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# REPORT

OF THE

## International Trades Union Congress,

Held at PARIS from August 23rd to 28th, 1886.

By ADOLPHE SMITH, Interpreter at the Congress.

Secretaries of Trade Societies will be supplied with copies at the rate of One Penny each.

### INTRODUCTION.

A few words concerning the general condition of the working classes in France is indispensable to the true understanding of the forthcoming report. English workmen, before venturing on any comparison between themselves and their French brethren, must first realise the immense difference in the political and economical condition of the two countries. Economically, England was the first to benefit by the application of steam for the manufacture of goods and for the purposes of transit. We soon almost monopolized the carrying trade of the world; and when in "the forties" it seemed that our prosperity was on the wane, the discovery of rich gold fields in California and Australia gave our commerce a new lease of life. It is only of recent years that continental countries are commencing to overtake us in the start we had obtained.

Politically, our revolution preceded that of France by a hundred and forty years; and whatever may have been the special oppression from which our Trades Unions suffered at the commencement of this century, the freedom of speech and coalition which English workmen have enjoyed, for more than a generation, is unparalleled on the Continent. But, apart from this

inestimable boon, English organizations have not been continually shattered by foreign invasions, nor is the English artisan torn from his trade and his society by the necessity of serving in the ranks of the army. In France, on the contrary, with but very rare exceptions, every able-bodied man must serve his time in the regular army and the reserve. Under such circumstances, organization is particularly difficult. Nor have the French working classes had any opportunity of contracting those orderly and business-like habits which arise from unrestricted exercise of free speech and free association. The law, March 14th, 1873, against any form of International association is still in force; and it was only in 1876 that a small French Congress of workmen was tolerated. In 1878 Mr. George Shipton and some fellow English Trades' Unionists went over to Paris to hold a congress with French workmen. The meeting-room was occupied by police, the English were sent away, and the French workmen seized and thrown into prison. Little by little, however, more tolerance has been shown; English delegates were allowed to address French meetings in 1882; and, in 1883, a Conference of English, Spanish, Italian, and

French representatives was held in Paris. The presence of the English Trades Unionists, and notably of a member of the English Parliament, Mr. H. Broadhurst, rendered it rather difficult for the French police to interfere; and thus a precedent was established, so that this year it was possible to open the doors of the congress to all nations without incurring any very great danger.

If these circumstances are taken into account, together with the peculiar characteristics of the French people, who, under the influence of a generous idea will enthusiastically make the greatest sacrifices, but who are not so capable as the Northern races of steady and dreary continuous effort, it will be easily understood why French Trades Unions are weak in funds and in discipline. It is, therefore, easier to rouse them to action for the realization of some vast political scheme, than to obtain their steady adherence to the petty details of every day business. Thus the French Trades Unions, so far as their existence was allowed by the police, soon came to the conclusion that it was necessary to form a Workman's Party, which should defend solely the cause of labour, and would alike eschew all connection with Conservatives, Liberals or Radicals. The example of the United States of America, where every plank of the Radical platform has been carried, sufficed to show that where the cause of labour, as against capital, is at stake, all middle class political parties are equally to be considered as adversaries.

Acting on this principle, the Workman's Party, composed in the main of Trades Unions, or *Chambres Syndicales Ouvrières*, as they are called in France, descended into the political arena, and commenced by contesting municipal elections. In 1881 they obtained in Paris in all 11,873 votes. A division now arose in the ranks, and a small body, following the lead of M. Guesde, severed their connection from the parent society, whom they called in derision the Possibilists. It naturally followed that the Guesdists were in their turn called the Impossibilists. In 1884 the Possibilists had so far increased their power that they obtained 33,604 votes, while the Guesdists secured only 867 votes. The Blanquists, another faction, polled 3,214 votes. Since then

the latter two bodies have run their candidates in conjunction with the Radicals, so that it is no longer possible to estimate their respective strength. Roughly speaking, the Possibilists command some 40,000 votes in Paris, and therefore hold the balance of power between the two middle class parties, the Radicals and the Opportunists. The Possibilists have secured the return of M. Chabert and M. Joffrin to the Municipal Council; and, by their assistance, obtained many enactments greatly to the advantage of all working classes.

These may briefly be summarized as follows: In all work done for the town, a tariff has been established which serves as a model to private firms, and maintains a higher rate of wages. In many instances contracts for work have been given over direct to the Trades Unions without the intervention of any contractor or middle man, so that whatever the community paid went direct to those who actually did the work.

Educational facilities, elementary and technical, have also much increased, and with regard to the metropolitan railway which is going to be built for Paris, M. Joffrin obtained the enforcement of nine hours as the day's work, after having failed to secure eight hours as the limit. He further introduced a stipulation to the effect that no railway servant should be discharged from his employment without being first judged and convicted by a jury of his shopmates or equals. Unfortunately it would take too long to enumerate all that the Workman's Party has done by its influence on local legislature, both in Paris and in the provinces. So great is this influence that the Paris Municipality was prevailed upon to send £400 to the miners on strike at Decazeville, and many provincial municipalities voted funds to enable workmen to attend at the International Workman's Exhibition and Congress of Paris. Indeed, the exhibition itself is a palpable manifestation of the practical results accruing from the organized action of the French workers. The subscriptions given by the Paris Municipality for this purpose amounted in all to £6,000. Alluding to the visit which the English Trades Union delegates paid to this exhibition, the *London Times*, of August 24th, states:—

They were considerably impressed by the highly artistic merits of some of the exhibits, notably the painting on porcelain, some cabinet-makers' work, and the bronze chasing. Fears were expressed that those workmen who had made new inventions were not sufficiently protected, and that their ideas would probably be stolen. Others argued that the ordinary articles of commerce were not sufficiently exhibited; but to this it was replied that, if the difficult and rare work would be done, there was no doubt but that the commoner products could with still greater facility be shown. This does not follow. The French workmen evidently intend the exhibition to demonstrate that organised trade corporations, with the support of a democratic State or municipality, can supply the wants of the community without the intervention of the ordinary contractor, employer or middleman. For this purpose it would have been better to place before the public objects of every day usefulness, and prove that where the workman was better paid the purchaser would be better and more cheaply served by resorting to the municipal emporium instead of patronising private shops and individual enterprise.

The force of this criticism is duly appreciated by the French workmen, and the same fault will not, we are promised, be found in 1889. The great fact remains that the municipality opened the public purse to the federation of 74 Trades Unions. These societies organised the exhibition, the community providing the raw material and the capital; the workmen did the rest, but they excluded all who having societies in their trade did not belong to them. Co-operative societies who obtained assistance by paying wages were also rejected as traitors to the cause. By the employment of wage-labour such societies converted themselves into mere joint stock companies; and the so-called co-operators became dividend-hunting shareholders. There are twenty co-operative societies in Paris but only two out of them were deemed worthy to participate in the exhibition, the rest having been proved guilty of exploiting labour by paying wages.

In conclusion, it still remains for me to explain the exact constitution of the Workman's Party. Its official title is La Fédération des Travailleurs Socialistes de France. The federation is brought about first by annual congresses held in each of the six districts into which France and Algeria have been divided for this purpose. These districts are called Regions and each has its Regional Committee. Thus Parisian affairs are managed by the committee of the Central Region. Then every year there is a National Congress.

The first was held in 1876 at Paris, in 1878 at Lyons, and afterwards at Marseilles, Havre, St. Etienne, Rennes, Paris. As the central link of union for all this organisation, a National Committee is elected every year. It meets at No. 58, Rue Greneta, where it also issues the official organ of the party, the *Prolétariat*. This newspaper is the collective property of the party and is in no wise a financial speculation. It is the only absolutely independent workman's organ in Paris, but there are similar publications in the provinces.

The Workman's Party consists, in the first instance, of the vast majority of Trades Unions; then of workmen's clubs or societies generally called Cercles d'Etudes Sociales. These latter are purely political societies meeting at regular intervals to discuss politics bearing on the rights of labour. The members belong to all trades and all conditions of life, but the immense majority are workmen; and, one and all, strive for the complete emancipation of labour which, they maintain, can only be brought about when the worker is himself the owner of the means of production and exchange.

The Exhibition, however, and the International Congress, (so as to secure the Municipal Subvention which, of course, would not have been given to a political party) was organised solely by the Trade Union element of the party, federated especially for the purpose of the Exhibition and the Congress. Seventy-four Parisian Trades Unions joined together for this double object, the Exhibition and the Congress, and it was their special Executive Committee that sent out the invitation for the Congress. Had the matter been managed by the National Committee of the whole party, as it was done in 1883, men of far greater experience and ability would have assisted in the work, and the result would doubtless have been more satisfactory. But then the moral approbation or patronage of the Paris Municipal Council would not have been secured and the delegates would have incurred a far greater danger of encountering the police who might have invoked against them the law forbidding the International. In 1889 it is anticipated France will acquire greater liberties. The same precautions will

not be necessary, and therefore the Congress voted that the Workman's Party should organise the International Congress for that year, and we may therefore anticipate a much larger and more successful gathering.

These explanations though incomplete, for volumes could be written on the organisation and development of the French proletariat, will, I trust, facilitate the understanding of the events that are daily occurring in France. It will be easier to appreciate the men and ideas with which the English delegates came in contact and the organisation with which future relations may be established.

ADOLPHE SMITH.

On Sunday morning, August the 22nd, all the English delegates were united together at the Hotel d'Espagne, Cité Bergère, where special arrangement had been made for them. Some had arrived on the Friday, others on Saturday, and the last delegate on Sunday morning. It was then determined to render an official visit to the National Committee of the French Workman's Party, who were then sitting at No. 58, rue Greneta. The English delegation was timed to arrive just when the Committee would have completed its usual business. The exchange of compliments and salutations was very cordial, the English delegates being anxious to recall the good reception they had received in 1883 at the Conference organized by the Committee.

In the afternoon the Trades Unions of Paris were holding a delegate meeting in a large lecture room of the Arts et Métiers School and Museum, and here also the English delegates proceeded in a body. The *Times* correspondent thus described the visit:—

"After two hours' debate, and precisely at the appointed time, a large folding door was thrown open, and a loud voice announced the approach of the English delegates. The Frenchmen at once rose to their feet and gave a hearty English hurrah. Mr. John Burnett responded. He remarked that it had been said the Conference of 1883 did little good. It seemed to him, however, that seed had then been sown which was now germinating. The splendid meeting of to-day was a living testimony of improved organization and increased strength. Nations, like individuals, felt that alone they were powerless. The emancipation of the working classes could only be the result of international and united effort. These remarks were greeted with a vigorous clapping of hands."

Some discussion ensued as to the mode of business for the Congress, and the time of meeting, after which the English delegation withdrew, not without first expressing great satisfaction at the hearty reception they had received, particularly as it proved increased powers of organization among the French Trades Unionists.

On Monday morning the English delegates visited the Workmen's Exhibition, where they

lunched in company with several foreign, provincial, and Parisian delegates, and were offered liqueurs specially concocted by the Distillers Trade Union. One was called the Scottish Liqueur and the other *La Sociale*; but both were like Chartreuse, though the latter was decidedly the best.

At six o'clock several members of the National Committee waited at the Hotel d'Espagne to return the visit they had received from the English delegates the previous day. Mr. Harford gracefully complimented the visitors, and M. Chabert, Municipal Councillor, elected by the Workman's Party, replied. Some conversation took place, as to the functions of the Conseil de Prud'hommes, of which M. Soens, one of the visitors, is a member elect, with imperative mandate from the Workman's Party.

#### FIRST DAY, MONDAY, AUGUST 23RD.

At 8 p.m. the delegates began to assemble in the Salle de la Redoute, 35 rue Jean Jacques Rousseau, a hall capable of holding about a thousand people, and which for a long time has been the head-quarters of the Paris Freemasons of the Scottish rite. The hall was lit with gas manufactured on the spot by one of the French delegates, according to a new process, and decorated with red flags, busts of the Republic, Phrygian liberty caps and a few foreign flags, notably the Union Jack. The French flag was, however, carefully and rigorously excluded. It would have implied a certain amount of Jingo and patriotic feeling against which the working classes are always ready to protest. A tricolour flag might have caused many expressions of dissatisfaction, but all would cheer the international banner of the proletariat, the Red Flag.

