**World Revolution, The Plot Against Civilization – by Nesta H. Webster 1921**

**BY NESTA H. WEBSTER (MRS. ARTHUR WEBSTER)**

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HAVAVO CrilLSGE UBBARy

•» -T i.e

>i les hommes comprenaient la revolution atijotirdliui,

elle finirait demain."

Joseph db Maistrb in 1811\*

"Les personnes qui ignorent la veritable situation des

choses, et le nombre en est grand, s'imaginent que les

society secrdtes ont pour objet Talliance des peuples contre

les rois; c'est une erreur capitale. Les sod^t^s secretes

sont ennemies des uns et des autres; elles flattent les

passions, elles ezdtent les divisions, les haines, les ven-

geances; mais c'est k leur profit, ou plutdt k celui de

quelques ambitieux qui ne voudraient d^trdner les rois que

pour mieux opprizner les sujets."

Lombard db Langrbs in 1819.

in tha United Stutm of AnMrioft

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

In reply to numerous enquiries as to whether the

statements I made in The French Revolution have since

been disproved, I take this opportunity to say that,

as far as I am aware, no one has attempted to bring

forward any contrary evidence. The Socialist press was

completely silent, whilst hostile reviewers in the general

press contented themselves with saying the work was

" biassed," but without quoting chapter and verse in

support of this assertion. My book was not intended to

be the last word on the French Revolution, but the first

attempt, in English, to tell the truth, and had my view

on any essential point been shown to be erroneous, I

should have been perfectly ready to readjust it in further

editions. No such honest challenge was made, however;

my opponents preferring the method of creating prejudice

against my work by attributing to me views I never

e3cpressed. Thus, at the moment of this book going to

press, it has been brought to my notice that I am repre-

sented as having attacked British Freemasonry. This

can only have been said in malice, as I have always clearly

differentiated between British and Continental masonry,

showing the former to be an honourable association not

only hostile to subversive doctrines but a strong supporter

of law, order, and religion. (See The French Revolution,

pp. 20 and 492.) I am in fact indebted to certain dis-

tiQguished British masons for valuable help and advice

in my work, which I here gratefully acknowledge.

FOREWORD

Amongst all the books, pamphlets, and newspaper

articles that are now devoted to the World Revolution

through which we are passing, it is strange to notice how

little scientific investigation is being brought to bear on

the origins of the movement. A frequent explanation

advanced, and, I believe, the most fallacious, is that the

present unrest must be attributed to \*' war weariness."

Htunan nature, we are told, exasperated by the pro-

tracted horror of the recent international conflict, has

become the victim of a crise de nerfs which finds its

expression in world-wide discontent. In support of this

theory we are reminded that former wars have likewise

been followed by periods of social disttirbance, and that

by a process of analogy the symptoms may be expected

to subside as the strain of war is relieved, in the same

manner as they have subsided hitherto. It is true that

political conflicts between nations have frequently in the

past been followed by social upheavals — the Napoleonic

Wars by industrial troubles in England, the Franco-

Prussian War by revolutionary agitation not only in the

land of the conquered, but of the conquerors — but to

regard these social manifestations as the direct outcome

of the preceding international conflict is to mistake con-

tributing for fundamental causes. Revolution is not the

product of war, but a malady that a nation suffering from

the after-effects of a war is most likely to develop, just as

a man enfeebled by fatigue is more liable to contract

disease than one who is in a state of perfect vigour.

Yet this predisposing cause is by no means essential

to the outbreak of revolutionary fever. The great French

Revolution was not immediately preceded by a war of

any magnitude, and to the observant mind England in

1914 was as near to revolution as in 1919. The intervening

World War, far from producing the explosion in this

cotmtry, merely retarded it by rallying citizens of all

classes around the standard of national defence.

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The truth is that for the last one hundred and forty-

five years the fire of revolution has smouldered steadily

beneath the ancient structure of civilization, and already

at moments has burst out into flame threatening to destroy

to its very foimdations that social edifice which eighteen

centuries have been spent in constructing. The crisis of

today is then no development of modem times, but a

mere continuation of the immense movement that began

in the middle of the eighteenth century. In a word, it is

all one and the same revolution — the revolution that

found its first expression in France of 1789. Both in its

nature and its aims it differs entirely from former revolu-

tions which had for their origin some localized or tem-

porary cause. The revolution through which we are now

passing is not local but imiversal, it is not political but

social, and its causes must be sought not in popular dis-

content, but in a deep-laid conspiracy that uses the

people to their own undoing.

In order to follow its cotirse we must realize the dual '

nature of the movement by studying concurrently the

outward revolutionary forces of Socialism, Anarchism,

etc., and the hidden power behind them as indicated in

the chart accompanying this work. The present writer

believes that hitherto no book has been written on pre-

cisely these lines ; many valuable works have been devoted

to secret societies, others to the surface history of revolu-

tion, but none so far has attempted to trace the connec-

tion between the two in the form of a continuous narrative.

The object of this book is therefore to describe not only

the evolution of Socialist and Anarchist ideas and their

effects in succeeding revolutionary outbreaks, but at the

same time to follow the workings of that occult force,

terrible, imchanging, relentless, and wholly destructive,

which constitutes the greatest menace that has ever

confronted the human race.

Parts of Chapters I and III appeared in The Nine-

teenth Century and After, and certain later passages in

The Morning Post.

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CHAPTER I:

ILLUMINISM

The Phfloaophers — Rousseau — Secret Societies — Freemasonrr — Adam

Weishaupt — The lUuxninati — Congress of Wilhehnsbad — lUumi-

nati suppressed.

It is a commonly accepted opinion that the great

revolutionary movement which began at the end of the

eighteenth centtiry originated with the philosophers of

France, particularly with Rousseau. This is only to state

half the case; Rousseau was not the originator of his

doctrines, and if we were to seek the cause of revolution in

mere philosophy it wotdd be necessary to go a great deal

further back than Rousseau — to Mably, to the Utopia of

Thomas More, and even to Pythagoras and Plato.

At the same time it is undoubtedly true that Rousseau

was the principal medium through which the doctrines of

these earlier philosophers were brought home to the

intelligentzia of eighteenth centtuy France, and that his

Contrat Social and Discours sur V origins de Vin4galiU parmi

les homines contained the germs of modem Socialism in

all its forms. The theory of Rousseau that has the most

important bearing on the theme of this book might be

expressed in the colloquial phrase that "Civilization is all

wrong" and that salvation for the human race lies in a

return to nature. According to Rousseau, civilization had

proved the bane of humanity ; in his primitive state Man

was free and happy, only under the paralysing influence of

social restraints had his liberty been curtailed, whilst to the

laws of property alone was due the fact that a large propor-

tion of mankind had fallen into servitude. "The first man

who bethought himself of saying This is mine,' and fotmd

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people simple enough to believe him was the real founder of

civil society. What crimes, what wars, what murders, what

miseries and horrors would he have spared the human race

who, snatching away the spades and filling in the ditches,

had cried out to his fellows: 'Beware of listening to this

impostor; you are lost if you forget that^the fruits of the

earth belong to all and the earth to no one/ "^ In these

words the whole principle of Communism is to be found.

There is a certain substratum of truth in Rousseau's

indictment of civilization — a substratum common to all

dangerous errors. For if there were no truth at the bottom

of false philosophies they wotdd obtain no credence, and

thus could never constitute a menace to the world.

