchange value of goods, that is, that a certain quantity of labour embodied in a certain quantity of what will exchange for another certain quantity of labour embodied in the fourth edition of Mr. Mill's essay on political economy.

Thus, when the farmer buys books, and the publisher buys com, real equivalents
20 are exchanged between the so-called capitalist producer and the consumer. The case is different between the labouring producer and the capitalist appropriators. Out of every 69/. worth produced by the labouring class the capitalist class appropriates 31/. worth as a reward for having taken the trouble of appropriating a similar amount the previous year. This is the secret how one man can obtain 50,000/. out of
25 a production that yields only 69/. per head of the effective labourers; it is the secret of the formation and accumulation of capital. The *Times'* correspondent at New York told us the other day that Alexander J. Stuart, merchant and importer of New York, had returned a taxable income for 1865 of 4,071,256 dollars, upon which he was to pay a tax of 407,000 dollars. Suppose Mr. Stuart to be an abstemious man,
30 that he manages to defray his expenses with one half of his income, say *two million dollars*, that he devotes a hundred thousand a year to charitable purposes, and lays by 1,500,000 dollars. Without interest or profit upon these savings they would amount to 15,000,000 dollars in ten years; a pretty capital the result of abstinence. Another case: A New York gentleman applied the other day to an insurance com-
35 pany whose policy he held for twenty-one thousand dollars to cover the loss of his daughter's wardrobe by fire. The young lady's wardrobe contained among other things twenty-six robes of silk and satin, two of velvet, twenty-four dresses of other stuffs, in all as many dresses as there are weeks in the year. There is not the remotest doubt that this young lady will some day bring to the man of her choice not
40 only a rich store of clothing but also a considerable amount of capital—the *result of abstinence*. But whose abstinence? That of the Stuart's and the likes of that young lady—the abstinence of which Mr. Mill speaks? No; the plain, unsophisticated and untutored working men know far better—alas! from long and sad experience—what kind of parsimony and saving, and whose abstinence and compulsory privation lay
45 the foundation for forming and accumulating capital.

That the working man receives only 2s. 5d. for every 4s. *Id.* worth he produces is bad enough, but it is infinitely worse that out of this he has not only to pay his own share of local taxation but that of his landlord as well—in the house rent; he has to pay more than his share of the general taxation in the price of the articles he consumes, and, to add insult to injury, after all this, the whole host of sophists are continually telling him that he might save what he leads a dissipated life with. 5

The Commonwealth.
Nr. 193, 17. November 1866

III. Fundamental Propositions respecting Capital.

Sir W. Hamilton has stated that a man may think upon two subjects at the same time. Mr. Mill's capacities far exceed this. He can entertain two convictions upon the same subject, the one diametrically opposed to the other. He says: "While on 10
the one hand industry is limited by capital, so on the other every increase of capital gives, or is capable of giving, additional employment to industry; and this without any assignable limit. ... Men of merit (Malthus, Dr. Chalmers, M. de Sismondi) have contended, that if consumers were to save and convert into capital more than a limited portion of their income, and were not to devote to unproductive consump- 15
tion an amount of means bearing a certain ratio to the capital of the country, the extra accumulation would be so much waste, since there would be no market for the commodities which the capital so created would produce." To prove the contrary Mr. Mill continues: "Every one can see that if a benevolent government possessed all the food, and all the implements and materials, of the community, it 20
could exact productive labour from all to whom it allowed a share in the food, and could be in no danger of wanting a field for the employment of this productive labour, since as long as there was a single want unsatisfied (which material objects could supply) of any one individual, the labour of the community could be turned to the production of something capable of satisfying that want. Now, the individual 25
possessors of capital, when they add to it by fresh accumulations are doing precisely the same thing. Let us imagine the most extreme case conceivable. Suppose that every capitalist came to be of opinion that, not being more *meritorious than a well* conducted labourer, he ought not to fare better, and accordingly laid by, from conscientious motives, the surplus of his profits; or suppose this abstinence not spon- 30
taneous but imposed by law or opinion upon all capitalists and landowners likewise. ... The whole of what was previously expended in luxuries, by capitalists and landowners, is distributed among the existing labourers, in the form of additional wages. ... The increased accumulation and increased production might, rigorously speaking, continue, until every labourer had every indulgence of wealth consistent 35
with continuing to work, supposing that the power of their labour were sufficient to produce all this amount of indulgences for the whole number. Thus the limit of wealth is never deficiency of consumers, but of producers."

Now for the contrary statements and admissions: "Dearth, or scarcity, on the one hand, and oversupply or, in mercantile language, glut on the other, are incident to 40

all commodities. In the first case, the commodity affords to the producers or sellers, while the deficiency lasts, an unusually high profit; in the second, the supply being in excess of that for which a demand exists at such a value as will afford the ordinary rate of profit, the sellers must be content with less, and must even, in extreme cases, submit to a loss."

"If the present annual amount of savings were to continue without any of those counteracting circumstances which now keep in check the natural influence of those savings in reducing profits, the rate of profit would speedily attain the minimum, and all further accumulation of capital would for the present cease."

"The resisting agencies are of several kinds. First, is the waste of capital in periods of overtrading and rash speculation, and in the commercial revulsions by which such times are always followed. ... Mines are opened, railways or bridges made, and many other works of uncertain profit commenced, and in these enterprises much capital is sunk which yields either no return, or none adequate to the outlay. Factories are built and machinery erected beyond what the market requires or can keep in employment. ... Besides this there is a great unproductive consumption of capital during the stagnation which follows a period of general overtrading. Establishments are shut up or kept working without any profit, hands are discharged and numbers of persons in all ranks, being deprived of their income, and thrown for support on their savings, find themselves, after the crisis has passed away, in a condition of more or less impoverishment. By the time a few years have passed over without a crisis, so much additional capital has been accumulated, that it is no longer possible to invest it at the accustomed profit: all public securities rise to a high price, the rate of interest on the best mercantile securities falls very low, and the complaint is general among persons in business that no money is to be made. Does not this demonstrate how speedily profit would be at a minimum, and the stationary condition of capital would be attained, if these accumulations went on without any counteracting principle?"

Which is Napoleon and which is Wellington? Whichever you like, my little dear; take your choice. *The increase of capital gives employment without any assignable limits, overproduction is nonsense, but, the accumulation of capital would come to a standstill if overtrading did not periodically annihilate a large amount of capital, destroy implements of production, and throw hundreds of thousands out of work.*

And what is "overtrading" but over-production? Suppose that Mr. Stuart, at New York, imported 500,000/. worth of British hardwares five years ago and that his demand increased at the rate of ten per cent, per annum on the original amount, production would accommodate itself to the demand. But in the fifth year, his customers being well supplied, would principally replace the wear and tear of their old stock, and require only 400,000/. worth. The moment Mr. Stuart became aware of such a state of things he would telegraph to his agents here that he required no more at present; there would be £350,000 worth of unsaleable stock, and those who had bills discounted upon such stock might find their names in the *Gazette*; bankers would follow, workpeople would be put on short time, or factories shut up; other trades, having run in the same path, would follow the same course. There would be more means than ever of satisfying wants, but the mass of the people would starve

and perish from want, because they could not pay for what they had produced *too much*. This is what is implied in the phrase "overtrading;" yet Mr. Mill asserts that there is no such thing as a general over-supply, above the demand, as far as it consists in the means of payment. *The reduction of profits to a minimum is the wind-up of the capitalist mode of production, the end of the contest between labour and capital, the 5 emancipation of the hard-working, hard living, down-trodden millions.*

Although Mr. Mill refutes his own statements, his first supposition is, nevertheless, abstractedly true; but both the first and the second are totally incompatible with, and inapplicable to, the present state of society. The conception, it appears to me, stands in the same relation to the conception of the reality of such a state of 10 things as the flying fish to the eagle. Mr. Mill has a faint anticipation of a state of things in which the satisfying of wants, and that alone, might be the incentive to production, but he cannot elevate his conception above a state of society in which the materials and instruments of production are the private property of individuals. As long as the prerequisites of production are the property of capitalists, so long 15 will money-making continue to be the direct aim of production, so long will they abhor the idea "of not being more meritorious than a well-conducted labourer." As long as they obtain profits, so long the producers will have to work for wages, for less than their labour is worth, which will prevent "what was previously expended in luxuries to be distributed among them," and will preclude them from the indul- 20 gence of wealth; finally, as long as the capitalists are the controllers of production, so long no law or opinion will be imposed which will prevent those who work the least to get the most.

Now for the "benevolent Government." This supposition implies a state of society in which the materials and instruments of production are the joint property of 25 the community, and the direction of production the function of the Government. It implies a state of society in which the old proverb "he who does not work neither shall he eat" has become a reality. It implies a state of society which has been preceded by such a course of training and education as the Congress of the International Workingmen's Association recommends for society at large; a state of society 30 in which, if a thousand days' work is to be done, and a thousand men to do it, each will work a day. It implies a state of society in which the public Government performs the same functions as the directors of a joint-stock company for such a company. It implies a state of society of which the present co-operative movement is only the germ. There would not even be the semblance of benevolence about such a 35 Government, it would only perform a bounden duty. As long as the members of a government are only the nominees of a class, so long they will have to legislate for, and defend, that class, and if that class happens to be in possession of all the materials and instruments of production, no amount of individual benevolence will enable the Government to direct production to the supplying of wants, instead of 40 profit-making for individual proprietors.

IV. Excess of Supply.

Lest my readers should run away with the idea that Mr. Mill contradicts himself in the same breath, it is necessary to state that there is a considerable interval between the two statements I cited in my last article. The first, the hopeful view, which gives
5 to the capitalist mode of production so universally beneficent a character, appears in the first volume, published in 1857; the second, the dry statement of the stem reality, occurs towards the end of the second volume, published in 1859. But between these statements there are others of a similar nature which require elucidation.

10 Recurring to the opinion of Malthus, Dr. Chalmers, and Sismondi, about overproduction, Mr. Mill says:—"When these writers speak of the supply of commodities as out-running the demand, it is not perfectly clear which of the two elements of demand they have in view—the desire to possess or the means to purchase; whether their meaning is that there are, in such cases, more consumable products
15 in existence than the public desires to consume, or merely more than it is able to pay for. Let us suppose that the quantity of commodities produced is not greater than the community would be glad to consume: is it, in that case, possible that there should be a deficiency of demand for all commodities, for want of the means of payment? Those who think so cannot have considered what it is that constituted
20 the means of payment for commodities. Each person's means of paying for the productions of other people consists of those which he himself possesses. All sellers are inevitably and *ex vi termini* buyers. Could we suddenly double the productive powers of the country, we should double the supply of commodities in every market; but we should, by the same stroke, double the purchasing power. Everybody would
25 bring a double demand as well as a double supply: everybody would be able to buy twice as much in exchange. At any rate it is sheer absurdity that all things should fall in value, and that all producers should in consequence be insufficiently remunerated. If values remain the same, what becomes of prices is immaterial, since the remuneration of producers does not depend on how much money, but on how
30 much of consumable articles, they obtain for their goods.

A general oversupply, or excess of all commodities above the demand, so far as demand consists in the means of payment is thus shown to be an impossibility."

Four chapters further we are told—"There is no absurdity in the hypothesis that of some given commodity a certain quantity is all that is wanted at any price."

35 Under existing circumstances I consider wheat as *the commodity* of which only a certain quantity is wanted at any price, and it is because wheat is an indispensable necessary of life, a commodity of which everybody, except those who are out of work, and those who are on the road to the workhouse, gets his share. What is the effect of the supply on the price of wheat? The following passage is quoted from Tooke's history of prices by Mr. Mill:—"The price of corn in this country has risen from 100 to
40 200 per cent, and upwards, when the utmost computed deficiency of the crops has

not been more than between one sixth and one third below an average, and that deficiency relieved by foreign supplies." On the other hand when the supply exceeds the average the fall is as disproportionate. The agricultural statistics of France show that in 1817 the forty-eight millions of hectolitres of wheat harvested in that year were worth two thousand million francs, while nearly sixty-four millions, harvested in 1819, were only worth one thousand and one hundred millions. The increase of the produce was in the proportion of 3 to 4; the decrease in price was from 41 to 17 per hectolitre. 5

In this country the average price of wheat from 1850 to 1864 was about 2*l.* 10*s.* a quarter. The average price for the year 1851 was 38*s.* 6*d.* a quarter with a supply of home, and foreign wheat of 42,391,875 cwts.; in 1855 the supply fell to 36,469,782 cwts., and the price for the year rose to 74*s.* 8*d.* For every seven 4*lb.* loaves that had been baked in 1851 there were but six in 1855, but the six cost nearly six shillings, while the seven were sold for something like three shillings and sixpence. The cause of these fluctuations is this: whether bread is dear or cheap the poor must have a certain quantity to support life; if bread be dear all other articles of consumption have to be curtailed, some even abandoned, to obtain bread. There is even a possibility of more bread being consumed in the poorest families when it is sufficiently dear to prevent the consumption of butcher's meat. There is little difference in the quantity of wheat consumed whether it is dear or cheap unless it reaches the famine price. When the price of bread falls, the poor, instead of eating more bread, increase their consumption of everything else that comes within their reach, except bread. This explains the reason why butcher's meat rises in price when bread is cheap, and remains stationary when bread is dear. 10 15 20

Next to wheat, butcher's meat is an article the consumption of which could not be increased beyond the actual want. The well-to-do getting already as much as they require, no fall in the price would induce them to eat more. A fall in the price, or an increase in the means of payment of the poor would no doubt result in a large increase in the consumption of butcher's meat; but, like bread, it would have its limit. What holds good with bread and meat holds good with every other article of commerce, with this difference, that the means of payment and the desire to possess, of those who have the means, are the limits of the demand. The rich could buy more gold watches than they do, but they buy only a certain number, and if the watch makers make more than the rich are willing to buy, the surplus is overproduction that cannot be sold at all, or must be sold at a loss to people who are either not willing or not able to buy at the remunerative price. The gentlemen who wear the broad cloth, which the London drapers cannot sell for less than 25*s.* a yard, require only a certain quantity, if much more were produced it would be dead stock. 25 30 35

Now, we are ready to enter upon the examination of Mr. Mill's supposition. Suppose the Wizard of the North could by one stroke double the production of everything, except man himself, his stomach and his stature, two suits of clothes, two quarters of wheat, two cwts. of beef, and two ounces of gold would respectively represent the same amount of labour as before, and ought to exchange in the same proportion as they do now, otherwise it would not be *immaterial what became of prices.* 40 45

Under existing circumstances the selling price is the form in which the labour exchange value must be realised. Amongst the various products of labour gold is the only one of which everybody is ready to appropriate any conceivable amount. Everything else is produced to be sold for gold; it is only with respect to the commodity
5 gold that *all sellers are inevitably buyers*, hence it is that the quantity of gold which a given article will realise, determines the success or failure of the producer, and what becomes of prices is of the utmost consequence.

Suppose our old friend, farmer Brown, came to market with twice as much wheat
10 as he used to, and the foretaller, the miller, and the baker, had twice as much gold as they used to have; but, having lately discovered that the poor, instead of eating more bread on account of it being more abundant, were drinking more beer, eating more meat, and looking out for finer clothes than formerly, they would only buy the customary quantity of wheat, its price would, at the very least, fall from 40s. to 20s., and farmer Brown's purchasing power, instead of having doubled would be reduced
15 by 50 per cent., while the liabilities—liabilities which could only be met by hard cash—would have increased 100 per cent. Suppose the farmer was in a position to tide over the difficulty for a season, would he continue working his farm as before? Certainly not. He would employ fewer hands, buy fewer implements, none at all for a season, land would be thrown out of cultivation and rents would fall, and the purchasing power of the farmer's tradesmen and their workpeople would be reduced to
20 zero. We see now that it matters very materially *what becomes of prices* and that Mr. Mill's supposition about everybody's purchasing power being doubled is sheer nonsense.

I have selected wheat to illustrate the subject, because it exhibits the phenomena
25 to which I desired to direct the reader's attention, in the most striking and unmistakable manner. That many other commodities would, at the very outset, share the fate of wheat is beyond question, particularly mere necessaries. There are some which are both necessaries and luxuries, the consumption of which is not limited by want. Upon an increase of means, the poor might far more than double their use
30 of furniture and clothing, either by a direct increase, or by replacing old ones by new and better, without being extravagant. Although a man could not eat a dozen times as much as another decently fed man, there are plenty [of] vain people, fond of show, who wear out, or spoil, a dozen suits of clothes where other decently dressed folks will make one suit suffice. In the same way a man may keep a number
35 of carriages and horses to match; but no one will keep two carts and horses for the work that one can do. The dead lock to production will therefore arrive sooner with regard to necessaries than luxuries. On the other hand what tends most to a greater steadiness in the prices of manufactured goods than of wheat is, that production can be arrested at any stage of the process when prices decline, and that it can be
40 accelerated when they rise, and that few are so hard pressed as not to be able to suspend purchasing for a time when prices run too high. Nevertheless a general over supply and a ruinous fall of prices periodically occur, as Mr. Mill so distinctly points out.

V. Effect of the Demand for Commodities
on the Demand for Labour.

On this subject we have a statement, a contradiction, and a prevarication. If a simpleton were asked why so many geese are brought to London at Christmas time, he would probably reply—why, because the people want them for Christmas dinner, 5
you know. There is also a notion abroad that country people rear and fatten geese for the very purpose of selling them to the London dealers, and that the London dealers bring them to market because they know, from experience, that many people would not be contented without a Christmas goose. But this is an every day view of the matter. Mr. Mill endeavours to dispute the correctness of this vulgar notion. 10
He says:—"What supports and employs productive labour is the capital expended setting it to work, and not the demand of purchasers for the produce of the labour when completed. Demand for commodities is not demand for labour." According to this version it is not the knowledge of the fact that the London people buy so many geese that induces country people to rear many more than they want for 15
themselves, but it is because they are fond of, and have the means for, rearing geese that they do it. What does the following passage, in the *Times* of November 19, imply?—"The manufacturers' order books are very badly supplied—insufficiently in many instances to keep the men working nearly full time." This is from Birmingham. Are orders a "demand for the produce of labour when completed" or 20
not? Do these orders exercise any influence upon the amount of labour employed by the hardware manufacturer or not? But independent of the fact, that the employment of a very considerable amount of labour, in many branches of industry, depends upon the direct orders and demand of the consumers for finished goods, what is the ruling guide for the employment of labour, in those branches of industry 25
in which the production of ready made goods is the rule, and orders the exception? The facility to sell. The trade reports of November 17 are: Bradford, "Stocks increase and prices droop. Manufacturers of plain goods are working short time." Leeds, "Several large woollen mills are working short time." Manchester, "The manufacturers in the surrounding districts have unanimously resolved to work four 30
days a week instead of six; in many other parts of Lancashire spindles and looms by thousands are idle." "In making sales of either yarn or cloth the manufacturers have almost to force them on the market at a heavy reduction." I ask, then, does the demand for commodities determine the demand for labour or not? Is it from want of capital, or is it from want of purchasers that the factory labourers are put on short 35
time?

Let us now hear what Mr. Mill has to say in elucidating his erroneous statement. He continues:—"Suppose, for instance, that there is a demand for velvet; a fund ready to be laid out in buying velvet but no capital to establish the manufacture. It is of no consequence how great the demand may be; unless capital is attracted into 40

the occupation, there will be no velvet made, and consequently none bought, unless the intending purchaser makes advances to workpeople that they may make velvet, *i.e.*, to convert part of his own income into capital. Let us now reverse the hypothesis, and suppose that there is plenty of capital ready for making velvet but no demand, velvet will not be made.

5 Manufacturers and their labourers do not produce for the pleasure of their customers, but for the supply of their own wants, and having still the capital and the labour, which are the essentials of production, they can either produce something which is in demand, or if there be no demand, they themselves have one, and can
10 produce things which they want for their own consumption."

This is "confusion worse confounded," and logic most unmercifully outraged. Let us analyse this kettle of fish. If velvet can be made after an advance of money by the intending purchaser, then the prerequisites to the production of velvet, Mr. Mill's capital *per se*, must exist in a latent state, waiting to be absorbed in the
15 process of velvet making. But Mr. Mill does not dispute this. He has for the moment forgotten the caution he gave at the outset, he confounds money with capital; what he really means to say is, that though there may be workmen possessing the requisite knowledge and skill for making velvet, the tools and materials in the warehouse of the dealer ready to enter the workshop upon their price being tendered,
20 and the purchasing price of the velvet in the hands of the intending purchaser, if no intermeddler, possessing a third equivalent in money, step in to purchase the tools and materials and employ the workpeople velvet will not be made, unless the intending purchaser and the workmen contrive to do without him. Mr. Mill tells us that in this case, the intending purchaser converts part of his income into capital.
25 No such thing. What he advances is, the whole or part of the price of the velvet, which he parts with to gratify a desire. In gratifying this desire he may also satisfy a want, that of clothing himself; but he expects no pecuniary return—nothing beyond the pleasure of wearing velvet and displaying his wealth. His advancing money to obtain velvet is no more an investment of capital than a gentleman advancing money
30 to an ostler to procure him a fine horse for his carriage. The money invested in the purchase of Pickford's vans and horses and the wages paid to the drivers, form an outlay which is expected to replace itself with a profit, hence it is capital; but the money expended for the horses and carriages of the Marquis of Westminster, and the wages paid to his grooms and coachmen form no outlay, it is expenditure which
35 is not expected to yield anything beyond the pleasure which horses and carriages afford, hence it is not capital. The simple admission that velvet can be made without the capitalist employer, if the demand for it be accompanied by its purchasing price, is fatal to Mr. Mill's fundamental proposition. According to the ordinary rules of reasoning the reversed hypothesis should, at least, hide the wound which this
40 side stab has inflicted, but, instead of doing that, it enlarges it into an irreparable rent, for it states positively that with all the capital in the world being ready for velvet making, if there be no demand, velvet will not be made. We are thus irresistibly led to the conclusion that if the demand for a commodity be accompanied by its purchasing price the commodity will be produced, but that in the known absence of
45 a demand nothing will be produced; hence demand for goods, and not capital as such, creates the demand for labour.

Mr. Mill is fully conscious of this, but his unbounded faith in the inherent propensities of capital to promote production at all hazards leads him to have recourse to prevarication. How do people supply their own wants in modern society? By making, from the cradle to the grave, things for everybody's use except their own. The cotton-miller and his hands, the tailors, the shoemakers, etc., do not enter into business to be able to make cotton, cloth, clothes, shoes, for themselves, but that by making these things for the pleasure of their customers they may get cotton, clothes, shoes, bread, meat, etc., for themselves. If their customers desire nothing they get nothing themselves. Mr. Mill says:—"Having the labour and the capital if there be no demand for one thing they can make another." Can they? The velvet-makers have been engaged in velvet making from their very childhood. All that has fallen to their share in the shape of consumables they got for velvet making, but they never wore any themselves. The demand stops. The ladies have taken it into their heads to wear cashmere shawls instead of velvet cloaks. What is to be done? Transfer the capital will be the ready reply of political economists. But the capital, in as far as it consists in tools and materials, is not transferable to the making of the article for which there is a demand nor the acquired skill of the labourer. The only thing transferable is the ready money that may be in the possession of their employers, but with this they assuredly will not employ their former hands, the velvet makers, and the only possible way in which the latter can produce anything to supply their own wants is by making velvet for the pleasure of other people. In the case of there being no demand for anything, capitalists and labourers setting to work to produce things for their own consumption, this is such a preposterous supposition that one can hardly take it as serious. The idea of the cotton millers of Lancashire giving their capital that their spinners and weavers might produce food, shelter, shoes, even cotton shirts for themselves. Did the capitalists of Lancashire invest a single five pound note by way of business with such an end in view during the late crisis? If half the population of London were going naked from want of clothes, not a yard of cloth would be produced to cover their nakedness by way of business, unless there was a well founded belief that those who furnished it would be paid for it. Capital never employs labour with a view of satisfying wants or desires, unless those who have the want or the desire are also willing and able to give the capitalist more for the finished product than he gives to his work-people. Whatever capitalist acts contrary to this, renders himself liable to loss, insolvency, and ruin.

The Commonwealth.
Nr. 198, 22. Dezember 1866

VI. Fixed Capital—Its Effect upon Labour.

All contrivances that are got up with a view to aid or promote production, and are not rendered useless by being used once, come under the head of fixed capital. It is not my intention to treat of fixed capital generally, but only of those contrivances which are generally termed "improvements of production," and which enter into immediate competition with living labour.

Mr. Mill supposes the case of a farmer who employs 2,000 qrs. of corn per annum in maintaining labourers producing 2,400 qrs., altering his mind, and one year expending 1,000 qrs. for the improvement of land, half the labourers would be thrown out of employment at the end of the year. He says:—"This improvement may, with
5 the diminished quantity of labour, produce as much corn as before. This will enable the farmer to become a larger employer of labour. But the improvement may only produce 1,500 qrs., this will be a gain of 25 per cent., on the whole capital instead of 20 per cent., but permanent injury to labourers." That an improvement in
10 production, which brings grist to the mill of the capitalist, should only bring starvation to the labourer, is rather a bold supposition and Mr. Mill amends it by saying, "Nevertheless, I do not believe that as things are actually transacted, improvements in production are often, if ever, injurious, even temporarily, to the labouring classes in the aggregate."

This is simply a skuffle. What consolation is it to the poor wight whose labour
15 has been rendered useless by, no matter what, improvement that others get the article he used to produce a trifle cheaper if the improvement has had the effect of depriving him of the means of subsistence? But the injury does not stop here. If the labour of one half is rendered useless that of the other half becomes depreciated, and a depreciation in any one branch generally, and immediately, affects all
20 kindred branches; but an improvement in the direction of the latter portion of Mr. Mill's supposition would not only have the effect of depreciating labour, it would, by diminishing the produce also enhance its price, and the farmer's gain would be everybody else's loss. But why have recourse to hypothetical suppositions at all? Are there no real, heart-stirring—aye, and heart-rending facts, to illustrate
25 the subjects? Facts that admit no equivocating beliefs? Is it not a fact that in consequence of the improvement in agriculture the number of labourers is as steadily diminishing as the produce is increasing? Is the increase in the wages of labour more than, or even equal to the depreciation of gold since 1851?

Facts are said to be stubborn things. I have before me a pamphlet—"Stubborn
30 facts from the factories, by a Manchester Operative." John Ollivier, Pall Mall, London, 1844, from which I will give a few extracts.

The raw cotton consumed in this country amounted in 1781 to 5,198,778lbs; in 1841 it amounted to 528,000,000lbs; in 1781 the hand loom weaver obtained 33s. 3d., for weaving 20 yards; in 1841, 3s. 9d. for weaving 24 yards. The power loom
35 weavers of Sidebottom's mill, Waterside, received in 1823, for weaving 24 yards, 21 picks to the quarter inch, 2s.; in 1841, one more pick to the quarter Is. Ashton's Mill, Newton Moor, 1825, for 24 yards, 2s. 8d.; 1836, ditto, Is. 2d.

The spinners received in 1806, for one thousand hanks, forty hanks to the pound, 9s. 2d.; in 1823, 6s. 3d.; in 1832, 3s. 8d.; and in 1843, from Is. 10d. to 2s. 3d.; and
40 one shilling only where self-acting mules were employed. In Houldsworth's fine mill, there were in 1829, 127 spinners and 83,376 spindles; Thirty-five of the largest firms employed in 1829 one thousand spinners, 674,074 spindles; in 1841 there were but 487 spinners working 736,128 spindles. Thirty-six coarse firms employed
45 larger number in 1829. Between 1835 and 1843 the number of spinners employed

in Stockport dwindled down from 800 to 140. A fortunate who had remained in work, stated in 1843, "In 1840 I was working on wheels carrying 672 spindles, and could earn *II.* 2s. a week. I now work upon a pair of wheels carrying 2,040 spindles and earn 13s. a week." This is more than doubling the productive power.

The Fustian cutters were paid in 1827, 4d. a yard; 1843, 1½d. a yard; women and children employed. 5

In a petition to Parliament from the blockprinters of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire, 1842, it is stated that 10,000,000 pieces were printed by machines, for which the printers and their boys would have received 1,125,000l.; the wages of those who attended these machines was 29,000l., and with this improvement in production children from 7 to 9 years old had to work from 16 to 18 hours a day. 10

Perhaps some of my readers may be led to the conclusion that the machine makers must have had a jolly time of it, let us see; I give in full what is said on this subject:—"Introduced between the year 1838 and 1844 in one of the large machine making shops of Manchester: 15

One plaining machine, equal to fourteen men employs one man or boy to direct it. Five smaller ones equal to three men each, employ one person each.

One blotting machine equal to twelve men, one person directs it.

One self-acting lathe equal to three men, with one person to superintend it.

One nut-cutting machine equal to three men, employs one boy. 20

One wheel-cutting machine, equal to twenty men, employs one man.

One boring machine, equal to ten men, employs one person.

In another shop there are twenty self-acting lathes, equal to one hundred men, one man or a boy attends two of them.

Eight plaining machines, equal to ninety-six men, one man or a boy attends one of them. 25

One nut-cutting, upon a further improved principle, equal to twenty men, employs one boy only.