It was not much before nine o'clock when the "bureau" was constituted. This meant the election of Mr. John Burnett as honorary President, M. Chabert, municipal councillor, as effective President, two "accessors," or two assistants, and two secretaries.

M. HERBINET read out the roll call, consisting of 76 Parisian, 27 provincial, and 15 foreign trades societies or federations who had sent delegates, each delegate answering as the name of his society was called out.

M. DUMAY proposed that the various commissions should meet in the day, and M. ANDRIEUX read the minutes of yesterday's preparatory meeting as likely to be of interest to the Congress.

M. HERBINET, as Secretary for Foreign Relations, read a letter from Herr Leo, the Secretary for Abroad, of the German Social Democratic party, stating that the Anti-Socialist law did not render it possible to send a delegate direct from Germany, but that Herr Grimpe would speak on their behalf. Another letter from the Federation of the

Trades of Zurich, demanded that every effort should be made to encourage the Swiss Government in pushing forward its negotiation with foreign powers for the conclusion of international treaties on labour questions. This letter professing to speak in the name of 12,000 Swiss workmen, further called upon the Congress to take measures likely to check over-production, and suggested the necessity of International Labour Statistics. M. HERBINET also read two approbatory letters one from Lyons and the other from Doué.

It was then my pleasant duty to give a summary in French of the various letters I had received from different English trades unions:—the Ironfounders' Society, the Scottish Typographical Association, the Hyde and District Weavers' Association, the Northern Amalgamated Association of Weavers, the Operative Stonemasons' Society, the Leeds Trades' Council, the Leicester Trades' Council, the Durham Miners' Association, the Amalgamated Society of Tailors, the Barrow-in-Furness Trades' Council, the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants for Scotland, the Society of Operative Plasterers, the Associated Shipwrights' Society, the Glasgow United Trades' Council, and the Operative Bricklayers' Society, all expressing sympathy with the object of the Congress. Some regretted that the depression in trade prevented their sending delegates, all expressed hopes for success.

Some societies, notably the Hull Trades' Council and the Aberdeen Trades' Council, sent special resolutions giving at considerable length expression to their cordial feelings, and Mr. Harland, of the National Society of Lithographic Artists, etc., wrote an admirable letter in French recognising the international federation of kindred trades. The London Tailors' and Machinists' Society sent a resolution concluding with their assurance to "their comrades of all nations of their sympathy with the international efforts which are being made to abolish the system of wage-slavery, and pledge themselves to do all in their power to assist to place in the hands of the workers the complete control of the means of production, without which it is impossible to bring about the true emancipation of labour." This and another resolution, written in the same sense, and signed by fifteen members belonging to nine different London branches of the Amalgamated Engineers' Society, elicited loud applause from the Congress.

I then concluded by describing the representative character of the seven English delegates present, namely:—

MR. JAMES MAWDSLEY, for the Trades' Union Congress Parliamentary Committee.

MR. JOHN BURNETT, for the Amalgamated Engineers.

MR. C. J. DRUMMOND and MR. WM. JONES for the London Trades' Council.

MR. EDWARD HARFORD, for the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants.

MR. J. GALBRAITH, for the London Society of Compositors.

MR. EDWARD TROW for the Steel and Iron Workers.

These explanations terminated, the Congress were invited to discuss Question IV., so as to give more time to the Commissions to prepare their reports on the previous questions, and M. Ed. Anseele was invited to describe the "economic and political situation of the working classes" in Belgium.

M. ANSELE said he could photograph the position of his country in a sentence: If he were not a Socialist he would be ashamed to be a Belgian. (Applause.) Even Russian women and the wives of barbarians were better protected than the women and children of Belgium. Our political position is *nil*. Though there are 5,000,000 inhabitants in Belgium there are only 80,000 electors, and these we must reduce to 30,000 independent electors, for the remaining 50,000 are under the thumb of their employers and dare not vote according to their convictions and interests. The miners who, a few miles over the French frontier, earn 3s. 3d. a day, only make 1s. 6d. a day in Belgium. He had known men work 500 yards below the surface of the earth for 9d. a day. The Government had instituted an official inquiry and the facts revealed would constitute a terrible indictment of the governing classes. Evidence had been adduced to prove that some girls were at times obliged to descend in the coal mines at four in the morning and came up at eleven at night; and, for this toil of nineteen hours, only received eighteen pence! Then when they were not at work in the mines, they too often served as servants and worse. The quarry men earned from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. per day in the Walloon districts, but in Flanders matters were even more sombre. Flanders was the Ireland of Belgium, the labourers did not receive more than ten or eleven pence per day; the weavers, 5s. to 6s. a week. (Loud cries of "Shame.") "I do not exaggerate, I swear that what I say is true: we workmen find no pleasure in rendering our hearts by exaggerating the misery of the people." (Loud applause.) At Ghent, thanks to a perpetual struggle, to indescribable efforts, we have raised the average wages of men from 12s. 10d. to 14s. 6d. per week, but to attain this much we have had in the course of three years strikes that have cost us £2,800. And what strikes! The last one was among flax spinners. One of their fellow workers had been discharged because she was unable to return to the factory six days after her confinement! Yet the workman's Socialist paper, the *Vooruit* ("Forward"), had been sentenced

because it called this employer a scoundrel! The truck system was also practised to a scandalous extent. Some manufacturers paid their men with flour, coffee, or rather chicory, and even bought back at a reduction the flour given as wages. He had known of workmen being obliged to pawn the goods received under the truck system so as to get a little ready cash. He had heard with pleasure the details given concerning the strength of the English Trades Unions. If the English workmen had only received a Socialist education like the workmen of Belgium and of France they would be better able than their brothers of the Continent to bring about the era of social justice and equality. We have on the Continent larger hearts but our stomachs are smaller and our pockets in nowise so deep. He spoke as the representative of the General Council of the Belgian Workman's Party, which consisted of 170 different trade societies, possessing, in all, about 126,000 members. In Belgium, they illustrated the practicability of internationalism; for though of totally different races, the French Belgians and the Flemish Belgians worked harmoniously together. Let us then be without apprehension; and, as the monarchs of Europe formed at the end of last century a Holy Alliance to crush Republican France, so let us to-day form a Red Alliance against our common foe—capitalism!

After the cheers had subsided,

Mr. MAWDSLEY was called upon to describe the state of affairs in England:—

Mr. MAWDSLEY remarked that it was not without hesitation he addressed the meeting. This was the first time he had been outside his own country and he had never before spoken to a foreign delegation. Foreign influences were known and felt in London, but they had not reached his part of England. Mr. Mawdsley then reviewed, in detail, the condition of trade. Taking first the textile industries, he was obliged at once to confess they were not in a good condition. Wages had fallen, and there was a great number of unemployed. The cotton weavers, it is true, were as well off as ever, but flax mills were being closed every day, and it was undeniable that the flax trade was rapidly going to other countries, and would soon altogether cease to exist in England. The English weavers and spinners were better paid than on the Continent, but there was a marked downward tendency in the rate of wages. All the building trades were in a bad position and wages had fallen considerably. Ironfoundries were in difficulties, and one-third of the iron shipbuilders were without work. Steam-engine makers were also slack, excepting those manufacturers who exported to France, Germany, and Austria. With a few rare exceptions, the depression effecting the great leading trades was felt in a thousand-and-one other occupations. Seeing

that there was a much larger number of unemployed, the question naturally presented itself as to whether there was any chance of improvement. He considered there was no chance of improvement so long as the present state of society continued to exist. So long as workmen do not look more closely to their interests, there will be no improvement. But what remedy could there be? He had already said that he was a stranger in their midst. He did not understand their Socialism, he had not studied it as perhaps he ought to have done. The workmen of England were not so advanced as the workmen of the Continent. Nevertheless, they, at least, possessed one clear conception, they realised that the actual producers did not obtain their share of the wealth they created. He also thought there was too much production and too much competition, and believed this might be remedied by producing less. Then, when the output was lowered, the workman might get a greater proportion of the wealth. The English were not so advanced, they could not believe that by a stroke of the pen it was possible to alter all this; but yet he thought the workmen did not get their fair share. It would be difficult for all to agree as to the best ways and means to adopt, but they might come to a common understanding as to the point to be attained. The means and method was a secondary consideration; let us first all agree that profits should go to labour. (Cheers.)

M. BROD, the Austrian delegate, explained that Austria was much in the same condition as Belgium; with this great difference, that, in Belgium, the workman had at least the right to complain while, in Austria, any such indictment as that just uttered by comrade Anseele would ensure the speakers immediate incarceration. He hoped, at a later date, to lay some figures concerning the rate of wages in Austria before the Congress.

M. GRIMPE, the German delegate, stated that he had not expected the fourth question would be brought forward the first night. It was extremely dangerous to speak about Germany, as any imprudent utterance on his part would ensure the imprisonment of friends in Germany. As he could not speak well in French, and as it was so necessary to weigh his words, he would write out his statement and read it on the morrow.

M. DALLE, in the name of the French Workman's Party, wished to congratulate his comrade Anseele for the very efficient service he had rendered the cause of labour in helping to unite the various societies in Belgium, and thus constitute a strong and well organised Belgian Workman's Party.

The Congress then adjourned.

SECOND DAY, AUGUST 24TH.

The sitting commenced at 8 p.m., and Herr Grimpe, German delegate, was selected

Honorary President. M. Bertand, Acting President.

The roll call showed the presence of 85 French and 15 foreign societies.

The minutes were read and confirmed.

Letters of adherence were read from Moulins, St. Estienne and Marseilles. Dr. Cæsar de Pæpe, from Belgium, M. Rackow, from the German Communist Club of London, and M. Palmgren, from Sweden, were introduced as new delegates to the Congress.

The discussion on Question IV. was resumed, and M. PALMGREN related that the working class organizations of Sweden were still in their infancy. Four years ago Palm introduced into Sweden the Social Democratic doctrines of the German school. He also started a newspaper, which, after many failures, is now firmly established, and has 5,000 to 6,000 subscribers. The antagonism of religious sects was the first and greatest obstacle that had to be overcome. Formerly the Swedish workmen only attended to purely trade questions, now they understood that politics were inseparable from the consideration of their material position. They were, therefore, agitating in favour of universal suffrage. At first they were met with only ridicule, then people began to discuss, and now they had 5,000 Social Democrats in Sweden, and 500 at Stockholm. Many Socialists were driven by the absolutism that prevails in Denmark to take refuge in Sweden, and this had strengthened the movement. Of Norway the same might be said. The Norwegian people were Republican in their sympathies, and their Democratic tone encouraged the growth of Socialism. They were, therefore, able to maintain two newspapers. In Sweden starvation wages prevailed, excepting in two or three towns. They found most of their recruits among the agricultural population, as these were the most miserable. Many among them were Christian Socialists. On all sides the Social Democrats were establishing workmen's clubs, and the Trade Union movement was intimately allied with the Socialist propaganda.