Rousseau's gigantic error was to argue that because there

are certain evils attendant on civilization therefore civili-

zation is wrong from the beginning. As well might one

point to a neglected patch in a garden and say: "See the

restdts of cultivation!" In order to remedy the evils of

the existing social system more civilization, not less, is

needed. Civilization in its higher a^ects, not in the mere

acquisition of the physical amenities of life, or even of

artistic and scientific knowledge, but in the sphere of

moral aspiration is all that separates Man from the brute.

Destroy civilization in its entirety and the human race

sinks to the level of the jtmgle in which the only law is

that of the strong over the weak, the only incentive the

struggle for material needs. For although Rousseau's

injunction, "Go back into the woods and become men!"

may be excellent advice if interpreted as a temporary

measure, "go back into the woods and remain there" is a

coimsel for anthropoid apes.

It would be idle, however, to refute the folly of

Rousseau's theories, to show that in Nature Communism

does not exist, that the first creature to establish the law of

property was not man staking out his claim, but the first

bird appropriating the branch of a tree whereon to build

its nest, the first rabbit selecting the spot wherein to

burrow out his hole — a right that no other bird or rabbit

has ever dreamt of disputing.

^ Discours sur VirUgdliU des conditions.

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As to the distribution of the "fruits of the earth" one

has only to watch two thrushes on the lawn disputing over

a worm to see how the question of food supply is settled in

primitive society. Nothing could be more absurd than

Rousseau's conception of ideal barbarians living together

on the principle of "Do as you would be done by" ; only a

dreamer utterly unacquainted with the real conditions of

primitive life — the life of rule by the strongest, of pitiless

preying on the weak and helpless — could have conjured

up such a vision.^

Even eighteenth-century France, with all its avidity for

novelty and its dreams of "a return to Nature," never

regarded the primitive Utopia of Rousseau in the light of

an attainable ideal, and it is as inconceivable that the

philosophy of the Discours sur Vinigaliti should have led to

the attempt to overthrow civilization in 1793 as that the

mockeries of Voltaire should have led to the Feasts of

Reason and the desecration of the churches. The teaching

of Rousseau never reached the people to any appreciable

extent, his influence was confined to the aristocracy and

bourgeoisie, and it was certainly not the hyper-civilized

habiitUs of the salons nor the prosperous bourgeois of the

provinces, nor indeed was it Rousseau himself, living on

the boimty of the most dissolute amongst the rich and

sharing their vices, who would have welcomed a return to

aboriginal conditions of life.

The salons toyed with the philosophy of Rousseau as

they toyed with any new thing — Mesmerism, Martinism,

Magic — whilst the disgruntled members of the middle

class who took him seriously used his theories merely as a

lever for stirring up hatred against the class by which they

believed themselves to be sUghted, and never dreamt of

emulating the Caribbean savages held up to their admira-

tion by the exponent of primitive equality.

^ On the Indian frontier, where still to-day no laws exist, the inhabitants

are obliged to resort to the plan of building towers reached only by ladders

wherein to deep at night, and by ascending into these refuges and pulling

the ladders up after them they are able to slumber in comparative security

from assassination. Equality of wealth is maintained by the same primi-

tive methods. "How do you prevent any one getting too rich? " a British

general inquired of an inhabitant of the Swat Valley, where a rudimentary

form of Communism is carried out. "We cut his throat,\*' was the brief reply.

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It is not then to the philosophers, but to the source

whence they drew many of their inspirations, that the

great dynamic force of the Revolution must be attributed.

Rousseau and Voltaire were Freemasons; the Encyclop£die

was published tmder the auspices of the same order.^

Without this powerful aid the drawing-room doctrinaires

of the eighteenth century could no more have brought

about the mighty cataclysm of 1789 than could the Fabian

Society have produced the world revolution of to-day.

The organization of the Secret Societies was needed to

transform the theorizings of the philosophers into a con-

crete and formidable system for the destruction of civi-

lization.

In order to trace the origins of these sects it would be

necessary to go back quite six centuries before the first

French Revolution. As early as 1186 an order had been

formed, calling itself the \*' Confr6rerie de la Paix," with the

main object of putting an end to wars, but also with the

idea of establishing commtmity of land. In their attacks

on the nobles and clergy, the Confreres thus expressed their

belief in the system now known as nationalization: " By

what right do they invade the goods that should be com-

mon to all such as the meadows, the woods, the game that

runs about the fields and forests, the fish that people the

rivers and the ponds, gifts that Nature destines equally to

all her children? " Accordingly the Confreres set out to

destroy the ch&teaux and monasteries, but the nobles

arming themselves in self-defence ended by destroying the

" Confrererie." «

It will be seen, therefore, that Rousseau in attacking

the rights of property was proclaiming a doctrine that had

not only been preached but which it had actually been

attempted to put into practice in France 600 years earlier.

The fact that the Confr^es of the twelfth century had

been thus siunmarily suppressed did not prevent the for-

mation of further subversive sects; early in the following

century came the Albigeois professing much the same

^ Martinis de PasquaUy, by Papus, President of the Supreme Council

of the Martiniste Order (1895), p. 146.

\* Recherches polUiques et historiques, by the Chevalier de Malet (1817)^

p. 17.

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doctrines; in 1250 a Hungarian ex-priest named Jacobi

organized a crusade against the priests and nobles, and at

about the same date the order of the Templars was founded

in Jerusalem by certain gentilshommes of Picardy during

the Crusades. On their return to France the ICnights

Templars instituted themselves as a power independent of

the Monarchy, and imder their Grand Master, Jacques du

Molay, rose against the authority of the King, Philipi)e le

BeL In 1312 several of their ntimber were arrested and

accused, amongst other things, of spitting on the crucifix

and of denying the Christ. In the course of their cross-

examination they declared that they had not been fully

initiated into the Statutes of the Order, and that they

suspected " that there were two sorts, some that were

shown to the public, others that were carefully hidden and

were not even known to all the Knights." ^

Jacques du Molay and several of the leaders were

executed, and, according to the Chevalier de Malet, \*\* those

who had escaped the storm afterwards met in obscurity so

as to re-knit the ties that had tinited them, and in order to

avoid fresh denimdations they made use of allegorical

methods which indicated the basis of their association in a

manner unintelligible to the eyes of the vulgar : that is the

origin of the Free Masons." \*

This last assertion finds ftuther confirmation from the

Martiniste Papus, who explains that the " Grand Chap-

ter " of French Freemasonry founded in the eighteenth

century was constituted imder the Templars, " that is to

say that their most eminent members are animated by the

desire to avenge Jacobus Burgundus Molay and his com-

panions for the assassination of which they were the vic-

tims on the part of two tyrannical powers: Royalty and

Papacy." »

Meanwhile Freemasonry in England had developed

^ Recherches poUUgues el hisUniques, by the Chevalier de Malet (1817),

p. 37. \* Ibid, p. 39.

\* Martinis de PasquaUyt by Papus, p. 140. In the above passages I

have only touched very briefly on the origins of Continental masonry, as

the subject was recently fully dealt with in the v^y interesting articles

that appeared in the Morning Post during July 1020 under the title of

The Cause of World Unrest, and republished in pamphlet form by Grant

Richards.