One slotting machine, equal to twenty men, one man or boy to direct it." 30

Hardly a day passes without some political wiseacre talking about the benefits conferred upon the working-classes by a rapid increase in the accumulation of capital, but here we see that in the very branch of industry, the name of which is synonymous with all that is modern in production—all that is typical of the capitalist mode—the accumulation of capital has had no other effect, during a space of fifty years, than that of displacing labour, and depreciating what was not displaced. The man, the husband, the father, the natural protector and provider of the family was sent home from the factory to cook and mend stockings, and the wife and the little children had to take his place in the mill to procure him food. 35

Beliefs do not easily go down with everybody now-a-days, and it requires a very credulous person indeed to believe that improvements in *production are not even temporarily injurious to the labouring classes*. Did the hand loom weavers of 1841 stick to their trade from choice? What became of those who were turned adrift? The author says:—"Great numbers may be seen about the streets selling salt; gathering rags and bones; sweeping the streets; anything that may offer the least apology for a livelihood." 40 45

A working man's refutation ... VII. Fixed capital—its effect upon labour

Thus the capitalist mode of production is at best a social war *in permanence*, improvement of the productive power going about like a roaring lion seeking whom it can devour; it is a cruel war, all the victory and the shooting is on one side, and the being shot at on the other; it is a detestable, abominable war, engendered by
5 greed—undisguised greed—rendered the more hateful because the accumulation of wealth, for the sake of accumulation, is held up as an ennobling principle, is looked upon by its votaries as a divine ordinance, or a natural law, and is represented as humane and beneficial in its effects upon the poor by apologetic sophists and mountebanks. Those who perish in the struggle have not even the consolation of
10 falling in a good cause or dying for glory, they are void of all fanaticism, of illusion, and delusion; they are simply victims sacrificed at the shrine of Plutus; they are conscious of their doom, and see themselves perish inch by inch.

The Commonwealth.
Nr. 200, 5. Januar 1867

VII. The Cost of Production.

This is one of the burning questions upon which the two main divisions of the pop-
15 ulation, that constitute modern society, will never come to an agreement. Those who are in possession of all the food, the clothing, the shelter, and the implements and materials of production, consider the question from a utilitarian, those who possess nothing but the requisite ingenuity, skill, dexterity, and muscular strength for manual operations, from a humanitarian point of view. A reconciliation of these
20 stand-points is utterly impossible, and conversion is out of the question. A writer in the *Daily Telegraph* said the other day that, if such men as George Odger were sent into the House of Commons, their erroneous notions on questions of political economy would melt like wax before the fire, before the eloquence of Mr. Gladstone. Vain delusion! This is only the conversion of time servers and place hunters.
25 It is not a matter of comprehension but of social position. It is hardly probable, if it were possible, that the cottier, who is under notice to quit, to make room for sheep, because wool and mutton are dear; and the spinner, whose employer is about to invest his previous year's income, which the spinner has helped to produce, in self-acting machinery to supersede manual labour, should be equally convinced of the
30 advantages of the change with the landlord and the millowner. The representative spokesman of an aspiring class, or an advanced party, are inconvertible. From the moment they exhibit signs of softening they cease to be representative leaders. Had Richard Cobden and John Bright softened before the charms of protectionist eloquence they would no longer have been the spokesmen of the industrial middle-
35 class, and would certainly have been repudiated as turn coats and deserters. Others would have taken their places.

In a rational state of society the cost of production of the annual produce of the community would be equal to the amount of labour required to produce it. But under existing arrangements this is not the case. The utilitarians, the owners of all the
40 produce of labour, call that portion of the produce which they have to expend to obtain the whole, the cost of production.

If a farmer required twenty horses for the ploughing of his land, whatever quantity of grain and hay they consumed would be reckoned as cost of production, and he would consider his horses very useful as long as he could not do without them. But if, by some mechanical contrivance, the ploughs were so much improved that they could be worked with half the horse-power, ten horses would become useless; 5
if, by a further improvement, the ploughs could be worked by a ten-horse power steam engine, at half the expense of the keep of the ten living horses, all the horses would become useless. These improvements might tend to a large increase of the produce of the farm, larger than what would be required to feed all the horses as before, yet if the farmer could not sell them all, and was not allowed to kill them or 10
turn them adrift, he would consider himself injured if he had to provide food for any one of them until it died a natural death, though the work of these very horses might in the first instance have furnished the means to purchase the improved machinery. This is precisely the utilitarian, the bourgeois point of view. The proprietors of all the wealth are, as it were, morally convinced that they have an indisputable 15
right to it, and consider every farthing of expense, besides what they spend for their own enjoyment, as a waste and an injury unless it be used or used up in the production and increase of their wealth. In the actual state of things the cost of production consists of the quantity of the produce of labour that is necessary to keep a certain number of productive agents in working condition, and replacing them 20
when they are worn out. There is no difference between the steam engine, the horse, and the man. The engine requires fuel and water; the horse, grain, hay, and water; the man, bread, meat, and drink, to keep them in working condition; all else is luxury. Mr. Mill says, "as much of the wages of labour as exceeds the actual necessities of life and health is not actually applied to production, but to the unproductive 25
consumption of productive labourers, indicating a fund for production sufficiently ample to admit of habitually diverting a part of it to a mere convenience."

Nor is there any difference between the horse and the man respecting the danger of becoming useless. 30

Dr. Ure, one of the greatest panegyrists of the factory system says:—"The constant aim and tendency of every improvement in machinery is to supersede human labour altogether, or to diminish its cost, by substituting the industry of women and children for that of men; or of ordinary labourers for trained artizans. On the automatic plan, skilled labour gets progressively superseded, and will eventually be replaced by mere overlookers of machines. Mr. Anthony Strutt, of Belper and Milford. 35
will employ no man who has learned his craft; but in contempt of the division of labour principle, he sets a plough boy to turn a shaft of several tons weight, and never has reason to repent his preference. The effect of substituting the self-acting mule for the common mule, is to discharge the greater part of the men spinners, and to 40
retain adolescents and children. The proprietor of a factory near Stockport states that by such substitution, he would save 50/. a week in wages, in consequence of dispensing with nearly forty male spinners." (This was written 30 years ago.)

However loud the millowner may sing on Sunday "No more than others I deserve but God has given me more," he would be exceedingly shocked if his workpeople 45

told him point blank on Monday morning that they considered themselves entitled to a share in such improvements.

But there is a difference between those horses and men that have not yet become useless. As long as the horse is used the useless ones do not deprive him of his food,
5 but the unemployed men deprive the employed ones of food by forcing their wages down below the point of subsistence. Remember the Stockport spinner cited in my last. There is another difference between the man and the horse, the man has a will of his own. Left to the bourgeois rule of supply and demand, and to cope single-handed with the capitalist, the labourer would be at the mercy of the employer. But,
10 in combination with his fellow workmen he can exact somewhat better terms. The trades unions and factory laws are a bitter pill, a very bitter pill, for the spokesman of the capitalists to swallow, but there is no help. Thirty years ago Dr. Ure showed that in consequence of trades unions and factory laws the English millowners had to pay 1s. average wages for 69 hours work weekly, while in France the factory
15 hands worked from 72 to 84 hours for 5s. 8d., and in Bonn in Prussia, 94 hours for 2s. 6d. A week ago, two men, who have visited the coal and iron works in Belgium, enlarged in the *Times* upon the happiness of the Belgian coal and iron masters who, owing to the absence of trades' unions and factory laws, can make the whole families of their operatives work more hours for less money than the puddlers in the
20 black country obtain for their own individual labour.

However willing a portion of the aristocracy is to impose restrictions upon the mill-lords, they are quite as utilitarian in their own sphere as landlords. Not long ago a noble lord, who has rendered signal service to the factory labourers, endeavoured to prove that the rustic labourers in his county were well paid, that if they
25 were good boys they could, by a series of shifts and problematical advantages make 14s. a week. The Bishop of Oxford, and one of his subordinates, consider the clergy, the nobility, and the gentry, above all blame, because a labourer in the neighbourhood of Windsor Castle, who has *eleven children*, has never earned less than twelve shillings a week and sometimes as much as fifteen. Because the agricultural labourers
30 vegetate and rear children, and cultivate on an average 28 acres of land each, on twelve shillings a week, nobody, in the opinion of these noble lords, has any business to find fault. Lord Dufferin, an Irish landlord, thinks that as one labourer is enough in Great Britain for every 28 acres of land, Ireland requires no more. According to his calculation there are still 300,000 out of 800,000 too many, *i.e.* according to the English system only 500,000 are necessary to do the work; the other
35 300,000 are useless and a burden upon the land, he advises them to emigrate.

Mr. Arnold, of Manchester, wishes to retain this surplus population, because he is quite sure that before long, as soon as raw cotton becomes cheap, some 40,000 hands will be required in the cotton mills. Forty thousand seems to be a
40 sort [of] standard want. Dr. Ure calculated in 1836, that the steam power then in course of erection would require 45,000 hands. There was a great demand for children at that time. By an Act of Parliament, which took effect on the 1st of March, 1836, children under twelve years of age were prohibited from working longer than 48 hours a week in cotton mills. About 16,400 children under twelve years were rescued
45 by this Act from the cotton mills. It was a severe blow at a time when the trade

increased at an unparalleled rate, and when millions were invested in machinery to enable little children and plough-boys to supersede high paid and skilled workmen to lower the cost of production. However, the Government of the day took compassion upon the mill-owners, and appointed migration agents in the factory districts, who had to arrange terms with the employers for the pauper children which were sent from the rural districts to be employed in the mills. In a circular letter to the Clerks of the Boards of Guardians, dated Somerset House, 23rd October, 1835, it is stated "The families most eligible will be those of widows with the greatest number of grown up children. In cotton, wool, and flax mills, the manufacturers prefer children above twelve years of age, as not interrupting the continuous course of daily employment. In silk mills there is no restriction, and in such factories they are generally preferred at eight years and upwards." During the spring quarter about a hundred families migrated. Some were engaged for three years, others till they should complete their twentieth year. But trade getting sick this migration did not attain any large dimensions. The 45,000 hands were not required. The export of cotton goods, which had risen from 20,513,586/. in 1834, to 24,632,058/. in 1836, fell in 1837 to 20,596,123/.

This is the way in which the utilitarians, the chiefs of production and the proprietors of all the produce of labour manage to keep the cost of production low. Lord Dufferin is as consistent in endeavouring to rid Ireland of the useless labourers, as Mr. Arnold is in wishing to retain a surplus. The cost of the maintenance of the agricultural labourer is already so low that hardly a reduction is possible, and therefore a surplus is a real burden. It is not so with the factory workers. They still get a little more than will keep skin and bone together, and a surplus of hungry applicants for work, will in an emergency either enable the mill owner to make a reduction, or prevent those at work from demanding a rise.

The Commonwealth.
Nr. 203, 26. Januar 1867

VIII. The Cost of Production.

If Dr. Ure's ideal could be realised—if all the productive labour could be performed by automatic machines—the cost of production would be reduced to the cost of the materials required for the making of the machines; all social and political strife would be at an end, the rich would enjoy their wealth in peace. There being no longer any demand for human labour—the sole condition of existence of the labouring poor—the working population would be, more or less, gradually improved out of existence; none but the proprietors of wealth and their menials could subsist. If the improvement of the productive powers, the lowering of the cost of production, that has taken place in the manufacture of cotton could be extended to all branches of labour, fewer than a hundred thousand human beings would have to be maintained to produce the same amount of wealth as is now produced by ten millions of hired wages labourers. Such a result would be in strict accordance with our established laws and usages, and the inevitable result of the much-vaunted law of supply and demand.

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The doctrine, that a thing is worth what it will fetch in the market, applied to labour simply means, that the value of the working man's life ought to be determined by the very same rules by which the value of the lives of horses, the existence or non-existence of horses and steam-engines, is determined.

5 Those who treat labour as a commodity cannot have the remotest idea that there is no analogy between what the working man has to dispose of and the commodity which the capitalist has to sell. What the capitalist has to sell is a finished product, totally dis severed from any personal consideration. As soon as he has pocketed the purchasing price, it does not concern him *when, where, and how* the thing sold is to
10 be used. A man may buy a ship to convey it to the high sea for the purpose of setting it on fire to witness the grand spectacle of a burning ship, or he may use it for a voyage to the Arctic regions or to circumnavigate the globe—it does not concern the ship-builder; but it seriously concerns the working man *when, where, and how* his labour is to be used. The working man has nothing to sell. What he has to dis-
15 pose of is not a product, a thing separate or separable from his own individual *self*; he hires out his capacity to perform certain manual operations, and in doing so he hires himself out, and, with certain provisoes, he hands his *own self* over to his employer for the whole space of time requisite to execute the labour contracted for. The only analogy there is in the actual state of things is, that both the commodity
20 of the capitalist and the labourer become useless if no one has any need for it—that is, if it will not fetch a price in the market. This, to the working man, is tantamount to extinction.

If, as the utilitarians maintain, a man may do what he likes with his own, then, as long as the pre-requisites of production are private property, the proprietors have an
25 indisputable right to substitute the steam-engine for the living horse and the automatic spinner and weaver for the living man spinner and weaver; and, if the mill-owner has the right to substitute the engine and the automaton for the horse and the man, every other proprietor has the right to follow the example; and, if the spinner and the weaver are in duty bound to submit and make their exit, then the whole
30 labouring population would be in duty bound to submit and make their exit if their labour were no longer useful to the possessors of wealth. They might do this as cheerfully as the maniacs who throw themselves before the wheels of the Car of Juggernaut if they would only look upon the cost of production from the proprietary point of view, and learn to understand that the law of supply and demand is either
35 an immutable law of nature or a Divine ordinance.

However, the possessors of wealth and their spokesmen cannot help being tickled now and then by a touch of humanitarian considerations, but they easily get over it by not believing that the improvement of the productive powers injures the labouring poor in the long run. Thomas Ashton stated before a Parliamentary committee
40 in 1824: "There is at the present moment a gradual transfer of workmen going on from handlooms to powerlooms; this transfer of hands, by enabling me to perform the same quantity of work with much fewer hands, does not throw many workmen out of work. Our trade is advancing in such a rapid degree as to absorb the number of hands thus thrown out. The men earn from twenty-four to thirty shillings a week
45 clear money for dressing. The weaving is done by boys and women." Besides the

fact that it would have required a sixfold increase of weaving to place the superseded handloom weavers, a dressing machine was soon invented by which one boy could do the work of four men. Professor Venior—no champion of labour's rights—said in 1830: "Ever since the introduction of the powerloom, thousands of handloom weavers have been pining away under misery not alleviated even by hope." 5
 Mr. Cowell, a factory inspector, gave an account of an improvement of two mills in Manchester. The mules, containing 324 spindles, and spinning 16lbs. of cotton (200 hanks to the pound) in 69 hours, had been doubled. One man worked 648 spindles, spinning 32lbs. earning 50s. instead of 41s. as before. Mr. Cowell forgot that the extra nine shillings necessarily deprived another man of 41s., and that 10
 it could only last until the improvement became general.

At that very time Messrs. Sharp and Roberts stated, among the advantages of using their self-actors, "the saving of a spinner's wages to each pair of mules, and increased production." The 648 spindle mule was soon thrown in the shade. In 1835, Dr. Ure wrote: "It is delightful to see from 800 to 1,000 spindles of polished steel advancing and receding. One spinner manages a pair, and supersedes the labour of one or two companions." To his own query whether this will not effect a reduction of wages he has no other answer but that he is certain it increases the wages of children, makes the spinners civil and obedient, and gives the millowner a chance of selecting the best. "The men displaced might find employment upon the powerlooms at 15s. a week." Thus we see that the value of a powerloom situation had diminished by half in the short space of ten years. Inspector Horner reported in Oct. 1843, "hundreds of men between twenty and thirty years of age, in full vigour, are employed as piecers at 8s. or 9s. a week, while children of thirteen receive 5s., and young women between sixteen and twenty from 10s. to 12s." There are none so blind and deaf as those who will neither see nor hear. G.R.Porter, the late secretary of the Board of Trade, says in his *Progress of the Nation*, 1851: "Piecers are employed in the proportion of four to one spinner; one is generally a girl. The progress of trade is so gigantic that the boys are all absorbed as spinners; they increase in a geometrical ratio." This statement proves that such glowing accounts should, at all times, be received with great caution, if not with distrust. 20
 25
 30

I shall now give a few facts to show what the nineteenth century has accomplished in the shape of reducing the cost of production and increasing the productive powers. Dr. Ure calculates that at the very least a Hindoo woman would have to work 500 days to spin a pound of cotton into 250 hanks; according to a statement in a little book published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, one horse-power could spin as much as 1,066 persons, proving the tendency of modern civilisation to replace 1,066 human beings by a horse. Hargreaves' Jenny enabled one person to spin from 16 to 20 threads at one time; Highs' increased it to more than 50; Arkwright's to 100, and introduced horse-power to turn the machine. Crompton invented the mule, a hybrid between the Jenny and the water-frame with 130 spindles; this, as I have already mentioned, was improved to a thousand. Next came the reduction of friction and accelerated motion. The Throstle required one horse-power for 180 spindles, the mule one for 500 spindles. Gore's spindles turned 5,000 in the minute; Axton's 7,000 times. In 1823 one spinner with 336 spindles 45

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could turn off 461lbs., 120 hanks to the pound, in $7\frac{3}{4}$ hours per week; in 1833, the same number of spindles 52%lbs. in 69 a week. In 1829 the spinner turned off 312 pounds of yarn in the same time that he turned off 648 in 1835. The cotton wool consumed in 1801 amounted to 56,000,000lbs., in 1859 to
 5 973,800,000 pounds. The cotton consumed per horse-power was 6,309lbs. in 1839; in 1856 it was 8,670 pounds. The cotton consumed per spindle in 1812, 15lbs.; 1856, 30lbs.

Kay's fly shuttle, doubling the weaving power, was introduced 1738. About the time of the introduction of the power loom a good handloom weaver could weave
 10 two pieces of 24 yards each, in a week. In 1823 a girl or boy fifteen years old attending two power looms, could weave seven pieces of equal length; in 1826 from 12 to 15 pieces. The number of power looms at work in the cotton trade in Great Britain were:

	1820	1829	1833
15	14,150	55,500	100,000.

In the United Kingdom 1835, 109,626; in 1856, 299,000. Cotton cloth exported per loom 1835, 5,100 yards; 1856, 6,800 yards. To spin the cotton consumed in 1859 on the old household wheel would require more than 60,000,000 persons; half a million men, women, and children, perform all the labour required. In 1811 there
 20 were 35 out of every hundred engaged in agriculture; in 1841 but 22. The total number of agricultural labourers in 1841 was 1,499,278; in 1851, 1,347,387; in 1861, 1,340,000. The value of the mining produce was 9,000,000/. in 1812. In 1858 it amounted to 31,266,932/. In 1795 the export of our produce and manufactures was 27,312,338/.; in 1865 it was 165,862,402/. The export of British goods
 25 amounted to 27,312,338/.; in 1865 to 165,862,402/. In 1842 the income charged with income tax amounted to 203,619,116/.; in 1864 to 303,652,868/. That this development of the productive powers, and the consequent increase of wealth, borders on the marvellous, none but a madman will deny; that with such productive powers at command it is a scandal to civilization that the hardest working population that
 30 ever existed, or any portion of them should even be exposed to the possibility of suffering privations, much less going actually short of food, not even a Ure can have the hardihood to contradict. The working man maintains that he has a natural right to live whether his existence increases the wealth of the rich or not; he is, moreover, morally convinced that all the improvements of the productive powers ought to be,
 35 and at no very distant date will be, the common inheritance of the human species instead of a source of extermination to some of the most valuable sections. These improvements belong to no class, no age, no country; the man who made the first wheel has as great a share in the most improved machine, that will be in the forthcoming Paris exhibition, as the maker of it. Had he not found the wheel and other
 40 contrivances ready for use he would have had to invent them before he could go any further.

IX. Credit.

Before I proceed with the present subject, I must apologise for the blunders in my last. Those who have experienced the pleasure of carrying on literary pursuits at the family fireside, amidst the prattle of the non-literary members, will probably make some allowance. The professor's name I quoted is not "Venior," but Senior, the celebrated opponent of factory legislation who taught political economy at Oxford, at the time when some of our present experienced legislators were young hopefuls at college. The spirit of his teachings may be gathered from the following specimen which occurs in the preface to lectures on the wages question delivered in 1830:—"For the present the labourer thinks that he has a *right* to 2s. 3d. a day in winter, and 2s. 6d. in summer. Next year, perhaps, the labourer will think it *unjust* that he should have less than 4s. a day in winter, and 5s. in summer; and woe to the tyrants who deny him his right!"

"But if they are allowed to fix the labour they are to give and the wages they are to receive—if they are to help themselves, while it lasts, from the whole property of the country, it is too much to expect that they will not prefer idleness, riot, and plunder, to subsistence, however ample, to be earned by toil and hardship." Need we wonder that poor labouring manhood is at a discount in high quarters?

The half million mentioned in connection with the cotton trade applies not only to spinning but to all the branches of labour in the manufacture of cotton, and a further improvement of the productive powers in the cotton trade is included in the calculation that fewer than a hundred thousand human beings could produce as much as ten millions do now.

Money-lending for a consideration is probably as old as society and the use of money, but fortune-making with borrowed money is of recent origin. In olden times it was only people who could not make both ends meet in their household affairs (the hard-ups) who had to resort to borrowing; hence the odium attached to such of the rich as would not lend to neighbours in distress without interest; hence the anathemas of the Primitive Church against usury. A great change has come over the scene. At the present day, borrowing is a source of gain as well as lending. In times of prosperity, when money is easy, large business transactions are carried on by men who have very little property of their own, many of whom make fortunes, and many more who are already rich extend their business operations by the aid of credit, and, as a rule, the opulent make more use of credit than the needy. Mr. Mill, in his happy versatility of entertaining two opinions upon the same subject, denies, under the head of credit as a substitute for money, that credit creates capital. He says:—"As a specimen of the confused notions entertained respecting the nature of credit, we may advert to the exaggerated language so often used respecting its national importance. Credit has a great, but not as many people suppose, a magical,

power; it cannot create something out of nothing. How often is an extension of credit talked of as equivalent to a creation of capital, or as if credit were actually capital. It seems strange that there should be any need to point out that credit being only permission to use the capital of another person, the means of production cannot be increased by it, but only transferred. If the borrower's means of production and of employing labour are increased by the credit given him, the lender's are so much diminished. The same sum cannot be used as capital both by the owner and also by the borrower to whom it is lent; it cannot supply its full value in wages, tools, and materials to two sets of labourers at once." One might almost fancy that under credit Mr. Mill understood borrowing and lending between two sets of persons engaged in the same branch of business—the borrowing and lending that frequently takes place among little farmers and tradesmen. If farmer Jones borrow a plough of farmer Brown, it is evident that Brown cannot use the plough while Jones has it. But this borrowing and lending is not credit, and does not come within the province of political economy.

A plough is not a plough at every stage of its existence. When it rests in the warehouse of the agricultural implement maker it is merchandise, the product of a specific kind of labour, and capable of being used in the operation of ploughing as soon as it leaves its resting place—a movement that will take place whenever its purchasing price, or a security equivalent to it, is offered in exchange for it. As long as it rests in the warehouse it is a burden; the utmost it can do by a prolonged stay is to harrow up its possessor's peace of mind, and, perhaps, induce him to slacken his production and discharge some of his workpeople. Now, suppose farmer Brown wants a plough but has no cash to purchase one. If he could only obtain it for hard cash he would have to do without it, and his land would remain barren; but his credit is good. He therefore goes to the manufacturer and buys one, and the manufacturer draws a bill on the transaction, a neighbouring banker discounts it with notes, and by means of these notes the process of ploughmaking is renewed. Now, what has taken place? A few slips of paper in the form of credit have released the plough from the place where it was likely to become a source of embarrassment, and converted it into food-producing capital; they have released a corresponding quantity of the raw materials and tools used in ploughmaking from a similar position; they have given a renewed scope to productive labour and enabled the capitalists to realise their interest and profit. Whose means of production are diminished by this transaction? Is it simply a transfer of capital, or is a capital-creating metamorphosis beneficial to all concerned?

But there is another aspect of our credit system. If farmer Brown could by any contrivance break up the surface of his land, at a trifling expense, equal to ploughing, the saving of the expense of the plough, the horses, and the ploughing would be tantamount to a creation of new capital. The existing paper currency has exactly the same effect compared with a metallic currency. Had the United States been obliged to transact all their business with gold instead of paper, they would have had to part with 140,000,000/. worth of produce to purchase the gold requisite to replace the paper in circulation in 1865. By resorting to paper—i.e., credit, they saved (which is tantamount to creating) a capital of equal amount. If our paper currency

had to be replaced by gold it would require the whole amount of one year's export of British and Irish produce and manufactures to purchase it, besides an annual wear and tear of more than 350,000/. By using paper instead of gold, besides the facilities it affords in the transaction of business, we save the whole amount which the metal would cost us.

The assertion that the same sum cannot supply wages, tools, and materials, to two sets of labourers at once is contrary to established facts, and, as we shall presently see, contrary to Mr. Mill's own statement under another head.

Bifariousness is the very essence of our credit system. The fourteen millions of sovereigns advanced to Government by the Bank of England, maintain their double existence by their paper images, the 14,000,000/. bank notes.

As these bank notes are as efficient for productive purposes as their equivalent value in gold, we can come to no other conclusion than that the sum of 14,000,000/. of gold may in combination with its intrinsically valueless paper images be made equal to a productive capital of 28,000,000/. Now, as all our credit papers are supposed to represent really existing wealth, it is not too much to assert that every sum which enters the charmed circle of credit doubles its power. Mr. Mill states this fact under the head of influence of currency on foreign trade. He supposes that 20,000,000/. of gold have been sent abroad and replaced by paper. The effect of this would be in his opinion:—"The value saved to the community by dispensing with metallic money, is a clear gain to those who provide the substitute. They have the use of twenty millions of circulating medium, which have cost them only the expense of an engraver's plate. If they employ this accession to their fortunes as productive capital, the produce of the country is increased and the community benefited, as much as by any other capital of equal amount. When paper currency is supplied by bankers, the amount is almost wholly turned into productive capital. A banker's profession being that of a money lender, his issue of notes is a simple extension of his ordinary occupation. He lends the amount to farmers, manufacturers, or dealers, who employ it in their several businesses. So employed it yields, like any other capital, wages of labour, and profits of stock. ... The capital itself in the long run becomes entirely wages, and when replaced by the sale of the produce becomes wages again; thus affording a perpetual fund of the value of twenty millions for the maintenance of productive labour, and increasing the annual produce of the country by all that can be produced through the means of a capital of that value." And what becomes of the 20,000,000/. of gold while all this is going on? The sum of 20,000,000/. of intrinsic value supplies by the aid of its paper images—credit, wages, tools, and materials, to the amount of 20,000,000/. to each, of two sets of labourers at once.

X. Profit.

Mr. Mill commences his chapter on profit with the following observation:—"The profits of the capitalist are properly, according to Mr. Senior's well chosen expression, the remuneration of abstinence." It would be an equally well chosen expression to say that rent is the remuneration of land-owning. In my second article I pointed out what difficulties and hardships the employers of labour have to endure to carry on the process of accumulating capital, and shall, therefore, leave my readers to their fate respecting the conclusion as to the remuneration of those difficulties and hardships. But the next statement calls for enquiry. Mr. Mill says: "To popular apprehensions it seems as if the profits of business depended upon prices. A producer or dealer seems to obtain his profits by selling his commodity for more than it costs him; profit altogether, people are apt to think, is a consequence of purchase or sale. It is only (they suppose) because there are purchasers for a commodity, that the producer of it is able to make any profit. The cause of profit is, that labour produces more than is required for its support. The reason why agricultural capital yields a profit, is because human beings can grow more food than is necessary to feed them while it is being grown. Profit arises, not from the incident of exchange, but from the productive power of labour; and the general profit of the country is always what the productive power of labour makes it, whether any exchange takes place or not. If there were no divisions of employments, there would be no buying and selling, but there would still be profit. If the labourers of the country produce 20 per cent, more than their wages, profits will be 20 per cent., whatever prices may or may not be." Before we go any further let us settle what profit means. Profit is a gain resulting from a transaction in which producer and consumer are different persons. To Crassus of ancient Rome, and to Lytton Bulwer's 'Last of the Barons,' a superabundant harvest would have been a real gain; the former could have given more corn to the poor of Rome, the latter could have feasted more retainers; to both it would have been a source of power. To the modern farmer and landlord it is a source of misery. To the ancient patrician and the feudal baron the gain arising out of production consisted in the quantitative amount of consumables they obtained; to the modern proprietor it consists in the amount of money that can be cleared. The water works of ancient Rome were a great benefit to the people of Rome, but they were no source of profit; the water works of the New River Company are a benefit to the people of London, and a source of profit to the shareholders, because the water has a price; it is sold, and sold for more than it costs to procure it. Profit, then, is a gain resulting from a mode of production under which producers and consumers are two different sets of persons, who have to buy and sell the produce of labour.

According to Adam Smith, rent is the difference between the market price of agricultural produce and the amount of money which satisfies the farmer; David Ricardo has explained from what peculiar circumstances this difference arises.