M. HERBINET, having called the attention of the meeting to the fact that the Socialist and revolutionary paper, the *Cri du Peuple*, had boycotted the Congress,

M. GRIMPE rose to speak on behalf of Germany. His first desire was to express his gratification at having to speak in that France which the middle-class press described as the arch enemy. Though against his habits he accepted the honorary Presidency, as emblematic of the union of the working classes of both countries. The German authorities would certainly not give subventions to German workmen to enable them to participate in a French workmen's exhibition or congress. He congratulated the French on being able to thus influence their municipalities. In Ger-

many all public monies were devoted to military affairs. Mr. Mawdsley in his speech had said he had not studied Socialism. This seemed strange, for there were plenty of Socialists in England who would be only too pleased to afford him every information. He sincerely regretted that these English Socialists were not represented at the Congress. He hoped that all workmen would come to an understanding with the English Socialists, and regretted that the Trades Unionism of England had been hostile to English Socialism. The speaker then went on to attack Dr. Buchner, who, at the inauguration of the statue to Diderot, said French revolutionary ideas had no hold on the other side of the Rhine. No one knew better than Dr. Buchner that this was false, for he was himself present at Frankfurt at the formation, in 1863, of the Socialist German party. But it was in the Spring of 1848, and on the barricades of Berlin that, for the first time, the party of the European Proletariat made its appearance. The bourgeoisie were so alarmed that they were ready to give up the Liberal institutions they had won with the aid of the workmen's blood. Ten years later, they once more sought the alliance of the working classes and in 1863, Ferdinand Lassalle appeared and proclaimed the war of classes, organised the Universal Association of German Workmen, and demanded that the State should assist workmen's productive societies, destined to replace the capitalist and individualist system. In 1866 Bismarck gave universal suffrage, and the very next year Bebel and Leibknecht were elected by the workmen to the German Reichstag. In 1868 the first Socialist congress was held, at which international Trades Unions were created, and the programme of the Social-Democrats laid down and accepted. This programme still holds good, it has not been altered in any of its essential principles. Briefly the Social-Democrats maintain that work is the only source of production, that the fruits of work must therefore go to the worker and none must receive who do not work. Therefore the monopoly, by a class, of the means of production must be abolished, and land, machinery, the means of transport and exchange, must become the property of the community. When, in 1871, the Commune was established, Bebel in the German Parliament, declared that this episode in the history of labour, was but a skirmish at the advanced posts indicating the coming war. The Trades Unions in Germany now took the title of International Trades Unions, and their organisations improved so rapidly that they were able at the general elections, held in 1877, to bring 560,000 men to the poll to contest 175 seats and secured the election of twelve Social-Democrats. They then possessed 42 political newspapers and 17 purely trade or technical

papers. The 42 papers were edited by 11 university men, 10 compositors (type setters), 4 clerks, 2 masons, 2 bootmakers, 1 professor, 1 saddle maker, a designer, a tailor, 2 cigar-makers, &c. The constitution then granted the liberty of association and there was greater freedom in Germany than there actually exists to-day in France. But in the spring of 1878, Hœdel's attempt on the life of the Emperor supplied a pretext to demand laws of exemption. These were refused at first and only granted after the second attempt made by Nobiling. The anti-Socialist law of 1878 once passed, the Trades Unions and the political societies were every attacked, their cash boxes seized, and every effort made to destroy their organisation. Nevertheless, in 1881, they secured the return of thirteen Social Democrats as deputies to the Parliament. Bismarck thought that by suppressing freedom on the one hand, and giving no payment to Members of Parliament, he would exclude us. But we subscribe money and pay our representatives ourselves, so that they are well under our control. The forty-two papers being suppressed, the party relies on the *Sozial Demokrat* published in Switzerland, and smuggled into Germany. Bismarck's next effort was to attempt reforms of a Socialist character; but, at a Congress held by our party at Copenhagen, in 1883, we acted against this manœuvre, and denounced the intentions and capacity of the Government. One of our representatives, Rittinhausen, would not accept the resolutions of this Congress; and, therefore, at the next elections, he only received 500 votes, while the orthodox Social Democrat set up against him, obtained 6,500 votes, and was returned to the Parliament. This will show how well we are organised, how thorough is our discipline. Yet we cannot acknowledge such organisation. Nothing is to be seen of our organisation, we are officially not organised, and yet *it seems* as if we were organised. Each State in Germany has its little Parliament, and here also we have exercised our influence and secured the return of our Chaberts and our Joffrins. He regretted that errors concerning German affairs had crept in to the *Proletariat*. He had been deputed to give that paper information concerning the movement in his country. But the articles he had sent were returned with the notification that there was no room. The Germans had always done their duty in international matters. At the recent Decazeville strike they had collected money; and, in spite of the state of siege prevailing, the workmen of Leipsic subscribed 200 marks for their French colleagues. The money collected in Germany had been sent to *l'Agglomération Parisienne*.\* Since the anti-Socialist law had

\* This announcement helped to create an unfavourable impression. The Agglomération is another name given to the Guesdists. If the Germans wished to send their money to the miners of Decazeville through the Parisian Socialists,

been in force, that is during the course of 7½ years, 948 prints have been suppressed, and 246 societies broken up, in 137 small and large towns. Nevertheless, a number of trade societies still survived, notably that of the compositors. There was a law also that allowed the creation of benefit funds, and the German workmen were able to group themselves under the cover of this mantle. Thus the Cabinetmaker's Society in Germany had branches in 680 localities, and last year they numbered 71,500 members. In 1885 they had £11,122 reserve funds, and paid, in benefits, £60,321. There were many other similar societies, and Herr Grimpe was about to give further financial details, when he checked himself, as the Congress was showing manifest signs of impatience. He had spoken with a strong German accent, and though his speech contained so much information, yet the method of delivery was wearisome, at least, to the quick impatience of a French audience. He therefore now hastened forward the conclusion of his speech by urging that over-production was chronic, that it in no wise benefited the workmen, and that the economic position was the same throughout Europe and America. He cordially approved the conduct of the English Trades Unions in strictly enforcing the payment of subscriptions, and maintained that in Germany they had done the same and as successfully. Their organisation existed not only in Germany but wherever German workman lived, in London, in Paris, in Philadelphia, Switzerland, &c. They were only separated from the English Trades Unionists by the Socialist idea. We are as well organised as they are, but the English have enjoyed too much political freedom, too much material prosperity, and are therefore unable to understand the necessity of the doctrines we advocate. Their interpreter stated that a man was not considered a member of a Union till he had paid his subscription, and that those who did not pay were false to the cause. But what shall we say of men who betray the cause, of such men as Mr. Broadhurst who voted in favour of coercion in Ireland and accepted 35,000 francs a year to be a member of a capitalist Cabinet. In 1883, this self-same Mr. Broadhurst came to Paris as delegate to the International Conference held at the Café Hollandais. In France, at least, the workmen had got rid of their Tolains and their Nadauds and he hoped the English workmen would have the sense to do the same. Such a scandal would not be tolerated in Germany.

An immense outburst of conversation fol-

why did they select the petty faction of the 800 defeated Impossibilists, instead of the 33,000 Possibilists. Both parties hold the same fundamental principles as the German Social Democrats; this the vote of the Congress proves. But for the personalities of the German "official circle," the money would have been sent to the "French Workman's Party," if it was meant to go through the hands of Socialists, or else why not direct to Decazeville?



lowed this speech, the audience was thoroughly impatient at its great length, and the President, seeing the advanced hour, implored me not to attempt its translation. The English delegates, on the other hand, naturally insisted on hearing what had been said, while Dr. Brousse, on the ground of a motion of order, came to the platform and, stated he had listened to the details about German affairs with great interest: but had hoped that, at an International Congress, all allusions to factious polemics would be rigorously excluded. Herr Grimpe had spoken of the *Proletariat*, Dr. Brousse wished to reply on this head, and was understood to say that the articles rejected contained personalities, but the Congress, in the midst of much confusion, voted that this was out of order.

It was then my turn to enter a protest. The English delegates had been attacked in the person of one of the most prominent Trades Unionists, they insisted on hearing what had been said. There were many inaccuracies in Herr Grimpe's speech. Inspired by the *Sozial Demokrat* of Zurich, this was not surprising; for, putting Trades Unionism aside, and speaking only of Social Democracy, the personal antipathies of the *Sozial Demokrat* were so great, that, in describing the English Socialist movement, this paper had printed many scandalous libels. The English delegates present insisted on a translation.

Dr. BROUSSE shouted: Let us take a sponge and wipe out all these personal attacks: they have nothing whatsoever to do with the business of the Congress.

Herr GRIMPE: I have made no attack, I have only criticised; I did not desire to offend the English delegates.

The Congress decided that the latter part of the speech should be translated at once, and when this was done, the English delegates demanded that the Congress should meet in the afternoon so that there should be full time to discuss this and all other questions. Several French delegates protested that this was not practical, for so many had to go to their work.

Herr GRIMPE again stood up and declared that he did not wish to give offence but only sought to draw the attention of the English trades unions to the conduct of Mr. Broadhurst.

This added fuel to the fire, but:—

Mr. JONES rose and urged that we ought not to attach too much importance to this incident as there were hundreds of English Trades Unionists who thought that, as a Government Minister, Mr. Broadhurst could not consistently represent Trades Unions, and personally he shared in this opinion.

In the midst of much confusion, Mr. Burnett cross-questioned Herr Grimpe as to the rate of wages in various parts of Germany, and finally it was decided that the English dele-

gation should meet in the morning, hear the full translation of the German speech, and be the first to speak next evening in reply.

M. BROD, the Austrian delegate, now gave further details concerning the condition of his country. Repressive police measures had destroyed many Trades Unions, nor were they able to centralise their organisations, with the exception, albeit, of the compositors' society. The laws of hygiene were scarcely observed, and Councils of Prud'hommes existed only in a few industries. It was difficult to conceive the state of degradation of the Austrian workmen. It was necessary to go out in the rural districts and live among them, when it would be found that five out of ten could not even sign their names, and that women worked fourteen hours for sevenpence a day. Wages had not increased since 1873. Compositors, upholsterers, piano makers, and gilders earned from 14s. to 16s. a week. Masons, turners, saddle makers, boot makers, and tailors from 12s. to 14s. a week. There was only one Socialist paper in Austria, all the others had been suppressed. In Bohemia the position of the workmen was especially deplorable, as they worked for sixpence to sevenpence-halfpenny per day. Fortunately a law had been passed limiting the day's work to eleven hours. In conclusion, and though anxious to avoid any personalities, he must state that he agreed, in principle, with the remarks made by Herr Grimpe. Opportunism was a bad policy, and in so far as this policy had been supported by the Trade Unions of England their action should be condemned. While anxious to say nothing against the person of Mr. Broadhurst, the acceptance of a position in the Ministry was wrong in principle. Workmen must learn to understand that they must not compete against each other, and was not the Government of England upholding the competitive system?

M. BREBANT now read the collective report of the Paris Workmen's Syndical Chambers, or Trades Unions. These numbered in all 144, of whom 85 were represented at the Congress, and 17 had sent in special reports. These testified to 114,000 members, but lamented that the proportion of Unionists to non-Unionists was very small. There were 38,000 foreign workmen in Paris belonging principally to boot, cabinet, and carriage making trades. Several trades were federated. Both piece work and time work prevailed. Depression and reduction of wages were the rule. Bronze workers receive now 50 per cent. less than they did twenty years ago, and this was brought about principally by sweaters who profited by the depression to obtain work at starvation rates. Cabinet makers made beds now for 80 francs when formerly the same work was paid 110 francs. A certain other popular model had fallen from 45 francs to 30 francs. Many trades had very long dull

seasons, notably the locksmiths and carriage makers, who were generally five months without employment. Machinery had reduced the pay of the engineers. The report concluded in favour of proposals similar to those embodied in the resolutions to be laid before the Congress.

The sitting terminated at midnight.

### THIRD DAY, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 25.

The sitting was commenced at 8.30 p.m.

M. Ed. Anseele, the Belgian delegate, was elected honorary President, and M. Victor Dalle the acting President. Letters respecting several new adhesions were read and Mr. John Norton, delegate for South Australia and New South Wales, was introduced. The minutes were read and Dr. C. de Paepe protested that Herr Grimpe had misrepresented Dr. Büchner's speech at the inauguration of the Diderot statue. The learned German scientist had declared that "The ideas of fraternity were unfortunately not popular on the other side of the Rhine," but he had never attempted to deny the existence of Socialism in Germany. In spite of this objection, Herr Grimpe maintained that Büchner denied the popularity of the principles of 1789 in Germany, and as President of the Socialist Congress, held at Frankfurt in 1863, he ought to have known better. After a few more observations on the minutes, they were adopted.

The PRESIDENT, in re-opening the discussion on Question IV, urged that the speakers should keep to the subject and not criticise the leaders and the tactics followed by the Socialists in various countries.

Herr GRIMPE objected to this and said that, on the contrary, we were gathered together to advise and enlighten each other and that we should denounce what we conceived to be wrong anywhere and everywhere.

The ACTING PRESIDENT energetically denied this and remarked it was only Herr Grimpe's personal opinion. We had not met to criticise the tactics followed by different labour parties of various countries. Each knew best what suited his own nationality. Our object was to find a common ground of agreement. If we had to debate over the conduct and personality of leaders in all countries, the discussion would last more than six months. This declaration was loudly cheered and

Mr. John BURNETT rose to reply to Herr Grimpe's speech. He said this was the first thorough international congress convoked to bring about concord in the efforts made for the amelioration of the conditions of labour. He was therefore especially sorry to find that on so auspicious an occasion a delegate had taken upon himself to throw in to their midst the apple of discord. How often had the clock which marked the progress of the world been put back by similar manœuvres.