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along quite different lines. This is not the place to discuss

its aims or origins; suffice it to say that although French

Freemasonry of the Grande Loge Nationale derived from

one of the same soxirces — the Confr6rerie of the Rose

Croix — and received its first charters from the Grand

Lodge of London (founded in 1717), the two Orders must

not be confounded. The craft masonry of Britain, which

was largely a development of the real guild of working

masons, has always retained the spirit of brotherly asso-

ciation and general benevolence which animated its

founders, and has adhered throughout to the principle that

\*' nothing touching religion or govenmient shall ever be

spoken of in the Lodge." ^

In France, however, as in other Continental countries,

the lodges speedily became centres of political intrigue.

The Grand Orient, fotmded in 1772, with the Due de

Chartres (later Philippe Egalit^) as its Grand Master, was

an undeniably subversive body, and by a coalition with the

Grand Chapter in 1786 acquired a far more dangerous

character. For whilst " the spirit of the Grand Orient was

frankly democratic (though not demagogic)," the spirit of

the Grand Chapter was revolutionary, \*\* but the Revolu-

tion was to be accomplished above all for the benefit of the

upper class\* {la haute bourgeoisie), with the people as its

instrument.'\* The brothers of the Templar rite, that is to

say, of the Grand Chapter, were thus '\* the real fomentors

of revolutions, the others were only docile agents." • In

the opinion of Papus and of contemporary masons them-

selves the Revolution of 1789 was the outcome of this com-

bination.\*

Indeed the influence of Freemasonry on the French

Revolution cannot be denied by any honest inqiurer into

the causes of that great upheaval, and, as we shall see later,

the French Freemasons themselves proudly claimed the

Revolution as their work. It was thus that George Sand,

herself a mason (for the Grand Orient from the beginning

admitted women to the Order), wrote long afterwards:

\*\* Half a century before those days marked out by destiny

\* Robison, Proofs of a Conspiracy, p. 10. \* Papus, op, cU. p. 139.

• Ibid. p. 144. « Ihtd. pp. 142. 144, 146,

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. • . the French Revolution was fennenting in the dark

and hatching below grotind. It was maturing in the minds

of believers to the point of fanaticism, in the form of a

dream of universal revolution. . . ." ^

The Socialist historian, Louis Blanc, also a Freemason,

has thrown much light on the question of these occult

forces.

We know, moreover, that George Sand was right in

attributing to the Secret Societies the origin of the revolu-

tionary war-cry, \*\* Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." Long

before the Revolution broke out the formula \*\* Liberty and

Equality " had been current in the lodges of the Grand

Orient — a formtda that sounds wholly pacific, yet which

holds within it a whole world of discord. For observe the

contradiction : it is impossible to have complete liberty and

equaUty, the two are mutually exclusive. It is possible to

have a system of complete liberty in which every man is

free to behave as he pleases, to do what he will with his own,

to rob or to murder, to live, that is to say, under the law of

the jungle, rtde by the strongest, but there is no equaHty

there. Or one may have a -system of absolute equality, of

cutting every one down to the same dead level, of crushing

all incentive in man to rise above his fellows, but there is

no Uberty there. So Grand Orient Freemasonry, by coup-

ling together two words for ever incompatible, threw into

the arena an apple of discord over which the world has

never ceased to quarrel from that day to this, and which

has throughout divided the revolutionary forces into two

opposing camps.

As to the word Fraternity, which completes the masonic

formula, we find that this was added by a further Secret

Society, the Marttnistes, fotmded in 1754 by a Portuguese

Jew, Martinez Paschalis (or Pasqually), who had evolved

a system out of gnosticism, Judaized Christianity, and the

philosophies of Greece and of the East.

This Order split up into two branches, one continued

by Saint-Martin, a disciple of Martinez Paschalis, but also

of Jacob Boehme, and a fervent Christian, and the other a

more or less revolutionary body by which the lodge of the

^ La ComUsu de Rudolstadt, n. 219.

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Philalfethes was founded in Paris. In the book of Saint-

Martin, Des erreurs et de la v£rit6, published in 1775, the

formula \*\* Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity " is referred

to as \*\* le temaire sacr6."

The Martinistes, frequently referred to in French con-

temporary records as the Illumin6s, were in reality dream-

ers and fanatics,^ and must not be confoimded with the

Order of the Illtuninati of Bavaria that came into existence

twenty-two years later. It is by this " terrible and formid-

able sect " that the gigantic plan of World Revolution was

worked out under the leadership of the man whom Louis

Blanc has truly described as " the profoimdest conspirator

that has ever existed."

Adam Weishaupt, the founder of the lUuminati, was

bom on the 6th of February, 1748. His early training by

the Jesuits had inspired him with a violent dislike for their

Order, and he turned with eagerness to the subversive

teaching of the French philosophers and the anti-Christian

doctrines of the Manicheans. It is said that he was also

indoctrinated into Egyptian occultism by a certain mer-

chant- of unknown origin from Jutland, named Kolmer,

who was travelling about Europe during the year 1771 in

search of adepts,\* Weishaupt, who combined the practical

German brain with the cunning of Machiavelli, spent no

less than five years thinking out a plan by which all these

ideas should be reduced to a system, and at the end of this

period he had evolved the following theory :

Civilization, Weishaupt held with Rousseau, was a mis-

take : it had developed along the wrong lines, and to this

cause all the inequalities of human life were due. '\* Man,"

he declared, " is fallen from the condition of Liberty and

Equality, the State of Pure Nature. He is under subor-

dination and civil bondage arising from the vices of Man,

This is the Fall and Original Sin." The first step towards

regaining the state of primitive liberty consisted in learning

to do without things. Man must divest himself of all the

trappings laid on him by civilization and return to nomadic

^ "The Martinistes, whose tendencies were purely scientific, passed

frequently for madmen and despised politics" (Papus, 0^. cU. p. 55).

« Les Sectes et sociiUs secretes, by the Comte Le Couteulx de Canteleu

(18G3), p. 152.

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conditions — even clothing, food, and fixed abodes should

be abandoned. Necessarily, therefore, all arts and sciences

must be abolished. '' Do the common sciences aJSord real

enlightenment, real human happiness? or are they not

rather children of necessity, the complicated needs of a

state contrary to Nature, the inventions of vain and empty

brains? " Moreover, " are not many of the complicated

needs of civilization the means of retaining in power the

mercantile class (Kaufmannschaft), which if allowed any

authority in the government would inevitably end by

exercising the most formidable\* and despotic power ? You

will see it dictating the law to the universe, and from it will

perhaps ensue the independence of one part of the world,

the slavery of the other. For he is a master who can arouse

and foresee, stifle, satisfy, or lessen needs. And who can

do that better than tradesmen? " ^

Once released from the bondage civilization imposes,

Man must then be self-governing. "Why," asked

Weishaupt, " should it be impossible to the human race

to attain its highest perfection, the capacity for governing

itself? " For this reason not only should kings and nobles

be abolished, but even a Republic should not be tolerated,

and the people should be taught to do without any con-

trolling authority, any law, or any dvil code. In order to

make this system a success it would be necessary only to

inculcate in Man " a just and steady morality," and since

Weishaupt professed to share Rousseau's belief in the

inherent goodness of human nature this would not be diffi-

cult, and society might then \*\* go on peaceably in a state

of perfect Liberty and Equality." For since the only real

obstacle to human perfection lay in the restraints imposed

on Man by artificial conditions of life, the removal of these

must inevitably restore him to his primitive virtue. \*\* Man

is not bad except as he is made so by arbitrary morality.