Mr. Mill has adopted his theory, but does not perceive that profit depends as much on market price as rent. Leaving rent out of the question, what constitutes the farmer's profit? In Mr. Mill's opinion the difference between the quantity of food a man produces and that which is necessary to feed him while he is producing it; in my opinion the difference between the price of labour and the price at which its produce is sold. Whatever this difference amounts to is the amount of the farmer's profit. Let us suppose a young community of families located in some favoured region on a tract of fertile land equally divided among them. They are contented to live on the fruits of their own soil and labour; every family produces by its labour everything required for its subsistence. If they could produce a hundred times as much food as they require it would be of no use, it would be labour in vain. If, after the lapse of some time, another community settled in the neighbourhood on a somewhat poorer soil, but with the same mode of life, it would not make the slightest difference in the social arrangements of the original settlers. A third lot might settle on a still poorer soil without in the least interfering with the other two. If 100, 90, 80 represented the relative fertility of the three different soils, the labour required to procure a subsistence would be in an inverse proportion 8, 9, 10. Suppose these figures to represent hours, the people on the third settlement would have to work ten hours to obtain the same quantity of consumables as the people in the first could obtain in eight. No improvement in the productive powers of either would affect the condition of the others. If the people of No. 3 introduced machinery, by means of which they could produce as much in two hours as formerly in ten, it would make the people of No. 1 neither richer nor poorer than they were before. There being no buying and selling they would still have to produce all they required; the people of No. 3 would produce no more than they required. Will Mr. Mill point out in what direction we are to look for the profit, the remuneration of abstinence arising out of the productive power of the labour of these communities.

Let us now turn from this imaginary state of things to the existing state of society, a state of society in which we have to deal with labourers who can only gain a subsistence by producing things which supply the wants of others, and where they cannot produce for the wants of others without the intermeddling of a capitalist, who exacts a profit. Suppose we represent the productive power of labour by 100, and that, at that rate, the quantity of a given product is exactly equal to the demand, its market price will be equal to its value. If the labouring producer is also the seller there will be neither profit nor loss. If on account of scarcity its price rise 10 per cent, there will be a profit of ten per cent., which may be intercepted by a merchant. If the labourer consumed his own product there would never be any profit; but our labourer works for a capitalist, who is the proprietor of the produce of his labour, and let us take it for granted that he can manage to live on 70; in that case the profit of the capitalist will be 30. Now if Mr. Mill's hypothesis holds good, if profit does not depend on buying and selling, then if by any circumstance the productive power of labour is increased, without a corresponding increase in the rate of wages, the profit of the capitalist will increase in a corresponding ratio. Let us go a step farther. Let us suppose our three communities as having entered the

commercial state, and let us apply Ricardo's rent theory to profits. During the period of transition the hours of labour have been equalised, and wages are uniformly at 70. The first produces 100, profit 30; the second 90, profit 20; the third 80, profit 10; total 270, of which 210 are paid in wages, 60 remain as profit. If the productive power of labour increased by 40 per cent, the proportions would be 140, profit 70; 126, profit 56; 112, profit 42, total produce 378; total profit 168. If wages were paid in kind, and the capitalist farmer, like the patrician and baron of old, retained the produce for the use of his own household, it would be a great augmentation of wealth; but the produce has to be sold, it has a price, and its value is estimated in gold. The former proportion of 100 of gold for 100 of produce has not simply changed to 100 gold and 140 produce, but the new proportion is 75 gold to 140 produce. Could the whole of it be sold it would realise 203 of gold; but 180 of the produce is dead stock, its market price is a fiction, therefore only 146 can be obtained. The 168 profit from production is converted into a pecuniary loss of 64, which means bankruptcy, and ruin. If the farmers of the different soils sold their proportionate quantities they would respectively realise 53, 47, 42; their respective losses would be 17, 23, 28. If those of No. 1 could sell their whole they would still clear 5; but those of No. 3, would lose 10. With a reduction of money wages those of No. 1 could continue their farming operations, and even extend them, without any rise of prices, but those of No. 3 would be ruined. So much for profit being independent of prices.

Let us now have a peep at historical realities. The following statements are taken from "Tooke's History of Prices."

"According to Sloane's MSS. a fall of prices occurred between 1617 to 1621, from 43s. 3d. the quarter of eight bushels to 27s.

'Mr. John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton.

12th February, 1620.

We are here in a state to complain of plenty; but so it is, that com beareth so low a price that tenants and farmers are very backward to pay their rents, and in many places plead disability; for remedy whereof the council have written letters into every shire, and some say, to every market-town, to provide a granary or storehouse, with a stock to buy com and keep it for a dear year.'

The following was written at the same period:—'England was never generally so poor since I was bom as it is at this present, inasmuch that all complain they cannot receive their rents; yet is there plenty of all things but money, which is so scant that country people offer com and cattle, or whatsoever they have else, in lieu of rent, but bring no money; and com is at so easy rates as I never knew it to be at, twenty or twenty-two pence a bushel, barley at nine pence, and yet no quantity will be taken at that price.'

There are similar complaints at subsequent periods of great plenty. During the year 1731-32 and 33 wheat averaged 22s. In a publication by the elder Lord Lyttleton, "Considerations on the Present State of Affairs" (1738), he says, "In most parts of England gentlemen's rents are so ill paid, and the weight of taxes lies so heavy on them, that those who have nothing from the Court can scarce support their families."

Let us now see whether there is any difference in the fate of the farmer and that of the manufacturer. In 1810, the importation of raw cotton was 136,488,935lbs. against 43,605,982lbs. in 1808. The monthly commercial report of the 1st January, 1811, said, "In Lancashire the cotton manufacturers appear, by the late gazettes as well as by private information, to be greatly distressed, and business quite at a stand. In Manchester and other places houses stop, not only every day, but every hour." The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated shortly after in the House that the large manufacturers had diminished the number of their workpeople by half, the smaller ones had discharged theirs altogether. In 1825 the consumption of cotton was 202,546,863lbs. against 141,038,743lbs. in 1824. November 4th, 1825, a Boston paper stated, "Five mercantile firms failed at New York for 2,500,000 dois." In 1825 Georgia cotton fetched is. 6%^{d.}, at the beginning of 1826 it would not sell for 6%^{d.}. In 1845 business was increasing, and prices advancing. There was an increase of 300,000 bales against '44; on the 18th July, 1846, the *Manchester Guardian* stated, "Prices are unremunerative, the millers consider the propriety of working short time." On October 27th, the correspondent of the *Economist* said, "In the course of a fortnight working short time will be more general than at any time since 1825." Thus we see that when the surplus—Mr. Mill's profit—arising out of production is largest, the possibility of turning it to account is smallest. Paradox as it may appear it is, nevertheless, a fact, that in any branch of production, when the produce of labour is largest, poverty and misery are stalking about in its ranks, because the produce has a price, a price which often falls below its labour value, and which cannot be realised except by the sale of the produce. It remains to be proved what connection there is between industrial profits and Ricardo's rent theory. On February 11th, 1847, the correspondent of the *Economist* said, "The difference between the price of raw cotton and yarn was never so small as at present." Feb. 11th, 39 in. 60 reed cloth is sold at 8s. a piece, a ruinous loss to manufacturers. Georgia cotton at that time was from 5d. to 8d. a pound. In 1851, a year of prosperity, the same cotton was sold for 7%^{d.} in January, and for 5%^{d.} in July. The same cloth sold for 9s. 7%^{d.} in January, and for 7s. 9d. in July. The highest price up to 1858 was 8s. 6d. How did 8s. become a remunerative price? By increasing the fertility of the instruments of production. The prices that ruled previously to the crisis of 1846 and 1847 were sufficiently remunerative to keep the old machines at work, which carried only from five to six hundred spindles, required six persons to every horse power, and from 8 to 12lbs. of coal per hour per horse power. The improved machines carried a thousand spindles, required only four persons per horse power, and only from 3½ to 4lbs. of coal per hour per horse power. The new machines could produce cotton at a profit, for 8s. a piece, the old ones could not. The proprietors of the fertile machines are in the same position as the farmers on the fertile soil, when corn fell to 7s. and the proprietors of the old ones shared the fate of the farmers on the third soil, they had to give it up. The cause of profit, then, is not the difference between the productiveness of labour and what the labourer can live on. When labour can be hired at a price which is below the market price of the produce of labour, then the employer makes a profit; but the produce must be sold to realise that profit.

XI. Small Farming.

Hitherto I have dealt with theoretical elucidations and conclusions, and negative criticism. I now enter upon, what is commonly called the practical part, the consideration of positive propositions. The measures and means by which Mr. Mill hopes
5 to cure the ills that afflict us, we shall find as unsuitable and impracticable as we found his theoretical conclusions erroneous and contradictory. Instead of discovering a tendency to progressive development, instead of propositions aiming at the regeneration of society, we shall find them obstructive and reactionary, with a deliberate aim towards the attainment of the stationary state. If anyone advocated the
10 old hand-wheel against the modern mule, the handloom against the powerloom, the stage-coach against the railway, he would be looked upon as one labouring under an aberration of mind. Now small farming stands in the same relation to modern farming on a large scale, as hand spinning and weaving to modern machine spinning and weaving. If in former times a man had been in possession of a thousand
15 wheels it would have required a thousand pairs of feet and hands to work them, just as if a thousand persons had possessed a wheel each and worked it in their own homes. In the same way a ten thousand acre estate was cultivated in the same manner as a ten acre farm, there was no difference in the mode of operations, the same amount of manual labour per acre being required on large farms as on small ones.
20 Small farming is the mode of cultivation of the past, it belongs to, and is conformable to a state of society in which almost every household, every village, every province, produces all its own necessaries. It belongs to a state of society in which the great bulk of the population is, as it were, rivetted to the soil, and in which there are few or no chances of getting a living except by the cultivation of the soil. The characteristic distinction between the small working farmer and the large capitalist
25 farmer is, that the former produces food for the consumption of his own family, the latter produces food for the market for the consumption of others. The large farmer is the food producer for an industrial community, the small farmer the food producer for himself. Mr. Mill advocates small farming, but not to the extent of breaking
30 up the existing large farms, he only proposes that "all common land to be brought into cultivation should be devoted to raising up a class of small proprietors." To show what a happy fellow the peasant proprietor is Mr. Mill favours his readers with some French extracts from Sismondi, of which I translate the following choice morsel:—"The peasant who, with his children, does all the work on his little inheritance,
35 ance, who pays no rent to any one above him nor wages to any one below him; who eats his own grain, drinks his own wine, clothes himself with his own hemp and wool, troubles himself little about market prices, for he has little to sell and little to buy, and is never mined by commercial convulsions. Far from fearing the future he sees it embellishing his hopes; for he puts every moment that is not required for his
40 annual labour to the profit of his offspring for centuries to come. ... He is also eager to buy land at any price. He pays more for it than it is worth, more perhaps than it will return to him." We see at the first glance that there is no room for such

a man in a country that boasts of such places as London, Liverpool, and Manchester. For if he wants to be truly happy he will trouble himself as little about the hungry mouths in London, Liverpool, and Manchester as he troubles himself about market prices. If money entice him to produce ought else than what he requires for feeding and clothing his family, he will not be able to furnish it at a reasonable price, since he pays more for his land than it is worth, and on that very account, besides enhancing the price of his produce, necessarily cripples his circulating capital. If such happy beings still existed when Sismondi wrote, I can assure my readers that they have become extinct, since the necessity of money making, and consequently the indispensability of caring about market prices has even penetrated the Alpine regions. The proposal of Karl Bürkli, of Zurich (one of the delegates of the International Congress at Geneva), to establish a people's bank for the Canton of Zurich, to enable the peasantry to obtain loans for less than from 5 to 10 per cent, interest is a striking proof of this. But independent of this Mr. Mill himself cites evidence which shows that "the indebtedness of the proprietors in the flourishing canton of Zurich borders on the incredible, so that only the intensest industry, frugality, temperance, and complete freedom of commerce enable them to stand their ground." But the peasantry of Zurich enjoy an advantage which, with the exception of Florentine straw-plaiters, no peasantry in the world enjoys. Mr. Mill states in a foot-note that "four-fifths of the manufacturers of the canton of Zurich are small farmers. The cotton manufacture occupies, either wholly or partially, 23,000 people, nearly a tenth of the population." In the canton of Schaffhausen almost all the landed properties are mortgaged, but rarely for more than half their registered value. And what is the condition of the French peasantry? M. de Veauce stated last year in the Chamber of Deputies that "according to the census of 1851 the mortgages on land amounted to 400,000,000/. sterling. Things had become considerably worse for the Government would not publish the returns of 1861." He observed that "if a large estate were for sale in the neighbourhood of a large populated centre, it could be divided into fragments, each of which fetched a high price—but what happened? To buy a mere slip of land men actually borrowed the double of their available capital, looking forward to the future to clear off their debt. Of the 7,846,000 landed proprietors in France, not less than 3,000,000 had been certified by the municipal councils of their communes as being in such a state of absolute destitution that they could pay no personal tax." But the buying of land with borrowed money is not the only way in which the land is mortgaged. Suppose a man leaves at his death nine acres of land, free of debt, and three children, and that the children agree not to claim their three acres each, what happens then? Well, the one who keeps the lot must pay the difference to the other two. And where does he get the money? He mortgages the property, and instead of starting in business with a fund in hand, he starts with a crushing weight of debt, of which he can never rid himself. This and the taxes imposed by the State form the links which chain the peasant to society, and implicate him in the fate of the community. But for these he might be the happy man portrayed by Sismondi, but interest and taxes compel him to sell part of his produce, at all hazards, and generally the best part, leaving the coarsest for himself, and frequently not enough of that.

The life of the peasant is anything but an enviable one. Speaking of the neighbourhood of Zurich Mr. Mill says, "When I used to open my casement, between four and five in the morning, I saw the labourer in the fields; and when I returned from an evening walk, long after sunset, there was the labourer mowing his grass or tying up his vines."

Howitt says about the Germans, "They labour busily, early and late, because they feel that they are labouring for themselves. They plod on from day to day, from year to year, the most patient, untirable, and persevering of animals."

And how does the peasantry fare? Mr. Mill says, "No peasantry on the Continent has the superstition of the English labourer respecting white bread." The Tuscan peasant, according to Sismondi, has but two meals a day in the bad season, "at ten o'clock in the morning he eats his porridge, at nightfall he has soup, and afterwards he has bread with some seasoning. In summer he has three meals, at eight, at one, and in the evening; but he only lights the fire once a day, for his dinner, consisting of soup, afterwards a mess, or salt meat, or dried fish, or beans, or vegetables, which he eats with bread. Salt meat enters but in a very small quantity into his ordinary, for he reckons only 40lbs. of salt pork a year as an ample provision per head; twice a week he puts a little bit into his pottage. Sundays he always has fresh meat, but not more than a pound or a pound and a half, however numerous the family may be." The Flemish farmers and labourers, says Mr. Mill, "live much more economically than the same class in England, they seldom eat meat, except on Sundays and in harvest; buttermilk and potatoes with brown bread is their daily food." Mr. Mill says further, "The peasant proprietors are oftener accused of penuriousness than of prodigality. They deny themselves reasonable indulgences, and live wretchedly in order to economize. In France, among those who, from the hovels in which they live, and the herbs and roots which constitute their diet, are mistaken by travellers for proofs and specimens of general indigence, are numbers who have hoards in leathern bags, consisting of five-franc pieces, which they keep by them perhaps a whole generation, unless brought out to be expended in their most cherished gratification—the purchase of land."

It is admitted that the price of land is far above its value, in Belgium it pays little more than two per cent. Now, if a man does live wretchedly all his life to buy a piece of land, what does it amount to? If he saves 1,000 francs, and buys a piece of land for 2,000 francs, he will get possession of a property, worth perhaps 50 francs a year. As he had to borrow 1,000 francs to pay for his land, and as the money lenders hardly ever lend for less than five per cent., he has to pay 50 francs a year, his own thousand francs bring in as little as the deposit which some of the slop tailors have to leave with their employers. The peasant therefore only works hard and lives hard, and buys land that the mortgagee may realise interest on his money. Mr. Mill maintains that small farming produces more per acre than large farming; but Moreau de Jonnès, in his comparison of England and France, arrives at a different result. According to his calculations in 1850, the annual value of the agricultural produce was:

Johann Georg Eccarius

	France. Francs.	England. Francs.	
Per head of the population	133	235	
Per cultivator	215	715	
Wheat per acre, bushels	18	30.	5

Mr. Mill says, "Large capital applied to farming is, of course, only applied to the very best of the soils of a country. It cannot touch the small unproductive spots, which require more time and labour to fertilize them than is consistent with a quick return of capital." Now, I ask whether it would be good economy in a state of society that boasts of the steam plough to condemn any set of men to cultivate land by superhuman industry; poor land—perhaps with the spade, as in the Wales district—that they may subsist on *buttermilk*, *potatoes*, and *brown bread*. Yet this is what Mr. Mill proposes to ameliorate the wretched condition of the agricultural labourers. If by any economical arrangement a given product can be produced by less labour than by any other, it is rank folly, and contrary to all sound economy to adopt that which requires most. If the reduction of manual labour is injurious to the poor, that is not the fault of the mode of production, but of the mode of distribution, and it is the business of those who suffer to alter it. The small farm system is condemned, socially and economically. No working men of sound mind will consider the mode of living portrayed by Sismondi and Mr. Mill, combined with the hardships attending it, as an improvement compared with the condition of the British day labourer. But more than that, the continental peasantry turn up their little farms and emigrate. The Germans go wholesale to America, the French flock to the towns, the rural population diminishes, and there is a movement going on of substituting large farming for small farming.

But, there is another aspect of the question. It is now admitted on all sides that co-operation offers the only means for a solution of the labour question. Just as combined and concentrated labour is a superior mode of production to isolated and scattered labour, so co-operative labour is superior to the present mode of production, and must sooner or later supersede it. Co-operative labour is the peculiar child, the natural offspring of factory industry and large farming; co-operation requires a preliminary course of industrial training, and this is the secret why co-operation succeeds better in Manchester than in London. What the London mechanic will do some day from moral conviction the factory labourer does almost from habit. The day labourer on the large farm has had a considerable amount of such training, he is fit to enter upon co-operative farming, the small farmer who is guided by his own whims and caprices is not. To break up the large estates and establish small farming to any extent would be, to say the least, absolutely obstructing the progressive development of agriculture. The working classes have a direct interest to oppose every attempt that may be made in this direction. Instead of converting waste and common lands into small farms the Legislature ought to facilitate their transfer as well as that of the Crown and Church lands to co-operative associations, not as permanent property but on lease, since no private individuals, nor

companies with interests separate from the common interests of the people, ought to be invested with the perpetual control and direction of the use of the land—the source of food.

The Commonwealth.
Nr. 208, 2. März 1867

XII. Property.

5 Mr. Mill says,—“If choice were to be made between communism with all its chances, and the present state of society with all its sufferings and injustices; if the institution of private property necessarily carried with it as a consequence, that the produce of labour should be apportioned, as we now see it, almost in an inverse ratio to the labour—the largest portions to those who never work at all, the next largest to those whose work is almost nominal, and so, in a descending scale, the remuneration dwindling as the work grows harder and more disagreeable, until the most fatiguing and exhausting bodily labour cannot count with certainty on being able to earn even the necessaries of life; if this, or communism were the alternative, all the difficulties, great or small, of communism would be as dust in the balance.

10
15 But to make the comparison applicable, we must compare communism at its best, with the regime of individual property, not as it is, but as it might be made. The principle of private property has never yet had a fair trial in any country. The social arrangements of modern Europe commenced from a distribution of property which was the result, not of just partition or acquisition by industry, but of conquest and violence.

20 Individuals need not be chained to an occupation or to a partial locality. The restraints of communism would be freedom in comparison with the present condition of the majority of the human race. The generality of labourers in this and most other countries have as little choice of occupation, or freedom of locomotion, are practically as dependent on fixed rules and on the will of others as they would be on any system short of actual slavery.

25 The institution of property, when limited to its essential elements, consists in the recognition in each person of a right to the exclusive disposal of what he or she have produced by their own exertions, or received either by gift or by fair agreement, without force or fraud, from those who produced it.

30 Nothing ought to be treated as property which has been acquired by force or fraud.

35 When the 'sacredness of property' is talked of, it should always be remembered, that any such sacredness does not belong in the same degree to landed property. No man made the land. It is the original inheritance of the whole species. Its appropriation is wholly a question of general expediency. When private property in land is not expedient, it is unjust. The State is at liberty to deal with landed property as the general interests of the community may require, even to the extent, if it so happens, of doing with the whole what is done with a part whenever a bill is passed for a railroad or a new street. The community has too much at stake in the proper cultivation of the land, and in the conditions annexed to the occupancy of it, to leave

these things to the discretion of a class of persons called landlords, when they have shown themselves unfit for the trust. To me it seems almost an axiom that property in land should be interpreted strictly, and the balance in all cases of doubt should incline against the proprietors. The reverse is the case with property in moveables, and in all things being the product of labour; over these the owner's power should be absolute, except where positive evil to others would result from it; but in the case of land, no exclusive right should be permitted to any individual which cannot be shown to be productive of positive good. To be allowed any exclusive right at all over a portion of the common inheritance, while there are others who have no portion, is already a questionable privilege. No quantity of moveable goods which a person can acquire by his labour prevents others from acquiring the same by the same means; but from the very nature of the case, whoever owns land, keeps others out of the enjoyment of it." 5 10

The reddest of red communists could not draw a truer, a more abhorrent, and a more strikingly contrasting picture of the social position of the working man and the proprietor, who appropriates the fruits of the working man's toil, than Mr. Mill does; but he contends that this abominable state of society is not a necessary consequence of the institution of private property, and bids us not to judge the regime of individual property as it is, but as it might be made. But what he proposes to eradicate this abomination is only a modification of the laws of inheritance which might have the effect of substituting, in some instances, an exacting and clever trickster for a generous simpleton as inheritor of a fortune, or it might break an annual income of a hundred thousand in two of fifty thousand each. Would this in any way whatever alter the relation between capital and labour? *No! emphatically, no!* It would be an obstruction, and aggravate the case. If all the provisions, all the raw materials, and all the instruments of production requisite to set all the productive labour in motion, were the private property of half a dozen individuals, a parliamentary decree of expropriation would be sufficient to convert all the establishments of production into co-operative concerns. Every invention, every fluctuation that tends to the concentration of the instruments of production in the hands of a few, is a step in advance towards the final and complete emancipation of the working class. As it is, the large manufacturer, the interest of whose capital is sufficient to maintain his household in comfort and affluence, is more likely, when profits run low, to enter into partnership with his workpeople, than the little exacting, avaricious, busy-bodies, who can scarcely hold their ground against the large capitalists, and yeam to make a fortune. 15 20 25 30 35

Where, or how, the principle of private property is to have a fairer trial than it has as yet had is beyond my comprehension. In the new world, at all events, there were no feudal restrictions of a bygone age to overcome, and no established church with hereditary prejudices to impede the development, in its full vigour, of the institution of modern private property. The new world was taken possession of by the advanced guard of Europe, by the most robust, the most energetic, and the most advanced—those who preferred braving the dangers and hardships of the wilderness, to submitting peaceably to the social and political fetters of feudalism which cramped and obstructed the march of progress in the old world. They had only a compara- 40 45

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A working man's refutation ... XII. Property

tively few defenceless savages to exterminate to make a beginning and have a clear start, and is not the contention between labour and capital as fierce and unrelenting in the new world as in the old? Is the social reformer, the man of new ideas, justified in evading to criticise an institution as it is, by the pretence that it might be
5 made something different?

To deny the 'sacredness' to one kind of private property which is vindicated for another, may have been sound argument at a former period of the world's history, but private property in the products of labour, particularly by the instruments of production, has assumed far too gigantic proportions, and is accompanied by such
10 unsatisfactory relation, that it is hardly worth while to make fish of one and flesh of the other. "*No man made the land,*" therefore, it ought not to be private property. Who made the land, and how is it made at the present moment? The mountain torrents carry the *debris* of the denuded and constantly denuding geological formations over which they pass in suspense, and deposit them as sediments in the low lev-
15 els, or in the sea. Land, then, is the result of a combination of natural forces; the whole surface of our globe is the result of such combinations; but it is only on the banks of the largest rivers, such as the Nile, the Jordan, the Indus, the Ganges, the Mississippi—the cradles of culture and civilisation—where man can multiply vegeta-
20 tion with little exertion and primitive tools. In less favoured regions a considerable amount of labour is required to prepare the soil for culture; therefore man rendered the land suitable for the production of food. Who makes the moveables, and how are they made? Let us see. John Chinaman takes care of the silkworm, and sends the silk which the insect spins for the good of its offspring to England—a starving Spitalfield weaver converts it into serge. The Australian shepherd tends
25 sheep, and sends their wool, which nature gave the sheep as a protection against wind and weather, to England—a surly and discontented Yorkshireman converts it into cloth. The emancipated negro of Georgia exerts all his ingenuity to obtain a crop of cotton wool, which his employer sends to Liverpool, and the Lancashire operatives convert it into calico. The Russian peasant grows flax, Dundee labourers
30 convert it into linen; and a London tailor, combining all these materials, converts them into a suit of clothes, say for the Duke of Bedford. The suit of clothes, we find, is the result of a combination of natural and social forces. The materials, after having served the purposes for which nature made them, are converted into clothing; and although this process is the work of man, the Duke of Bedford has never
35 moved a finger in this process. He gives the tailor an equivalent, but neither he nor his ancestors have ever done anything to produce that equivalent, and those who produce it—the labourers—have frequently to go short of food and clothing to enable him to give that equivalent. What holds good with the suit of clothes holds good with every other species of property—the result of labour. According to
40 Mr. Mill's own showing, those who work hardest can acquire no property at all, and those who acquire most have the least, or no need at all to work. As to the assertion that "no quantity which a person can acquire prevents others from acquiring the same," this is rank nonsense. The production of materials is limited by the available land necessary for their production. If, with our present means, we can only
45 produce fourteen million suits of clothes a-year for seven millions of male adults,

everybody who gets more than two suits deprives others of their share. The late Richard Cobden introduced on one occasion a friend of his to a public meeting who had risen from the ranks, and employed then 4,000 persons. Here, then, is a case where 4,000 hired wages-labourers are required to set the productive machinery of one proprietor in motion. The chances against the labourers ever becoming proprietors are 4,000 to 1. Unless Mr. Mill can show that the great majority of factory operatives have a reasonable prospect of becoming millowners his argument falls to the ground. 5

As to conquest, the feudal baron had to risk life, and he who was attacked had a chance of defending himself. The modern capitalist need never move off his couch to render his rival's property useless. He has but to give his agents permission to give some clever mechanic a few pounds to improve his machinery, so that he can undersell his neighbour. In the year ending the 31st October, 1853, there were 98 new mills erected in Mr. Horner's district, with an average horse-power of 29; 23 with an average horse power of 12 ceased working. The same movement is still going on. We have seen, in my previous articles, how new inventions, generally introduced by large capitalists, continually render the property of the small capitalists, and the skill of the operative, useless. This is the modern mode of conquest. 10 15

Private property in moveables rests upon a better economical foundation than private property in land. No measure of amelioration will effect a cure of the present highly unsatisfactory social relations that does not tend towards the joint ownership of the instruments of production, and nothing but co-operation, the joint ownership of all the instruments of production, can establish an equitable distribution of the produce of labour. 20

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XIII. Wages and Population. 25

If imposed restraints and restrictions could make the human family wise, virtuous, and happy, the world would have been a paradise long since. Between fashionable and artificial, and wilfully imposed and enforced restraints and restrictions, the great mass of mankind have never been out of the straight jacket yet. Experience, however, has abundantly proved that the more the straight jacket, which has in all ages paralysed the community, is enlarged the better mankind prospers. The restraints and restrictions enforced at various periods against the increase of population form no exception. Men of science tell us that the inherent tendency to propagate and multiply is such, in every species of organism, that any one species, if left unchecked, would in a comparatively short time cover the whole globe; but as this tendency is inherent in all of them, and as the surface of the earth itself conditions a variety, not any single one, either animal or vegetable, has yet succeeded in covering even any extensive tract to the exclusion of all the others. Nature, who is the mother of them all, has provided her own remedy. 30 35

That the existence of all organic life is limited by the existing means of subsistence 40

tence, everybody knows. But, when men like Malthus, Mr. Mill, and, I am sorry to add, the editorial staff of the *National Reformer*, apply this principle to the human species, they forget, in the first instance, that, as a rule, the higher organisms feed upon the lower, that the multiplying power increases as organisms descend in the

5 scale, and that man has acquired the means and the power to multiply them according to his need. In the second instance they forsake the path of reason altogether, and under the pretence of applying a scientific principle to the human species, they apply it to a state of society in which the great majority is doomed to suffer privations whatever the existing means of subsistence may be, a state of society that in-

10 flicts pecuniary punishment upon the producers whenever they allow full scope to the powers of production. In Malthus and Mr. Mill such a misapplication may be excusable. They trace all the existing misery to overpopulation, and consider the existing order of things in the main as permanently tenable with, and conformable to human happiness; they know no other cure for the ills that afflict society than

15 improving those out of existence who cannot be used, or used up, in the acquisition of wealth for the possessors of all things. In an advanced section of men of progress, like the writers in the *National Reformer*, the advocacy of a doctrine that wrought so much mischief when preached by Pagan and Christian monks of a bygone age, but who, in spite of all their zealous fanaticism, could not divert mankind at large from

20 the ordinary path of nature, is unpardonable. Their very tenets against the established religions imply a mental, a moral, a social, and a political revolution; they imply the dissolution of a state of society in which the right of the labouring man to live is determined by the prospect that others have to use him in acquiring wealth, and the substitution of a state of society in which man has a natural right of his

25 own to live. In all ages, when an established order of things has become untenable, men have doubted the truth of the religion which sanctioned that order of things, and the most material changes in the world have been contended for and established under the banner of vague, abstract beliefs. The antique world, with its slavery and idolatry was defeated, and the feudal system established under the cross.