Herr Grimpe had been called upon to describe the economic and political condition of the workmen of Germany. Evidently the question implied that each delegate should speak about his own country, about things with which he was personally acquainted, otherwise the German speaker might as well have described the condition of labour in Central Africa. Complaints had been made that the English were not well versed in the advanced theories advocated on the Continent. But he might with equal justice complain that the workmen of the Continent did not know and appreciate the exact state of affairs in England. Herr Grimpe complained that the English had been spoiled by too much liberty and too much prosperity. This was a paradox that came with bad grace from the delegate of a nation whose labourers are worse off than those of any other country. People living in glass houses should not throw stones. He did not wish to be hard upon the Germans, but Herr Grimpe had said that the Trade Unions had tried to put down Socialism. This was a gratuitous assumption, and he defied Herr Grimpe to bring forward a single fact in proof of his assertion. In England Socialism was an open question. The English Socialists were wise in their generation. They always made a point of joining the Trades Unions; they did not seek to oppose, but tried to convert the unionists. The English Socialists felt it was better policy to reconcile and win over such powerful institutions. If it were not for his desire to avoid personalities, he would point out that Mr. Grimpe was out of order in criticising English Trade Unions, and should have reserved his observations for the discussion on Question III.—"Workmen's coalitions, trade societies, national and international." But the fact that, whether in or out of season, he had seized the very first opportunity to attack the English, showed he was inspired by a deliberate intention to prevent a practical conclusion being arrived at. Mr. Burnett did not, however, desire to raise the question of Trade Unionism as against Socialism. He preferred to dwell upon the marked improvement of the organisations in France. He saw gathered around him some two hundred delegates coming not only from Paris, the great centre of thought, but from all the principal towns of the French provinces. As compared with the Conference of 1883, the present Congress proved that the French were successfully striving to imitate what had been done with so much success in England. English Trade Unionists, while aiming at acquiring all the fruits of labour, sought to bring this about by availing themselves of all the moral and legal means within their power. A small question, if it tended in the right direction, was never too small to merit their attention. Thus in a slow but certain manner they had obtained more than those who sought

to do all in a moment. Why then should false and fierce statements be made against them? He had hoped, on the contrary, to hear discussed some common ground of agreement. The attack against English Trades Unions came very inappropriately from the representative of a nation which more than any other country helped to keep down the rate of wages. (Loud cheers.) Ask the tailors, and bakers, and cabinet makers in England why they earned so little, and they will at once answer that they suffer from the competition of German Emigrants. Doubtless it is the same in France. (Cries of "Yes!" from the French delegates.) Thus the English Trades Unions are accused of being hostile to the cause of labour by the representatives of a country that most largely contributed to reduce wages! We were told that the hours of labour ranged in Germany from 9 to 18 a day, and that the wages vary from 7½d. to 7s. 2d. a day. The former figure is deplorable. (The Germans here interrupted to notify that 7½d. a day was paid only to women.) The Belgian delegate almost drew tears from our eyes by the appalling picture he gave of his own country. But if we are to pity these unfortunate people why should we not rejoice at the greater prosperity of England. If too much freedom and prosperity constituted an unwholesome meal he would not object to dine on it every day, and leave to Herr Grimpe the privilege of maintaining himself on 7½d. Undoubtedly Socialism had made more progress in England during the last 20 years than it had ever done before. We had laws of a somewhat socialistic character, and our women and children were protected. The German delegate will perhaps say this is bad for us, and that when we have roast beef we ought to push it aside, and eat only potatoes, so as to prove that we are good Socialists. The English might be dull in their powers of comprehension, but they believed that high wages was a step on the right road. By high wages the general result Socialists desired would be more readily realised. Ultimately the workman will receive the wealth he produces without the capitalist stepping in between the producer and consumer. He regretted being put on his defence; it seemed so self-evident that Trades Unions have constantly striven to protect the worker against his employer. The weakness and the ill-grace of the charge was so patent that it seemed as if it must have been made on purpose and for some unworthy object. The practical results achieved by the Trades Unions proved the charge to be false, and he challenged the Socialists to show they had done anything. Mr. Grimpe had stated that in Germany a few years ago the workmen had been granted the right of combination but had again been deprived of it by the government on account of socialistic agitation. The German Social-

ists had therefore made things worse instead of better. Before concluding he would say a word about Mr. Broadhurst. Trade Unions had won us at least this advantage, that we could talk about Mr. Broadhurst or any other Englishman without exposing him to the danger of being thrown into prison. From his childhood upwards Mr. Broadhurst had helped to improve the condition of his trade and of all other workers. The Unionists have not lost faith in him, and he had just been re-elected by his own trade to represent them at Hull. He considered his appointment as Under Secretary at the Home Office a proof that the Government recognised the workmen had the right not only to vote but also to govern. Nevertheless they would readily disown him if he were false to Trade Unionism; but he had found that his position in the Ministry had enabled Mr. Broadhurst to render still greater services to the Trade Unions. Mr. Broadhurst had gone out of his way during his tenure of office to assist the Unionists. They would not therefore thrust aside a tried friend at the mere bidding of a German delegate.

When the applause which greeted Mr. Burnett's speech subsided, M. Pican, moved that the Congress, having granted the English delegates the right of reply and heard what they had to say, passes to the "order of the day." This was carried.

HERR RACKOW, who spoke in English, stated that he represented a society of German workmen established in London. They sent fraternal salutations, and had been highly gratified at having received the first visit paid by the 21 French delegates when they reached England to report on the exhibitions of this year. As a German, he had no ill feeling towards the English; but he had not come to the Congress to flatter them, and he must confess that it seemed to him as if Mr. Burnett had sought, in his speech, to mystify his audience! The great difference between the workmen of the two countries was that the German was first of all a Socialist and afterwards became a Trade Unionist; while the Englishman began by being a Unionist and sometimes subsequently developed into a Socialist. Certainly the Socialist movement had made giant strides of late years in England, still the English Unionists were in the main very much behind the age. Complaints had been made of the German competition in England. He had lived eight years in London. There were many English institutions he greatly admired, but in some cases German institutions were preferable. Herr Rackow then went on to protest against the harsh language used in the English press towards the Germans, and pointed out that, whenever a foreigner did anything amiss, no enquiries were made as to his nationality, but the blame was laid at the door of the Germans. After reading copious extracts from English

newspapers to this effect, he proceeded to discuss the accusation that Germans in England helped to reduce the rate of wages. It had been computed that there were 150,000 Germans in London, but, of this number, only about 40,000 were workmen. What effect would this have on a population of 4,000,000? The migration of English agricultural labourers to the large towns was a far more important factor in the reduction of wages. Also it should be born in mind that the Germans who were organized did not compete but worked at the Trade Union rate; indeed they sometimes obtained even higher wages than the English. It was the unorganized labour that reduced wages; but, for one German, there were thousands of unorganized Englishmen. Nor was it easy for a foreigner, when he first reached a strange country, to obtain the highest rate of wages. If the cost of living is taken into account, the workmen were not paid much less in Germany than in England. Some women, it is true, received only 7½d. a day, but it was notorious that many women worked in London for 6d. a day, and the match box makers did not even earn as much. The average wage for men in England was £1 a week. The Trade Unionists might get more, but they were only the aristocracy of labour. The delegates at the annual Congress only represented some 600,000 Trade Unionists and therefore could not speak of the whole body of English working men. Complaints had been made of the competition of a handful of unorganized Germans in London, but had not the whole working class of Europe suffered from the competition of English industry; was it not the English goods, flooding the markets of the whole world, that kept the wages down to the starvation level? The Germans had been attacked so he felt it his duty to defend them, but, at the same time, he was not opposed to Trades' Unions if they led to Socialism, but mere strike and benefit funds were only blunt instruments in the struggle between Labour and Capital. For five-and-a-half years he had worked in London as a cigar maker. He had belonged to the union and obtained full wages; but there were Poles in the same shops who did not do so, and the Germans were blamed for the delinquencies of the Poles. In no country, however, were Trade Unions sufficiently powerful to solve the problem involved by the rival interests of capital and labour. The unions of the capitalists would always be the strongest.

By this time, the audience had become very restive. Without understanding exactly what Herr Rackow said, it was supposed that he was re-opening personalities against the English Trades Unionists, and therefore many interruptions arose. Herr Rackow, on his side, not understanding the interruptions

made by the French delegates, persisted with his speech with much tenacity and calmness. The English delegates had also interrupted on several occasions, and Mr. Drummond challenged Herr Rackow to produce his mandate. The mandate was then read out, and, as it emanated from the German Communist Club, which had received so hospitably the French delegates in London, it was greeted with applause.

M. ANSEELE rose to conciliate matters. We have heard during two days a discussion between two different worlds of workmen. It is the upshot of a misunderstanding, for Herr Grimpe did not wish to attack Trade Unionism, he only sought to propagate Socialism. The English ought not to say that the Germans tend to reduce the salaries. He was profoundly grieved when he heard the Congress applaud this assertion. Surely we should show otherwise our respect for the innumerable German Socialists who have endured imprisonment and every form of persecution in their efforts to raise the rate of wages. (Cheers.) The Germans only fear that English Trade Unionism, unless it is combined with Socialism, will end in bankruptcy.

HERR RACKOW, now resumed the thread of his discourse. He thought English Trade Unionists relied too much on mere trade action. He had read a statement that out of 362 recent strikes 353 had failed. (Cries of No! no! and Where?) The statement was published by the *Builder*. (Jeers from the English Delegates). The depression of trade had compelled the German Societies to increase their subscriptions, the Bookbinders to the extent of 25 per cent., the Lithographers to 80 per cent. The German Compositors Union had shown a deficit of £3,000 in one year. But the same melancholy story could be told by the English Trade Unions. To relieve the distress, Bismarck had instituted "working men's colonies" where honest artisans were treated like prisoners and made to compete by their work against those who had not applied for relief. In the matter of wages, Germany should be divided into three parts. The highest rate was paid in the North, the lowest in the South. In the North the pay was, if anything, better than in England; in the Central districts about the same; in the South decidedly worse. Herr Grimpe had said the hours of labour varied from 9 to 18. Mr. Burnett professed to be shocked at such long hours, and stated that in only two trades of Germany was the time reduced to nine hours. Herr Rackow denied this. He thought the hours of labour were much the same in Germany and England. In London they varied from 8 to 16 hours. In his trade, the Cigar Makers only worked eight and a half hours. It was notorious that the Tramway Servants, the

Omnibus Drivers, the Postmen of London worked 15 to 16 hours with but one and a half hours for their meals. The difference between England and Germany, if anything, was not sufficiently marked to warrant so much boasting. If the German Trade Unionists had not done more than the English Trade Unionists to raise the rate of wages, they had, at least, this advantage; that, as Socialists, they were approaching a complete and scientific solution of the entire difficulty.

M. BAILLY now read the Report of the French Provincial delegates. These delegates represented 54 Provincial Trades Unions. With the exception of four societies, they all concluded by urging that the depression in the provinces was as great as in Paris, and supplied a long array of statistics in support. They maintained that the struggle is restricted to the antagonism between "money capital" and "labour capital." As a stepping stone the hours of labour must be reduced. The necessity of a class war cannot be denied, the producers must strive, by political action, to become the masters of the government administrations, and then bring about the nationalization of "money capital" and the means of production.

The Congress adjourned at midnight.

#### FOURTH DAY, THURSDAY, AUGUST 26.

M. BROD, the Austrian delegate, was elected honorary President, M. C. Allemane, the acting President. The roll call showed that the representatives of 17 foreign and 88 French societies were present. The minutes were read and confirmed.

M. HERBINET, secretary, gave some explanations concerning the *Cri du Peuple*. This paper now declared that it did not boycott the Congress but had not been invited. M. Herbinet showed that the *Cri du Peuple*, on the contrary, was the only paper which had received a special notification about the Congress.