He is bad because Religion, the State, and bad examples

pervert him." It was necessary, therefore, to root out from

his mind all ideas of a Hereafter, all fear of retribution for

evil deeds, and to substitute for these superstitions the

religion of Reason. " When at least Reason becomes the

religion of men, then will the problem be solved."

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After deliverance from the bondage of religion, the

loosening of all social ties must follow. Both family and

national life must cease to exist so as to " make of the

human race one good and happy family." The origins of

patriotism and the love of kindred are thus described by

Weishaupt in the directions given to his Hierophants for

the instruction of initiates :

At the moment when men united themselves into nations

they ceased to recognise themselves tinder a common name.

Nationalism or National Love took the place of imiversal love.

With the division of the globe and its cotmtries benevolence

restricted itself behind boundaries that it was never again to

transgress. Then it became a virtue to spread out at the expense

of those who did not happen to be under our dominion. Then

in order to attain this goal, it became permissible to despise

foreigners, and to deceive and to offend them. This virtue was

called Patriotism. That man was called a Patriot, who, whilst

just towards his own people, was unjust to others, who bHnded

himself to the merits of foreigners and took for perfections

the vices of his own country. So one sees that Patriotism gave

birth to Localism, to the family spirit, and finally to Egoism.

Thus the origin of states or governments of dvil society was

the seed of discord and Patriotism found its ptmishment in

itself. . . . Diminish, do away with this love of country, and

men will once more learn to know and love each other as men;

there will be no more partiality, the ties between hearts wiU

tmroll and extend.\*

In these words, the purest expression of International-

ism as it is expounded today, Weishaupt displayed an

ignorance of primeval conditions of life as prof oimd as that

of Rousseau. The idea of palaeolithic man, whose skeleton

is usually exhumed with a flint instrument or other weapon

of warfare grasped in its hand, passing his existence in a

state oif " tmiversal love," is simply ludicrous. It was

not, however, in his diatribes against civilization that

Weishaupt surpassed Rousseau, but in the plan he devised

for overthrowing it. Rousseau had merely paved the

way for revolution; Weishaupt constructed the actual

machinery of revolution itself.

It was on the 1st of May 1776 that Weishaupt's five

> Nachtrag . . • Originalschriften (des JUuminaUn Ord^ms), ZwtiU

Abthcdlung, p. 65.

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years of meditation restilted in his founding the secret

society that he named, after bygone philosophical systems,

the Uluminati.^ All the members were required to adopt

classical names: thus Weishaupt took that of Spartacus,

the leader of an insurrection of slaves in ancient Rome;

his i>rincipal ally, Herr von Zwack, privy cotmciUor to the

Prince von Salm, became Cato; the Marquis di Constanza,

Diomedes; Massenhausen, Ajax; Hertel, Marius; the

Baron von Schroeckenstein, Mahomed ; the Baron Mengen-

hofen, Sylla, etc. In the same way the names of places

were changed to those celebrated in antiqtiity ; Mtmich, the

headquarters of the system, was to be known as Athens;

Ingoldstadt, the birthplace of lUuminism, as Ephesus, or

to the adepts initiated into the inner mysteries of the

Order, as Eleusis; Heidelberg as Utica, Bavaria as Achaia,

Suabia as Pannonia, etc. For greater secrecy in correspond-

ence the word Illuminism was to be replaced by the

cypher 0, and the word lodge by Q . The calendar also

was to be reconstructed and the months known by names

suggestive of Hebrew origin — January as Dimeh, Febru-

ary as Benmeh, etc. For the letters of the alphabet a com-

plete code of figures was constructed, beginning with m as

number 1, and working back to a and on to z.

The grades of the Order were a combination of the

grades of Freemasonry and the degrees belonging to the

Jesuits. Weishaupt, as has already been said, detested the

Jesuits, but recognizing the efficiency of their methods in

acquiring influence over the minds of their disciples, he

conceived the idea of adopting their system to his own ptur-

pose. " He admired," says the Abb6 Barruel, \*' the insti-

tutions of the founders of this Order, he admired above all

those laws, that regime of the Jesuits, which under one

head made so many men dispersed all over the universe

tend towards the same object; he felt that one might

imitate their methods whilst proposing to himself views

diametrically opposed. He said to himself : \* What all these

men have done for altars and empires, why should I not

do against altars and empires? By the attraction of

1 A German sect of this name professing Satanism, with which Weis-

hatipt's Order may have been connected, existed in the fifteenth century.

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mysteries, of legends, of adepts, why should not I destroy

in the dark what they erect in the light of day? ' "

Weishaupt at first entertained hopes of persuading

other ex- Jesuits to join the society, but having succeeded

in enlisting only two he became more than ever the enemy

of their Order, and injunctions were given to his adepts to

admit no Jews or Jesuits to the sect of the Uluminati unless

by special permission. \*\* Ex- Jesuits," he wrote emphatic-

ally, " must be avoided as the plague."

It was in the training of adepts that Weishaupt showed

his prof otmd subtlety. Proselytes were not to be admitted

at once to the secret aims of Illuminism, but initiated step

by step into the higher mysteries — and the greatest cau-

tion was to be exercised not to reveal to the novice

doctrines that might be likely to revolt him. For this pur-

pose the initiators must acquire the habit of " talking

backwards and forwards " so as not to commit themselves.

\*\* One must speak," Weishaupt explained to the Superiors

of the Order, \*\* sometimes in one way, sometimes in

another, so that otir real purpose shovdd remain impene-

trable to our inferiors."

Thus to certain novices (the novices icossais) the lUu-

minati must profess to disapprove of revolutions, and-

demonstrate the advantages of proceeding by peaceful

methods towards the attainment of world domination. But

to the Minerval the plan of world power must not be

revealed ; on the contrary, one of the opetiing sentences in

the initiation for this grade runs as follows: \*\* After two

years' reflection, experience, intercourse, reading of the

graduated writings and information, you will necessarily

have formed the impression that the final aim of our

society is nothing less than to win power and riches, to

tmdermine secular or religious government and to obtain

the mastery of the world." Qui s' excuse s' accuse indeed!

The passage then goes on to say vagudy that this is not

the case and that the Order only denmnds of the initiate

the fulfilment of his obligations. Nor must antagonism to

religion be admitted; on the contrary, Christ was to be

represented as the first author of lUtiminism, whose secret

mission was to restore to men the original liberty and

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equality they had lost in the Fall. " No one," the' novice

should be told, " paved so sure a way for liberty as our

Grand Master Jesus of Nazareth, and if Christ exhorted

his disciples to despise riches it was in order to prepare the

world for that community of goods that should do away

with property."

This device proved particularly successful not only with

yoimg novices, but with men of ail ranks and ages. \*' The

most admirable thing of all," wrote Spartacus triimiph-

antly to Cato, \*\* is that great Protestant and reformed

theologians (Lutherans and Calvinists) who belong to our

Order really believe they see in it the true and genuine

mind of the Christian religion. Oh! man, what cannot you

be brought to believe! " By this means, as Philo (the

Baron von Elnigge) later on pointed out, the Order was

able " to tickle those who have a hankering for religion."