30 Protestantism defeated the Papacy and the feudal system, and asserted the claims and established the rights of modern private property while pretending to fight simply for the liberty of conscience, and secularism, the protest against all revealed religion is inseparably bound up with the solution of the labour question. To accomplish their historical mission, the secularists must take the spiritual lead of the

35 labour movement, but they cannot do this as long as they endorse and advocate a doctrine, the possible realisation of which is Malthus's and Mr. Mill's last refuge to preserve and perpetuate the rule of capital.

Mr. Mill says:—"It is not generally known in how many countries in Europe direct legal obstacles are opposed to improvident marriages." By the evidence ad-

40 duced it is certain that Mr. Mill is as ignorant of the causes of those obstacles as the British public is of the obstacles themselves. The dwelling required in the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg, before a parson will marry a young couple, looks very innocent in an English book, but let us examine what it implies. The surging waves of the first French revolution passed harmlessly by this Eldorado of feudalism. It is

45 but the other day that a Mecklenburg nobleman sentenced a labourer on his estate

to be publicly stripped and whipped for insubordination; and the sentence, to the disgrace of philosophical Germany, was executed. Up to 1848 the Mecklenburg peasantry were serfs. The nobles required a certain number of male adults to cultivate their estates, and for this number they provided accommodation. The single males and females, were employed as farm and domestic servants; the married were lodged in cottages, with sufficient land attached to support a family. For this they had to work a certain number of days in the year on the manor, the lord of the manor having the choice to call upon them any day he pleased. Since the Congress of Vienna these serfs were at liberty to send their children where they liked into service or to learn a trade, without special permission from their lords, but if they did so their children became homeless, the lord of the manor could lawfully expel them, whenever they returned to their native places. In the towns, not only in Mecklenburg, but in the greater part of Germany, the old guild laws are still in force, or were so until recently; but not as of old for the protection of those who have learned their craft, but to their injury. For instance, in the kingdom of Saxony, a manufacturing province, if a man made a lock and key for a customer, without being master and citizen of the place where he made it, he would be fined if the masters found it out. But the capitalist who owns a lock and key factory, can produce and sell as many locks and keys as he likes without any inconvenience from the guild. In olden times joining a guild was tantamount to purchasing a living; technical skill, certain moral conditions, and entrance fees were required to become a master. Journeymen, as a rule, were young men; journeyism was the interim between the apprentice boy and the experienced man, who as a rule, became master. The journeyman, as a rule, boarded and lodged with his master, he was not allowed to marry. The master's family, or household, consisted as much of journeymen and apprentices as of wife and children; the journeyman was the inexperienced youth who could not be trusted with, and could not get the means to support a family. In modern times things have greatly changed. Many a poor fellow who, in conjunction with his sweetheart, deprives himself of the last farthing to become a master and a citizen, has afterwards to look to the factory for work. Where no factory is comeatable master tradesmen work on the high roads and do the earth work for the construction of railways. They are spellbound, they cannot move from place to place where work might be had, only single men, under 30 years of age can do that. I shall not insult my readers by supposing that they do not see at a glance, the entire incompatibility of such restrictions with modern industry. They are at best cruel remnants of a bygone age, and are only tolerable in a state of chronic industrial stagnation.

Mr. Mill deploras our unhappy fate that we do not act like the Italians, high or low, amongst whom, according to his statement, all but one son of a family remain unmarried. He bitterly adds such family arrangements are not likely to exist among day labourers. Sismondi is again called to the rescue, who says:—"Any wise man must desire that the rising generation represents exactly those that preceded them; that one son and one daughter arrive at the age of puberty replacing his father and mother; that his grand children replace him with his wife in turn; that his daughter finds in another house precisely the lot which he will give to the daughter of an-

other house in his, and that the income which sufficed the fathers suffices the children. When this family is formed the exigency of justice and humanity require him to impose the same restraint upon himself to which those who live a life of celibacy submit. A father who has eight children ought to count that six of his children die at an early age, or that six of his contemporaries, and in the following generation three of his sons, and three of his daughters do not marry on account of him."

This is precisely the way in which the continental peasant manages his oxen and cows. As often as one is got ready for the butcher a young one is reared to fill up the place. If there is a good milk cow in the village, the villagers will buy and rear her offspring and sell that of their own cows to be killed. A pretty ideal this of human progress and happiness, to be recommended by one of the greatest sages of the age, to such a community as the industrial working population of the nineteenth century. The state of things for which Sismondi laid down his moral code, is that of Mecklenburg, just described. There are a certain number of cottages to be inhabited, and the number of the rising generation required can be determined with mathematical precision. Everybody is, as it were, chained to the clod on which he was born, the same number that was required, and could subsist a thousand years ago, will be required for ever after. But how are we to apply such regulations to a state of things in which the improvement of the productive powers advances with such rapid strides, as during the last fifty years, and in which the proportionate number of hands required diminishes as rapidly as the means of subsistence, the productiveness of labour increases. Who is to determine, as to who is to have permission to propagate his species and who not. Are we to return to the habit of our Saxon ancestors, and kill the surplus children at their birth, or are human beings to be served like our domestic animals that are not at all, or not any longer required for breeding purposes? What is to be done with the thousands, and hundreds of thousands of adults whose labouring power is superseded by machinery, or who are replaced by children? Who is to determine what number of tailors, shoemakers, etc., will be required twenty years hence? But above all who is to separate the sexes, who is to all intents and purposes to divorce husband and wife after they have two children, and who is to prevent young folks loving each other, because some one has more than two children, and an increase of population would endanger the continuance of the existing state of things? Out upon such humbug; modern society has better and more elevating means to right itself than a cruel immolation on the altar of Moloch.

The Commonwealth.
Nr. 210, 16. März 1867

XIV. Wages and Population.—Continued.

"In the case of the agricultural labourer," Mr. Mill says, "the checks to population may almost be considered as non-existent. The condition of the labourers of some of the most exclusively agricultural counties, Wiltshire, Somersetshire, Dorsetshire,

Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, is sufficiently painful to contemplate. The labourers of these counties, with large families, and seven, or perhaps eight, shillings for their weekly wages when in full employment, have lately become one of the stock objects of popular compassion; it is time that they had the benefit also of some application of common sense." 5

Before we proceed with what Mr. Mill calls common sense, let us see what he himself admits under another head. He says, "During the twenty or thirty years last elapsed, so rapid has been the extension of improved processes of agriculture that even land yields a greater produce in proportion to the labour employed." Now, I ask Mr. Mill, are the laws of nature, the inherent tendency to multiply, in the remotest degree connected with the misery of these labourers? The rent of land has as steadily increased as the produce of labour, and the number of labourers required for profit-mongering purposes to raise that produce has as steadily diminished as the general means of subsistence have been augmented. It is the institution which makes the produce of one man's labour the private property of another that is at the bottom of the labourer's misery. It is not his natural fecundity in relation to the latent capabilities of the soil to afford the means of subsistence, nor any defect in the productive power of his labour, nor a deficiency in the actually existing means of subsistence, that makes him wretched, but it is because he lives in a state of society in which much can be produced with comparatively little labour, and in which the welfare of the labourer depends on the cost of production, which assigns less to the labourer in proportion as his labour becomes more productive, that he is wretched. 10 15 20

Now for the common sense,—"Discussions on the condition of the labourers, lamentations over its wretchedness, denunciations of all who are supposed to be indifferent to it, projects of one kind or another for improving it, were in no county and in no time of the world so rife as at present; but there is a tacit agreement to ignore totally the law of wages, or to dismiss it in a parenthesis with such terms as 'hard-hearted Malthusianism,' as if it were not a thousand times more hard-hearted to tell human beings that they may, than that they may not, call into existence swarms of creatures who are sure to be miserable, and most likely to be depraved. Is it true or not that if their numbers were fewer they would obtain higher wages? This is the question, and no other; and it is idle to divert attention from it by attacking any incidental position of Malthus, or some other writer, and pretending that to refute that is to disprove the principle of population." The fault rests entirely with Malthus and his disciples. They alone are responsible for the confusion and complication in which their pet theory is entangled. They have outraged and profaned in a blasphemous manner a scientific principle—that of life being limited by the means of subsistence—and used it as a screen to hide their ignorance of the true basis of all human progress. What is true of a particular class, and under a peculiar phase of social development, they have applied to the whole species; and while ignoring one of the main attributes of the species, they have endeavoured to argue on general grounds that which appertains to a special case. As I have already shown, if by any contrivance ten men could be enabled to produce next year as much wealth for the capitalist as a hundred produce this year, the ten kept at work would receive only a starvation pittance while any of the ninety remained to compete with them. In this 25 30 35 40 45

case the population would be to the means of subsistence afforded by the rule of capital like 9 to 1. This is the overpopulation in the actual state of society, it is the special case for which the Malthusian proposes to provide a remedy by a restraint upon population, but it is also the special case which all the Malthusians evade to discuss, their arguments being based upon the assumption that the number of labourers required remains the same, that an increase of their numbers only has to be prevented. It is far easier to upbraid and insult parents for having children than to show how nine men out of ten whose labour is considered indispensable to-day, and may become useless to-morrow, can be improved out of existence. However, to answer Mr. Mill's pointed question distinctly, I will declare that it is beyond question that if there was work in any given trade for a thousand men, and only nine hundred do it, they would get more for doing what they could than 1,200 would get for doing it all. But this is all I can admit of his theory. The Malthusian creed rests upon the assumption that society can attain no higher form than that which represents mankind as divided into capitalists and hired wages labourers. The Malthusian therefore is blind to the fact that the existing disorder of things has produced within its own bosom the germ of a superior state of society. He can only see excrescences and local and accidental irregularities, which he tries to patch up by palliatives. To him anything that threatens the fundamental basis is tantamount to a destruction of all civilisation—of human society itself. Any Malthusian who advocates co-operative self-employment is like a champion of the Divine right of kings advocating constitutional representative self-government; he advocates two causes, of which the complete success of either implies the extinction of the other.

Under the regime of private capital, productive powers have been developed capable of furnishing ample means of subsistence to a more numerous population than that provided for by the existing mode of distribution. Mr. Mill advocates a better distribution and considers a stricter restraint on population, an indispensable means to it. Vain hope! If you restrict the population, you cripple the development of the powers of production. The capabilities of the productive powers and the wants of society, a consequence of the numerical strength of the population—have reached the point at which private ownership in the instruments of production becomes a nuisance, and an obstruction to further progress. Those instruments are the social product of all the preceding generations of the human race. They are the natural inheritance of every living generation, their administration and management is a question of expediency. The regime of capital enables thousands to revel in luxury, without doing anything, brings production to a standstill when millions, able and willing to work, are slowly perishing from want of food. It is a nuisance, an obstruction, away with it. A restraint on population, if such a thing were possible, would render our productive acquisition useless. A further increase of population will burst the shackles and remove the barriers which prevent the living generation from enjoying the inheritance bequeathed by its ancestors. So much for the special case.

Mr. Mill continues:—"Is it not allowed on both sides, that in old countries, population presses too closely upon the means of subsistence?" *I say, No!* To compare Great Britain as it is with the United States or Australia, as they are under the occu-

pation of Europeans, who use the same appliances that are used in a country, the inhabitants of which have acquired them during the successive stages of development from barbarism to the highest known state of civilization and density of population—is shifting the question, and amounts to a shuffle. To prove the Malthusian theory it must be demonstrated that the ancient Britains, the Anglo Saxons, the Aborigines of America and Australia, possessed ampler means of satisfying their wants than we do. Let us hear Professor Senior's opinion: "The state of savage nations is a state of habitual poverty and occasional famine. A scanty population, and scantier means of subsistence. If a single country can be found in which there is now less poverty than is universal in a savage state, it must be true that, under the circumstances in which that country has been placed, the means of subsistence have a greater tendency to increase than the population.

If it be conceded, that there exists in the human race a natural tendency to rise from barbarism to civilization, and that the means of subsistence are proportionately more abundant in a civilized than in a savage state, and neither of these propositions can be denied, it must follow that there is a natural tendency in subsistence to increase in a greater ratio than population.

All that degrades the character, or diminishes the productive power of a people, tends to diminish the proportion of subsistence to population and *vice versa*. And, consequently, that a population increasing much more rapidly than the means of subsistence is, generally speaking, a symptom of mis-government indicating deeper seated evils, of which it is only one of the results." I entirely endorse this opinion.

Fifty years ago Malthus pointed with horror to China as an over populated country where people sold their daughters, killed their new born children, and in times of scarcity, sold themselves into slavery to procure food. China was then about eight times as large as France, and had a population of 330,000,000; a population of 41,625,000 in France would be equally dense, and is nearly reached. How does modern France fare? In 1760 the consumption of wheat amounted to 108 litres per head; in 1784, to 125; under the first empire to 133, and since 1840, to 175, the population has more than doubled during that time. It is therefore not want of space that cripples the means of subsistence in China, but it is an obsolete and barbarous mode of production, antiquated social, political, and proprietary arrangements, tolerated by a degenerating race, that cripples the resources. During the 17th century nearly every second year was a year of dearth; during the 18th every 3rd; during the 19th every 4th; over the whole of Europe.

According to the last returns of the Board of Trade, the density of the population in the different countries is, per square mile: United Kingdom 258; Italy 225; France 180; Prussia 179; Austria 155; Spain 84; Russia in Europe 31; Turkey 19; United States 11. The Turks occupy one of the fairest regions of Europe, and if the scientific part of the Malthusian population theory were correct, the Turks would be the best provided nation of Europe, we know they are the worst by far. Four hundred years ago, when the Europeans first set foot upon America, the red Indians suffered from famine and all the calamities and diseases inseparable from famine. Four hundred years the Europeans have poured in and multiplied at a rapid rate, but there is now no fear of famine except from social causes.

XV. Wages and Population.—Concluded.

Of the popular remedies for low wages, Mr. Mill says:—"The simplest expedient which can be imagined for keeping the wages of labour up to the desirable point, would be to fix them by law. Some have proposed to fix a minimum. Another plan
5 which has found many advocates among the leaders of the operatives, is to form local boards of trade, and promulgate a rate of wages based upon natural equity, not upon the state of the labour market. Others think the employers ought to give sufficient wages, and if they do not willingly, should be compelled by general opinion."

10 "Popular sentiment looks upon it as the duty of the rich, or of the state to find employment for all the poor. If the moral influence of opinion does not induce the rich to spare from their consumption enough to set all the poor to work at 'reasonable wages,' it is supposed to be incumbent on the state to lay on taxes for the purpose, either by local rates, or votes of public money. The proportion between labour
15 and the wages fund would thus be modified to the advantage of the labourers, not by restriction of population, but an increase of capital." "If this claim on society could be limited to the living generation; if nothing more were necessary than a numerous accumulation, sufficient to provide permanent employment at ample wages for the existing numbers of the people; such a proposition would have no more
20 strenuous supporter than myself."

"But it is another thing altogether, when those who have produced and accumulated are called upon to abstain from consuming until they have given food and clothing, not only to all who now exist, but all whom these or their descendants may think fit to call into existence. Such an obligation acknowledged and acted upon,
25 would suspend all checks, both positive and preventive; there would be nothing to hinder population from starting forward at its rapidest rate; and as the natural increase of capital would, at least, not be more rapid than before, taxation, to make up the growing deficiency, must advance with the same gigantic strides. The attempt would of course be made to exact labour in exchange for support. But experience has shown the sort of work to be expected from the recipients of public charity. When the pay is not given for the sake of work, but the work found for the sake
30 of the pay, inefficiency is a matter of certainty; to exact real work from day labourers without the power of dismissal, is only practicable by the power of the lash." "But let them work ever so efficiently, the increasing population cannot increase
35 the produce proportionally: the surplus, after all were fed, would bear a less proportion to the whole produce and to the population: and the increase of the people going on in a constant ratio, while the increase of produce went on in a diminishing ratio, the surplus would in time be wholly absorbed; taxation for the support of the poor would engross the whole income of the country; the payers and the receivers
40 would be melted down into one mass. The check to population either by death or prudence, could not then be staved off any longer, but must come into operation

suddenly and at once; every thing which places mankind above a nest of ants or a colony of beavers, having perished in the interval."

"Every one has a right to live. We will suppose this granted. But no one has a right to bring creatures into life, to be supported by other people."

"It would be possible for the state to guarantee employment at ample wages to all who are born. But if it does this, it is bound in self-protection, and for the sake of every purpose for which government exists, to provide that no person shall be bom without its consent. If the ordinary and spontaneous motives to self-restraint are removed, others must be substituted. Restrictions on marriage, at least equivalent to those existing in some German states, (three cheers for Mecklenburg) or severe penalties on those who have children when unable to support them, would then be indispensable." 5 10

This is the *common sense* of the most celebrated of all the political economists of established celebrity. Reader! you who know Mr. Mill's political economy only by the praises bestowed upon it by the capitalist press, do you not feel an inkling to start and announce this gospel of salvation to all who have been deprived of employment in consequence of the crisis of 1866, and tell them that their parents are at the root of the evil for having brought them into life without previously insuring them the means of subsistence, and that they in their generation are worse than criminals for persisting in the same course after Malthus and his great prophet have laid down the golden rule for human happiness? It is clear that Mr. Mill's social philosophy has not yet passed the boundaries of the 43rd of Elizabeth and the parish stoneyard and oakum room substituted by the poor law of the liberal Parliament in 1834. It is the nakedest and most misanthropic expression of the proprietary and utilitarian point of view of the natural right of man to live. It sanctions the arrogation of capitalists to claim all the produce of labour as their absolute and exclusive private property, and treats that portion which must be surrendered without an increased return towards the maintenance of the producers as public charity. Remember the Stockport spinners! Was the improved machinery, purchased, between 1840 and 1843 by the millowners, with the profits made out of the labour of the 800 spinners who were previously employed at *II.* 2s. a week, and the fact that after the establishment of the improved machinery, the 140 spinners, working three times the number of spindles they had previously worked, for 13s. a week, a test that they were morally disqualified to bring children into life? Or was it a test that with increased facilities to give employment to the poor, the accumulation of the prerequisites of production would remain stationary, or that increased production would progressively diminish the productive power of labour? Has the labourer who has procured the means of subsistence for an increased and increasing population, no natural claim, no moral claim, no claim of any kind to its benefits, save the bone of contention, and the moral struggle for existence which those who deprive him of the fruits of his toil vouchsafe for his lot? Is he to be visited with severe penalties for having children, while others revel in the luxuries which he produced? Who brings creatures into life, to be supported by other people, the poor? Never! They support their own and other people's too. The rich do not even grant their offspring the food which nature has provided for it, the mother's milk. The women of the 15 20 25 30 35 40 45

poor and the cows have to replace the mothers of wealthy infants, and the poor have to nurse them, find food, clothing, shelter, and amusement for them into the bargain when they grow up. Then punish the rich for begetting children. Send every lady who does not suffer from bodily infirmity, who refuses to do the natural duty
5 of a mother to her child, to a nunnery; and every gentleman who becomes a father without adding to the stock of the consumables of the community into solitary confinement on workhouse fare.

Mr. Mill asks next:—"By what means, then, is poverty to be contended against? How is the evil of low wages to be remedied? If the expedients usually recom-
16 mended for the purpose are not adapted to it, can no others be thought of? Is the problem incapable of solution? Can political economy do nothing, but only object to everything, and demonstrate that nothing can be done?

All experience shows that the mass of mankind never judge of moral questions for themselves, never see anything to be right or wrong until they have been fre-
15 quently told it; and who tells them that they have any duties in the matter in question, while they keep within matrimonial limits? Who meets with condemnation, or rather, who does not meet with sympathy and benevolence, for any account of evil he may bring upon himself and those dependent on him, by this species of incontinence? While a man who is intemperate in drink, is discountenanced and despised
20 by all who profess to be moral people, it is one of the chief grounds made use of in appeals to the benevolent, that the applicant has a large family and is unable to maintain them." To this the following foot-note is appended:—"Little improvement can be expected in morality, until the producing of large families is regarded with the same feeling as drunkenness or any other physical excess."—One would im-
25 agine that children were rained down upon married people, direct from heaven, without their being art or part in the matter; that it was really, as the common phrases have it, God's will and not their own, which decided the numbers of their offspring.

"But let us try to imagine what would happen if the idea became general among
30 the labouring class, that the competition of too great numbers was the principal cause of their poverty, so that every labourer looked (with Sismondi) upon every other who had more than the number of children which the circumstances of society allowed to each, as doing him a wrong—as filling up the place which he was entitled to share. Any one who supposes that this state of opinion would not have a
35 great effect on conduct, must be profoundly ignorant of human nature; can never have considered how large a portion of the motives which induce the generality of men to take care even of their own interest, is derived from regard for opinion—from the expectation of being disliked or despised for not doing it." Mr. Mill winds up with stating that, "If a prudent regulation of population be not reconcilable with
40 the system of hired labour, the system is a nuisance, and the grand object of economical statesmanship should be to bring the labouring people under the influence of stronger and more obvious inducements of this kind of prudence, than the relations of workmen and employers can afford."

The grand remedy is to transport at once a considerable fraction of the youthful
45 agricultural population to the colonies, at the public expense; the other is to raise

small proprietors, the proposition already alluded to. Lest there should be any doubt as to the reactionary tendency of these remarks, let us see what the great Reformer says two years later, towards the end of the second volume. "If it were evident that a new hand could not obtain employment but by displacing or succeeding to one already employed, the combined influence of prudence and public opinion might generally be relied on for restraining the coming generation within the numbers necessary for replacing the present. 5

I cannot therefore regard the stationary state of capital and wealth with the unaffected aversion so generally manifested towards it by the political economists of the old school." 10

There you have the quintessence of what you have to expect in the shape of progress if you hand your affairs over to the custody of the new (?) school, originally established by Parson Malthus and adopted in the lump by John Stuart Mill. Only fancy what a pleasant life it would be if human nature could be so far degraded and debased as to look upon a pregnant woman with the same disdain as upon a drunken harlot lying in the gutter, or treat an honest man with a large family of little children in distress in the same manner as a drunken vagabond asking for alms; or to be down upon the children of your neighbour like the hens in a farmyard when they get a stranger among them, according to the precepts of Sismondi. One necessary accompaniment to such a moral code would be some visible sign, easily distinguishable, to inform strangers whether a woman was pregnant with or without the consent of the authorities, that she might be treated accordingly. For schoolmasters and schoolmistresses none would be better qualified than old maids and old bachelors who had been disappointed in love and cordially hated the opposite sex. They would also be the best magistrates and legislators. Happily humanity has rejected similar teachings at a time when there was far less prospect of making life comfortable than there is now, and when eternal salvation was held out as a reward instead of the questionable luxury of improved wages-slavery for the many, and the undisturbed possession of unbounded wealth by the few. Mr. Mill seems to be credulous enough to believe that an opinion can be created to curb the most indomitable instinct, inherent in all organic life, but he requires the lash to make people work to sustain life in ease and comfort. The opinion of one's fellow men counts for nothing here. Is there no possibility of finding employment for people in distress, but on the plan of the stone-yard and the oakum-room? Is it not possible that at no very distant date the working class will have sufficient power in Parliament to do for itself what the landowners are doing now under the Land Improvement Act, obtain credit to extend self-supporting co-operative labour? Is it not remarkably strange that Mr. Mill should, among his popular remedies, not so much as allude to the most popular of all, and the one that is the peculiar child of modern industry, the one that was first demanded by the factory operatives of Lancashire more than fifty years ago—I speak of the reduction of the number of the hours of labour. This is the measure of progress which will to some extent equalise the supply of, and the demand for, labour; on its progress and success depends the social, the mental, and moral elevation of the working class; on its success depends the progress of co-operative self-employment—it will march apace with it. It is the 45

measure which, as far as it has been carried, has fulfilled all that was expected from it, and it is also the measure which, as Professor Fawcett (to his honour be it said) has several times pointed out in the House, will ere long bring some of us manhood suffrage advocates to loggerheads with some of our present political allies, and
5 bring us into friendship with the Tories. I have much more to say on this point, but must reserve it for a future occasion.

And now a few words about the stationary state. If the tendency to multiply is inherent, a stationary state is unnatural, and can only precede a positively declining state. If at any of the numerous stages of the development of the human species it
10 had been possible permanently to arrest the increase of population, and hinder it from overstepping the existing limits of the means of subsistence, even prospectively, that moment would have been the end of all human progress, and it will be the end of all human progress whenever that moment arrives. Had the wisecracks of the Stone period succeeded in limiting the number of families to the number of the
15 stone caves provided by nature, no building trades would ever have troubled the world, no tailors would be required, man, like his step-brother, the ape, would be confined to certain geographical latitudes. As it is, the rebels, the unruly multitude, have never cared much for established notions, and hence the great mass of mankind has plodded on in happiness, and grief, and woe, frequently with bloody
20 heads, in search of a higher destiny. The race has incessantly advanced, but the same section was not always at the head. Each particular epoch produced the germ, the foundation for a superior state of things, though the nations that produced it resigned the lead. Asia Minor and Egypt, the mothers of the civilisation of ancient Greece, resigned the lead to ancient Greece; Greece in her turn produced the civilisation of Rome, and resigned the lead to Rome; Rome succumbed to the Teutonic
25 barbarians, they gathered up the *debris* of the empire they had sacked, became Christians, and established the feudal state upon its ruins. From that moment until the present hour the lead has remained with the descendants of those barbarous Teutons. The feudal state produced a revolutionary class within its own bosom,
30 which destroyed the work of its ancestors, and established the modern state upon the ruins; the modern state has produced a revolutionary class, the modern working class, which has all the required energy, tact, and courage to subvert, in its turn the institutions of its predecessors, and establish a superior state of things upon the very same spot.

35 Since the Thirty Years' War the Anglo-Saxon branch of the Teutonic family has acquired the lead; during the present generation the American offshoot has entered into competition. Old *Germania* has been asleep for many a year, but she is rapidly shaking off her shackles to come to the rescue; the sons of France are only lurking in ambush ready for a call; but if John Bull should prove unworthy of the lead, and
40 does riot quickly clear the Augean stable of all the antiquated filth that has gathered about him, and threatens a serious interruption to the further increase of population, if he listens to the advice of Mr. Mill and his abettors, Brother Jonathan is sure to snatch the lead from him, and deprive Old England and the rest of the Old World of the honour of marching arm in arm with him to the emancipation of the
45 human race.

Johann Georg Eccarius

During the whole course of history not a single tribe or nation can be cited that remained progressive with a stationary population; we cannot remain progressive now if we put more restraints on population than those we cannot avoid. With the means of production at present known, this country could produce food for four times its present inhabitants, and human nature will burst the chains of wages-slavery, and scatter proprietary rights to the winds before it will submit to self-immolation to sustain an untenable state of stagnation and misery.

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The Bee-Hive Newspaper.
Nr. 309, 14. September 1867

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The Duties Imposed upon the General Council
by the First Annual Congress.

- 5 The Congress passed a resolution appointing the London delegates to wait upon the Swiss, the French, and the British postal authorities to bring the question of International penny postage—of cheap postage—under their notice. The Swiss postmaster agreed to all the deputation urged, but observed that the French Government stopped the way. In France the delegates could get no audience, and the British
10 Government only consented to receive a written statement which has been sent.

The other duties imposed upon the General Council by the first annual Congress were: 1. The publication, in several languages, of the transactions of the Congress, including the letters and memoirs addressed to that Congress. 2. To publish periodical or occasional reports in different languages, embracing everything that might
15 be of interest to the Association. 3. To give information of the supply and demand for labour in different localities. 4. An account of co-operative societies. 5. Of the condition of the working-class in every country. The Council was also charged with causing a statistical enquiry to be instituted, which was to contain special and detailed information about every branch of industry, in which wages labour is em-
20 ployed, in the most civilised countries of Europe.

To enable the Council to fulfil these various duties, the Congress voted a contribution of threepence per member to the Executive, and a salary of £2 a week to the general secretary, leaving his appointment to the Council.