MR. JOHN NORTON, delegate of the Trades and Labour Councils of New South Wales and of South Australia, gave an account of the political and economical condition of the workmen he represented. Speaking in forcible, somewhat incorrect, but humorous French, he soon found favour with the Congress and his speech was frequently interrupted with laughter and applause. In the name of 200,000 Australian Trades Unionists, he brought cordial greetings to the Congress. It was his duty to expose the miserable condition of the colonial workmen and to warn intending emigrants that Australia was no longer an earthly Paradise. Indeed, the workmen's position was even worse than in Europe. At first, when Australia was a penal colony, the land fell into the hands of a few hundred

individuals belonging to the worst classes. They founded what is now considered as the colonial aristocracy, and were even more oppressive than the Irish landowners. They not only held the land but refused to cultivate it. They are content to breed sheep so that the best lands remain untilled. This suits the interests of the merchants as the population is compelled to depend for its subsistence on importations. For want of home, that is colonial, produce, the people remain poor; and yet the merchants who govern the country, by providing the legislating class, are ever voting large sums to facilitate emigration and thus further contribute to keep down the rate of wages. There is hardly any agriculture in Australia and there is very little industry. Absentee landlordism drains the country and merchants, though buying at the lowest price in Europe, can sell at exorbitant rates in Australia, for there are no native industries to compete with these importations. Thus the people are at the mercy of the landlords and the merchants. In Victoria only, the youngest and the most democratic colony, there are some prosperous manufactories. On all points, the Australian Trade Unionists agree with the English Democrats; indeed, they would go even further and would sympathise with the French and the Belgians, with the one exception of the free trade policy advocated in Europe. By protection only could they break the tyranny of the combined forces of the landlords and merchants. Though thousands starved in the streets, slept in the parks of Sydney, still the poor were imported from all parts of Europe. At last the unemployed of Sydney had been compelled to threaten the Parliament Houses, and the government, seriously alarmed, started relief works. He had seen skilled artizans work as navvies for 15s. a week, when in London they would earn £1 10s. or £2. Then when their hands, unaccustomed to such rough work, began to swell, they were discharged on the pretext that they were idle. On one occasion the government had been driven to give out 800 blankets and some bread with crumbs of cheese. This sudden generosity was, however, accompanied with a warning. The government would not do this again, for they wanted the blankets for the felons in jail. Honest men had consequently been led to commit some slight offence to secure food and shelter in prison. In spite of all this, emigration still continued. State-aided emigration was a vile form of exploitation. It was a means of passing over the exploited of England to be still further exploited in Australia. But the exploited of Europe must remain in Europe so as to revenge themselves on the spot for the wrongs they have endured. (Loud cheers.) To make matters worse, there was the Chinese difficulty. Now a law had been passed against the importation of the Chinese, but they were smug-

gled into the colony notwithstanding; and, the other day, the Workmen's Council discovered a ship load of 200 Chinamen with false naturalization papers. The Chinese learnt every trade; they were notably excellent cabinet makers, they were quite content to work 16 hours a day whereas the Australians had got an Eight Hours Bill. The Chinaman lived on nothing; and, if at the end of ten years' toil, he could save £20 he went back to China content. Europeans had been obliged to abandon completely several trades in consequence of Chinese competition. This question must be solved by legislation otherwise violent measures would be taken in Australia as in America. It may be objected that Australian workmen should organize and send representatives to parliament. But this was difficult, as the population, numbering only four-and-a-half millions, was so much scattered over immense tracts of land. The country was still too young for elaborate organization, yet his presence in Paris proved that they were progressing in this respect. In conclusion, he wished to assure his French hosts that the workmen he represented had no objection to the annexation by France of the New Hebrides; but they were strongly opposed to the creation of a penal colony at the doors of Australia.

MR. GALBRAITH and MR. JONES consented to abandon their claim to be heard on condition that no one else spoke on the subject. M. VICTOR DALLE then read the report of the French Societies on

#### THE FIRST QUESTION.

All the reports received from individual societies tended towards increased State intervention, and all advocated the federation of trades. In France there were a few laws protecting the work of women and children. They were not efficaciously applied, but they were precious as establishing the precedent that it was the duty of Parliaments to defend the weak against the strong. Several governments, notably the Swiss and Italian governments, had spoken in this sense, and the report went on to enumerate the societies demanding increased State intervention, and those that specially urged the adoption of an Eight Hours Bill. Some protested against night work, a few demanded the international enforcement of a *minimum* rate of wages. The Commission did not, however, think international legislation on wages practical in consequence of the great difference in the value of money, the power of work, and climatic influences. If the proposals to be laid before the Congress were adopted, this question of minimum wages would settle itself, and the report concluded with the eight clauses of the resolution voted during the Sixth Day of the Congress.

M. MULLER, the Hungarian delegate, having expressed his general approbation,

DR. CESAR DE PAEPE rose to support the principles advocated by the report, not only as a workman, but as a man of science. Mandates had been challenged, he therefore felt compelled to give some personal explanations. By trade he was a compositor, and thus earned his living for many years. In his leisure moments he studied and finally passed all the necessary examinations to qualify himself as a doctor of medicine. But he had never quitted his class, and was still proud to consider himself a workman. Together with comrade Anseele, he represented not one Trades Union, but more than a hundred Unions. The Belgian Workman Party consists essentially of Unions formed to obtain increase of wages, and to resist reductions. But he spoke to the Congress as a doctor, for the question was essentially a sanitary question. The demands made in the resolution were in conformity with the laws of physiology. There were international laws to protect a great multiplicity of interests, why should there not be similar enactments to protect labour. Thus, taking clause VI, it would be found that hygienists had established a great number of international laws, notably quarantines to oppose barriers against living or organic poisons, microbes, germs, etc. But these were not the only poisons. The unnecessary use in various industries of lead, mercury, and phosphorus had killed quite as many people as the cholera. Why should the law touch organic poisons and not mineral poisons. It was as easy to use non-poisonous zinc as the poisonous lead employed for white paint, etc.; and we must watch jealously over the hygiene of the workshop, its ventilation, drainage, and warming. Then we must study the conditions of labour. If the hours were short the poisonous substances used would not prove so fatal; and, as the women, the children, the weak were especially susceptible, they should be rigorously kept away from unwholesome industries. It was also a medical necessity to have eight hours sleep, eight hours relaxation, and eight hours work. In helping to found the International, now forbidden in Germany, France, and Spain, he had urged that capital was international. Thus Paris, for all practical purposes, was nearer to London than London used to be to Brighton. What were countries are now but provinces. August Comte had spoken of Europe as the Western Republic; but the term will soon not be big enough. We shall have the World's Republic and then will come the Chinese question which we must settle, not by extermination, but by treating the yellow man as a friend and a brother. But how can this be done otherwise than by International Legislation? We must even now prepare the way for the legislation that will save us from the invasion of cheap Chinese labour. Concerning clause II, it was evident the growth of education rendered it necessary

that preliminary studies should be prolonged to at least the age of fourteen; and, after this, the general education might be wisely combined with technical teaching. Machinery was especially fatal to children. They were not able to concentrate their attention on the monotonous revolutions of a machine and thus become the frequent victims of accidents. If he also demanded that women should be kept away from certain trades, it is not because we think ourselves her master and her protector. We do this in the name of humanity at large and of the health of future generations. The stooping of women working in mines, was the frequent cause of rickets and diseases of the pelvic region. When miscarriages occurred they were generally fatal and rendered the employment of artificial means of delivery indispensable. Therefore women must be kept away from these mortal employments for they destroyed not only the women but the children also. We should further demand one day's rest a week because this was the natural limit. Diseases, notably typhoid fever, assumed a different phase every seventh day. It was also the fourth part of the lunar month and to this period was attached important physiological phenomena affecting half humanity. Consequently, and though a Republican and a Freethinker, he was, in this case, in favour of the law of Moses as opposed to the law of the French Republic which decreed a holiday every ten days. To the eight clause of the resolution, he would wish to add a ninth, to the effect that prison labour should not compete with free labour. Because a man had sinned or had been sinned against, and was thrown into prison, this was no reason for giving him a privileged place in the competition of the world's markets. In Prussia it was proposed that prisoners should work only for foreign exportation, but international legislation should tend to check such action. Another matter:—the establishment of a minimum rate of wages was, for the time being, one of the most difficult questions to solve. We should try more practical problems first, and in time this demand would ripen. Difference in cost of life and in climates existed within a nation as well as in foreign countries. Thus there was a greater difference in climate and in cost of living between Marseilles and Paris than between Berlin and Paris. Yet in other international questions this was not taken into account. For instance, by the Postal Convention, a Bohemian, earning 7½d. per day, would have to spend a third of his day's wages to write to a friend in the United States. The latter, earning two dollars a day, would only have to spend one fortieth part of his day's wages to answer the letter. The assimilation of the minimum rate of wages would tend to equalize the cost of these international measures. It was an ideal that might ultimately become practicable. The Belgians

had discussed this question at their annual congress held last year at Ghent, and they meant to convoke an international congress to debate this very point over again, at which all would be welcome, whether trades unionists, co-operators, revolutionary groups, or Socialist bodies. Referring once again to the general question of international legislation on labour, he urged that this was no new movement. The whole question had been brought prominently forward in 1853 by an Alsatian manufacturer named Le Grand. He drew up a project of law which was subsequently published in Switzerland by M. De Fré. In 1856, at an international congress on Poor Relief, where most of the governments of Europe sent officials representatives, a project, almost analogous to the eight clauses now before the Congress, was introduced by M. Ann, the official representative of Wurtemberg, and adopted. Thus the Congress was invited to endorse what, in the highest quarters, had already been recognised as practical. The Swiss government had recently taken the initiative in demanding the enactment of international legislation on labour, and now that the interested parties, the workmen themselves, had taken the matter in hand, the cause would prosper and soon labour would enjoy, like other forms of property, effective international protection.

After this speech had been translated into English, and some provincial delegates made a few brief remarks, the President read out a resolution submitted by the English delegation which was worded as follows:—"That the International Trade Union Congress of Paris deplores the action of certain governments in suppressing working men's associations as it is precisely in such countries where no labour organizations exist that acts of violence have occurred."

The Congress, as it was past midnight, now adjourned.

#### FIFTH DAY, FRIDAY, 27TH AUGUST.

Mr. JOHN NORTON, Australian delegate, was elected honorary President, M. LAVAUD, organizing Secretary of the Workmen's Exhibition, acting President. The roll call read and the minutes confirmed, an uproar arose at the hall door. A crowd had gathered in the street and clamoured for admission under the impression that it was a public meeting. Several delegates were in favour of admitting the people as spectators to the gallery of the hall, but it was necessary to explain that such a proceeding was illegal. No public meeting can be held in Paris without having first given notice to the Prefecture of Police. This had not been done in the present instance, and the admittance of anyone not possessed of a card of invitation, would have justified the military occupation of the hall, the dissolution

of the meeting, and the arrestation of its promoters. It was with some difficulty however that the crowd outside could be persuaded to return homewards, and a strong guard had to be posted at the hall door to prevent the entrance of any but delegates.