It was not, then, until his admission to the higher

grades that the adept was initiated into the real intentions

of lUimiinism with regard to religion. When he reached

the grade of Illuminated Major or Minor, of Scotch Knight,

Epopte, or Priest he was told the whole secret of the Order

in a discourse by the Initiator:

Remember that from the first invitations which we have

given you in order to attract you to us, we commenced by telling

you that in the projects of our Order there did not enter any

designs against religion. You remember that such an assurance

was given you when you were admitted into the ranks of our

novices, and that it was repeated when you entered into our

Minerval Academy. . . . You remember with what art, with

what simulated respect we have spoken to you of Christ and of

his gospel; but in the grades of greater lUuminism, of Scotdb

Knight, and of Epopte or Priest, how we have to know to form

from Christ's gospel that of otu: reason, and from its religion that

of nature, and from religion, reason, morality and Nattire, to

make the religion and morality of the rights of man, of equality

and of liberty. . . . We have had many prejudices to overcome

in you before being able to persuade you that the pretended

religion of Christ was nothing else than the work of priests, of

imposture and of tyranny. If it be so with that religion so much

proclaimed and admired, what are we to think of other religions?

Understand then that they have all the same fictions for their

origin, that they are all equally founded on lying, error, chimera

and imposture. Behold our secret. ... If in order to destroy

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all Christianity, all religion, we have pretended to have the sole

true religion, remember that the end jtistifies the means, and that

the wise ought to take all the means to do good which the wicked

take to do evil. Those which we have taken to deliver you, those

which we have taken to deliver one day the human race from all

religion, are nothing else than a pious fraud which we reserve to

unveil one day in the grade of Magus or Philosopher Illiuninated.

But all this was tmknown to the novice, whose confi-

dence being won by the simulation of religion was enjoined

to strict obedience. Amongst the questions put to him

were the following :

If you came to discover anything wrong or tin just to be done

under the Order what line would you take?

Will you and can you regard the good of the Order as your

own good?

Will you give to our Society the right of life and death?

Do you bmd yourself to absolute and unreserved obedienoe?

And do you know the force of this tmdertaking?

By way of warning as to the consequences of betraying

the Order a forcible illustration was included in the cere-

mony of initiation. Taking a naked sword from the table,

the Initiator held the point against the heart of the novice

with these words :

If you are only a traitor and perjurer learn that all our

brothers are called upon to arm themselves against you. Do not

hope to escape or to find a place of safety. Wherever you are,

shame, remorse, and the rage of our brothers will pursue you

and torment you to the innermost recesses of your entrails.

It will thus be seen that the Liberty vaunted by the

leaders of the lUuminati had no existence, and that iron

discipline was in reality the watchword of the Order.

A great point impressed upon the adepts — of which

we shall see the importance later — was that they should

not be known as lUuminati; this rule was particularly

enforced in the case of those described as " enroUers," and

by way of attracting proselytes they were further admon-

ished to be irreproachable. " The Superiors of the Order

are to be regarded as the most perfect and enlightened of

men ; they must not even permit any doubts on their infal-

libility." Therefore to the enrollers it was said: " Apply

yourselves to inward and outward perfection," but also

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" Apply yotirselves to the art of counterfeit, of hiding and

masldng yourselves when observing others, so as to pene-

trate into their minds (Die Kunst zu erlemen, andere zu

beobachten und auszuforschen)." These precepts were

summed up in the one phrase: '\* Keep silence, be perfect,

mask yourselves." How far the founder of the Order had

himseH attained perfection was subsequently revealed by

the discovery of his papers, amongst which was found a

letter from Weishaupt to Hertel in 1783, confessing that he

had seduced his sister-in-law, and adding: \*\* I am therefore

in danger of losing my honour and that reputation which

gave me so much authority over our world."

For a time this reputation for perfectibility was suc-

cessfully maintained for the benefit of the members, who

would have been revolted by a breach of morality, and

only those likely to be attracted by it were to be allowed

to know of the laxity permitted by the Order.

Women were also to be enlisted as lUiuninati by being

given " hints of emancipation." ^ \*\* Through women,"

wrote Weishaupt, " one may often work the best in the

world; to insinuate ourselves with these and to win them

over diould be one of our cleverest studies. More or less

they can all be led towards change by vanity, curiosity,

sensuality, and inclination. From this can one draw much

profit for the good cause. This sex has a large part of the

world in its hands." ' The female adepts were then to be

divided into two classes, each with its own secret, the first

to consist of virtuous women who would give an air of

respectability to the Order, the second of \*' light women,"

" who would help to satisfy those brothers who have a

penchant for pleasure." But the present utility of both

classes would consist in providing ftmds for the society.

Fools with money, whether men or women, were to be

particularly welcomed. " These good people," wrote

Spartacus to Ajax and Cato, \*' swell our nxmibers and fill

our money-box; set yourselves to work; these gentlemen

must be made to nibble at the bait. . . . But let us beware

of telling them ovur secrets, this sort of people must always

\* Heckethom's Secret Societies, ii. 34.

s Neuesten ArbeiUn des Spartacus und Philo, vi. 139.

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be made to believe that the grade they have reached is the lastV ^

The sect was thus to consist of Weishaupt and the

adepts who had been initiated into the inner mysteries,

and, besides these, of a large following of simple and credu-

lous people who could be kept in ignorance of the real goal

towards which they were being driven. Weishaupt's

method for obtaining proselytes is thus shown by a diagram

in the code of the Illuminati :

O

aO Oa

bO bO cO cO

O 00 0000 O

(Reproduced from OriginaUckrifUH dts IllnminaUn Ordtus, Zweite Abtheiliuis, p. 60.)

Naturally the least educated classes offered a wide field

for Weishaupt's activities. \*\* It is also necessary," runs the

code of the Illuminati, " to gain the common people (das

gemeine Volk) to our Order. The great means to that end

is influence in the schools. One can also succeed, now by

liberty, now by striking an effect, and at other times by

humiliating oneself, by making oneself popular, or endur-

ing with an air of patience prejudices that one can grad-

ually root out later." \*

Espionage formed a large part of Weishaupt's pro-

gramme. The adepts known as the \*\* Insinuating Broth-

ers " were enjoined to assume the r61e of " observers " and

"reporters"; "every person shall be made a spy on

another and on all around him"; "friends, relations,

enemies, those who are indiflferent — all without exception

shall be the object of his inquiries; he shall attempt to dis-

cover their strong side and their weak, their passions, their

prejudices, their connections, above all, their actions — in

a word, the most detailed information about them." All

this is to be entered on tablets that the Insinuant carries

with him, and from which he shall draw up reports to be

sent in twice a month to his Superiors, so that the Order

^ Bamiel, Mhnoires sur le Jacobinisme, ilL 28, quoting Original'

schriften,

\* NeuesUn Arbeiten des Spartacus und Philo, viL

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may know which are the people in each town and village

to whom it can look for support.

It is impossible not to admire the ingentiity of the sys-

tem by wUch each section of the community was to be

made to believe that it would reap untold benefits from

Illuminism — princes whose kingdoms were to be reft

from them, priests and ministers whose religion was to be

destroyed, merchants whose commerce was to be ruined,

women who were to be reduced to the rank of squaws,

peasants who were to be made to return to a state of

savagery, were all, by means of dividing up the secrets of

the Order into watertight compartments, to be persuaded

that in Illuminism alone lay their prosperity or salvation,

Secrecy being thus the great principle of his system.