- As soon as the London delegates had returned, and the Council was reorganised,
25 information was received that some of our Congress documents had been seized on the person of Jules Gottraux by the French police on the frontier. The general secretary was instructed to write to the French minister of the interior, but not receiving any reply, an application was made to the British Foreign Office. Lord Stanley, with the greatest readiness, instructed Lord Cowley, the British Ambassador at Paris,
30 to intercede; the result was that within a few days our documents were restored, and a parcel of "Tribunes du Peuple" which had evidently been seized from some-

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body else superadded. The Congress documents were then handed over to the standing committee, with instructions to prepare the report for publication. As there were no funds to pay the general secretary this labour devolved upon volunteers, who had to do it in their spare hours, which caused further delay. When all was ready the lowest estimate to have a thousand printed in one language was £40. To comply with the Congress instructions required an immediate outlay of £120; the cash in hand on the 31st of December amounted to 18s. 4d. 5

The general secretary was instructed to appeal to the affiliated societies of the British section for their contributions—only the London cigar-makers and the Coventry and Warwickshire ribbon-weavers responded immediately. The board of management of the latter association, with a highly commendable zeal to fulfil its obligation—having no funds in hand and many members out of work—forthwith raised a levy to the required amount from the members in work. 10

The council then availed itself of an offer made by citizen J. Collet, the proprietor and editor of the *International Courier*, to publish the report in French and English in weekly parts in the columns of his journal. He also agreed to stereotype the whole at his own expense with the view of publishing it in pamphlet form, and to let the Council share in the profits, if any, the Council undertaking no responsibility whatever in case of loss. But hardly was this highly advantageous arrangement completed when, on account of not having complied with some legal intricacy, of which the Government had previously taken no notice, citizen Collet had to suspend the publication of his journal for several weeks, and it was not till March that the publication of the Congress report could be regularly proceeded with. The numbers of the *International Courier* containing the report have been sent gratis to the branches. A German version could, for want of a similar opportunity, not be published. When the publication was completed it was again want of funds that prevented, and still prevents, the publication in pamphlet form*. To make matters worse the French police seized a parcel of rules and cards of membership, purposely issued for the French section, the printing of which cost £4, which was borrowed money. Besides this dead loss, there was the further injury of curtailing the contributions, which in France depend principally upon the scale of individual membership. Beyond all this, there were the old liabilities which were acknowledged as the debt of the association by the Congress, but no special provision made for their liquidation. They have greatly hampered our action, and continue to be a source of trouble. 15 20 25 30

Under these circumstances it was utterly impossible to publish either periodical or occasional reports, nor have our correspondents taken the trouble to send us any special information with a view to such publication. The question of entering upon the statistical inquiry had to be abandoned for the present year. To be of any use at all it cannot be limited to the trades at present comprised within the circle of our affiliated societies. Such an inquiry, to answer its purpose, must include every trade, every country, and every locality. This involves not only a large expenditure for printing, stationery, and postage, but also an amount of labour in the shape of correspondence, compiling, and arranging the scattered and specific statement into a comprehensive and comprehensible whole, that the possibility of having it done by volunteers in their leisure hours is altogether out of the question. 35 40 45

Interference in Trades' Disputes.

One of the best means of demonstrating the beneficent influence of international combination is the assistance rendered by the International Working Men's Association in the daily occurring trades' disputes. It used to be a standard threat with
5 British capitalists, not only in London, but also in the provinces, when their workmen would not tamely submit to their arbitrary dictation, that they would supplant them by an importation of *foreigners*. The possibility of such importations taking place was in most cases sufficient to deter the British workmen from insisting on their demands. The action taken by the Council has had the effect of putting a stop
10 to these threats being made publicly. Where anything of the kind is contemplated it has to be done in secret, and the slightest information obtained by the workmen suffices to frustrate the plans of the capitalists. As a rule, when a strike or a lock-out occurs concerning any of the affiliated trades, the continental correspondents are at once instructed to warn the workmen in their respective localities not to enter into
15 any engagements with the agents of the capitalists of the place where the dispute is. However, this action is not confined to affiliated trades. The same action is taken on behalf of other trades upon application being received. This generally leads to the affiliation of the trades that invoke our aid. Now and then it happens that the capitalists succeed in getting a few stragglers, but they generally repudiate their en-
20 gagements upon being informed of the reason why they were engaged. During the London basket-makers dispute last winter information was received that six Belgians were at work under the railway-arches in Blue Anchor-lane, Bermondsey. They were as strictly guarded against coming in contact with the outside public as a kidnapped girl in a nunnery. By some stratagem a Flemish member of the Council suc-
25 ceeded in obtaining an interview, and upon being informed of the nature of their engagement the men struck work and returned home. Just as they were about to embark a steamer arrived with a fresh supply. The new arrivals were at once communicated with; they too repudiated their engagements, and returned home, promising that they would exert themselves to prevent any further supplies, which they
30 accomplished. In consequence of the appeals made by deputations from the Council to various British societies, the Paris bronze-workers received very considerable pecuniary support during their lock-out, and the London tailors on strike have in tum received support from continental associations through the intercession of the Council. The good offices of the Council were also employed on behalf of the exca-
35 vators, the wireworkers, the blockcutters, the hairdressers, and others.

Propaganda and Affiliated Societies.

40 The work of propaganda and affiliation of societies has been greatly impeded in England during the past year. It seems as if the British Legislature could never move a step in the right direction in any matter of great social or political importance unless compelled by a threatening and overwhelming pressure from without,

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when the public excitement assumes the character of a monomania. While the Reform agitation was at its height, the frequent monster demonstrations in course of organisation, it was almost hopeless to try to engage the attention of working men to the somewhat distant aims of the International Working Men's Association. Most of our British Council members took an active part in these proceedings, which reduced our available forces to go on deputations, while the proceedings themselves caused so much excitement and absorbed so much of the attention of those who might have entertained our applications, that there was no room for their consideration. These proceedings, too in diverting men's attention to other objects have had the effect of preventing many new members being enrolled and some old ones to renew their subscriptions. Everywhere one was met with the observation that the struggle for Parliamentary Reform was [not] only the struggle of a season, but the paramount duty of the hour and an indispensable stepping stone to that complete emancipation of the working classes from the domination of capital which is the aim of the International Working Men's Association. One step has undoubtedly been gained by the Act of 1867. It is sufficiently comprehensive to enable the working classes to politically combine for class purposes within the precincts of the Constitution, and exercise a direct influence upon the Legislature in matters of social and economical reform in as far as they affect the labour question. But though our propagandism has been much impeded during the past it has not been arrested. The ordinary mode of proceeding with the affiliation of corporate bodies is somewhat tedious. When the Council has any reasonable ground for believing that the question will be favourably entertained by an association, it applies to the president or secretary by letter. If the application be favourably received, a deputation is requested to attend the Executive to state the aims of the association. If the Executive endorses the statement of the deputation it recommends the question to be entertained at some future general or delegate meeting, when perhaps the deputation is again requested to attend. In some cases the question of affiliation is decided at once—in others the votes of all the members and branches have to be taken to arrive at a decision.

The affiliation of 33 organised bodies has been brought about in this manner during the past year. More than twenty have been corresponded with and received deputations. With some the decisions are pending, others have deferred the consideration to a more favourable opportunity; only one society has flatly refused to enter into any relationship because the association entertains political questions.

Contributions and Affiliated Societies.

The question as to the contributions of affiliated societies occupied the Council at various times. While the question was pending, the Executive of the Operative Bricklayers' Society joined and agreed to contribute £1 per annum. In March, 1865, a deputation from the Council waited on the conference of the Amalgamated Cordwainers' Association, at which the following resolution, proposed by the delegate from Birmingham, and seconded by the delegate from Hull, was unanimously car-

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ried: "That we cordially agree with the principles of the International Working Men's Association as represented by the deputation from that body, and pledge ourselves to join them for the furtherance of those principles, and endeavour to spread them amongst our constituents." The question of contributions was raised, 5 but the discussion being out of order was stopped. Some weeks after it was resolved that a declaration of enrolment should be printed, for which organised bodies should pay an entrance fee of 5s., that as many cards as possible should be sold to individual members of such societies, the remainder, when funds were required, should be left to their generosity. It was while this state of things lasted that the lia- 10 bilities already alluded to were incurred. The money granted by various affiliated societies last year were voluntary gifts towards defraying the expenses of the delegates to the first Congress, and it was expended for that purpose. The Cordwainers' Executive granted £5. To remove this state of uncertainty the Council proposed a minimum contribution per member from affiliated societies. The Congress voted 15 threepence, which the British delegates maintained could not be levied from trade societies in England.

When, after the Geneva Congress, our deputations were sent to trade societies, it was found that, as the British delegates had foreseen, the threepence per member formed an insurmountable obstacle to the affiliation of organised bodies. On the 20 9th of October the council resolved unanimously that the contribution should be lowered to one halfpenny per member. All the societies that have since been affiliated have joined with that understanding.

The Amalgamated Cordwainers' Association has distinctly declared that the resolution of its Conference of 1865 does not amount to an affiliation, and the Confer- 25 ence of the same body of 1867 has rescinded the resolution, which enabled the Council to grant us £5 last year. The executive of the Operative Bricklayers has paid £1 for 1867, but has not yet announced any decision, whether it considers the whole society affiliated or not. The Cordwainers' Association was put down in last year's estimate as containing 5,000 members, the Bricklayers' 3,000 to 4,000. Two 30 appeals have been made in the course of the year for the contributions; some of the previously affiliated societies have paid, others have not; but, excepting the cordwainers, none have repudiated their obligation.

The executive of the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners has recently passed resolutions to contribute £2 per annum to the funds of the Council, but the ques- 35 tion is now under consideration to take the votes of all the members whether the association is to be affiliated in its entirety or not. It numbers about 9,000 members, and extends over England, Wales, and Ireland. The following is a list of the affiliated societies of the British section, and the money furnished by them during the last two years.

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Names of Affiliated Societies.

	Gifts and Entrance Fees.			Contributions.			
	1866.			1867.			
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
London, Arbeiter Bildungs Verein	2	0	0	0	1	4	5
London, French Branch	0	0	0	0	4	9	
Central Section of Polish Exiles	0	0	0	0	4	10	
Operative Bricklayers' Executive	0	0	0	1	0	0	
No. 1 Lodge of Operative Bricklayers	0	8	0	0	0	0	10
Alliance Cabinet-makers' Society	10	0	0	1	13	4	
West-end Cabinet-makers' Society	5	0	0	1	7	0	
Day-working Bookbinders' Society	0	8	3	0	17	6	
Hand-in-Hand Coopers' Society	6	0	0	0	5	0	
London Cigar Makers' Association	5	0	0	1	9	0	15
Amalgamated Cordwainers' Executive	5	0	0	0	0	0	
Darlington Section of ditto	0	5	0	0	0	0	
Nottingham Section of ditto	0	5	0	0	2	1	
Coventry and Warwickshire Ribbon Weavers	0	5	0	1	13	4	20
Packing-case Makers	1	5	4	0	0	0	
Saddlers and Harness Makers	4	0	0	0	0	0	
Kendal Shoemakers' Society	0	5	0	0	1	8	
West-end Ladies' Bootmakers	6	0	0	0	10	0	
London Operative Tailors	3	0	0	0	0	0	25
Darlington Section of Amalgamated Tailors	0	5	0	0	1	8	

Societies Affiliated since Sept., 1866.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
London Basket-makers' Society	0	5	0	0	7	6	30
Block-printers of Lancashire	0	5	0	2	1	8	
London Coach Builders	0	5	0	0	0	0	
Coach Trimmers (the Globe)	0	5	0	0	1	10½	
Coach Trimmers (the Crown)	0	5	0	0	5	0	
Elastic Web Weavers	0	5	0	0	5	0	35
United Excavators	0	5	0	0	0	0	
French Polishers	0	5	0	0	0	0	
Organ Builders	0	5	0	0	2	1	
Pattern Drawers and Block Cutters	0	5	0	0	0	0	
Carpenters and Joiners' Executive	0	0	0	2	0	0	40
United Society of Journeymen Curriers (joined August 27)	0	0	0	0	0	0	
National Reform League	0	5	0	0	2	6	

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Paid for Congress Fund.

	£	s.	d.
West-end Ladies Bootmakers	4	10	0
London Cigar Makers	1	1	0
5 Elastic Web Weavers	1	0	0
	0	10	0
Basket Makers	0	12	6

Beyond this the Elastic Web-weavers have granted £1 to the Congress fund, the Cigar-makers £1 Is.

10 There is a considerable difference in the actual income of the two years, but there is an essential difference as to its purport. Last year the money was voted to send delegates to the Congress; it was therefore not available for other purposes; this year's income consists of contributions to defray the expense of administration. Last year, we incurred liabilities because we had no settled income; this year, we li-
15 quidated liabilities, because we had such an income. The reason why some of our affiliated societies have not yet paid their annual contribution, and why others have not contributed to the Congress fund, is severe pressure upon their funds in consequence of the stagnation of trade, strikes, and lock-outs. We have received several letters, stating these as reasons why the same societies that contributed so hand-
20 somely towards the Congress fund last year, cannot give anything this year. The tailors' strike has absorbed all the available funds of the London trade societies.

Continental and American Sections.

As a rule the General Council only corresponds with individual branches abroad, where police restrictions prevent the formation of branches.

25 In Belgium an attempt has been made to affiliate trade societies, but we have no information about the result, nor have we received any contributions.

Germany is still in an unsettled state. Citizen Philip Becker, the president of the German section at Geneva, has succeeded in establishing several branches, but we have no particulars at present.

30 In Italy there is a regular working men's organization with whose officers we are in correspondence, but formal affiliations have not yet taken place.

In the New World, we have two affiliated branches at New York and Hoboken, N.J. We are in correspondence with the national labour union committee, and the president of the International Ironmoulders' Union. Particulars will be found in the
35 special report of the American Secretary.

General Remarks.

The past year has been characterised by intense struggles and agitation. In America, in England, in France, in Belgium strikes, lock-outs, persecution and prosecution of the working class have been the order of the day. The capitalists have perse-

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veringly treated the workmen as nobodies who only exist obsequiously to submit. One society in the United States has spent 70,000 dois, to resist the encroachments of the capitalists; in England it has been decided in the courts of law that to rob the funds of trades unions is not punishable by law. An official inquiry into the working of trades unions has been instituted with a view to damage their character and to affix to them the stigma of being criminal in their proceedings. The wholesale prosecutions of the London master tailors against their men, the attitude of magistrates, judges, and the daily press, the convictions of the Paris tailors and the massacre at Marchienne, are facts that demonstrate incontrovertibly that society consists but of two hostile classes—the oppressors and the oppressed—and that nothing short of a solidary union of the sons of toil throughout the world will ever redeem them from their present thralldom. We therefore conclude with the motto: *Proletarians of all Countries, Unite.*

Rapport du Conseil Général
de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs
au Congrès de Lausanne (1867)

[3] Rapport du Conseil Général
de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs
au Congrès de Lausanne
1867

5 I. - Devoirs imposés par le Congrès de Genève.
(Septembre 1866.)

Les devoirs qui furent imposés au Conseil général par le Congrès de Genève sont les suivants :

10 1° Le Congrès adopta une résolution, autorisant les délégués anglais à faire les démarches nécessaires auprès des directeurs des postes en Suisse, en France et en Angleterre, pour obtenir une réduction pour le transport des lettres et imprimés.

Le ministre suisse fut d'accord avec la délégation sur tous les points proposés par elle, mais il fit remarquer que le gouvernement français entravait toute réforme en ce sens.

15 En France, les délégués ne purent obtenir audience du directeur des postes. |

|4| En Angleterre, le gouvernement ne consentit qu'à recevoir un mémoire exposant les faits. Ce travail fut rédigé par le Conseil général, qui attend une réponse.

2° La publication des travaux du Congrès, avec les lettres et mémoires, en plusieurs langues ;

20 3° La publication d'un bulletin périodique, dans les différentes langues, renfermant tout ce qui pouvait intéresser l'Association internationale ; de fournir toute information concernant le travail dans les différents pays, et des rapports sur les sociétés coopératives et sur la position sociale des travailleurs ;

25 4° Le Conseil général fut aussi requis de faire une enquête statistique sur le travail, contenant des rapports détaillés et spéciaux sur chaque branche de l'industrie et de l'agriculture et embrassant tous les pays civilisés.

Pour mettre le Conseil à même de remplir ces devoirs, une cotisation annuelle de 30 centimes par membre fut votée par le Congrès, ainsi qu'une rémunération de 2 livres par semaine pour le secrétaire général ; le choix de ce dernier fut laissé au
30 Conseil général.

Lorsqu'après le retour des délégués, le Conseil commença ses travaux, il reçut la

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nouvelle que plusieurs documents importants avaient été saisis à la frontière française, sur la personne de *Jules Gottraux*, par les agents de police.

Le secrétaire général fut requis d'écrire au ministre de l'intérieur en France pour obtenir la restitution des dits documents. Cette lettre étant restée sans réponse, une demande fut adressée au ministre des affaires étrangères anglais ; lord Stanley envoya les instructions nécessaires à lord Cowley, ambassadeur anglais à Paris, pour obtenir la restitution des documents. 5

Au bout de quelques jours, ces documents nous furent rendus avec un paquet de journaux : *La Tribune du Peuple*, lequel paquet avait évidemment dû être saisi sur une autre personne. 10

Cet incident occasionna au Conseil un retard de plusieurs mois pour la publication des travaux du Congrès. |

[5] Les documents furent remis au sous-comité, afin qu'il préparât le rapport officiel.

Le Conseil général n'ayant pas d'argent pour payer le secrétaire général, le travail incombait aux membres assez dévoués pour l'accomplir en dehors de leurs travaux ordinaires, ce qui nécessita plus de temps. 15

Lorsque ce travail fut fait, le plus bas prix qui fut demandé pour l'imprimer fut de fr. 1000 pour 1000 exemplaires en une seule langue.

Pour que le Conseil général exécutât la résolution du Congrès, une dépense immédiate de fr. 3000 était nécessaire ; l'argent en caisse à ce moment se montait à fr. 22,90. 20

Le Conseil général fit un appel aux sociétés anglaises adhérentes pour le paiement des cotisations.

Les *Cigariers de Londres* et les *Rubaniers de Coventry et du Warwickshire* seuls répondirent. 25

Le Conseil exécutif de ces derniers, avec un zèle à remplir ses obligations que nous devons signaler, sans argent en caisse et ayant la plupart de ses membres sans travaux, fit une levée de fonds extraordinaire parmi ceux qui travaillaient.

Le Conseil général ayant épuisé tous les moyens pour publier le rapport du Congrès, tant en France qu'à l'étranger, accepta du citoyen *Collet*, le rédacteur du *Courrier International* et du *Workingman*, l'offre de le publier dans ces deux journaux hebdomadaires, en français et en anglais ; il s'engagea en outre à faire sténotyper les clichés pour pouvoir publier ce rapport en brochures et à partager avec le Conseil général tous les bénéfices, quoiqu'il acceptât d'avance pour lui toutes les pertes. 30 35

A l'annonce faite par ces journaux de la publication du Congrès de Genève, le gouvernement anglais, qui depuis plusieurs années les laissait paraître sans obstacles, trouva le prétexte pour en interrompre la publication, en demandant au citoyen Collet de fournir deux cautionnements de plusieurs milliers de francs. Cette formalité retarda jusqu'au 9 mars la publication. [6] Depuis, le citoyen Collet a su, de source certaine, que cet incident avait eu lieu à l'instigation du gouvernement français. 40

Ceci, joint à la saisie du mémoire des délégués parisiens, fait voir clairement le parti auquel s'est arrêté le gouvernement français à l'égard de l'Association internationale. 45

RAPPORT
DU
CONSEIL GÉNÉRAL
DE
L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS
AU
CONGRÈS DE LAUSANNE
1867

I. — Devoirs imposés par le Congrès de Genève. (Septembre 1866.)

Les devoirs qui furent imposés au Conseil général par le Congrès de Genève sont les suivants :

1° Le Congrès adopta une résolution, autorisant les délégués anglais à faire les démarches nécessaires auprès des directeurs des postes en Suisse, en France et en Angleterre, pour obtenir une réduction pour le transport des lettres et imprimés.

Le ministre suisse fut d'accord avec la délégation sur tous les points proposés par elle, mais il fit remarquer que le gouvernement français entravait toute réforme en ce sens.

En France, les délégués ne purent obtenir audience du directeur des postes.

Rapports lus au Congrès ouvrier
réuni du 2 au 8 septembre 1867 à Lausanne.
Chaux-de-Fonds 1867. Seite [3] mit dem Beginn des
„Rapport du Conseil Général de l'Association Internationale
des Travailleurs ...”

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Les numéros du *Courrier international* contenant ce rapport furent envoyés *gratis* à tous les correspondants de l'Association. La traduction en allemand fut forcément laissée de côté, le Conseil général n'ayant aucune facilité pour la faire.

5 Quoique le tout soit stéréotypé, le manque de fonds a empêché, jusqu'à ce jour, la publication en brochures, ce qui est cependant demandé avec instance par tous nos correspondants.

Pour tourner ces difficultés, un des membres du Conseil avança 100 francs pour l'impression de 1000 exemplaires des carnets, contenant le Pacte Constitutif et les Règlements : 800 de ces carnets furent envoyés, mais ils furent saisis par la police
10 française ; cette perte vint encore aggraver la situation du Conseil général, situation d'autant plus précaire qu'il était harcelé de toutes parts pour la dette de plus de mille francs, contractée en 1865 et 1866 ; car bien que le Congrès de Genève eût reconnu cette dette solidaire, il n'avait indiqué aucun moyen efficace pour l'éteindre.

Dans ces circonstances, il était de toute impossibilité pour le Conseil de publier
15 aucun rapport ou bulletin périodique, ainsi que l'avait voté le Congrès ; la conséquence fut l'abandon forcé de l'enquête statistique pour l'année 1867, car, pour être efficace, cette enquête ne peut être restreinte aux sociétés adhérentes, elle doit embrasser toutes les branches de la production dans toutes les localités. Ce travail, demandant des pertes de temps considérables et des dépenses très-élevées, ne pouvait
20 être fait par le Conseil général dans la situation pécuniaire où il se trouvait. |

[7] // . - *Rôle de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs dans la lutte entre le Capital et le Travail.*

Les nombreux services rendus par l'Association dans les différentes luttes entre le capital et le travail, dans les divers pays où elles ont eu lieu, démontrent suffisamment
25 la nécessité d'une telle association. Lorsque les ouvriers refusaient d'accepter les conditions arbitraires des capitalistes anglais, ceux-ci les menaçaient de les remplacer par des bras appelés du continent. La possibilité d'une pareille importation a suffi plusieurs fois pour faire céder les ouvriers. L'action du Conseil a empêché que ces menaces ne fussent faites publiquement comme autrefois. Lorsque de pareils
30 faits se présentent, il suffit de la plus légère indication pour déjouer les plans des capitalistes. Survient-il une grève ou un *lock-out*¹, parmi les sociétés adhérentes à l'Association, les ouvriers de tous les pays sont immédiatement informés de l'état de choses, et conséquemment mis en garde contre les offres des agents des capitalistes. Néanmoins, cette action n'est pas seulement circonscrite aux sociétés adhé-
35 rentes, car le concours de l'Association est acquis à toutes celles qui le réclament.

Parfois les capitalistes réussissent à attirer quelques ignorants qui les abandonnent aussitôt qu'ils sont instruits de leurs droits et de leurs devoirs.

Le capital ne considère l'ouvrier que comme une machine à production, rien de plus ; le dernier *lock-out* de vanniers de Londres en offre un exemple frappant.
40 Voici les faits. Les patrons vanniers de Londres déclarèrent à leurs ouvriers qu'ils

¹ Les Anglais appellent ainsi la fermeture des ateliers par les patrons.

eussent à dissoudre leur société et à accepter une diminution dans un délai de trois jours, leur annonçant que faute de ce faire par eux, à l'expiration de ce délai, les ateliers leur seraient fermés. Devant un fait aussi brutal, les ouvriers se révoltèrent et déclarèrent ne pas accepter ces conditions ; les patrons avaient prévu le cas, car des agents étaient partis pour la Belgique et ramenaient des ouvriers ... Ces 5
ouvriers furent parqués sous les arches du chemin de fer, dans un des quartiers de Londres (Bermondsey). Là ils devaient travailler, manger et dormir, sans sortir, afin d'éviter tout contact avec les autres ouvriers. Mais le Conseil général parvint à franchir le cordon sanitaire institué par les patrons, et, par un stratagème, s'introduisit 10
auprès des ouvriers belges; le lendemain ces ouvriers ayant compris leur devoir retournaient en Belgique, indemnisés de leur temps perdu par la société des vanniers de Londres. Comme ils partaient, arrivait justement un autre bateau chargé d'autres ouvriers ; mais cette fois ils furent reçus par nous et ils repartaient par le bateau suivant. Il fut impossible après cela aux patrons de se procurer d'autres ouvriers : le résultat fut que les patrons se virent forcés de laisser les choses telles qu'elles étaient 15
précédemment.

En conséquence de l'appel fait par le Conseil aux sociétés anglaises, les bronziers de Paris reçurent un appui moral et matériel dans leur grève ; d'un autre côté, les tailleurs de Londres reçurent un pareil appui des ouvriers du continent.

Le Conseil intervint avec autant de succès dans la grève des *terrassiers, treillages, coiffeurs, zingueurs et graveurs sur bois*. 20

III. - Section anglaise.

A. Propagande.

En Angleterre, si la propagande n'a pas été aussi active que l'année dernière, les raisons en sont faciles à déduire de ce qui suit : ce n'est jamais par l'initiative 25
du gouvernement qu'un pas est fait dans la voie libérale, ce n'est que lorsque de longues agitations ont passionné les masses qu'il cède enfin à la pression populaire, témoin la question de réforme électorale et du droit de réunion dans les parcs.

Les travailleurs anglais attachent une grande importance, avec raison, à la question électorale; ils sacrifient leur temps et leur énergie à organiser d'imposantes 30
manifestations, dont la force morale en impose au gouvernement et le force à donner satisfaction au vœu populaire.

Pendant qu'ils réclamaient énergiquement leurs droits de citoyens, il était impossible au Conseil général d'appeler l'attention des ouvriers sur les questions sociales, dont ils n'entrevoyaient l'issue que dans un avenir lointain. 35

Les membres anglais du Conseil général, qui devaient le plus nous aider dans notre œuvre de propagande, ne pouvaient se tenir à l'écart de ce mouvement *que nous avons créé et qu'ils devaient conduire*. Le succès a répondu à leurs efforts, et l'année 1867 sera ajamais célèbre dans les annales de la classe ouvrière anglaise.

Cependant, si la propagande n'a pas été aussi active qu'elle aurait dû l'être, par 40
les raisons que nous avons données ci-dessus, elle ne fut pas arrêtée un seul instant : Les formalités à remplir pour obtenir l'adhésion des sociétés ouvrières deman-

dent beaucoup de temps ; la *constitution démocratique des Trade's Unions* ne permet pas au Comité exécutif de prendre une décision sur une question importante sans que toutes les branches l'aient préalablement discutée.

Voici le mode à suivre pour obtenir l'adhésion d'une société. On écrit au comité
5 le but de la demande. Le Comité fixe un jour pour recevoir une députation. Si la question est prise en considération, le Comité la soumet à ses branches ; alors il faut attendre un, deux et souvent trois mois avant de connaître le résultat. Il ne faut pas conclure de ce que nous venons de dire ||10| que le comité d'une société puisse seul proposer ou rejeter une proposition, car très souvent des branches ont adhéré à
10 l'Association internationale sans la participation du comité.

Depuis le Congrès de Genève, plus de vingt des grandes sociétés ouvrières ont accueilli favorablement les députations du Conseil général ; il en attend le résultat de jour en jour. D'autres sociétés ont remis leur adhésion à un temps plus opportun ; une seule a refusé son adhésion, se basant sur ce que l'Association internationale
15 s'occupait de questions politiques.

B. Cotisations.

Cette question a occupé pendant longtemps le Conseil général. Pendant que cette question était en litige, le Comité exécutif des maçons se joignait à l'Association et votait une cotisation annuelle de 1 livre.

20 En mars 1865, une députation fut envoyée par le Conseil général à la Conférence des cordonniers anglais, où la résolution suivante, proposée par les délégués de Birmingham et de Hull, fut votée à l'unanimité : « La Conférence accepte les principes de l'Association internationale, déclare s'y joindre et engage tous les membres présents à faire tous leurs efforts pour les propager. » La question de la cotisation fut
25 soulevée, mais non résolue. Quelque temps après, le Conseil général décidait qu'un diplôme d'adhésion serait remis à toute société qui se joindrait à l'Association ; la société devait payer un droit d'entrée de 5 shillings¹ et le Conseil général laissait à la libéralité des sociétés de décider dans quelles proportions elles pourraient nous aider.

30 L'argent donné par les sociétés était un don de ||11| leur part pour défrayer le Conseil général des frais de délégation au Congrès de Genève.

Le Comité des cordonniers donna 5 livres à cet effet.

Afin de régulariser cette situation, le Conseil général proposa une cotisation uniforme pour chaque membre.

35 Le Congrès de Genève décida que la cotisation annuelle serait fixée à 30 centimes.

Après le Congrès, les délégations envoyées par le Conseil près des sociétés anglaises rencontrèrent un obstacle insurmontable dans le prix élevé de cette cotisation.

40 Dans cette situation, le Conseil décida, dans sa séance du 9 octobre, d'abaisser à

¹ Un shilling vaut fr. 1,25 ; la livre sterling vaut fr. 25 ; le sou anglais vaut 10 c.

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5 centimes la cotisation annuelle. La Société des cordonniers (*Amalgamated Cordwainers' Association*) nous annonça que la résolution qui avait été prise dans la Conférence de 1865 avait été retirée par la Conférence de 1867 ; cette résolution était de souscrire pour une somme annuelle de 5 livres.

Le Comité exécutif des maçons nous donna 1 livre pour l'année 1867, comme il l'avait fait déjà pour l'année 1866 ; mais il ne nous a pas encore annoncé si toute la Société était adhérente ou non. 5

La Société des cordonniers comptait l'année dernière 5000 membres, celle des maçons de 3000 à 4000.