The PRESIDENT informed the Congress that Comrade Anseele had received a dispatch from Belgium bidding him to return at once so as to undergo the six months imprisonment to which he is condemned. He therefore asked that special permission should be granted so that Anseele might address the Congress previous to his departure.\*

M. ANSEELE was greeted with loud cheers and said:—The principle of international legislation is accepted and applied by the middle and upper classes in the defence of their interests. They have established postal conventions, international railway signals, and the same decimal coinage circulates through four or five different nations. The international character of the *bourgeoisie* is patent to all. A large number of French capitalists possess Belgian coal mines, and Belgian soldiers are sent to shoot down Belgian workmen, so as to defend the dividends of French shareholders. This is the way the bourgeois himself establishes an International, and seeks to enforce its claims. Yet these self-same middle classes would forbid us creating an International. The workmen, however, are essentially international in their instincts, and this is proved by the readiness with which foreigners subscribed for the French miners during the great strike at Decazeville. International legislation on labour would greatly contribute to remedy the present universal depression of trade. English manufacturers have raised factories in France so as to profit by the low wages paid to French workmen, to compete against English workmen, and when these manœuvres do not suffice, they go and invade some distant country, Tonquin for instance, to open out new markets. But this aggression calls down upon us the fierce hatred of races. A little while ago the French

were taught to look upon the German army as the enemy. Now we are told that the German, by reason of his superior education and the inferior pay he accepts, is the principal enemy. But for the infamous law against the International, an agreement would probably have been concluded by this time between French and German workmen, so that they should no longer compete against each other. A worse difficulty arises. A cancer is eating the heart of the proletariat. Have we not heard, even in this assembly, recriminations between English and German workmen, between Australians and Europeans? If this continues, if the struggle for existence continues with its present increasing fierceness, we shall have great commercial wars arising from the fear of foreign competition. The recriminations heard in this Congress are in themselves a demonstration of the necessity of international legislation on labour. If it is true that the English earn more, and it is undoubtedly true so far as Belgium is concerned, the Belgians become the Chinese of Europe. The Belgian lives on as little, and receives almost as low wages as the Chinese. Therefore the Belgian might be treated by the English with the same enmity as the English in Australia displayed towards the Chinaman. The English workman might with as much reason desire to massacre the Belgians as the Australians who meditate the extermination of the Chinese. Therefore if the English will not unite with us on the broad basis of disinterested Socialism let them do so on the grounds of their own individual selfishness; or else we, who live on dry bread, who live as cheaply as the Chinese, will beat down their wages. Let us then legislate and that quickly and before circumstances lead us to tear each other to pieces. But Belgium is too small to influence the legislatures of Europe; it is for England, France, and Germany to act. If we could have but one aim, one flag, one party we should soon give the law to Europe and the Universe. We have not come to this Congress merely to say how do you do and shake hands; but to try and get one or two clear ideas. Now if we all leave this assembly with the one conviction that international legislation on labour is indispensable this will have been the most useful educational congress ever held. With respect to an international minimum rate of wages, the facilities of communication by steam ships and railways tend to render the price of raw material uniform in all industrial centres. Labour, therefore, will soon be the only thing remaining on which reductions in cost will be possible. We must then insist on a minimum rate of wages. In this we shall be giving our adhesion to the noble fight of the English Trades Unions. Like them we must demand a minimum and indeed the English wages though

\* It will be remembered that during the recent labour riots in Belgium, Anseele wrote and published a letter begging all parents who had sons in the army to write to them and implore them not to fire upon their brothers and fathers who were on strike. This letter appeared in the *Vooruit*, the workman's paper, edited by Anseele, and for this he was condemned to six months' imprisonment. The *Vooruit* sells 18,000 copies daily at Ghent. It is retailed for two centimes, or five copies a penny. The publishing plant belongs to the workmen, and has been bought with the profits made from the Co-operative Bakery, established by them at their central meeting place, also called the *Vooruit* (Forwards). Here all the Trade Unions of Ghent have their meeting place and offices, while the profits from the co-operative institutions they have established are employed for propaganda purposes, and not to enrich the shareholders. Thus they are able to send six lecturers into different parts of Flanders every Sunday to organize the Workman Party throughout the priest-ridden districts of this ignorant and reactionary portion of Belgium. Co-operation, it will be noted, is only used as a means of organization, and of acquiring the strength to bring about Socialism, and not as a solution in itself. The principal organizers are Ed. Anseele and Van Beveren, address the *Vooruit*, Ghent, Belgium.



sometimes high are but the minimum of what workmen ought to receive. To carry these ideas forward we ought to exchange our newspapers more frequently, and communicate with each other more regularly. Every true Socialist should make it a matter of duty to learn the three languages that govern the world. Two years hence we must all know how to speak French, English, and German. I already know two of these languages and I pledge myself before you all to soon master the third. Then we ought to create an international newspaper to which the best thinkers of all nations should contribute carefully prepared articles. Thus we should assimilate our ideas and unite in our mode of action. In conclusion I adhere to the resolutions before the Congress.

M. ANSELE then quitted the hall amidst enthusiastic applause and surrounded by every mark of sympathy and friendship.

HERR GRIMPE, in answer to enquiry as to the opinion in Germany on the question, contented himself with handing to the President a copy of the Project of Law relating to International Legislation on Labour introduced into the German Parliament by the members of the Social-Democratic party in 1884, and re-introduced in 1885; Herr Grimpe was then going on to say that the English delegates were opposed to international legislation on labour and that they were consequently altogether behind the times; but I interrupted the speaker and explained that as yet the English delegates had expressed no such opinion.

M. DUTERTRE, delegate from Brest, approved the previous speakers. In his town, men earned only 2s. a day and the present conditions of misery could not continue even though a revolution, perhaps a sanguinary revolution, be necessary to produce the desired change.

M. BROD, the Austrian delegate, said that in his country the workmen till quite recently toiled 16 hours a day just as the English workmen had done before 1848. When a restrictive law was demanded the Austrian capitalists brought forward precisely the same absurd arguments which had formerly been adduced in England. Nevertheless the government two years ago passed a law limiting the day's work to eleven hours and still the capitalists are not ruined. They have introduced new machinery and thus reduce the number of men they need employ. The objections raised in all countries to the reduction of hours of labour were identical; but, if we could obtain a universal Eight Hours Bill, then the change, being similar in all countries, the objection of foreign competition could not be raised. This would not, however, be a final solution and could only be considered as a good stepping stone towards the nationalization of the land and the means of production.

M. BRISSE, of Nantes, thought there should

be two holidays in a week, urged the abolition of custom duties and the imposition of a progressive income tax in its stead.

The delegate from Lyons asked for the addition of an extra clause to the resolution so as to include the question of a minimum wage and wanted to suppress the sweating system. After a few more somewhat irrelevant remarks, the discussion on the first question was terminated, and the President called for the report on

#### THE SECOND QUESTION.

MADAME VAISE read, on behalf of the School Teachers Union, the portion of the report relating to general education. Integral education meant the simultaneous development of all the human faculties. Diderot, Condorcet, and other leaders in the Great Convention had advocated this cause. She denied the paramount influences of hereditary tendencies. The child was a monkey which the school would develop into a human being. At first mere facts should be taught mingled with games, gymnastics, dance and music. Then the cause, the theory, might be gradually explained. Science should be taught with history and physics. The true reading of history was a science. The knowledge of material facts of anatomy, should go hand in hand with the study of mental and moral evolutions. Then the knowledge thus acquired should be applied to some suitable industry. Technical and industrial teaching must be based on scientific knowledge, and thus men could easily learn new trades as new machinery destroyed the old ones. Madame Vaise was in favour of complete education and opposed to apprenticeship. All children would not be able to benefit by integral education, but all should have an equal chance. To supply the entire population with every possible educational facility and this gratuitously would require a very large outlay; but then there was the Church that could legitimately be disendowed. All useless lands and private pleasure grounds should be heavily taxed and the rich domains now held by members of royal families who had never bought them, might be nationalized. This was no revolution, the methods suggested were pacific and legal methods, but they would revolutionize the intellect of the nation. As for the feeding of the children by the State, even our present individualistic governments had yielded this point; and it was amusing to note the Collectivism practised by our anti-Socialist rulers. At the Diderot school, for instance, not only was the technical training gratuitous, but half the children were fed by the State, and they had also scholarships and free journeys throughout France, provided for them at the expense of the collectivity or community at large.

M. GONDEFER, from St. Estienne, urged that

workmen who possessed exceptional knowledge and education became small tyrants in the workshop, and the specially skilled competed with the ordinary workman and reduced his wages. He could not object to education, in the abstract, but its management should be well under the control of the workmen themselves, or else the employers would use it as a weapon against the producing classes.

M. DAMAY, engineer, and formerly Mayor at the Creusot, read the second part of the report. He acknowledged that in response to public pressure, some improvements had been accomplished in France. The secularization of the schools was however far from complete. Most of the school books spoke in a Deistic sense. One authorized school book defined the stars as little lamps hung up by the creator of all things. What knowledge of the science of astronomy could arise from such absurdities. The moral taught was that the capital possessed by the Rothschilds was legitimately theirs. In the school book No. 2058, on the Siege of Paris, the members of the Commune were described as men drunk with blood and petroleum, followed by bands preaching theft and assassination. Do Longuet, Vaillant, and other Members of the Commune, who, at the present moment, are Members of the Paris Municipal Council, preach any such doctrines? He should much like to find the person whose palate relished the flavour of petroleum. Poverty will be a serious barrier to integral education, and it will be difficult to carry this out before the creation of collective property. The engineers, in their report, urge that for every five hours spent in the workshop, there should be three hours study. Other Trade Unions objected that, in existing technical schools, there was not a sufficient variety of trades taught. Modern industry rendered it more and more difficult for the apprentice to learn in the workshop, as the machines cannot be left by those who should teach. The better the education of the workman, the less readily will he submit to the petty tyranny of the master. This education will also lead him to take political action. The present commercial depression rendered it all the more urgent that the workmen should themselves take the management of technical education into their own hands, for such management, on their part, would be a step towards the socialization of productive industries. The reporter further insisted on the need of an increased number of farm or agricultural schools. He criticized at length the existing technical schools, and showed that those that were managed by the State were encumbered by red tapeism, while those under the direct control of the Municipality were cheaper and more successful. To render access to these institutions, gratuitous meals should be the rule. The pupils would be much improved if every week they were taken to visit a work-

shop, and, before they definitely settled on a trade, they should be taken on a journey all round France, and be called upon to select a career only after they had seen the great natural and industrial sights of the country. The reporter after some further remarks read the conclusions which he proposed as resolutions for the Congress to vote. These will be found *in extenso* as the vote taken on the Second Question.

The Congress now adjourned.

## SIXTH DAY, SATURDAY, AUGUST 28.

M. PALMGREN, the delegate for Sweden was elected to the honorary Presidency, and M. DUTERTRE, the delegate from Brest, to the effective Presidency.

When the roll call was completed, and the minutes of the previous meeting confirmed, the following dispatch from Sweden was read amidst the applause of the Congress:—

"The First General Congress of the Workmen's Association of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, meeting to-day at Gothenberg, sends you its fraternal salutations and hopes to see, at no distant date, united action and co-operation between the Workmen's Trade Societies of all countries.

Signed: LAURENT & JENSEN, *Presidents.*"

According to the "Order of the day," the report on the fifth question should have been read, and the voting on all the questions brought forward. But several provincial delegates protested that no one from the provinces had spoken during the Congress, and the President yielded to their complaints.

THOS. M. BRIOCELLE, delegate from the department of the Tarn, opened the debate. He had come to Paris animated with some prejudice against Parisian Socialists, but, on better acquaintance, he found that they were sadly maligned. Their only fault was their excess of generosity. They did not realize the full difficulties of the situation, otherwise they would be more careful and avoid those excesses of language which in the Provinces, at least, repelled thousands and kept them away from the movement. He was in favour of a national and then an international federation of trade societies, but he still believed that with republican institutions and universal suffrage we could reach the desired end. Force should only be used when all legal measures were exhausted. But our faults were due to our nature rather than to our institutions. We must try and reform the people and the governments will reform themselves. When every workman shall regularly pay his subscription to his society there will be the material means to teach the people, to moralize the people and the greater our strength the more sure the order we shall maintain and the progress we shall achieve.

M. SALMON, from Douai, spoke against the sweating system and urged the strict enforcement of the law of 1848, by which the system

should have been abolished. He also denounced piece work.

The PRESIDENT now called for the report on the Fifth Question: the proposed International Workman's Exhibition and Congress in 1889:—

M. PRION read the report which concluded as follows:—

The Commission of the Parisian Trades Unions demand that the International Workman's Exhibition for 1889 shall be organised with a subvention from the State but that the administration of the Exhibition shall be left entirely to the Trades Unions who will settle the question by convoking a general assembly of all the Unions. With respect to the International Congress of 1889 the Commission, after studying the various reports received, and which all conclude in favour of such a congress, demands that an international congress shall be held in 1889 at which shall be invited all the Socialist members of Parliament, or of Municipal Councils, all the Trades Unions, all the Workmen's Clubs or "Clubs of Social Study," in fact the entire Socialist party of all nations.\*

In the course of a somewhat confused discussion, it was suggested that the prices of the articles exhibited should be given and cheap ordinary goods as well as rare articles shown. Further debate was, however, cut short, as it was necessary to vote on the First before deciding the Fifth question. But there were many provincial speakers who still desired to make themselves heard. Others had all manner of amendments to the conclusions of the various reports and the Acting President entirely lost control over the Congress. Some disputes arose between Parisian and Provincial delegates, and the impartiality of M. Dutertre having been called into question it was finally resolved to elect another President whose neutrality could not be open to any doubt. Dr. Cæsar de Pæpe as a Belgian, yet a perfect master of the French language, was invited to take the Chair; and, with admirable firmness and tact, he not only brought the assembly to order, but he succeeded in silencing weary speakers and pushing the business forward with surprising promptitude.