Weishaupt had not been slow to perceive the advantages

offered by an alliance with Freemasonry. During the

period when he was thinking out his plan the real aims of

masonry were unknown to him. " He only knew," says

the Abb6 Barruel, \*\* that the Freemasons held secret meet-

ings, he saw them tmited by a mysterious link and recog-

nizing each other as brothers by certain signs and certain

words, to whatever nation or religion they belonged; he

therefore conceived a new combination of which the result

was to be a society adopting for its methods — as far as it

suited him — the regime of the Jesuits and the mysterious

silence, the obscure existence of the Masons. ..."

It was in 1777, nearly two years after he had founded

the Order of the Illuminati, that Weishaupt became a

Freemason, and towards the end of 1778 the idea was first

launched of amalgamating the two societies. Cato, that is

to say Herr von Zwack, who became a mason on November

27, 1778, talked the matter over with a brother mason, the

Abb6 Marotti, to whom he confided the whole secret of

Hlmninism; and two years later a further understanding

between Illuminism and Freemasonry was brought about

by a certain Freemason, Freiherr von Knigge, who in

July 1780 arrived at Frankfurt, where he met the Illumina-

tus Diomedes — the Marqtiis di Constanza — sent by the

Bavarian Illuminati to establish colonies in Protestant

countries. The two men compared notes on the aims of

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their respective societies, and Knigge then expressed the

wish to be received into the Order of the lUnminati. This

met with the approval of Weishaupt, and Knigge, adopting

the name of Philo, was thereupon initiated into the secrets

of the first class of lUtmiinism — the Minervals. The zeal

he displayed in obtaining proselytes delighted Spartacus.

" Philo," he wrote, \*\* is the master from whom to take

lessons ; give me six men of his stamp and with them I will

change the face of the Universe."

As a restilt of the negotiations between Weishaupt and

Knigge a kind of union was arranged between the two

societies, and Spartacus agreed to Illuminism receiving the

first three degrees of masonry. On the 20th of December

1781 it was finally decided that the combined Order should

be composed of three classes: (a) the Minervals, (6) the

Freemasons, and (c) the Mystery Class, which, as the

highest of all, was divided into the lesser and greater

mysteries, the former including the grades of \*\* Priests "

and " Regents," the latter the \*\* Mages " and the " Men-

Kings."

But it was not until the Congrfts de Wilhelmsbad that

the alliance between Illuminism and Freemasonry was

finally sealed. This assembly, of which the importance to

the subsequent history of the world has never been appre-

ciated by historians, met for the first time on the 16th of

July 1782, and included representatives of all the Secret

Societies — Martinistes as weU as Freemasons and Illu-

minati — which now numbered no less than three million

members all over the world. Amongst these diflEerent

orders the lUuminati of Bavaria alone had formulated a

definite plan of campaign, and it was they who hencefor-

ward took the lead. What passed at this terrible Congress

will never be known to the outside world, for even those

men who had been drawn unwittingly into the movement,

and now heard for the first time the real designs of the

leaders, were under oath to reveal nothing. One such

honest Freemason, the Comte de Virieu, a member of a

Martiniste lodge at Lyons, returning from the Congrfes de

Wilhelmsbad could not conceal his alarm, and when ques-

tioned on the \*' tragic secrets " he had brought back with

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him, replied: " I will not confide them to you. I can only

tell you that all this is very much more serious than you

think. The conspiracy which is being woven is so well

thought out that it will be, so to speak, impossible for the

Monarchy and the Church to escape from it.\*\* From this

time onwards, says his biographer, M. Costa de Beaure-

gard, \*' the Comte de Virieu could only speak of Free-

masonry with horror."

The years of 1781 and 1782 were remarkable for the

growth of another movement which foimd expression at

the Congr^ de Wilhelmsbad, namely, the emancipation of

the Jews. Dtiring these years a wave of pro-Semitism was

produced throughout Europe by Dohm's great book Upon

the Civil Amelioration of the Condition of the Jews, written

under the influence of Moses Mendelssohn and finished in

August 1781.^ \*' It was thus," wrote the Abb6 Lemann,

" that eight years before the Revolution the programme in

favour of Judaism was sent out by Prussia. . . . This

book had a considerable influence on the revolutionary

movement ; it is the trumpet call of the Jewish cause, the

signal for the step forward." \*

Graetz, the Jewish historian, himself recognizes the

immense importance of Dohm's work, \*\* painting the

Christians as cruel barbarians and the Jews as illustrious

martyrs." \* " All thinking people," he adds, " now began

to interest themselves in the Jewish question." Mirabeau,

a few years later on a mission to Berlin, formed a friendship

with Dohm and became an habitu6 of the salon of a yotmg

and beautiful Jewess, Henriette de Lemos, wife of Dr.

Herz, and it was there that the disciples of Mendelssohn,

who had just died, pressed him to raise his voice in favour

of the oppressed Jews, with the result that Mirabeau pub-

lished a book in London on the same lines as Dohm's.^

Meanwhile, in 1781, Anacharsis Clootz, the future

^ Graetz, History of the Jews, v. 438; A. de la Rive, Le Juif dans la

fraTic-magonnerie, pp. 40-43.

' Abb^ Lemann, VEnlrie des IsraHUes dans la socUU frangaise, Paris,

1886.

» Graetz, v. 373.

\* Sur Moses Mendelssohn, sur la rSforme politique des Juifs; et en

parHcuUer sur la rholution tentle en leur Javeur en 1753 dans la Grande-

Bretagne. A Londres, 1787\*

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author of La Ripuhlique Universelle, wrote his pro-Semitic

pamphlet called \*\* Lettre sur les Juifs."

The resxilt of this agitation was seen later in the edicts

passed through the influence of Mirabeau and the Abb6

Gregoire by the National Assembly in 1791 decreeing the

emancipation of the Jews. A more immediate effect, how-

ever, was the resolution taken at the masonic congress of

Wilhelmsbad — which was attended by Lessing and a

company of Jews ^ — that henceforth Jews shoxild no

longer be excluded from the lodges.\* At the same time it

was decided to remove the headquarters of illuminized

Freemasonry to Frankfurt, which incidentally was the

stronghold of Jewish finance, controlled at this date by

such leading members of the race as Rothschild, Mayer

Amschel — later to become Rothschild also — Oppen-

heimer, Wertheimer, Schuster, Speyer, Stem, and others.'

At this head lodge of Frankfurt the gigantic plan of world

revolution was carried forward, and it was there that at a

large masonic congress in 1786 two French Freemasons

afterwards declared the deaths of Lotiis XVI. and Gusta-

vus III. of Sweden were definitely decreed.\*

From the moment of the great coalition effected at

Wilhelmsbad, Illuminism, aided largely by the activities

of Knigge, was able to extend its ramifications all over

Germany; the lodge of Eichstadt tmder Mahomed (the

Baron Schroeckenstein) illuminated Baireuth and other

Imperial towns; Berlin tmder Nicolai and Leuchtsenring

illuminated the provinces of Brandenburg and Pomerania;

Frankfurt illuminated Hanover, and so on. All these

^ A. Cowan, The X-Rays in Freemasonry, p. 122; Archwes isra&iUs

(1867). p. 466. "^

> A. de la I8ve, Le Juif dans la franc-mafonnerie, p. 36. Hitherto

Jews had only been admitted into the lodges of the Order of Melchisedeck,

of which the three principal grades are given by the Marquis de Luchet as

(1) The Frhes InitiSs d'Asie; - (2) The Maitres des Sages; (3) The PrUres

Royaux or VSrilabUs Prhres Rose-craixt or the grade of Melchisedeck.