Deux appels ont été faits par le Conseil, pour le paiement des cotisations pendant l'année 1867, à toutes les sociétés adhérentes. Quelques-unes ont payé, d'autres ne l'ont pas encore fait ; mais aucune, excepté celle des cordonniers, n'a décliné ses obligations. 10

La Société des charpentiers et menuisiers réunis a, tout récemment, pris la résolution de contribuer pour 2 livres par an aux fonds du Conseil général. La question se discute en ce moment dans les branches pour savoir si toute la Société fera partie de l'Association internationale. Cette Société, qui compte plus de 9000 membres, a des branches dans toute l'Angleterre, le pays de Galles, l'Ecosse et l'Irlande. 15

Voici la liste des Sociétés adhérentes anglaises et les sommes versées par elles dans le courant de l'année écoulée depuis le dernier Congrès. 20

Fonds versés par la Section britannique.

	1866.			1867.			
	Livres.	Shillings.	Sous.	Livres.	Shillings.	Sous.	
<i>Arbeiter Bildungs Verein.</i>	2						25
Branche française de Londres.					4	9	
Section centrale des exilés polonais.					4	10	
Executive des ouvriers maçons.				1			
Première Loge des ouvriers maçons.		8					
Les ébénistes (Alliance).	10			1	13	4	30
Les ébénistes (West-End).	5			1	7		
Les relieurs.		8	3		17	6	
Les tonneliers.	6				5		
Comité exécutif des cordonniers.	5						
Section des cordonniers (Darlington).		5					35
Section des cordonniers (Nottingham).		5			2	1	
Les cigariers.	5			1	9		
Les rubaniers de Coventry.		5		1	9		
Les coffretiers.	1	5	4				
Les cordonniers de Kendal.		5			1	8	40
Les cordonniers pour dames (West-End).	6				10		
Les ouvriers tailleurs de Londres.	3						
Les tailleurs de Darlington.		5			1	8	

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Sociétés affiliées depuis le Congrès.

	Entrées.			Cotisations.		
	Livres.	Shillings.	Sous.	Livres.	Shillings.	Sous.
		5				
5	Les vanniers de Londres.	5				
	Les imprimeurs sur étoffes du Lancashire.	5		2	1	8
	Les carrossiers de Londres.	5				
	Les tapissiers pour carrosserie (Globe).	5			1	10½
	Id. id. (Crown).	5			5	
	Les tisserands (tissus élastiques).	5			5	
10	Les terrassiers unis.	5				
	Les vernisseurs pour ameublement.	5				
	Facteurs d'orgues.	5			2	1
	Dessinateurs et graveurs sur bois.	5				
	Comité exécutif des charpentiers.			2		
15	Corroyeurs Unis.					
	Ferblantiers. 1					

1131 Fonds votés pour la délégation.

	Livres.	Shillings.	Sous.
	4	10	
20	Cordonniers pour dames (West-End).	1	1
	Cigariers de Londres.	1	
	Les tisserands (tissus élastiques).	1	

25 La différence qui existe entre les deux années pour les fonds peut s'expliquer par cette raison: en 1866, les sommes furent votées pour envoyer des délégués à Genève, tandis que cette année les fonds ne sont affectés qu'aux frais d'administration.

L'année dernière, comme nous l'avons déjà dit, nous avait créé des dettes; ces dettes, le Conseil général les a amorties le plus qu'il lui a été possible.

30 La raison pour laquelle les sociétés adhérentes n'ont pas encore payé leurs cotisations et pourquoi d'autres n'ont pas encore voté des fonds pour le Congrès s'explique par la stagnation du travail, les nombreuses grèves, les *lock-out* et surtout par le mouvement électoral, puis en dernier lieu par la grève des tailleurs de Londres, laquelle absorbe en ce moment les ressources des *Trade's Unions*.

Le Conseil général a reçu de nombreuses lettres de sociétés qui constatent cet état de choses et regrettent de ne pouvoir nous aider pécuniairement.

35 W. - *Sections continentales et américaines.*
France.

La mission du Conseil général est de correspondre avec les branches individuelles dans les pays où des lois restrictives empêchent de former un centre d'action avec sécurité: telle est, par exemple, la situation de la France.

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On a déjà vu plus haut que toutes les tentatives ||14| faites par le Conseil général, pour faire entrer en France les carnets contenant les Statuts et Règlements de l'Association internationale, avaient échoué par le fait de l'autorité française qui s'est emparée de notre propriété quand aucun motif ne justifie cette violation du droit. Mais les entraves apportées par l'administration française ne s'arrêtèrent pas là. Ce fut en vain que nos correspondants demandèrent l'autorisation de faire imprimer nos Statuts et Règlements: le refus le plus obstiné fut toujours la seule réponse qu'ils obtinrent. 5

Le Comité lyonnais, qui, en 1866, avait pu avoir des réunions de plus de 500 membres, ne put, après le Congrès de Genève, obtenir de réunion générale. 10

La courageuse persévérance des membres lyonnais auprès des agents administratifs a eu pour résultat de démontrer aux plus aveugles jusqu'à quel point le gouvernement français voulait l'affranchissement du travailleur.

Chose remarquable à constater, ces entraves, ces tracasseries mesquines, n'ont pas arrêté un instant le progrès de notre association. 15

Vienne (Isère), qui atteignait à peine le chiffre de 80 membres, en compte aujourd'hui plus de 500.

A Neuville-sur-Saône, une de nos branches a fondé une Société coopérative de consommation et a, par ce fait, appelé les ouvriers des campagnes à la pratique de la vie sociale, chose à laquelle on les considérait jusqu'alors comme antipathiques. 20

Notre correspondant de Caen nous annonce que dans cette ville l'union des travailleurs s'affirme chaque jour davantage. Grâce à cette entente, les *Bourreliers*, les *Mécaniciens*, les *Tanneurs*, les *Selliers* et les *Forgerons*, etc., ont pu obtenir la diminution d'une heure de travail par jour, sans réduction de salaire.

A Fuveau (Bouches-du-Rhône), l'Association internationale compte de nombreux adhérents parmi les mineurs, dont la récente grève a fait tant de bruit. 25

A la date du 5 août dernier, le Conseil général recevait la nouvelle de la formation d'un Comité à Fuveau même. Ce résultat est dû à la courageuse propagande du citoyen *Vasseur*, membre du Comité de Marseille, qui nous écrivait le 21 juillet dernier: «Une lutte est engagée entre le capital et le travail, lutte à la fois triste et comique: d'un côté une bande d'administrateurs et d'employés faisant la propagande en voiture pour détourner les ouvriers de l'Association internationale, et de l'autre une poignée d'hommes énergiques et de dévouement, luttant sans cesse contre les attaques de nos adversaires et faisant circuler des idées d'indépendance et de justice dans les rangs des travailleurs.» Puis il ajoute en terminant: «Nul pouvoir humain ne pourrait arracher les idées d'émancipation que nous avons jetées dans le pays, car nos adversaires ont à combattre deux choses bien difficiles à vaincre: *le droit et la volonté.*» 30 35

En résumé, le travailleur comprend que *vouloir c'est pouvoir*, et qu'il ne doit compter que sur lui-même pour son complet affranchissement politique et social. 40

Voici la liste des branches existantes au dernier Congrès et le montant des sommes versées par elles en 1866 et 1867.

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		Sommes versées.		
		Livres.	Shillings.	Sous.
	Paris	4		
	Caen	1		
5	Lyon	11	12	
	Bordeaux	3	9	
	Rouen		4	5
	La Guadeloupe			
	Vienne	5	7	6
10	Neuville-sur-Saône	1	5	3
	Pantin			
	Saint-Denis			
	16 Puteaux			
	Neufchâteau			
15	Lisieux			
	Condé-sur-Noireau			
	Harcourt-Thierry			
	Granville			
	Argentan			
20	Nouvelles branches formées depuis le Congrès.			
		Sommes versées.		
		Livres.	Shillings.	Sous.
	Les relieurs de Paris		14	4
	Castelnaudary			
25	Auch			
	Orléans			
	Nantes			
	Villefranche			
	Marseille			
30	Fuveau			
	Le Havre			
	Alger			

Suisse.

35 En Suisse, nous avons reçu seulement les correspondances du Comité central. Là, comme en Angleterre, le travail de l'Association internationale est de faire adhérer les sociétés ouvrières et d'obtenir le plus possible d'adhésions particulières ; seulement nous ferons remarquer qu'en Suisse les sociétés ouvrières comprennent moins de membres dans chacune d'elles qu'en Angleterre.

Voici le nom des villes où des branches ont été formées:

40 Genève, Carouge, Lausanne, Vevey, Montreux, Neuchâtel, la Chaux-de-Fonds, le Locle, Sainte-Croix, Saint-||17|Imier, Sonvillier, Bienne, Moutier, Boncourt, Zurich, Wetzikon, Bâle, Berne, Tramelan, les Breuleux et les Bois.

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Argent reçu de ces branches en 1866 et 1867.

	Sommes versées.			
	Livres.	Shillings.	Sous.	
Genève (Section romande)	4			
Genève (« allemande)	1	7	9	5
Chaux-de-Fonds	2	4		
Locle		17	10	

Belgique.

<i>Rapport du Secrétaire correspondant pour la Belgique au Conseil général de l'Association internationale des Travailleurs.</i>	10
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Citoyens,

Ma correspondance avec la Belgique date de la grève des vanniers. J'écrivis à ce sujet une lettre au citoyen *Vandenhouten*, qui a paru huit jours après dans la *Tribune du Peuple*; je lui donnais avis, au nom du Conseil général, du départ de Londres d'un agent des patrons vanniers pour embaucher des vanniers belges; je lui disais que la puissance de notre organisation devait déjouer les plans de cet agent et que la solidarité obligeait les ouvriers belges de refuser tout embauchage, afin d'assurer la victoire à leurs frères anglais. 15

J'informai ensuite le citoyen Vandenhouten du rembarquement des quelques vanniers belges venus à Londres sur la foi de promesses faites, mais non tenues par les patrons, et des sentiments fraternels des vanniers anglais; je faisais ressortir dans cette lettre combien l'action du Conseil général avait contribué au triomphe des ouvriers sur les patrons. | 20

[18] J'eus avec le citoyen *Brismée* une correspondance au sujet de l'impression du compte-rendu du Congrès de Genève. Cette correspondance ne put aboutir à rien, dans ce sens que, sur l'avis du Conseil général, je lui demandai un crédit qu'il ne pouvait faire. Ma dernière lettre à ce sujet resta sans réponse; sans doute il en coûtait trop au citoyen Brismée, dont le dévouement est bien connu, d'être obligé de nous refuser formellement; c'est ainsi que j'interprète son silence. 25

J'ai envoyé au citoyen Vandenhouten une lettre du Conseil général au sujet des cigariers belges, en le priant de donner à cette lettre toute la publicité possible; je fis de même pour les résolutions du Conseil général au sujet de la visite du czar à Paris. J'ai informé le bureau de Bruxelles de la décision du Conseil général au sujet de la grève des tailleurs de Londres, recommandant aux tailleurs belges de ne point venir à Londres pour travailler dans les ateliers en grève, et à tous les ouvriers belges de faire acte de solidarité en aidant matériellement les tailleurs de Londres. 30 35

J'ai envoyé à Liège au citoyen *Dewitte*, faubourg Saint-Gilles, n° 6, et à Bruxelles au citoyen Vandenhouten la circulaire du Conseil général au sujet du Congrès de Lausanne, avec prière de lui donner la plus grande attention et la plus grande publicité. 40

Rapport du Conseil Général de l'A.I.T. au Congrès de Lausanne (1867)

Enfin j'ai fait tout ce que le Conseil m'a dit de faire et j'ose dire que je n'ai jamais reçu aucun reproche de la Belgique. Je joins à ce bref rapport les quelques lettres que j'ai reçues. Quant aux frais de correspondance, j'ai cru que je pouvais parfaitement faire ce petit sacrifice pour l'Association.

5 Salut et fraternité !

Besson. \

[19] Allemagne et Italie.

L'Allemagne est encore dans un état anormal, peu favorable au développement de notre Association. Cependant le citoyen *J.-Ph. Becker*, président de la Section alémanique à Genève, a réussi à y fonder plusieurs branches, sur lesquelles nous n'avons quant à présent aucun détail particulier.

En Italie, des sociétés ouvrières sont régulièrement constituées à Naples, Milan et Gênes ; nous sommes en correspondance avec elles, mais aucune cotisation ne nous est encore parvenue.

15 Amérique.

En Amérique, deux nouvelles branches ont adhéré à l'Association internationale ; nous sommes en correspondance avec le *Labour National Union's Committee* (Société nationale du travail), ainsi qu'avec le président de *VInternational Ironmoulders' Union* (Union internationale des fondeurs en fer).

20 *Rapport annuel du Secrétaire pour l'Amérique,*
attaché au Conseil général de l'Association internationale des travailleurs.
(Septembre 1866 au 27 août 1867.)

Le premier événement qui appartient à mon ressort après mon entrée dans la position de secrétaire pour l'Amérique, a été l'arrivée, en Angleterre, du numéro pour le
25 mois de septembre 1866 du *Ironmoulder's International Journal* (journal international des mouleurs en fer), publié à Philadelphie par W.-H. Sylvis, en même temps président de *Γ Union internationale des mouleurs en fer*.

Ce numéro contenait un rapport étendu du premier [20] Congrès national des
30 travailleurs des Etats-Unis, qui venait d'être tenu à Baltimore dans le courant du mois précédent. Un résumé des procès-verbaux de ce Congrès et les résolutions prises ont été reproduits dans le *Commonwealth* (République) de Londres, dans le cours d'octobre 1866. Il ressortait de là que le Congrès de Baltimore avait appris la réunion prochaine d'un Congrès analogue des travailleurs de l'ancien monde à Genève et qu'il avait voté à l'unanimité que la Commission exécutive de *Γ Union nationale des travailleurs*, organisée par le dit Congrès, était autorisée à envoyer un délé-
35 gué au Congrès européen des travailleurs pour 1867, c'est-à-dire à Lausanne.

Par le même journal, j'appris que le secrétaire pour l'étranger de *Γ Union nationale des travailleurs* était un citoyen nommé William Gibson, dont l'adresse aurait été

Rapport du Conseil Général de l'A. I. T. au Congrès de Lausanne (1867)

New-Haven, dans le Connecticut. Ce n'est que depuis le commencement d'août de cette année que j'ai découvert que l'on s'était trompé sur l'adresse du citoyen Gibson, laquelle est *Norwich* (Connecticut) et non pas New-Haven. Cette erreur de la part des compilateurs du rapport du Congrès a été presque fatale aux opérations de mon département.

5

Au reste, je n'essayai pas à l'instant d'entrer en correspondance avec le secrétaire Gibson, parce que je pensais que le début de cette correspondance devait être l'envoi du compte-rendu officiel des transactions du Congrès de Genève. Les causes du retard de la publication de ce rapport ont été déjà racontées dans le compte-rendu général du Conseil général.

10

Vers décembre 1866, le citoyen Orsini s'approcha du Conseil général et nous communiqua les noms de cinq socialistes européens demeurant à New-York, avec lesquels il nous pria d'ouvrir une correspondance. Il nous pria encore de leur envoyer des pleins pouvoirs pour agir dans l'intérêt de l'Association dans les Etats-Unis.

15

Cinq lettres, accompagnées de pleins pouvoirs dans le sens indiqué, ont été expédiées aux cinq citoyens ||21| nommés par Orsini, mais ni moi ni le Conseil général nous n'avons jamais reçu de réponse à aucune de ces lettres.

Ainsi, ma première ouverture échoua. Orsini, du reste, a fait savoir au Conseil général que l'on commençait à prendre beaucoup d'intérêt à notre Association à New-York et que Wendell Phillips, le grand orateur abolitioniste du Massachusetts, avait fait l'offre de donner des conférences au profit de la caisse de notre Association, dès que l'on lui eut montré que les objets et les chefs de l'Association étaient dignes de ce dévouement.

20

Orsini ajouta que James Stephens, le démocrate et patriote d'Irlande, s'était fait inscrire à New-York au nombre des membres de notre Association.

25

En mars 1867, le compte-rendu des transactions du Congrès de Genève, en anglais, commença de paraître dans *l'International Courier*, de Londres. Dès que quatre numéros de cette série eurent paru, c'est-à-dire en avril, j'expédiai ces quatre numéros de *l'International Courier* à quatre personnes, savoir : une série au secrétaire Gibson, à son adresse supposée ; une autre série à W.-H. Sylvis ; une troisième au rédacteur de la *Voice*, journal quotidien publié à Boston (Massachusetts) et dévoué aux intérêts des ouvriers, et une quatrième au rédacteur du *Workingman's Advocate*, de Chicago (Illinois), l'organe principal des ouvriers des Etats occidentaux de l'Union américaine. J'ai accompagné les journaux expédiés au secrétaire Gibson d'une lettre qui exprimait la haute importance attachée par le Conseil général à une intimité de rapports et à une fréquence de communications entre lui et la Commission exécutive de l'*Union nationale des travailleurs*.

30

35

Cette lettre est restée sans réponse et je n'ai reçu nul accusé de la réception des journaux. L'explication très simple de cet insuccès est que la lettre et les journaux avaient été adressés à New-Haven au lieu de Norwich.

40

L'expédition de ces documents n'a produit qu'un ||22| seul bon résultat. Le rédacteur de *l'International Courier*, à Londres, a commencé vers le mois de mai de recevoir des exemplaires du *Workingman's Advocate*, de Chicago, et un échange des deux journaux a eu lieu. A partir de cette époque, le rédacteur de *l'International*

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Rapport du Conseil Général de l'A.I.T. au Congrès de Lausanne (1867)

Courier, Joseph Collet, a donné à ses lecteurs toutes les semaines des extraits des colonnes du *Workingman's Advocate*, de Chicago.

La publication du compte-rendu des transactions du Congrès de Genève a été terminée le 1^{er} mai; j'expédiai la suite de ce compte-rendu aux quatre adresses sus-
5 mentionnées.

Des extraits de ce compte-rendu ont été reproduits dans le *Workingman's Advocate*, de Chicago. Je n'ai aucun moyen de savoir si l'un ou l'autre des deux autres journaux en ont inséré des extraits ou ont fait des observations à son égard.

Pendant le cours du printemps, le Conseil général, sur la demande du bureau de
10 correspondance de Lyon, s'est occupé de la question de l'émigration aux Etats-Unis d'un grand nombre des tisseurs en soie de cette ville. Le bureau de Lyon nous avait appris que beaucoup de tisseurs en soie, mécontents de leur sort chez eux, avaient envie d'émigrer aux Etats-Unis pour y implanter leur industrie. Seulement, ils désiraient savoir si quelques capitalistes américains voudraient avancer les frais de
15 voyage et de premier établissement. Sur ces entrefaites, le Conseil général m'a chargé d'écrire à ce sujet à plusieurs journaux d'Amérique et à plusieurs hommes d'Etat. J'obéis à ces ordres; les lettres furent portées en Amérique par un Polonais, nommé Koszek, qui partait pour New-York. Point de réponse encore une fois! Je n'ai jamais reçu de nouvelles de Koszek depuis son départ.

20 En juin, j'ai été chargé par le Conseil général d'écrire à W.-H. Sylvis pour demander de l'aide pour les tailleurs de Londres qui s'étaient mis en grève. J'ai écrit le 11 juin. Je saisis cette occasion pour exprimer à Sylvis mon chagrin de ce que je n'avais pas reçu un ||23| mot de réponse du secrétaire Gibson. Je le priai de me donner le nom et l'adresse d'un autre membre du Comité de l'*Union nationale des tra-*
25 *vailleurs*.

Sa réponse, datée du 25 juin, me fit part des raisons pour lesquelles les métiers en fer américains n'étaient pas en état de secourir les tailleurs grévistes de Londres. Il me communiqua également le nom et l'adresse de William-J. Jessup, de New-York, un zélé promoteur de l'*Union nationale des travailleurs*.

30 Dès que j'eus communiqué cette lettre au Conseil général, le Conseil me chargea d'écrire sans retard à William Jessup pour lui apprendre la date du Congrès de Lausanne et pour lui dire le plaisir que le Conseil général éprouverait de voir à Lausanne un délégué américain. En conséquence, j'écrivis le 19 juillet. Dans ma lettre je racontai les circonstances ayant trait à mes efforts impuissants à propos du secré-
35 taire Gibson et en même temps j'expédiai à Jessup le compte-rendu officiel du Congrès de Genève.

A cette lettre j'ai reçu une réponse datée du 9 août. Cette réponse constate la satisfaction que Jessup a ressentie du projet de communiquer avec les travailleurs du continent et de la Grande-Bretagne. Il regrette les délais qui ont eu lieu en consé-
40 quence de la méprise, quant à l'adresse du secrétaire Gibson. Il regrette aussi que la date de la réunion du Congrès de Chicago (le 19 août) soit si rapprochée de celle du Congrès de Lausanne, qu'il sera trop tard pour qu'il soit possible d'envoyer un délégué en Europe. Toutefois, j'ai lu récemment un article du *Workingman's Advocate* de Chicago qui déclare que la question d'envoyer un délégué à Lausanne sera une
45 des premières qui fixeront l'attention du Congrès de Chicago.

Il me promet de communiquer ma lettre du 19 juillet au Congrès de Chicago, «à cause de son importance» et d'expédier au Conseil général les journaux qui contiendront le meilleur compte-rendu des procès-verbaux du Congrès de Chicago. Il dit qu'il veut continuer sa correspondance avec le Conseil général, quand |24| même il ne serait pas réélu au poste de vice-président de *Y Union nationale*, 5 parce qu'il est encore secrétaire pour la correspondance de *Y Union des travailleurs de New-York*. Il accueille ma proposition d'échanger avec lui les journaux qui sont les organes des classes ouvrières. Tel est un abrégé imparfait de sa lettre intéressante et chaleureuse.

Au commencement de ce mois, le citoyen Marx m'a remis une lettre de F.-A. 10 Sorge, qui annonçait la formation d'une branche de notre association à Hoboken, New-Jersey.

Vers le même temps, le rédacteur de *Y International Courier* de Londres m'a montré l'adresse (en brochure) de la Commission executive de l'*Union nationale des travailleurs* aux ouvriers des Etats-Unis, à l'effet d'en convoquer les représentants au 15 Congrès de Chicago. Sur la couverture de cette brochure je trouvai le nom et l'adresse en manuscrit du secrétaire William Gibson, et alors seulement je compris que j'avais été induit en erreur à l'endroit de son adresse. Je déplore la perte de temps précieux produite par cette erreur. Pour me consoler, je répète le proverbe : «Mieux vaut tard que jamais!» 20

Voilà le récit de mes tentatives, qui n'ont guère, jusqu'à présent, été couronnées de succès. Toutefois, je laisse les choses dans une position pleine de promesses pour l'avenir.

Je dois toucher maintenant à deux autres sujets.

Les efforts des ouvriers américains pour se conquérir plus de temps libre, efforts 25 qui sont connus sous le nom du «mouvement de huit heures» fixèrent l'attention du Congrès de Genève. Ainsi je ne crois pas déplacé de récapituler très-succinctement ce que je sais sur le progrès qu'on a fait à cet égard pendant les derniers douze mois. L'agitation a mûri avec une grande vitesse et a trouvé un écho immédiat dans le Corps Législatif à Washington et dans les assemblées législatives des états parti- 30 culiers. Dans la Chambre des députés fédérale, un projet de loi pour les huit heures ||25| concernant les travaux entrepris par le gouvernement fédéral, n'a été ajourné que par égalité de voix.

Plusieurs des législatures d'Etats ont statué que, en l'absence d'un contrat spécial, le jour de travail ne consiste qu'en huit heures. Dans l'Etat de New-York, cette 35 loi a été votée, mais les ouvriers de New-York n'ont pas encore osé demander qu'elle soit exécutée. Les ouvriers de cet Etat se sont tout récemment réunis dans un congrès spécial, à l'effet de délibérer sur la conduite qu'ils doivent tenir dans ces circonstances. Enfin on a résolu qu'une demande universelle et simultanée pour l'exécution de la loi sera faite le premier novembre prochain, sans réduction de sa- 40 laire si possible, mais en acceptant une réduction s'il est nécessaire. La majorité des délégués, à en juger par les discussions, manifestent leur assentiment à une réduction de salaire.

Dans l'Etat de Californie, on n'a pas encore voté une loi pour les huit heures. Né- 45anmoins, pendant les 19 mois qui ont précédé juillet dernier, le système des huit

heures y a prévalu en effet. Les derniers renseignements de cet Etat disent que les patrons se sont mis en grève contre le nouvel ordre de choses, et qu'une grande cessation de travail a été la conséquence de ces tentatives réactionnaires.

Je suis bien aise d'annoncer au Conseil qu'à partir du 1^{er} janvier prochain, l'affranchissement d'une lettre ordinaire sera réduit de la moitié, c'est-à-dire de un shilling à six pence. Je parle exclusivement des lettres échangées entre le Royaume-Uni et les Etats-Unis. Un traité à cet effet vient d'être conclu entre les deux gouvernements.

Peter Fox,

10 Secrétaire pour l'Amérique, auprès du Conseil général de
l'Association internationale des travailleurs. |

[26] V. - *Remarques générales.*

L'année écoulée depuis le dernier Congrès a été signalée par un incessant combat entre le capital et le travail : en Amérique, en Angleterre, en France, en Belgique,
15 les grèves, les *lock-out* et la persécution contre les travailleurs ont été à l'ordre du jour.

Le capital persécute le travailleur avec ténacité et violence, car il sent instinctivement que le jour est proche où le travail prendra la place qui lui est légitimement due.

20 Une Société, dans les Etats-Unis, a dépensé 70 000 dollars pour défendre le droit à la vie contre les envahissements du capital.

En Angleterre, il a été décidé dans les *Courts of Law* (cours de justice), que le vol des fonds des *Trade's Unions* (unions ouvrières) n'était pas punissable. Une commission d'enquête officielle sur les *Trade's Unions* a été instituée en vue de les détruire
25 ou tout au moins de les entraver.

Le dernier procès fait par les patrons tailleurs de Londres aux ouvriers, la condamnation des ouvriers tailleurs de Paris, le massacre des ouvriers mineurs à Marchiennes (Belgique), sont des faits qui démontrent clairement que la société n'est composée que de deux classes hostiles l'une à l'autre, les *oppresses* et les *opprimés*,
30 et que la solidarité entre tous les travailleurs du monde peut seule nous donner l'affranchissement intégral, qui est le but que poursuit l'Association internationale des travailleurs.

Nous terminons par ces mots: «Travailleurs de tous les pays, *unissons-nous!*»

Au nom du Conseil général :

35 *Odger*, président. *W. Dell*, trésorier. |
Eccarius, secrétaire général. [27] *Shaw*, secrétaire trésorier.

SECRÉTAIRES CORRESPONDANTS :

E. Dupont pour la France. *Besson* pour la Belgique.
K. Marx » l'Allemagne. *Carter* »> l'Italie.
40 *Zabicki* » la Pologne. *P. Lafargue* » l'Espagne.
A. Jung » la Suisse. *Hansen* » le Danemark. |
P. Fox » l'Amérique.

Eugène Dupont

Discours prononcé au Congrès de la Paix à Genève (1867)

Bulletin du Congrès
de la Paix à Genève.
Nr. 4, 10. September 1867.

Citoyens,

Le plus chaud partisan de la paix perpétuelle, c'est incontestablement le travailleur ; car c'est lui que le canon broie sur le champ de bataille, c'est encore lui dont le travail et les veilles alimentent le budget de la guerre. Donc, à ce point de vue, il veut la paix, mais la paix n'est pas un principe, elle ne peut être qu'un résultat. 5

Croyez-vous, citoyens, que vous pourrez l'atteindre par le moyen qui vous a été proposé hier en créant une religion nouvelle. Non, n'est-ce pas ?

Loin d'en créer une nouvelle la raison doit détruire celles qui existent. Toute religion est un despotisme qui a aussi ses armées permanentes: les prêtres.

Est-ce que ces armées-là n'ont pas fait au peuple des blessures plus profondes que celles qu'il reçoit sur le champ de bataille? Si! Ces armées-là ont faussé le droit, atrophié la raison. 10

Ne débarrassez pas les casernes pour en faire des églises. Faites table rase des deux.