It was now proposed to take the conclusions of the report on the First question as a substantive resolution. They run as follows:—

The Congress decides that the workmen of the different countries represented will urge their respective governments to open negotiations for the purpose of concluding international conventions and treaties concerning the conditions of labour. The Congress urges that the following demands should be first taken into discussion:

1. Interdiction of work by children under 14 years of age.
2. Special measures for the protection of children above 14 years and of women.
3. The duration of the day's work to be fixed at eight hours, with one day's rest per week.
4. Suppression of night work, excepting under circumstances to be specified.
5. Obligatory adoption of measures of hygiene in workshops, mines, factories, etc.
6. Suppression of certain branches of industry and certain modes of manufacturing injurious to the health of the workers.
7. Civil and penal responsibility of employers with respect to accidents.
8. Inspection of workshops, manufactories, mines, etc., by inspectors elected by the workmen themselves.

\* It will be noted that the possibility of a working class organisation being anything else but Socialist had not dawned on the framers of this report.

To these eight proposals two additional clauses were added; the first demanding that the work done in prisons should not compete disastrously with private enterprise and the second, based on the suggestions made the previous day by M. Anseele, that a minimum rate of wages should be established which would enable workmen to live decently and rear their families. Both these additions were adopted by the French and therefore made the clauses nine and ten of the resolution. Some of the delegates proposed an eleventh clause demanding participation in profits for workmen; and this brought up M. Allemane who energetically protested that participation in profits was but a snare of the capitalists. Workmen toiled hard enough at present without being made to work harder still. Their death-rate would rise higher and higher and the competition of workman against workman already so keen, would become absolutely intolerable, if they shared in profits.

After these few energetic words, participation in profits was at once condemned and rejected.

Another suggestion was made that, if the day's work was fixed at eight hours for men, women, who had more domestic duties than men, should work for six hours only. A general feeling, however, was manifested in favour of equality of the sexes, and this suggestion was not pressed to the vote which now began.

The French delegates, who were consulted first, voted unanimously in favour of the ten clauses mentioned above. The President, in the name of Belgium, gave in his warm approval, and stated that the 126,000 members of the Belgian Workman's Party would heartily endorse the vote of the Congress on International Legislation. The President then asked what was

#### THE ENGLISH VOTE.

By this time, Mr. Mawdsley, Mr. Galbraith and Mr. Jones had left the hall so as to catch the last train for London; and Mr. Trow was absent through ill-health. It was nevertheless generally understood that the remaining delegates would act in the name of their colleagues.

Mr. Jones, however, did not assent to this arrangement, but left a special message that he thoroughly approved of the first eight clauses of the resolution, and would have voted in their favour had it been possible for him to be present. He had, of course, no knowledge of the two additional clauses which were only introduced after his departure for London. This announcement was received with much cheering.

The following written declaration, prepared by the remaining English delegates was then read:—

"That, while agreeing with the principle of International Legislation as a means of obtaining uniform and improved

conditions of labour in the various countries of the world, and thus preventing the labour of one country from being undersold by another, the English delegates have no mandate from their constituents to vote in favour of the whole of the propositions submitted, and will, therefore, remain neutral, at the same time announcing that several of the conditions demanded by the resolution are already in force in England as the result of Trade Union action."

This declaration fell like a douche of cold water on the Congress; a feeling of hopelessness was depicted on many countenances. According to some French newspapers cries of "treachery" or "betrayal" were raised; but, personally, I failed to hear any such expression, though, undoubtedly, the greatest disappointment prevailed.

The Chairman, Dr. C. de Paepe, rose, and with much dignity, combined with a slight tinge of sarcasm, said:

"We had expected something better than that at the hands of the English Trades Unions. They have failed to understand that by voting with us they would have given great moral strength to our moderate practical demands. In two Congresses, in 1886 as in 1883, the English Trade Unionists have hung back from resolutions, which, practically, amounted to an effort made to strengthen the hands of the Swiss Government in the initiation taken by that Power to obtain International Legislation on labour questions. I cannot but still hope that there is some misunderstanding. Surely the English must acknowledge that it is indispensable to generalize the measures which in their own country have been of so much use to them. Their own interests demand such International Legislation if they do not wish to be the victims of a disloyal competition. For their own selfish ends, if not for the cause of humanity, they ought to vote with us. How can it be that the English, who were the first to adopt laws protecting women and children, should be the last to demand their general application? Women are majors, they have formed Trades Unions of their own, yet men recognise the necessity of a law for their protection, and Trades Unionists generally approve the law that secures a day's rest on Sunday. They do not reject Legislation on these subjects, why should they not agree to extend to the Continent principles which they have so nobly struggled to enforce in England?"

Mr. JOHN BURNETT replied that the chief reason why his friends and himself remained neutral, was that they had no mandate. They had come hastily to Paris; it was materially impossible to have first consulted their constituents. They could only promise to lay all the resolutions before the Congress to be assembled at Hull on the 6th September. The opinion of this Congress will be of far greater value and influence than that of the few individual delegates in Paris. Some of the clauses of the resolution, he thought, would not be approved, but with several they cordially agreed. They thoroughly deprecated all laws that interfered

with workmen's combinations, whether it be the law against the "International," or any other similarly oppressive measure. They believed in limiting the age when children might begin to work, and in England a law establishing the age at thirteen gave very general satisfaction. They had obtained reductions in the hours of labour, and, when the proper moment arrived, they would doubtless be ready to go a step farther in this direction. But they were not prepared to ask the legislature to enact laws. He did not understand what was meant in clause 4. If by night-work they meant double shifts which divided the labour among the greatest possible number of workers, he would not approve of the clause, but he would be willing to endorse it if it simply meant that we were to resist overtime. As for sanitary measures, there were some very good sanitary laws in England: and he also agreed to measures against unwholesome industries. Further, employers were liable in England, both in civil and penal law. Since 1880 English employers had in all paid £34,000 damages to injured workmen, and recently an employer had been sent to prison for a year in consequence of a fatal accident. The inspection of workshops by workmen was also a principle fully in force in England, therefore the English delegates were in thorough sympathy with the International Congress on most points; but they had no mandate with regard to the International enforcement of these points. They would report the results to the Hull Congress, and their future action would be the more forcible for having first obtained the approval of their constituents. Probably all the proposals would not be adopted, for the English, had done so much by self-help and by their own organisations that they were not prepared to hand all over to parliaments.

Dr. DE PAEPE, as chairman, was glad to note that if the English did not vote for the resolution, still they were not animated by any hostile intention.

M. ALLEMANE wished the English Unionists to pledge themselves that they would lay the cause of international legislation before the Hull Congress; and Dr. DE PAEPE remarked that trades unions would become more and more necessary as legislation on labour questions increased, so as to inspire such legislation, to check it when needful, and to carry out those State contracts and public works, which must soon be given over direct to the organised working classes, and not to individual contractors or speculators.

The PRESIDENT now called for the German vote, and HERR GRIMPE rose and stated that as the resolutions before the Congress were identical in principle with the Bill introduced in the German Parliament by the Deputies of the Social-Democratic Party, and as these principles were the same as those advocated by the 700,000 trades unionists and others who

voted for these deputies, he adopted them without hesitation or reserve.

M. PALMGREN, in the name of the Trades Unions of Sweden, that constituted the Social-Democratic Party of that country, indignantly rejected the proposal for participation in profits, and was against any difference being made in legislation affecting women and men. He therefore approved the vote of the French Delegates, and accepted the ten clauses of the resolution.

M. BROD, for Austria, the Hungarian and all the other foreign Delegates present gave in their assent.

Mr. JOHN NORTON, the Australian delegate, wished to explain his vote, for he was in favour of the six hours' work for women; and, if he voted for eight, it was only to secure a unanimity on the part of the Congress. His mandate gave him full latitude to vote, and if the English could not vote they should have come as visitors and not as delegates. He wished to explain why he was in opposition to the English. He would be ashamed of a mandate that did not allow him to vote. The English delegates say they are largely in sympathy with the Congress, then why do they not vote? I come from a greater distance, but still I maintain I have the right to vote. Women had much household work, and he would have preferred to limit their hours to six; but this Congress represented directly many hundreds of thousands of workmen, and indirectly many millions. Its decisions could not do otherwise than influence the governments concerned. It was therefore essential to secure a unanimous vote. He would put aside his little difference with regard to the question of women's work, and would accept, in union with the delegates of all the other countries, the resolution before the Congress. His only regret was that the English had not the courage of their opinions and thought fit to abstain. Legislation, in the sense of the resolutions before the Congress, had been enacted in England and Australia, and that mainly through the instrumentality of Trades Unionists. It seemed to him we could not have too much of a good thing, and he was astounded that those who professed to represent English Trades Unionists should hesitate to generalise what their constituents put in practice at home. He believed that the views of the Australian Trades Unionists were more in accordance with the principles proclaimed by the Continental delegates than the timorous neutrality of the English representatives. He was, therefore, loyally fulfilling his mandate in voting for the resolutions.

Mr. BURNETT, on the termination of this discourse, asked leave to make a short reply. This was out of order. During the voting of resolutions, explanation of a vote alone is allowed, and the English had declined to vote. It was only by the vigorous enforcement of these rules that the President had, un-

like his predecessor, been able to keep the meeting in hand and forward the business. Many speakers had already been ruled out of order and debarred from the privilege of speaking. Nevertheless, Dr. de Paepe determined to make an exception in Mr. Burnett's favour, and appealed to the Congress to forego its rules and afford Mr. Burnett an opportunity of answering Mr. Norton. It was, however, very late, and so much of the time of the Congress had already been taken up in discussing the policy or position of English Trades Unions, that the meeting voted against the President's proposal. Not satisfied, however, and as opinions seemed somewhat divided, M. de Paepe insisted on taking a second vote, and then there was undoubtedly a small majority against hearing Mr. Burnett.

The PRESIDENT consequently declared the incident to be closed, and the resolutions, with respect to International Legislation on Labour, to be unanimously carried; some of the English Delegates alone abstaining.

#### THE SECOND QUESTION.

The following conclusion of the Report on Integral Education were brought forward as a resolution:—

"The International Workmen's Congress, considering that all children have a right to integral education, that this education should have a unique programme on encyclopædic basis, developing itself gradually according to the ages, and specialising itself in the last period so as to form pupils fully developed intellectually and morally, that the working classes, in possessing in more than one profession the fundamental elements of other occupations, will then be guaranteed against the risks of industrial transformations, changes in material, tools, or the forces of Nature which tend day by day to replace human forces; considering that this education, logically and inevitably, bears with it the necessity of maintaining the children at the expense of the collectivity, demands that pending the modification of the programmes according to the exigencies of modern education, gratuitous, professional, or technical schools shall be created in sufficient numbers to afford place for all children leaving primary schools up to the age of sixteen. That pending the recognition by law of the duty of the State to keep all children till they are able to earn their own livelihood, scholarships of £8 to £20 shall be created for children according to age, whose parents' income does not exceed £120 a year. That the schools shall be placed under the surveillance of the Trades Unions and of the Educational Committees. That the authorities select among the suggestions thrown out in the preceding report the means for raising the necessary funds."

By the time this resolution was put to the vote, the English delegates had all quitted the hall, and this without giving any explanation as to their intentions or motives. Mr. Jones alone had left a message to the effect that he approved of gratuitous, compulsory, secular education, with the free feeding of the children; that this education should embrace every branch, both technical and superior, according to the capacity of the child; in fact, that there should be absolute equality in the educational advantages offered to the poor and the rich. This being explained, amid the cheers of the Congress, the above resolution was carried by all the nationalities present.

## The resolutions relating to

### THE THIRD QUESTION

were now read as follows :—

1. The International Congress proclaims itself opposed to all existing laws in all countries that have for object the prevention of workmen uniting internationally, and demands their abrogation.