The Frhes IniiUs d\*Asie were an order of which the hieroglyphics

were taken from Hebrew, the supreme direction was called " The small

and constant Sanhedrim of Europe " (Essai sur la secte des lUumitUs

(1789), p. 212). Lombard de Langres says this secret society became

affiliated to Illuminism, that its centre was at Hamburg, and that only

the Grand Master kaew the whole secret (Des societes secrhtes en'Alle-

ntagne, pp. 81, 82).

\* Werner Sombart, Ute Jews and Modem Capitalism, p. 187.

« Charles d'H^ricault, La Rtuolution, p. 104.

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branches were controlled by the twelve leading adepts

headed by Weishaupt, who at the lodge in Munich held in

his hands the threads of the whole conspiracy.

But dissensions had now begun amongst the two prin-

cipal leaders — Weishaupt and Knigge. Both were indeed

bom intriguers, but whilst Weishaupt preferred to work

in the dark and wrap himself in mystery, Knigge loved to

make a noise in the world and to meddle with everything.

It was inevitable that two such men could not continue

to work together harmoniously, and before long Knigge's

persistent attempts to pry into Weishaupt's secrets and to

usurp a share of his glory roused the animosity of his chief,

who ended by depriving Knigge of his jxDst as director of

the provinces and placing him in a subordinate position.

Whereat " Philo," on the 20th of January 1783, wrote

indignantly to " Cato " : " It is the Jesuitry of Weishaupt

that causes all our divisions, it is the despotism that he

exercises over men perhaps less rich than himself in imagi-

nation, in ruses, in cunning. ... I declare that nothing

can put me on the same footing with Spartacus as that on

which I was at first." As a matter of fact Knigge was in no

way behind Weishaupt in what he described as '\* Jesuitry,"

but revolted by the tyranny of his leader he finally left the

lUtuninati in anger and disgust. " I abhor treachery and

profligacy," he wrote again to Cato, " and I leave him to

blow himself and his Order into the air."

Public opinion had now, however, become thoroughly

roused on the subject of the society, and the Elector of

Bavaria, informed of the danger to the State constituted

by its adepts, who were said to have declared that '\* the

lUuminati must in time rule the world," published an edict

forbidding all secret societies. In April of the following

year, 1785, four other lUtmiinati, who like Knigge had left

the society, disgusted by the tyranny of Weishaupt, were

summoned before a Court of Inquiry to give an accoimt

of the doctrines and methods of the sect. The evidence of

these men — Utschneider, Cossandey, Grunberger, and

Renner, all professors of the Marianen Academy — left no

further room for doubt as to the diabolical nature of

Uluminism. \*\* All religion," they declared, \*\* aU love of

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coiintry and loyalty to sovereigns, were to be annihilated,

a favourite maxim of the Order being:

Tous les rois et tous les pr^tres

Sont des fripons et des traitres.

Moreover, every effort was to be made to create discord

not only between princes and their subjects but between

ministers and their secretaries, and even between parents

and children, whilst suicide was to be encouraged by incul-

cating in men's minds the idea that the act of killing

oneself afforded a certain voluptuous pleasure. Espionage

was to be extended even to the post by placing adepts in

the post offices who possessed the art of opening letters and

closing them again without fear of detection.\*\* Robison,

who studied all the evidence of the four professors, thus

sums up the plan of Weishaupt as revealed by them :

The Order of the Illuminati adjured Christianity and

advocated sensual pleasures. '' In the lodges death was

declared an eternal sleep; patriotism and loyalty were

called narrow-minded prejudices and incompatible with

imiversal benevolence";\* further, "they accounted all

princes usurpers and tyrants, and all privileged orders as

their abettors . . . they meant to abolish the laws which

protected property accimitilated by long-continued and

successf til industry ; and to prevent for the future any such

accumulation. They intended to establish imiversal liberty

and equality, the imprescriptible rights of man . . . and

as necessary preparations for all this they intended to root

out all religion and ordinary morality, and even to break

the bonds of domestic life, by destroying the veneration

for marriage vows, and by taking the education of children

out of the hands of the parents." \*

Reduced to a simple f ormtila the aims of the lUuminati

may be summarized in the following six points :

1. Abolition of Monarchy and all ordered Government.

2. Abolition of private property,

3. Abolition of inheritance.

4. Abolition of patriotism.

\* Robison's Frocfs of a Conspiracy, pp. 106, 107.

« Ihid. p. 375.

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5. Abolition of the family {i.e. of marriage and all

morality, and the institution of the communal

education of children).

6. Abolition of all religion.

Now it will surely be admitted that the above forms a

programme hitherto unprecedented in the history of civil-

ization. Commtmistic theories had been held by isolated

thinkers or groups of thinkers since the days of Plato, but

no one, as far as we know, had ever yet seriously proposed

to destroy everjrthing for which civilization stands. More-

over, when, as we shall see, the plan of lUuminism as

codified by the above six points has continued up to the

present day to form the exact programme of the World

Revolution, how can we doubt that the whole movement

originated with the lUtmiinati or with secret influences at

work behind them?

Here a curious point arises. Was Weishaupt the

inventor of his system? We know that he was indoctrin-

ated in occultism by Kolmer, but beyond this we can dis-

cover nothing. If indeed Weishaupt himself thought out

his whole plan of world revolution — that " gigantic con-

ception " as it is described by Lotus Blanc — how is it that

so vast a genius should have remained absolutely imknown

to posterity? How is it that succeeding groups of world

revolutionaries whilst all following in his footsteps, even

those who we know positively to have belonged to his

Order, never once have refeired to the source of their

inspiration ? Is not the answer to the latter question that

throughout the movement the adepts of the Order have

always adhered to the stringent rule laid down by Wei-

shaupt that they should never allow themselves to be

known as lUuminati ? The persistent efforts to conceal the

very existence of the Order, or, if this proves impossible,

to represent it as an unimportant philanthropic movement,

has continued up to the very year in which I write.

With regard to the philanthropic nature of IHuminism

it is only necessary to consult the original writings of

Weishaupt to realize the hoUowness of this assurance.

Amongst the whole correspondence which passed between

Weishaupt and his adepts laid bare by the Government of

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to suppress the truth about its subsequent activities. The

truth is that not until lUuminism had been apparently

extinguished in Bavaria was it able to make its formidable

influence felt abroad, and public anxiety being allayed it

could secretly extend its organization over the whole

civilized world.

CHAPTER n

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THE FIRST FRENCH REVOLUTION

muminism in France — Cagliostro — Mirabeau — Intrigues of Prussia -^

The OrManistes — The Reign of Terror — Clootz and Internation-

alism — Robespierre and Socialism — - The plan of depopulation —

After-effects of revolution. \_^

Two years before the suppression of Illuminism in Bavaria

its adepts had begun their work in France. The " magi-

cian " Cagliostro, generafly reputed to be a Jew ^ from

Sicily, had been enrolled as an lUuminatus in Germany.