Maintenant, abordons un autre sujet: la suppression des armées permanentes. Croyez-vous, citoyens, que lorsque ces armées seront dissoutes et transformées en milice nationale, nous aurons la paix perpétuelle? Non, citoyens, la révolution de juin 1848 est là pour répondre. Le lendemain du combat, les gardes nationales fusillaient les ouvriers par milliers. 15

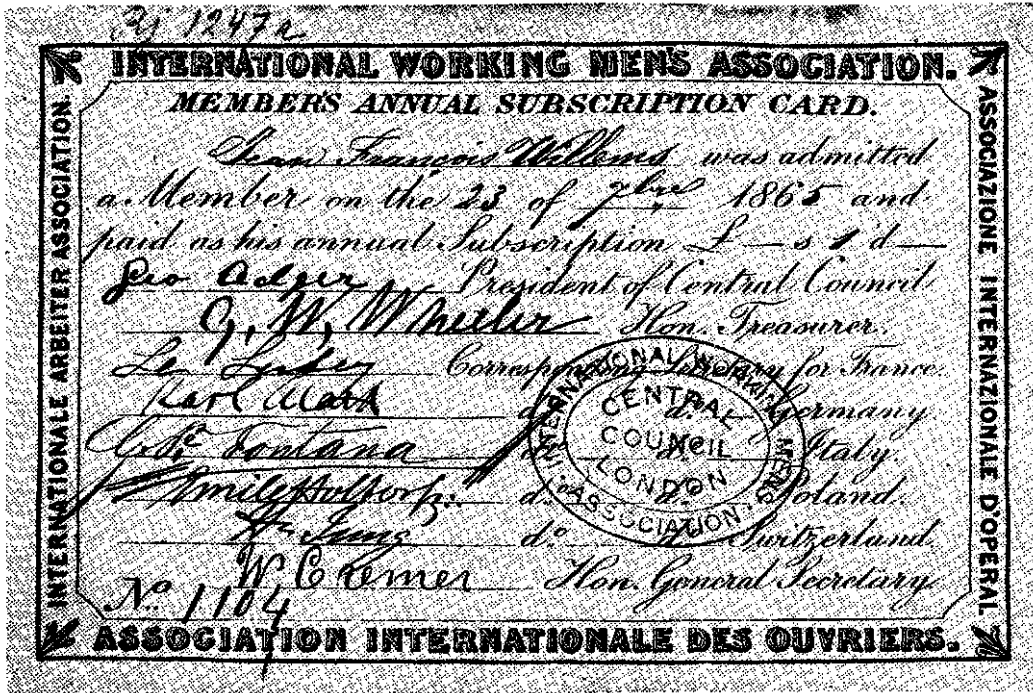
Nous le reconnaissons avec vous, l'abolition des armées permanentes est un acheminement vers ce but, mais il est de notre devoir de vous dire que ce n'est pas assez. 20

Les Etats-Unis, qu'un grand nombre de démocrates nous représentent comme l'Eldorado du travail et de la liberté, ne peuvent établir la paix perpétuelle. Les derniers événements de Chicago le démontrent clairement, pour faire exécuter la loi de huit heures de travail votée par cet Etat, les ouvriers ont été obligés d'en venir aussi aux mains avec la classe bourgeoise. 25

Pour établir la paix perpétuelle, il faut anéantir les lois qui oppriment le travail, tous les privilèges, et faire de tous les citoyens une seule classe de travailleurs.

En un mot, accepter la révolution sociale avec toutes ses conséquences. 30

Von Marx oder Engels mitunterzeichnete Dokumente



Member's Annual Subscription Card
of the International Working Men's Association for 1865

Member's Annual Subscription Card
of the International Working Men's Association for 1865

International Working Men's Association.
Associazione Internazionale d'Operai.
Association Internationale des Ouvriers.
Internationale Arbeiter Association.

5 Member's Annual Subscription Card.

a Member on the _____ of _____ was admitted
s _____ d _____ 186 _____ and paid his annual Subscription £ _____

10	Geo Odger	President of Central Council.
	G. W. Wheeler	Hon. Treasurer.
	Le Lubez	Corresponding Secretary for France,
	Karl Marx	do. do. Germany,
	G. P. Fontana	do. do. Italy,
	Emile Holtorp	do. do. Poland,
15	Hn Jung	do. do. Switzerland.
	W. Cremer	Hon. General Secretary.

Na _____

Address of the Central Council to working men's societies
with a Form of Application

I International Working Men's Association.
Central Council,
18 Greek Street, London, W.

Trade, Friendly, or any Working Men's Societies are invited to join in their corporate capacity, the only conditions being that the Members subscribe to the principles of the Association, and pay for the declaration of their enrolment (which is varnished and mounted on canvas and roller), the sum of 5s. No contributions are *demande*d from Societies joining, it being left to their means and discretion to contribute or not, or as they may from time to time deem the *efforts* of the Association *worthy* of *support*. 5 10

The Central Council will be pleased to send the Address and Rules, which fully explain the principles and aims of the Association, to any Society applying for them; and, if within the London district, deputations will gladly attend to afford any further information that may be required. Societies joining are entitled to send a representative to the Central Council. The amount of contribution for individual members is Is. per annum, with Id. for Card of Membership; which may be obtained, with every information concerning the Association, by applying to the Honorary Secretary, or at the Central Council's Meetings, which are held every Tuesday Evening, at 18 Greek Street, from Eight to Ten o'clock. 15

E. DUPONT, *Corresponding Secretary for* France. 20
K. MARX, » » Germany.
E. HOLTORP, » » Poland.
H. JUNG, » » Switzerland.
L. LEWIS, " » America.
G. ODGER, *President of Central Council.* 25
G. W. WHEELER, *Hon. Treasurer.*
W. R. CREMER, *Hon. Gen. Sec. |*

International Working Men's Association
CENTRAL COUNCIL,
18 GREEK STREET, LONDON, W.

Trade Friendly, as any Working Men's Societies are invited to join in their corporate capacity, the only conditions being that the Members subscribe to the principles of the Association, and pay for the declaration of their enrolment (which is varied and mounted on canvas and rollers), the sum of 5s. No contributions are demanded from Societies joining, it being left to their zealous and disinterested efforts of the Association worthy of support.

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E. Derron,	Corresponding Secretary for France.
K. Katz,	" " " Germany.
S. Dassoar,	" " " Poland.
H. Hess,	" " " Switzerland.
L. Laves,	" " " America.

G. ODGER, *President of Central Council*
 G. W. WHEELER, *Hon. Treasurer*
 W. R. CRESKER, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*

FORM OF APPLICATION
 FOR SOCIETIES WISHING TO JOIN THE
International Working Men's Association.

We, the Members of the _____
 _____ assembled
 at the _____
 declare our entire concurrence with the principles and
 aims of the International Working Men's Association,
 and pledge ourselves to disseminate and reduce
 them to practice; and as an earnest of our sincerity we
 hereby apply to the Central Council to be admitted
 into the fraternal bond as an affiliated Branch of the
 Association.

Signed on behalf of the Members, _____ in number.
 _____ Secretary.
 _____ President.

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Address of the Central Council to working men's societies
 with a Form of Application

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Secretary.

President.

_____ 186 I

Declaration of enrolment for societies joining
the International Working Men's Association

International Working Men's Association.
Central Council, 18 Greek Street, London, W.

Founded on 28th September, 1864, at a
public meeting held at St. Martin's Hall, London.

The Address and Statutes issued by the Provisional Central Council fully explain 5
the Association's objects and aspirations, which, however, may be summed up in a
few words. It aims at the protection, advancement, and complete emancipation,
economical and political, of the Working Classes. As a means to this great end it
will promote the establishment of solidarity between the manifold divisions of la-
bour in *each country*, and the co-operation of the Working Classes of *different coun-* 10
tries.

Its Organization, with a Central Medium at London, and numerous affiliated
Branches in Europe and America, will assist in uniting the Working Classes of all
Countries in a perpetual bond of fraternal co-operation. Annual Congresses of Del-
egates, elected by the affiliated Working Men themselves, will create for the Work- 15
ing Classes a public and powerful European representation.

The _____
assembled at the _____
having subscribed to the principles, and applied to enter the fraternal bond, are 20
hereby admitted as an affiliated Branch of the Association.

Dated the _____ 186

G. ODGER, *President of Council.*

G. W. WHEELER, *Honorary Treasurer.*

E. DUPONT, *Corresponding Sec.* for France, 25
K. MARX, do. Germany,
E. HOLTORP, do. Poland.
H. JUNG, do. Switzerland,
L. LEWIS, do. America.

W. R. CREMER, *Honorary General Secretary.* 30

The Industrial Newspaper Company (Limited).
Prospectus with a Form of Application for Shares

The Workman's Advocate.
Nr. 132, 16. September 1865

The Industrial Newspaper Company (Limited).

Capital £1,000, in Shares of £1 each. Deposit, 2s. 6d. per Share.

Board of Directors.

	Mr. G. Odger, Chairman	Mr. Nieass
5	___ W. R. Cremer _____	Jung
	___ R. Applegarth _____	Christmas
	___ Coulson	Dr. Marx
	___ H. Turff	Mr. Weston
	___ Eccarius _____	Le Lubez
10	___ W. Stainsby _____	Kaub
	___ Worley _____	Morgan
	___ Facey _____	Lessner

Treasurer—Mr. E. Coulson.

Secretary—Mr. Edwin Shelley Mañtz.

15 Prospectus.

The object of the promoters of the above Company is to supply a great want of the age—to establish a Newspaper devoted to the interests of the Working Classes, and to secure for them a truthful exponent of their wrongs, and a faithful champion of their rights.

20 To further this object, the Board of Directors are happy to state that they have succeeded in purchasing the "*Miner*" Newspaper, which is now incorporated with the "*Workman's Advocate*," and they have also made arrangements with some of the most advanced writers to contribute to its columns.

25 The well-known character of the men connected with its management renders it needless to indulge in professions. Suffice it to say, that it will be Democratic in Politics—and ever prepared to maintain principle against expediency.

To those who have been accustomed to view the efforts of the poor as a series of vain straggles of Labour against Capital, it may be observed that those efforts have

failed, not from a want of justice in the objects to be attained, but from the want of a legitimate organ to influence public opinion. If an Oxford Professor or an enlightened writer have occasionally come forward to champion the creed of the down-trodden millions, his voice has been but the echo of human agony, heard amidst the clamour of contending interests, and silenced by the diatribes of newspaper hirelings. To say the Newspaper Press represents public opinion, is to administer insult to intelligent men. It is the property of speculators, political leaders, large contractors, and railway directors. Can we expect truth through the channels of falsehood—light from the regions of darkness, or fairness from those whose business it is to calumniate, pervert, and deceive? Certainly not. Hence the necessity for an organ that shall be beyond the taint of corruption, invulnerable against attacks, and inspired by men who feel it is their mission to teach the truths they have acquired by hard toil and bitter suffering. 5 10

The "*Workman's Advocate*" boldly takes its stand upon this necessity. Dignified and fearless, as becomes the champion of the masses, it requires the aid of no dishonest scribes or unprincipled adventurers. It will look to Labour and Labour's friends for its associates. The class that has produced an Elliott, Clare, and Burns—that has given a Defoe to fiction, a Stephenson to science, and a Shakespeare to literature, still claims within its ranks many a noble son who can wield the pen as well as the shuttle or the hammer. 15 20

An Industrial Newspaper Company is an application of the Co-operative principle—a sign of the times that the men of action are likewise men of thought, who will tell their own "unvarnished tale," in an organ of their own.

On the great questions of the day the *Workman's Advocate* will pronounce a decided opinion. With the view of promoting the complete political and social enfranchisement of the toiling millions, it will energetically support Manhood Suffrage, vote by ballot, representation based upon numbers, direct taxation, the nationalisation of the land, the development of co-operative self-employment to national dimensions, reduction of the number of the hours of labour, Saturday half holiday movements, political, international, and trade associations, everything that tends to advance the cause of human progress. 25 30

Originated by the representatives of Labour, to the sons of Labour must it chiefly look for encouragement and support; but as good men are to be found in every station of life, it is believed that many ardent lovers of freedom who have means at their command, will derive a pleasure in co-operating with our efforts. Aid from this source will be generous, and may be gracefully tendered, as it will be gratefully received. 35

Firm in the faith of those political truths, for the utterance of which so many noble martyrs have suffered, and conscious that the period has arrived when revolutions must be effected by mental effort, and not by physical violence, the conductors of the *Workman's Advocate* will never descend to scurrility or vulgar abuse, but seek to prove the justice of its claims by the soundness of its arguments, and the charity of its spirit. 40

Enrolling amongst its literary associates some of the brightest intellects of all countries, its articles upon Foreign Affairs will be the matured opinions of pro- 45

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The Industrial Newspaper Company (Limited). Prospectus

found thinkers; and from its close connections with the International Working Men's Association, which has correspondents in all parts of the world, this department will be one of its most valuable features.

5 Upon domestic topics the result of the week will be faithfully recorded in a well-written Summary, and the various movements of political bodies will be chronicled and commented fairly on.

On all questions affecting the rights of Labour the platform will be its own, and every working man will feel that at least the columns of one journal will be open to him and those who advocate his cause.

10 To bring the proprietorship of the *Workman's Advocate* within the reach of the masses, the Shares are being issued at the sum of £1 each; and to make the mode of payment as easy as possible, the Directors have determined to accept deposits of 2s. 6d. per share.

(By order of the Directors)

15

E. S. Mantz, Secretary.

Form of Application for Shares.

Please to allot me _____ Shares in the Industrial Newspaper Company, for which I send _____ as my **first deposit**, authorising the Secretary to in-

20 struct the district collector to wait upon me weekly.

Name _

Address

To Mr. E. S. *Mantz*, Secretary,
Rose Cottage, 60, Downham Road, Kingsland.

Memorandum of the Industrial Newspaper Company
(Limited)

I Company Limited by Shares.

Memorandum of Association
of the Industrial Newspaper Company Limited.

- 1st. The Name of the Company is The Industrial Newspaper Company Limited.
- 2nd. The Registered Office of the Company will be situated in England. 5
- 3rd. The objects for which the Company is established are
 Firstly — The carrying on of the Trade of Newspaper Printers and Publishers
 Secondly — The Purchase of the Copyright, Running Advertisements, and Goodwill of The Miner and Workman's Advocate Newspaper, published at Ne 7 Burleigh Street, Stand. 10
- 4th. The Liability of the Members is Limited.
- 5th. The Capital of the Company is One Thousand Pounds divided into One Thousand Shares of One Pound each. |

I We, the several persons whose Names and Addresses are subscribed, are desirous of being formed into a Company, in pursuance of this Memorandum of Association, and we respectively agree to take the number of Shares in the Capital of the Company set opposite our respective names. 15

<i>Names, Addresses, and Descriptions of Subscribers.</i>	<i>No. of Shares taken by each Subscriber.</i>	<i>20</i>
Friedrich Lessner, 4 Francis St., Tottenham Ct Road, Middlesex, Tailor	Two	
William Randall Cremer, 31 Gt Titchfield St, Portman Square, Middlesex, Joiner	One	
Edwin Coulson, 25 Hatfield Street, Southwark in the County of Surrey, Bricklayer	Two	25
Robert Applegarth, Joiner, 11 Cleaver St, Kennington Cross, Surrey	Two	

Memorandum of the Industrial Newspaper Company (Limited)

- J. George Eccarius, 1 Portland Place, Westmoreland Road,
Walworth, Surrey, Tailor One
- William John Morgan, 27 Upper Ogle St, Foley St, Maryle-
bone, Middlesex, shoemaker Two
- 5 Karl Marx, 1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill,
Middlesex, Dr. Phil. Five
- Hermann F. Jung, 4 Charles Street, Northampton Square,
City of London, watchmaker four
- Thos Grant Facey, 2 Carteret St, Westminster, Middlesex,
10 Painter one
- William Stainsby, 13 Little Titchfield St, Marylebone,
Middlesex, Tailor Two
- John Weston, 80 White Cross St, City of London, Handrail
Manufacturer one I
- 15 I Dated the 23rd day of September
Witness to the above Signatures
Edwin Shelley Mantz, Literary Writer, Rose Cottage, 60, Downham Road, Kings-
land in the County of Middlesex
(State on the back of this Memorandum of Association whether it is registered
20 with or without Articles of Association.)
The Articles (if any) must be signed by the Subscribers to the Memorandum,
and must be printed.
The Memorandum and Articles must bear the same stamps respectively as if
they were Deeds. |

Articles of the
Industrial Newspaper Company (Limited)

[5] Limited Company.

**Articles of Association of the Industrial
Newspaper Company (Limited).**

It is agreed as follows:

Shares. 5

1.—The nominal capital of the Company shall be one thousand pounds, divided into one thousand shares of one pound each; a deposit of two shillings and sixpence per share shall be paid by each shareholder on application, and two shillings and sixpence per share on the allotment of the share.

2.—If several persons are registered as joint holders of any share, any one of such persons may give effectual receipt for any dividend payable in respect of such share. 10

3.—Every member shall on payment of one shilling or such less sum as the Company in general meeting may prescribe, be entitled to a certificate under the common seal of the Company, specifying the share or shares held by him, and the amount paid up thereon. 15

4.—If such certificate is worn out or lost, it may be renewed on payment of one shilling or such less sum as the Company in general meeting may prescribe.

Calls on Shares.

5.—The Directors may from time to time make such calls upon the members in respect of all monies unpaid on their Shares as they think fit, provided that twenty-one days' notice at least is given of each call, and each member shall be liable to pay the amount of calls so made to the persons, and at the times and places appointed by the Directors. 20

6.—A call shall be deemed to have been made at the time when the resolution of the Directors authorising such call was passed. 25

Articles of the Industrial Newspaper Company (Limited)

7.—If the call payable in respect of any share is not paid before or on the day appointed for the payment thereof, the holder for the time being of such shares shall be liable to pay interest for the same at the rate of five pounds ||6| per cent, per annum from the day appointed for the payment thereof to the time of the actual payment.

8.—No call shall be made oftener than once in three months, or for a larger sum than five shillings per share.

9.—The Directors may, if they think fit, receive from any member willing to advance the same, all or any part of the monies due upon the shares held by him beyond the sums actually called for and upon the monies so paid in advance, the Company may pay interest at such rate as the members paying such sum in advance and the Directors may agree upon.

Transfer of Shares.

10.—The instrument of Transfer of any share in the Company shall be executed both by the transferor and transferee, and the transferor shall be deemed to remain a holder of such shares until the name of the transferee is entered in the Register Book in respect thereof.

11.—Shares in the Company shall be transferred in the following form:—

I, A.B., of _____ in consideration of the sum of _____ paid to me by CD., of _____ do hereby transfer to the said CD. the share (or shares) numbered _____ standing in my name in the Books of the *Industrial Newspaper Company, Limited*, to hold unto the said CD., his Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, subject to the several conditions on which I held the same at the time of the execution hereof; and I the said CD. do hereby agree to take the said share (or shares) subject to the same conditions. As witness our hands the _____ day of _____

12.—The Company may decline to register any transfer of shares made by a member who is then indebted to them.

13.—The transfer books shall be closed during the fourteen days immediately preceding the ordinary general meeting in each year.

Transmission of Shares.

14.—The executors or administrators of a deceased member shall be the only persons recognised by the Company as having any title to his share.

15.—Any person becoming entitled to a share in consequence of the death, bankruptcy, or insolvency of any member, or in consequence of the marriage of any female member, may be registered as a member upon such evidence being produced as may from time to time be required by the company.

16.—Any person who has become entitled to a share in consequence of the

Articles of the Industrial Newspaper Company (Limited)

death, bankruptcy, or insolvency of any member, or in consequence of the marriage of any female member, may, instead of being registered himself, elect to have some other person to be named by him registered as a transferee of such share.

17.—The person so becoming entitled shall testify such election by executing to his nominee an instrument of transfer of such share. |

[7] 18.—The instrument of transfer shall be presented to the Company accompanied with such evidence as the Directors may require to prove the title of the transferor, and thereupon the Company shall register the transferee as a member.

Forfeiture of Shares.

19.—If any member fails to pay any call on the day appointed for payment thereof, the directors may, at any time thereafter, during such time as the call remains unpaid, serve a notice on him requiring him to pay such call, together with interest, and any expenses that may have accrued by reason of such nonpayment.

20.—The notice shall name a further day on or before which such call and all interest and expenses that may have accrued by reason of such nonpayment are to be paid. It shall also name the place where payment is to be made (the place so named being either the registered office of the Company or some other place at which the calls of the Company are usually made payable). The notice shall also state, that in the event of non-payment at or before the time, and at the place appointed, the shares in respect of which such call was made, will be liable to be forfeited.

21.—If the requisitions of any such notice as aforesaid are not complied with, any share in respect of which such notice has been given may at any time thereafter, before payment of all calls, interest, and expenses due in respect thereof has been made, be forfeited by a resolution of the Directors to that effect.

22.—Any share so forfeited shall be deemed to be the property of the Company, and may be disposed of in such manner as the Company in general meeting thinks fit.

23.—Any member whose shares have been forfeited, shall, notwithstanding be liable to pay to the Company all calls owing upon such shares at the time of forfeiture.

24.—A statutory declaration in writing, that the call in respect of a share was made, and notice thereof given, and that default in payment of the call was made, and that the forfeiture of that share was made by a resolution of the Directors to that effect, shall be sufficient evidence of the facts therein stated, as against all persons entitled to such share, and such declaration, and the receipt of the Company for the price of such share, shall constitute a good title to such share, and a certificate of proprietorship shall be delivered to a purchaser, and thereupon he shall be deemed the holder of such share, discharged from all calls due prior to such purchase, and he shall not be bound to see to the application of the purchase money, nor shall his title to such share be affected by any irregularity in the proceedings in reference to such sale.

Articles of the Industrial Newspaper Company (Limited)

Increase in Capital.

25.—The Directors may, with the sanction of a special resolution of the Company previously given in general meeting, increase its capital by the issue of New Shares, such aggregate increase to be of such amount, and to be divided into shares
5 of such respective amounts as the Company in general meeting directs, or if no direction is given, as the Directors think expedient.

26.—Subject to any direction to the contrary that may be given by the meeting that sanctions the increase of capital, all new shares shall be ||8| offered to the members in proportion to the existing shares held by them, and such offer shall be made
10 by notice specifying the number of shares to which the member is entitled, and limiting a time within which the offer, if not accepted will be deemed to be declined; and after the expiration of such time, or on the receipt of an intimation from the member to whom such notice is given, that he declines to accept the shares offered, the Directors may dispose of the same in such manner as they think most beneficial
15 to the Company.

27.—Any capital raised by the creation of new shares shall be considered as part of the original capital, and shall be subject to the same provisions with reference to the payment of calls and the forfeiture of shares, on nonpayment of calls or otherwise, as if it had been part of the original capital.

20 General Meetings.

28.—The first general meeting shall be held at such time, not being more than twelve months after the registration, and at such place as the directors may determine.

29.—Subsequent general meetings shall be held at such time and place as may
25 be prescribed by the Company in general meeting; and if no other time or place is prescribed, a general meeting shall be held on the first Monday in February in every year, at such place as may be determined by the Directors.

30.—The above-mentioned general meetings shall be called ordinary meetings, all other general meetings shall be called extraordinary.

31.—The Directors may, whenever they think fit, and they shall, upon a requisition made in writing by not less than one-fifth in number of the members of the Company, convene an extraordinary general meeting.

32.—Any requisition made by the members shall express the object of the meeting proposed to be called, and shall be left at the registered office of the Company.

33.—Upon receipt of such requisition, the Directors shall forthwith proceed to convene an extraordinary general meeting. If they do not proceed to convene the same within twenty-one days from the date of the requisition, the requisitionists, or any other members, amounting to the required number, may themselves convene an extraordinary general meeting.

Articles of the Industrial Newspaper Company (Limited)

Proceedings at General Meetings.

34.—Seven days' notice at the least, specifying the place, the day, and the hour of meeting, and in case of special business, the general nature of such business shall be given to the members. But the non-receipt of such notice by any member shall not invalidate the proceedings at any general meeting. 5

35.—All business shall be deemed special that is transacted at an extraordinary meeting; and all that is transacted at an ordinary meeting, with the exception of sanctioning a dividend, and the consideration of the accounts, balance sheets, and the ordinary report of the directors. |

[9] 36.—No business shall be transacted at any general meeting except the declaration of a dividend unless a quorum of members is present at the time when the meeting proceeds to business. 10

37.—The chairman (if any) of the Board of Directors shall preside as chairman at every general meeting of the Company, but, if not, the members present may choose some one of their number to be chairman. 15

38.—The chairman may, with the consent of the meeting, adjourn any meeting from time to time, and from place to place; but no business shall be transacted at any adjourned meeting, other than the business left unfinished at the meeting from which the adjournment took place.

39.—At any general meeting, unless a poll is demanded by at least five members, a declaration by the chairman that a resolution has been carried, and an entry to that effect in the book of proceedings of the Company shall be sufficient evidence of the fact without proof of the number or of the proportion of the votes recorded in favor, or against such resolution. 20

40.—If a poll is demanded by five or more members, it shall be taken in such manner as the chairman directs; and the result of such poll shall be deemed to be the resolution of the company in general meeting. In case of an equality of votes at any general meeting, the chairman shall be entitled to a second or casting vote. 25

Votes of Members.

41.—Every member shall be entitled to one vote and no more. 30

42.—If any member is a lunatic or idiot, he may vote by his committee, *Curator Bonis*, or other legal curator.

43.— If one or more persons are jointly entitled to a share or shares, the member whose name stands first in the register of members as one of the holders of such share or shares, and no other, shall be entitled to vote in respect of the same. 35

44.—No member shall be entitled to vote at any general meeting unless all calls due from him have been paid; and no member shall be entitled to vote in respect of any share that he has acquired by transfer, at any meeting held after the expiration of three months from the registration of the Company, unless he has been possessed of the share in respect of which he claims to vote for at least three months previous to the time of holding the meeting at which he proposes to vote. 40

Articles of the Industrial Newspaper Company (Limited)

45.—Votes may be given either personally or by proxy.

46.—The instrument appointing a proxy shall be in writing, under the hand of the appointor, or if such appointor is a corporation, under their common seal; and it shall be attested by one or more witness or witnesses. No person shall be appointed a proxy who is not a member of the Company.

47.—The instrument appointing a proxy shall be deposited at the registered office of the Company, not less than seventy-two hours before the time for holding the meeting at which the person named in such instrument propose to vote; but no instrument appointing a proxy shall be valid after the expiration of twelve months from the date of its execution. |

48.—Any instrument appointing a proxy shall be in the following form:

Industrial Newspaper Company, Limited.

I, _____ in the County of _____ being a member of the *Industrial Newspaper Company, Limited*, and entitled to a vote, hereby appoint _____ of _____ as my proxy, to vote for me and on my behalf, at the (ordinary or extraordinary, as the case may be) general meeting of the Company, to be held on the _____ day of _____ and at any adjournment thereof; (or at any meeting of the Company that may be held in the year _____). As witness my hand this _____ day of _____ Signed by the said _____ in the presence of _____

Directors.

49.—The number of the directors and the names of the first directors shall be determined by the subscribers to the memorandum of Association.

50.—Until directors are appointed the subscribers of the memorandum of association shall be deemed to be directors.

51.—Every shareholder shall be eligible to act as a director, provided he shall have paid all calls due upon his shares.

52.—The future remuneration of the directors and their remuneration for services performed previously to the first general meeting shall be determined by the company in general meeting.

Powers of Directors.

53.—The business of the Company shall be managed by the Directors, who may pay all expenses incurred in getting up and registering the Company, and may exercise all such powers of the Company, as are not by the Act 26th, 25th of Vict., Cap. 89, or by these articles, required to be exercised by the Company in general meeting; subject, nevertheless, to any regulations of these articles, to the provisions

Articles of the Industrial Newspaper Company (Limited)

of the said act, and to such regulations, being not inconsistent with the aforesaid regulations or provisions as may be prescribed by the Company in general meeting; but no regulation made by the Company in general meeting shall invalidate any prior act of the Directors, which would have been valid if such regulation had not been made. They shall have the sole power of giving orders involving any extra outlay, but for conducting the ordinary business of the Company, they shall appoint a Secretary or Manager at such salary as they may deem just; they shall also appoint the Editor and Sub-Editor, if requisite, and pay them such sums as may be agreed on. 5

54.—The continuing directors may act, notwithstanding any vacancy in their body. 10

Disqualification of Directors.

55.—The office of Director shall be vacated: |
|11| If he shall cease to be a shareholder;
If he becomes bankrupt or insolvent; 15
If he is concerned or participates in the profits of any contract with the Company.

But the above rules shall be subject to the following exceptions: That no Director shall vacate his office by reason of his being a member of any Company which has entered into contracts with, or done any work for, the company of which he is a Director: nevertheless he shall not vote in respect of such contract or work; and if he does so vote, his vote shall not be counted. 20

Rotation of Directors.

56.—At the first ordinary meeting after the registration of the Company, the whole of the Directors shall retire from office; and at the first ordinary meeting in every subsequent year, one-third of the Directors for the time being, or if their number is not a multiple of three, then the number nearest to one-third shall retire from office. 25

57.—The one-third or other nearest number to retire during the first and second years ensuing the first ordinary meeting of the Company shall, unless the Directors agree among themselves, be determined by ballot. In every subsequent year, the one-third, or other nearest number who have been longest in office, shall retire. 30

58.—A retiring Director shall be re-eligible.

59. —The company at the general meeting at which any Directors retire in manner aforesaid, shall fill up the vacated offices by electing a like number of persons. 35

60.—If at any meeting at which an election of directors ought to take place the places of the vacating Directors are not filled up, the meeting shall stand adjourned till the same day in the next week, at the same time and place; and if at such adjourned meeting the places of the vacating Directors are not filled up, the vacating

Articles of the Industrial Newspaper Company (Limited)

Directors, or such, of them as have not had their places filled up, shall continue in office until the ordinary meeting in the next year; and so on from time to time, until their places are filled up.

5 61.—The Company may, from time to time, in general meeting, increase or reduce the number of Directors, and may also determine in what rotation such increased or reduced number is to go out of office.

62.—Any casual vacancy occurring in the Board of Directors may be filled up by the Directors; but any person so chosen shall retain his office so long only as the vacating Director would have retained the same if no vacancy had occurred.

10 63.—The Company in general meeting may, by a special resolution, remove any Director before the expiration of his period of office, and may, by an ordinary resolution, appoint another person in his stead. The person so appointed shall hold office during such time only, as the Director in whose place he is appointed would have held the same, if he had not been removed. |

15 [12] Proceedings of Directors.