2. That it is necessary to reconstitute an international society between the workers of all countries.

3. That it is also necessary to create national and international trade societies.

4. That the realisation of these measures shall be confided to a future international workmen's congress.

The French having at once adopted these resolutions, the President called for the English vote. A ghastly silence ensued, and, so as to create a slight diversion, I briefly explained that in the earlier part of the Congress the English delegation had desired to move a resolution which in spirit harmonised with the first clause of the motion now submitted. The foreign delegates all agreeing, the resolutions on the third question were carried. Though

### THE FOURTH QUESTION

had given rise to such a long discussion, still as it consisted principally of the reports of the delegates as to the economical and political condition of the workmen they represented, it was not considered necessary to bring forward a resolution.

The latter portion of the resolution on

### THE FIFTH QUESTION

gave rise to some opposition. The idea of inviting men because they were Socialist Deputies or Municipal Councillors was qualified as a form of hero worship opposed to all Democratic principles. If the societies to be represented chose to elect these men well and good; otherwise they could not be admitted.

M. DE PAEPE was somewhat opposed to this restriction. He explained that though willing to approve of a French Congress and Exhibition in 1889, the Belgians had determined to hold an International Congress before that date, and they would open their doors to all comers, whether Trades Unionists or Socialists, political bodies or trade societies—all that advocated the cause of labour would be welcome.

M. DALLE urged that the exhibition should above all things be a collective exhibition, the object being to show what organised trade societies working in conjunction with the State could do to supply public wants. As for the congress, it should be organised by the French Workman's Party as they possessed the most extensive international relations, and more general experience. As these suggestions met with general approval, the resolution was amended and put as follows :—

*Resolution.*—“The Congress decides that a Collective International Workman's Exhibition will be held in 1889, with a State subvention, to be administered by the Trades Unions who will convoke a general assembly of the corporations for this purpose.”

“The Congress further decides that an International Workman's Congress shall take place in 1889 and that the French Workman's Party (Fédération des Travailleurs Socialistes de France) shall be entrusted with the organisation of this Congress.”

The French voted for this resolution; another awkward pause ensued when the English were called upon for their vote. Herr GRIMPE remarked that while he was favourable to the project he feared the German law would not allow the participation of Germany, and with regard to the Congress he would wait for the result of the Belgian Congress, which was to come first. The Austrian delegate observed that the workmen of his country had made great sacrifices to participate in the present Exhibition and Congress. He trusted they would renew their efforts in 1889. The Swedish delegate abstained with regard to the Exhibition, and the Australian delegate voted in favour of the resolution on the ground that workmen of different countries could not meet too often.

The resolution was therefore taken as carried.

A proposal was then made and accepted that the minutes should be published in pamphlet form, and the President, C. de PAEPE, rose to pronounce a short allocution recognising the union of all nations.

In the absence of the English delegates, who might have taken the initiative in the matter, for every effort had been made to render their visit in Paris agreeable and profitable. I rose to propose a vote of thanks to the French executive or organising committee. This being accepted, the last act of the Congress was the adoption, without discussion and with the utmost unanimity, of a resolution demanding an amnesty for all those who were now in prison for having defended the interests of the working classes.

At last, amid cheers and congratulations, the delegates rose, and the arduous task of the Congress was brought to an end. It was half-past one in the morning before the delegates had all quitted the hall; but, though late, they had at least the satisfaction of having fully exhausted the programme they had met to discuss and decide.

### CONCLUSION.

The business of the Congress terminated, the delegates did not at once separate. On the morrow, Sunday, 29th August, a great banquet was given at the Workmen's Exhibition. This entertainment was a failure by reason of its success. Dinner had been prepared for three hundred persons; no less than 483 came. The provisions consequently fell short, and half the waiters in despair gave the matter up as hopeless, took their coats and hats and marched away. Thus the difficulties increased, the clamour and confusion was indescribable, and most of the guests had to

be content with a very incomplete dinner. Under these circumstances, it was difficult to obtain silence for the speeches. MM. Chabert, Jacques, Delhomme, Marchard, Muzet, de Menorval, Desnoulins, and Guichard, members of the Paris Municipal Council attended at the Banquet, and two of the Councillors spoke in the name of the town of Paris to congratulate the workmen on the success of their exhibition, and expressed their regret that it had not been possible to grant a larger subvention. At the conclusion of the banquet a number of the delegates danced and sung the Carmagnole in the gardens of the Exhibition.

On Monday, 30th August, several of the delegates went to visit the technical school established at Montévrain for children morally abandoned where they were entertained at a sumptuous lunch at the expense of the Town of Paris. On the Tuesday they were treated with equal hospitality at Villepreux where a similar school is established. At the latter establishment horticulture and agriculture are taught; at the former, various skilled trades. In both cases, the pupils are rescued from the streets of Paris, when they have been morally abandoned by their parents, and saved from vagabondage by being taught useful trades. These institutions are under the control of the Council General of the Seine. But the Trades Unions exercise considerable indirect influence over their management, thus the education given is of a democratic, scientific and absolutely secular character.

It should also be mentioned that the organizers of the Congress had graciously placed a large brake at the disposal of the English delegates, and obtained more than twenty special permissions from the Government, the Municipality, and the Prefecture of Police, authorizing them to visit every public institution in Paris and in the neighbourhood. The delegates, being anxious to call at workshops and on the societies of their own trades, were not able to avail themselves extensively of these privileges. They, however, visited the State manufactories of tapestry at the Gobelins and of porcelain at Sevres, the technical schools, the Ecole Diderot, and a few other establishments. Finally on Monday the 30th, a public meeting was held in the evening at the Salle de la Rédoute; where several delegates to the recent Congress spoke, and pointed out that whatever hesitation might still linger in the minds of English working men with regard to Socialism, from every point of view the organization of powerful Trade Unions was an indispensable preliminary step. Socialism itself could not be realized if the different trades were not organized and accustomed to collective action. It was the great trade societies who would have to supply the wants of the community when the revolution, pacific or otherwise, had

triumphed over privilege, caste and individualism. Such, at least, was the general tone of this public meeting.

It will be seen, therefore, that the foreign workmen are at one with the Trade Unionists of England in the advocacy of strong trade societies. At the same time, their ultimate ideal is the Socialism which is now being taught so extensively in England.\* But the French Possibilists differ from what is known, on the Continent, as Marxism by their belief in the expediency of allowing each country to work out its own emancipation according to its own instincts and customs. They indignantly repudiate the pretensions of Herr Grimpe and other Marxists who would attempt to dictate to Englishmen how they should choose as their leaders or what tactics they should adopt. For this reason, the "Official Circle" of the Social-Democrats of Germany, composed to a great extent of old personal allies of Dr. Marx, has taken sides in favour of the Guesdists: that is the little handful of Frenchmen who represent the Marxist policy in France, as against the autonomist policy of the Possibilists. In England, the same division exists, and the Socialist League embodies the Marxist element, while the Social-Democratic Federation is imbued with a keener sense of British independence and repudiates the inspirations of an occult and in the main German influence. Yet both Marxists and anti-Marxists are ardent admirers of the profound economic works of Dr. Karl Marx. Both readily applaud the immortal manifesto issued by Marx and Engels in 1847 and try to master the intricacies of *Das Capital*.† On the other hand, it is generally believed that the personal influence of Dr. Karl Marx, his intimate friends and family, by their centralizing and autocratic tendencies, did more to break up the International than the Dufaure Law and all the other suppressive enactments. Actually a daughter of Dr. Karl Marx is the wife of a leader among the Guesdists in Paris and another daughter is a prominent member of the Socialist League in London. The principal difficulty in obtaining united action among the workmen of the continent springs from the antagonism arising out of these family influences and personal hostilities. There is no real difference in principle. The Possibilists in Paris vote to a man in favour of resolutions harmonizing with the theories and doctrines of Dr. Karl Marx and the Collectivist school of the scientific

\* For publications relating to the same see list by REEVES, 185, Fleet Street, E.C., and THE MODERN PRESS, 13, Paternoster Row. Many of these publications are penny pamphlets, the most popular being the "Socialist Catechism," by J. L. Joynes, B.A., (late Assistant Master at Eton College), and "The Eight Hours Movement," by Thomas Mann, (Amalgamated Engineers).

† The original edition, in German, may be obtained from Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill. A French translation was published for five francs by Maurice Lachatre, Editeur Paris. An English edition will shortly appear.

and State Socialists. But there is the antagonism of personalities and of policy. Perhaps the advent of English Trade Unionism in the midst of these differences may help to bridge over such sources of weakness, for the time is surely at hand when the old quarrels that date back more than sixteen years may

be buried and forgotten. In view, however, of the forthcoming International Congress to be held in London, it seemed to me indispensable to give a few brief details concerning these great currents of continental opinion.

ADOLPHE SMITH.

## LIST OF DELEGATIONS TO THE CONFERENCE.

### AUSTRIA.

M. BROD, delegate to the Exhibition and the Congress.

### BELGIUM.

For the General Council of the Belgian Workmen's Party, ED. ANSEELE, of Ghent, and Dr. CESAR DE PAEPE, of Brussels. (125,000 Members).

For the Federation of the Trade Unions of Ghent, LOUIS BERTRAND.

For the Federation of the Workmen's Leagues, Central District La Louvière, (9,000 Members), CH. MINNIE.

Federation of the Miners of the Borinage, DEFUISSEAUX.

### ENGLAND.

For the Trades Unions Congress Parliamentary Committee, J. MAWDSLEY. (65,534 Members), For the London Trades Council, C. J. DRUMMOND and W. JONES. (25,600 Members).

The Amalgamated Engineers, JOHN BURNETT. (52,000 Members).

Railway Servants Society, ED. HARFORD. (9,000 Members).

London Society of Compositors, J. GALBRAITH. (6,500 Members).

The Iron and Steel Workers Society, E. TROW. (2,000 Members).

### COLONIES, AUSTRALIA.

South Australia and New South Wales, JOHN NORTON.

### GERMANY.

The *Sozial Demokrat* of Zurich, in the name of the Parliamentary Committee of the German Workman's Socialist Party, HERR GRIMPE. (The Social-Democratic vote throughout the German Empire is estimated at about 700,000)

The German Workman's Communist Club of London, H. RACKOW.

### HUNGARY.

The Compositors of Buda-Pesth, — MULLER.

### SWEDEN.

Social-Democratic Federation. C. PALMGREN.

### FRENCH PROVINCES.

Name of Societies and number of Delegates:—The Glass Workers of Montluçon, Blanzay, Carneau, and Chalons, one delegate. The Federated Trades Union of Poitiers, three delegates. Federated Trades of Blois, two delegates. The Boiler Makers of Nantes, one. The Furniture Trades of St. Estienne, one. The Turners of Nantes, one. Weavers of St. Estienne, two. The Workman's Society of St. Estienne, one. The Blacksmiths of Nantes, one. The Bootmakers of Tours, one. The Locksmiths of Marseilles, one. The Engineers of Lyons, two. The Boiler Makers of Lyons, two. The Painters on porcelain of Limoges, one. The Workers' Union of Maçon, one. The Metal Workers of East Lyons, one. The Annual Congress of the Trades of Lyons, three. Masons and Plasterers of Brest, one. Marble and Stone Cutters of Brest, one. Carpenters and Joiners of Brest, one. Painters of Brest, one. Locksmiths and Tinsmiths of Brest, one. Cabinet Makers of Tours, one. The Leather and Skin Trades of the Tarn, one. The Bootmakers of Anger, one. The Furriers of Angoulême, one. The Executive Commission of the Trades of Rennes, one. The Metal Workers of Rennes, one. The Slate Quarry Men of Trélazé, one. The Gilders and Decorators of Rennes, one. The Bootmakers of Rennes, one.

The French Colony of Algeria sent three delegates who were appointed by the Trades Council of Algiers.

Finally the majority of the Trade Societies of Paris were represented. Altogether there were delegates from 86 Trade Unions which unfortunately cannot be enumerated here for want of space. Nevertheless, if it is desired to communicate with any French Trade Society, it will suffice to write to the following address;

au Secrétaire du Comité National,  
Bureau du *Proletariat*,  
58 rue Grénéta, PARIS.

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