64.—The Directors may meet together for the dispatch of business, adjourn, and otherwise regulate their meetings as they think fit, and determine the quorum necessary for the transaction of business. Questions arising at any meeting shall be decided by a majority of votes. In case of an equality of votes, the chairman shall have
20 a second or casting vote. A Director may at any time summon a meeting of Directors.

65.—The Directors may elect a Chairman of their meetings, and determine the time for which he is to hold office; but if no such Chairman is elected, or if at any meeting the Chairman is not present at the time appointed for holding the same,
25 the Directors present shall choose some one of their number to be Chairman of such meeting.

66.—The Directors may delegate any of their powers to committees, consisting of such member or members of their body as they think fit: any committee so formed shall, in the exercise of the powers so delegated, conform to any regulations that
30 may be imposed on them by the Directors.

67.—A committee may elect a chairman of their meetings: if no such chairman is elected, or if he is not present at the time appointed for holding the same, the members present shall choose one of their number to be chairman of such meeting.

68.—A committee may meet and adjourn as they think proper: questions arising
35 at any meeting shall be determined by a majority of the votes of the members present; and in case of an equality of votes, the chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

69.—All acts done by any meeting of the Directors, or of a committee of Directors, or by any person acting as a Director, shall, notwithstanding that it be afterwards discovered that there was some defect in the appointment of any such Directors or persons acting as aforesaid, or that they or any of them were disqualified, be as valid as if such person had been duly appointed, and was qualified to be a Director.

Articles of the Industrial Newspaper Company (Limited)

Dividends.

70.—The Directors may with the sanction of the Company in general meeting, declare a dividend to be paid to the members in proportion to their shares.

71.—The Directors may, before recommending any dividend, set aside out of the profits of the Company, such sum as they think proper as a reserve fund, to meet contingencies or for equalising the dividends, or for the repairing or maintaining the offices connected with the business of the Company, or any part thereof; and the Directors may invest the sum so set apart, as a reserve fund, upon such securities as they may select. | 5

1131 72.—The Directors may deduct from the dividends payable to any member, all such sums of money as may be due from him to the Company, on account of calls or otherwise. 10

73.—Notice of any dividend that may have been declared shall be given to each member, in manner herein-after mentioned; and all dividends unclaimed for three years after having been declared, may be forfeited by the Directors for the benefit of the Company. 15

74.—No dividend shall bear interest as against the Company.

Accounts.

75.—The Directors shall cause true accounts to be kept—of the stock in trade of the Company; of the sums of money received and expended by the Company, and the matter in respect of which such receipt and expenditure takes place; and, of all credits and liabilities of the Company: the books of account shall be kept at the Registered Office of the Company, and, subject to any reasonable restrictions as to the time and manner of inspecting the same that may be imposed by the Company in general meeting, shall be open to the inspection of the members during the hours of business. 20 25

76.—Once at least in every year, the Directors shall lay before the Company in general meeting a statement of the income and expenditure for the past year, made up to a date not more than three months before such meeting.

77.—The statement so made shall show, arranged under the most convenient heads, the amount of gross income, distinguishing the several sources from which it had been derived, and the amount of gross expenditure, distinguishing the expense of the office, salaries, and other like matters: every item of expenditure fairly chargeable against the year's income shall be brought into the account, so that a just balance of profit and loss may be laid before the meeting; and in cases where any item of expenditure which may in fairness be distributed over several years has been incurred in any one year, the whole amount of such item shall be stated, with the addition of the reasons why only a portion of such expenditure is charged against the income of the year. 30 35

78.—A balance sheet shall be made out in every year, and laid before the Com- 40

Articles of the Industrial Newspaper Company (Limited)

pany in general meeting, and such balance sheet shall contain a summary of the property and liabilities of the Company, arranged under the heads appearing in the form annexed to this table, or as near thereto as circumstances admit.

79.—A printed copy of such balance sheet shall, seven days previously to such
5 meeting, be served on every member in the manner in which notices are herein-after directed to be served.

Audit.

80.—Once at the least in every year the accounts of the Company shall be examined, and the correctness of the balance sheet ascertained by two or more auditors. I
10

1141 81.—The first auditors shall be appointed by the directors: subsequent auditors shall be appointed by the company in general meeting.

82.—The auditors may be members of the Company; but no person shall be eligible as an auditor, who is interested otherwise than as a member, in any transaction
15 of the Company; and no Director or other officer of the Company shall be eligible during his continuance in office.

83.—The election of auditors shall be made by the Company at their ordinary meeting in each year.

84.—The remuneration of the first auditors shall be fixed by the Directors; that
20 of subsequent auditors shall be fixed by the Company in general meeting.

85.—Every auditor shall be supplied with a copy of the balance sheet, and it shall be his duty to examine the same, with the accounts and vouchers relating thereto.

86.—The auditors shall make a report to the members upon the balance sheet and accounts, and in every such report, they shall state whether, in their opinion,
25 the balance sheet is a full and fair balance sheet containing the particulars required by these regulations, and properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs, and in case they have called for explanations or information from the Directors, whether such explanations or information have been given by the Directors, and whether they have been satisfactory; and such report
30 shall be read, together with the report of the Directors, at the ordinary meeting.

Notices.

87.—A notice may be served by the Company upon any member, either personally or by sending it through the post in a prepaid letter, addressed to such member at his registered place of abode.

35 88.—All notices directed to be given to the members shall, with respect to any share to which persons are jointly entitled, be given to whichever of such persons is named first in the register of members; and notice so given shall be sufficient notice to all the holders of such share.

89.—Any notice, if served by post, shall be deemed to have been served at the

Articles of the Industrial Newspaper Company (Limited)

time when the letter containing the same would be delivered in the ordinary course of the post; and in proving such service, it shall be sufficient to prove that the letter containing the notices was properly addressed and put into the post office. |

\15\ Names, Addresses, and Descriptions of Subscribers.

Friedrich Lessner, 4 Francis St., Tottenham Ct Rd, Middlesex, Tailor
William Randall Cremer, 31 Gt Titchfield St, Portman Square, Middlesex, Joiner
Edwin Coulson, 25 Hatfield Street, Southwark, Surrey, Bricklayer
Robert Applegarth, 11 Cleaver Street, Kennington Cross, Surrey, Joiner
John George Eccarius, 1, Portland Place, Westmoreland Road, Walworth, Surrey,
Tailor
William John Morgan, 27 Ogle St, Foley St, Marylebone, in the County of Middle-
sex, shoemaker
Karl Marx, 1, Modena Villas, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, Middlesex, Dr. Phil.
Hermann F.Jung, watchmaker, 4 Charles Street, Northampton Square, Clerken-
well, City of London
Thos Grant Facey, Painter, 2 Carteret St., Westminster, Middlesex
William Stainsby, Tailor, 13 Little Titchfield St, Marylebone, Middlesex
John Weston, 80 Whitecross St, City of London, Handrail Manufacturer
Witness to the above Signatures
Edwin Shelley Mantz, Rose Cottage, 60, Downham Road, Kingsland, Middlesex,
literary writer |


T 12 8 T 20

INTERN^l WORKING MENS ASSOCI^o **N^o 5431** ASSOCIATION INTERN^l DES OUVRIERS
 INTERN^l ARBEITER ASSOCI^o ASSOCI^o INTERN^l D'OPERA^l.

MEMBERS ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION CARD.

Friedrich Engels was admitted a Member on
 the First day of January 1865 and paid as his Annual Subscription
£

Geo Odger President of Central Council
G. W. Wheeler Honorary Treasurer
E. Dupont Corresponding Secretary for France
Karl Marx Germany
Emile Proudhon Italy
H. Jung Poland
W. Br. Bremer Switzerland
 Honorary General Secretary



(3287)

Member's Annual Subscription Card
 of the International Working Men's Association for 1866

Member's Annual Subscription Card
of the International Working Men's Association for 1866

Na_____

International Working Men's Association
Association Internationale des Ouvriers
Internationale Arbeiter Association
5 Associazione Internazionale d'Operai.

Member's Annual Subscription Card.

_____ was admitted a Member on
the First day of January 186_____ and paid as his Annual Subscription

£ _____

10	Geo Odger	President of Central Council.
	G. W. Wheeler	Honorary Treasurer.
	E. Dupont	Corresponding Secretary for France,
	Karl Marx	do. do. Germany,
		do. do. Italy,
15	Emile Holtorp	do. do. Poland,
	Hn Jung	do. do. Switzerland.
	W. R. Cremer	Honorary General Secretary.

Zirkular der Manchester Schiller-Anstalt
vom 19. März 1866

|1| Manchester Schiller-Anstalt,
Carlton Buildings, Cooper Street, 19 März, 1866.

Die „Schiller-Anstalt“, deren nunmehr sechsjähriges Bestehen den vollen Beweis liefert, daß sie ein Institut ist, welches reellen Bedürfnissen entspricht, muß ihre jetzigen Räumlichkeiten mit Juni nächsten Jahres verlassen, da um jene Zeit der mit dem Hausbesitzer bestehende Miethvertrag verfällt und eine Verlängerung desselben mit Bestimmtheit verweigert worden. 5

Das Directorium hat folglich die Aufgabe zu lösen, der Anstalt die Räume zu sichern, die ihren Zwecken entsprechen.

Nachdem alle Schritte zur Auffindung eines passenden Gebäudes gescheitert waren, und auch kein Unternehmer sich finden ließ, der ein solches herstellen wollte um es der Anstalt in Miethe zu überlassen blieb uns kein anderer Weg offen, als der - zu versuchen ob die nothwendigen Mittel sich aufbringen ließen um den Bau für eigene Rechnung zu unternehmen. 10

Die wesentlichen Punkte, die wir hierbei im Auge behalten mußten, sind folgende: 15

Die Anstalt muß in einem centralen Theile der Stadt gelegen sein.

Sie muß den Besuchern schon im Erdgeschosse zugänglich sein.

Die einzelnen Räume müssen wenigstens den jetzigen an Größe gleichkommen. 20

Die Erfüllung dieser Bedingungen erschien uns unumgänglich, wenn die Anstalt gedeihlich fortbestehen soll. Außerdem aber erschien es wünschenswerth, den verschiedenen in Manchester bestehenden Vereinen Gelegenheit zu bieten, in dem beabsichtigten Neubau ein gemeinsames Unterkommen zu finden. Dieser Zweck würde erreicht werden, wenn der oberste Stock zu einem Saal für 250 bis 300 Personen verwandelt würde. Ein solcher Saal würde die Kosten des Baues nur unbedeutend erhöhen während er durch Vermietung die Einnahmen der Anstalt vermehren dürfte. 25

Wir haben demgemäß unsere Bemühungen dahin gerichtet, ein passendes Grundstück zu finden und die Kosten des ganzen Unternehmens zu ermitteln. 30

Zirkular der Manchester Schiller-Anstalt vom 19. März 1866

Folgendes ist das Resultat, zu welchem wir gelangten:

	Kosten eines Grundstückes von etwa 350 à 400 • yards Baufläche	£6000 à £7000
	Kosten des Baues	3 500 à 4000
5	Ergänzung des Mobiliars	500 à 500
	Zusammen	£10000 à £11500

Wir glauben mit Zuversicht annehmen zu dürfen daß sich auf solchen Grund und Hausbesitz eine hypothekarische Anleihe von £5000 à £6000 wird erlangen lassen und schöpfen aus dem vergangenen finanziellen Gebahren der Anstalt, mit Berücksichtigung der voraussichtlichen Mehr-Einnahmen und Ausgaben die volle Überzeugung, daß die Zinsen auf eine solche Anleihe bestimmt aufgebracht würden.

Es ergibt sich demnach, daß wir zur Verwirklichung unseres Planes eines eigenen Capitals bedürfen würden von £5000 à £5500.

15 Obleich die Schiller-Anstalt Mitgliedern aller Nationen offen steht und Nicht-Deutsche mehrfach an ihr Theil nehmen, ist sie doch ein wesentlich deutsches Institut. I

|2| Nach ihrem jetzigen Bestände zählt sie über 300 Mitglieder und bietet denselben

20 eine Bibliothek, jetzt aus mehr als 4000 Bänden bestehend,
ein Lesezimmer in welchem 55 meist deutsche Zeitschriften ausliegen,
Vorträge wissenschaftlicher und literarischer Art, namentlich in den Special-Vereinen die sich zu diesem Behufe innerhalb der Anstalt gebildet haben.

25 Sie trägt also nach Vermögen das Ihrige bei, um deutsche Geistes-Cultur zu fördern, und bietet ferner in ihren Räumen Gelegenheit zu geselligem Verkehr, der namentlich jenen Jüngern Ankömmlingen aus dem Vaterlande zu Gute kommt, die sonstiger Anhaltepunkte hierorts entbehren.

30 Wir sind der festen Überzeugung daß die Anstalt diesen ihren Zwecken in der Zukunft noch in erhöhterem Maße wird entsprechen können, wenn die Durchführung unseres Planes eine Verbesserung in räumlicher Beziehung gestattet, da letztere eine solche in finanzieller Hinsicht mit herbeiführen muß.

Aus dem Gesagten geht hervor, daß wir hauptsächlich an die in Manchester wohnenden Deutschen zu appelliren haben; wir fragen sie ob sie zur Erreichung der angedeuteten Zwecke die nöthigen Mittel beschaffen wollen.

35 Um die Anstalt nicht von vorn herein mit unerschwinglichen Zinsen zu belasten, beschloß das Directorium den Versuch zu machen, die erwähnte Summe auf dem Wege der Schenkung zusammen zu bringen, um jedoch dafür zu sorgen, daß das zu errichtende Gebäude nur für die Zwecke der Anstalt verwandt werden könne, wurde gleichzeitig beschlossen, daß im Falle eines Aufhörens der Schiller-Anstalt die Schenker für den Betrag ihrer Schenkungen als Gläubiger der Anstalt eintreten

40 und wird dieß in den Empfangsbescheinigungen außdrücklich anerkannt werden.

Sobald die Absicht kund geworden, für die Anstalt ein eigenes Gebäude herzustellen, und somit ihr Bestehen zu sichern, wurde unter den Mitgliedern solch rege

Zirkular der Manchester Schiller-Anstalt vom 19. März 1866

Theilnahme dafür wach, daß in wenigen Tagen eine Summe von nahe an £1200 - in Beträgen von £25 - und darunter dem Directorium zur Verfügung gestellt wurde.

Diese gewiß bedeutende Summe ist wesentlich das Ergebniß opferfreudiger Anstrengungen seitens der Jüngern hier weilenden Deutschen, die zugleich auch dieje- 5 nigen repräsentiren welche directen Nutzen aus der Anstalt ziehen.

Gestützt auf dieses Resultat, welches den Beweis liefert, daß die Anstalt bereits jetzt ein Bedürfniß für eine bedeutende Zahl von hiesigen Deutschen geworden ist, wenden wir uns nun an diejenigen welche ein, wenn auch entfernteres Interesse an einem Institute nehmen, das solche Ziele erstrebt, und das, wenn es erst einmal fest 10 begründet dasteht, ein Centraipunkt aller deutschen Bestrebungen in Manchester zu werden bestimmt scheint.

Wir wenden uns an Sie mit der Bitte durch Beibringung der Mittel die Ausführung unserer Absichten zu ermöglichen.

Das Directorium vertraut, daß zu diesem gemeinnützigen Ziele alle deutschen 15 Kräfte Manchesters mitwirken werden. Bloß dadurch kann es hoffen, das Werk ins Leben treten zu sehen, und darum glaubt es sich berechtigt, dasselbe mit aller Wärme zu empfehlen.

IM AUFTRAGE DES DIRECTORIUMS:

F. Engels, Vorsitzender. 20
/ G. Wehmer, Schatzmeister.
A. Burkhard, Schriftführer. |

Circular of the Manchester Schiller Anstalt

February 8, 1867

I Manchester, 8th February, 1867.

Sir,

The Shareholders of the "Manchester Subscription Library" having passed a resolution that their Company is to be dissolved, the stock of books has been advertised
5 for sale. At the same time there appears to be a desire, on the part of many of the shareholders, to prevent the dispersion of their old-established and valuable library.

The Directors of the "Manchester Schiller Anstalt" have expressed the wish to obtain the books, with the object of adding them to their own library, comprising about 6,000 volumes of mostly new books, carefully selected, in all branches of
10 (chiefly foreign) literature. If this plan can be realised, not only will the dispersion of the Manchester Subscription Library be prevented, but, by the amalgamation of the two, a new and even more valuable one will be formed, for the benefit of the Schiller Anstalt and of the public generally. In order to attain this object, the Committee of the Manchester Subscription Library, at the request of the Directors of
15 the Schiller Anstalt, have offered their library to the latter institution for the sum of £1,250, which offer is to remain valid until the 18th instant. Whilst a Sub-committee of the Directors of the Schiller Anstalt are endeavouring to raise whatever they can towards that sum, this appeal is made to the Shareholders of the Manchester Subscription Library with a view of obtaining their co-operation.

20 The Rules of the Manchester Schiller Anstalt, of which you will find enclosed a copy, in translation, will show you that the admission to the institution, and, consequently, the use of the library, are only subject to the payment of a yearly subscription of 30s. Considering the additional advantages offered, the increase of 5s. in the yearly subscription, will not prevent Shareholders of the Subscription Library from
25 becoming Members of the Schiller Anstalt. This institution (established 1859) occupies at present part of Carlton Buildings, Cooper-street (formerly Mechanics' Institution), but there is every prospect of its being soon transferred to larger and more convenient premises. About £3,000 has already been subscribed towards a fund for the erection of a suitable building, and naturally due consideration will
30 then be given to the requirements of the increased library.

The feeling expressed by many of the Shareholders justifies the encouraging expectation that the only value they attach to their shares consists in the title it gives them to the use of their library, and it is, therefore, confidently expected that, on this advantage being secured to them, they will consent to) sacrifice the money value
35 of their shares, thus preserving their library in an efficient state, and transfer-

Circular of the Manchester Schiller Anstalt February 8, 1867

ring it to a public institution, where it would be accessible to others as well as to themselves.

The undersigned gentlemen, among whom you will find members of the Committee and Shareholders of the Manchester Subscription Library, as well as Directors and Members of the Manchester Schiller Anstalt, are desirous to further the realisation of the plan proposed. They trust you will join them in their endeavours, which, from the subscriptions already obtained, and from the promises of shares by the Proprietors of the Manchester Subscription Library already received, they feel confident will prove successful.

If, as they hope, this proposal meets with your approval, you will please affix your signature to the annexed form, by which you will present your share to the Manchester Schiller Anstalt. 10

As it is necessary to arrive at a final decision without delay, we beg you to favour us with your reply at your earliest convenience (if possible by the 12th instant), thereby enabling us to calculate what support we may receive at the hands of the Shareholders of the Subscription Library. 15

<i>S. H. Braybrooke.</i> 29 Princess St.	<i>G. Prusmann.</i>	
<i>Samuel Cottam.</i> 2 Essex St.	<i>Emil Reiss.</i>	
<i>Dr. J. Crompton.</i>	<i>J. E. Reiss.</i> 104 Cross St.	
<i>F. Engels.</i>	<i>Dr. Samelson.</i> St. John St.	20
<i>Oliver Heywood.</i> Bank	<i>Henry Samson.</i>	
<i>B. St. J. B. Joule.</i>	<i>Joseph Shorrock.</i> 79 Fountain St.	
<i>H. J. Leppoc.</i> Peters Square	<i>Chas. Souchay.</i>	
<i>Ed. Nathan.</i> Oxford Rd	<i>Thos. Sowler.</i>	
<i>Paul Nathan.</i> 47 Lloyd St.	<i>S. J. Stern.</i> 12 Sackville St.—1 Up.	25
<i>R. Nicholson.</i> 62 Fountain St.	<i>G. Wehner.</i> Orange St./Portland St.	
<i>S. Nördlinger.</i> \		

Zirkular der Manchester Schiller-Anstalt

vom 28. Juni 1867

**[1] An die Herren Unterzeichner zum Fond für den Bau
einer neuen Schiller-Anstalt.**

Seit die im vorigen Jahre vom Directorium zu obigem Zweck eröffnete Subscription durch den Krieg und die Geschäftskrise ins Stocken gerieth, nachdem £2875-
5 gezeichnet waren, haben sich die Existenz-Bedingungen der Anstalt mit Rücksicht auf den beabsichtigten Neubau wesentlich geändert. Das Directorium hält es demnach für seine Pflicht, den Herren Unterzeichnern hierüber die erforderlichen Aufklärungen zu geben.

Da die gezeichnete Summe für den im Circular vom 19. März 1866, dargelegten
10 Bauplan nicht hinreichte (es waren im Ganzen £5000 à £5500 erforderlich), auch unter den damaligen Umständen keine Aussicht vorhanden war, das Fehlende rechtzeitig zusammen zu bringen, so blieb dem Directorium nichts übrig als sich vorläufig nach einem provisorischen Local umzusehen.

Es stellte sich heraus, daß ein solches im Centrum der Stadt, - wo es nach den
15 Grundbestimmungen der Anstalt liegen soll - nicht aufzufinden war. In Folge davon war das Directorium genöthigt das jetzige Local noch bis Juni 1868, beizubehalten, was aber nur gegen Verdopplung des Miethbetrags - von £225- auf £450- zu erlangen war.

Unter diesen Umständen war die Frage nicht länger abzuweisen, ob es denn
20 wirklich unumgänglich sei, daß die Anstalt im Centrum, d. h. im eigentlichen Geschäftsbezirke der Stadt, liege; ob nicht bei den enorm gestiegenen Bodenpreisen und Miethbeträgen dieser Vortheil zu theuer bezahlt werden müsse; und ob nicht eine, dem Buchstaben nach weniger centrale Lage, z.B. in der Nähe von All Saints' Church, bei weit geringeren Kosten in der That für die weit überwiegende Mehrzahl
25 der die Anstalt benutzenden Mitglieder viel centraler und bequemer sei.

Nach dem im vorigen Jahre entworfenen Plan würde die Anstalt, selbst wenn
£5000- durch Schenkungen zusammengebracht wären, noch mit einer Hypothekarschuld von £5-6000- also mit einer jährlichen Zinsenlast von £250 à £300- beschwert sein. Da Grundstücke im Centrum der Stadt aber selbst seit vorigen März
30 im Werth bedeutend gestiegen sind, so würde der damals angeschlagene Kaufpreis, die zu seiner Bestreitung nöthige Hypothekar-Anleihe, und damit die Jahresbelastung der Anstalt, ebenfalls jetzt höher anzunehmen sein. Die Bilanzen der Anstalt

Zirkular der Manchester Schiller-Anstalt vom 28. Juni 1867

in den beiden letzten Jahren, lassen nur £200- übrig für Hausmiete. Obwohl in einem besseren Local auf mehr Mitglieder zu rechnen wäre, auch gewisse Nebeneinnahmen in Anschlag gebracht werden müssen, so zeigt sich doch, daß die obigen Zinsen nur eben zu erschwingen sein würden. Jedes Pfund aber, welches für Hausmiete bezahlt wird, *wird den geistigen Bildungsmitteln der Anstalt entzogen*. Wir konnten im vorigen Jahre nur £80- für Zeitschriften, und £20- für die Bibliothek verwenden, obwohl die Gesamteinnahmen der Anstalt £500- waren. 5

Ganz anders, wenn das Local nach der Gegend von All Saints verlegt wird. Hier ist unter Anderen ein ganz zweckentsprechendes Grundstück in sehr günstiger Lage, für £1700- zu haben, auf welchem außerdem noch £26- Chief Rent haften. 10 Wir legen diesen Bauplatz, *nur beispielsweise*, unserer Berechnung zu Grunde.

Kaufpreis des Grundstücks	£1700 0 0	
Baukosten	3500 0 0	
Erneuerung des Mobiliars	500 0 0	
Zusammen	£5700 0 0	15

[2] worauf eine Hypothekar-Anleihe von £2000- wohl sicher zu erlangen sein würde. Es würden in diesem Falle also die Unterzeichnungen zum Baufond nur ca. £3500 à £4000- zu betragen haben, also £1000 à £1500- weniger als bei einem Neubau im Centrum der Stadt. Nach dem Erfolg der vorjährigen Zeichnungen und bei den veränderten Umständen dürfen wir wohl hoffen, den noch fehlenden Betrag 20 in kurzer Frist aufzubringen.

Die finanzielle Stellung der Anstalt würde sich - trotz des geringeren Betrags der erforderlichen Schenkungen - wesentlich heben. Außer der Chief Rent £26- würde die Anleihe vom £100- zu verzinsen sein, also die statt Hausmiete in Anrechnung kommende Summe nur £126- betragen, statt £225- die voriges Jahr bezahlt wurden, £450- die wir jetzt zahlen, oder £250 à £300- die der vorjährige Bauplan in Aussicht stellte. Es könnten also, selbst bei den Einkünften des vorigen Geschäftsjahrs, *statt £100-, £174- jährlich auf Bibliothek und Lesezimmer der Anstalt verwandt, die dafür verfügbaren Geldmittel also fast verdoppelt werden*. Nun ist aber sicher, daß durch diesen Neubau, der Anstalt in vermehrter Untermiete und im Zunehmen der Mitgliederzahl, neue Finanzquellen eröffnet würden, deren Ertrag auch fast ausschließlich den geistigen Hilfsmitteln der Anstalt zu Gute käme. 30

Wenn die Anstalt wie bisher im Centrum der Stadt bleibt, so kommt sie selbst bei £5000 à 5500- Schenkungen im besten Fall nur in die Lage, knapp ihre Existenz fristen zu können und wird bei jeder ungünstigen Wendung von Neuem genöthigt sein an das deutsche Publicum Manchesters zu appelliren. 35

Wird sie aber nach einer Gegend verlegt, wo Bauplätze billiger sind, so reichen £3500 à £4000- Schenkungen hin, ihr nicht nur ein für alle Mal eine feste Existenz zu begründen, sondern auch ihr einen jährlichen Ueberschuß an Einnahmen zu sichern, der ihr endlich erlaubt ihren besten Zwecken nach allen Seiten hin zu genügen. 40

Das Directorium konnte unter diesen Umständen nicht zweifelhaft sein was es zu thun hatte. Es entschied sich dafür, die Verlegung nach der Gegend von „All

Saints" und die damit verknüpfte Abänderung der Grundbestimmungen in Angriff zu nehmen. Es berief auf den 6ten Juni eine Generalversammlung, welche zahlreich besucht wurde und mit allen gegen eine Stimme beschloß:

5 „Die Generalversammlung erklärt es für wünschenswerth, daß der Art. I. der Grundbestimmungen fernerhin folgendermaßen laute:

„Es wird für zweckmäßig erklärt hier am Orte ein literarisch-artistisches Institut in *möglichst* centraler Lage, unter dem Namen ‚Schiller Anstalt‘ zu begründen.’ und beauftragt das Directorium die durch Art. 7 der Grundbestimmungen und § 20 der Statuten bedingte Abstimmung vornehmen zu lassen.“

10 In Folge dessen hat das Directorium die nöthigen Schritte gethan um die definitive Abstimmung zu veranlassen, welche Ende August stattfinden wird.

Es ist die Frage aufgeworfen worden, warum man nicht, nach einmal beschlossener Verlegung der Anstalt, sich nach einem Hause umgesehen habe, welches auf eine Reihe von Jahren miethweise und zu einer verhältnißmäßig billigen Miethe
15 gesichert werden könne. Das Directorium antwortet hierauf, daß es sich nach einem solchen umgesehen, aber keines gefunden hat; daß ein solches auch nur in einer vom Centrum der Stadt viel weiter entfernten Lage, als die von „AU Saints“ anzutreffen sein dürfte; daß eine solche Lage indeß erst im äußersten Nothfall zu wählen sein würde, und endlich, daß selbst in diesem Fall mindestens £1500 à
20 £2000 in Schenkungen erforderlich sein würden, um den immer nöthigen Ausbau und die neue Einrichtung eines doch nur zeitweilig sichern Locals herzustellen. Aus diesen Gründen ist von einem solchen Local vor der Hand abgesehen worden. |

[3] Das Directorium, im Falle die nöthige Majorität zur Abänderung der Grundbestimmungen zu Stande kommt, - woran zu zweifeln es keinen Grund hat - beabsichtigt:
25

Falls der hinreichende Betrag gezeichnet wird, ein passendes Grundstück in der Nähe von All Saints anzukaufen, darauf den Bau in der im vorigen Jahre beabsichtigten Ausdehnung auszuführen, nämlich mit Einrichtung im Keller für den Turnverein, und mit einem großen Saal im zweiten Stockwerk, wo u. A. die Liedertafel
30 Unterkommen finden könnte, so daß die ursprüngliche Absicht erreicht würde, alle Deutschen Vereine Manchesters unter Einem Dache zusammenzubringen;

Falls dagegen die Beiträge die nöthige Summe *nicht* erreichen sollten, sich im Neubau entsprechend zu beschränken, jedenfalls aber nur ein solches Gebäude herzustellen, welches den Bedürfnissen der Anstalt besser entspricht als das jetzige
35 Local.

Das Directorium ersucht Sie von vorstehenden Veränderungen des Bauplans Kenntniß nehmen zu wollen und zeigt Ihnen gleichzeitig an, daß eine Deputation aus seiner Mitte die Ehre haben wird Sie um Ihre Genehmigung zu ersuchen.

IM AUFTRAGE DES DIRECTORIUMS:

40 *F. Engels*, Vorsitzender.
. G. Wehner, Schatzmeister.
A. Davisson, Schriftführer.

Manchester, d. 28. Juni 1867. |