According to his own accoimt given in the course of his

interrogatory before the Holy See in Rome in 1790, " his

initiation took place at a little distance from Frankfort in

an tmdergroimd room. An iron box filled with papers was

opened. The introducers took from it a manuscript book

on the first page of which one read : \* We, Grand Masters of

the Templars — ' Then followed a form of oath, traced in

\* It has been denied that Cagliostro was a Jew, but no de6nite proof

to the contrary has been produced. M. Louis Dast^ in his book MarU-

Antoinette et le annpht ma^onnique, p. 70, gives passages from various

contemporaries affixining his Jewish origin. Friedrich B^ilau (Geheime

Gesckicktn und R&tkselhafte Menschen (1850), vol. i. p. 311) says that his

father was Peter Balsamo, the son of a bookseller in Palermo — Antonio

Balsamo — who appears to have been of the Jewish race; but Joseph (i, e,

Cagliostio) was brought up in a seminary as a Christian. Bulau adds

that it was Cagliostro who brought about the admission of Jews to the

maaonic lodges. Cagliostro himself pretended to kaow nothing of his

origin, declaring that he was brought up in Arabia, in the palace of the

Muphti at Medina. Replying to Mme. de la Motte's assertion that he

was a Jew, he stated: " I was brought up as the son of Christian parents —

I have never been a Jew or a Mohammedan," but he did not say that he

was not of Jewish race. Bulau further relates that Cagliostro on a visit

to England formed a friendship with Lord George Gordon, who in the

following year made a plan to bum down London and incidentally became

a Jew. (See Chambers s Biographical Dictionary, article on Lord George

Gcurdon; MSmoire pour le Comte de Cagliostro, p. 83 (1786 edition.)

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blood. The book stated that Illuminism was a conspiracy

directed against thrones and altars, and that the first blows

were to attain France, that after the fall of the French

Monarchy, Rome must be attacked. Cagliostro learnt

from the mouths of the Initiators that the secret society of

which henceforth he formed a part possessed a mass of

money dispersed in the banks of Amsterdam, Rotterdam,

London, Genoa, and Venice. He himself drew a substan-

tial sum destined for the expenses of propaganda, received

the instructions of the Sect and went to Strasbourg." ^ It

was in Strasbourg that Cagliostro then made the acquaint-

ance of the Cardinal de Rohan,\* who quickly fell under the

spell of the hypnotic power which formed Cagliostro's

stock-in-trade and is still practised by propagandists of

lUimiinism. Soon after this the Cardinal introduced the

magician to Mme. de la Motte,\* and the " Affair of the

Necklace " was the result. It was thus that the first blow

at the French Monarchy was planned in the councils of

the German lUuminati.

Two years later a further success was achieved for

Illuminism by the acquisition of Mirabeau. That great

adventurer had been sent by the French Government

on a mission to Berlin, and whilst in Germany became

acquainted with some of the Illuminati, amongst others

Nicolai and Leuchtsenring. Finally at Brtmswick he

formed a friendship with MauviUon, who initiated him

into the highest mysteries of the Order.\* With superb

effrontery Mirabeau then published a pamphlet entitled

Essai sur la secte des Illuminis, purporting to expose the

follies of Illuminism but in reality describing the sect of

the Martinistes, so as to throw a veil over the manoeuvres

of the real Illuminati of Bavaria.\* On his return to France,

Mirabeau .(^^o had assumed the illuminated name

\*\* Leonidas "), in co-operation with Tallejoand, introduced

Illuminism into his lodge, which he had called the

" Philal^thes,"\* again throwing dust in the eyes of the

1 Louis Blanc, Histoire de la Rholulion PranQaiu, iL 81.

\* Mimoire pour le Comte de Cagliostro, p. 34.

\* Ibid, p. 44.

\* Bamiel, Mhnoircs sur le Jacohinisme^ iv. 258; Robiaon, op. eU, 276.

\* Clifford, Application of BarrueVs Memoirs of Jacobinism, p. zviL

\* Bamiel, op. cil. iv. 258. 373.

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public, for, as we have seen, the " Philal^thes " was a lodge

of the Martinistes — and it was then decided that all the

masonic lodges of France shotdd be illuminized. Finding

this task, however, beyond his powers, Mirabeau sent to

Germany for two more adepts — Bode, known as Amelias,

and the Baron de Busche, known as Bayard. At the lodge

of the \*\* Amis R6unis," where the members of the masonic

lodges from all over France congregated, the mysteries of

Illuminism were unveiled by the two German emissaries

and the code of Weishaupt was formally placed on the

table.\* The result of this was that by March 1789 the 266

lodges controlled by the Grand Orient were all \*\* illtunin-

ized " without knowing it, for the Freemasons in general

were not told the name of the sect that brought them these

mysteries, and only a very small number were really

initiated into the secret.'

In the following month the Revolution broke out.

No one will deny that France at this period was ripe

for drastic reforms. It is true that Babeuf , the Socialist,

afterwards declared that the people of France were no

worse off than the people of other countries,' and that

Arthur Yotmg, whose earlier views on the Revolution,

written under Orl6aniste influence, are always quoted as

the strongest indictment of the Old Regime, was later on

led by fuller knowledge to assert that \*\* the old government

of France, with all its faults, was certainly the best enjoyed

by any considerable country in Europe, England alone

excepted.'\*^ Still an examination of facts shows that there

was very real cause for discontent, more on the part of the

peasants than of the industrial workers. The Game Laws,

or capitaineries — by which the crops of the peasants could

be trampled down by the hunt or destroyed by the game —

the salt tax or gabelle, the enforced labotir known as the

corvee, the dues paid to the landlords, and a host of other

agricultural grievances, but above all, the iniquitous

inequality of taxation, were burdens that the people very

naturally resented. But it must not be forgotten that the

^ BaxTuel, op, cU, iv. 280.

» IbU, iv. 281.

• Pi^s saisies chez Babeuf ^ 142.

\* Arthur Young, Tlie Example of France, a Waminz to Britain, p. 36.

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King himself had continued to urge the abolition of these

injustices, and that the attitude of the aristocracy as a

whole was at this moment far from intractable. The phi-

losophy of Rousseau had opened the eyes of many of the

nobles to the need for reforms, and there was probably

never a moment in the history of the world when a great

regeneration might have been carried out with less violence.

The work of the revolutionaries was not, however, to

accelerate reforms, but to arrest them in order to increase

popular discontent and bring themselves into power. The

manner in which they accomplished their designs has been

described in detail in my study of the French Revolution,

and for the purpose of the present work the history of this

period must be condensed as far as possible so as to indi-

cate only the course of the social revolution.

For, during the first three years of the great upheaval,

the plan of Illtmiinism was obscured by the intrigues of

political factions — the conspiracy of the Orl6anistes to

change the dynasty, and later the struggle of the Girondins

to achieve political power. Meanwhile Prussia was playing

an insidious part in the troubles of France.

For many years before the Revolution the cherished

scheme of Frederick the Great had been to break the

Franco-Austrian alliance of 1756, which barred his way to

power, and to establish a imified Germany under Prussian

domination. In 1778 the Empress Maria Theresa in a

letter to her daughter Marie Antoinette wrote these

prophetic words :

Every one in Europe knows to what point one can count on

the King of Prussia and how far one can depend on his word.

France has been able to perceive this under diverse circum-

stances. And yet that is the sovereign who aspires to erect

himself as protector and dictator of Germany. What is still

more extraordinary, the Powers do not think of uniting to pre-

vent such a misforttme, from which, sooner or later, all will

have to endure the disastrous consequences. What I put forward

concerns all the Powers of Europe; the future does not appear

to me tmder a smiling aspect. Yet to-day we endure the influ-

ence of that military and despotic monarchy which recognizes no

principle, but which, in all that it does and all that it imdertakes,

always pursues the same goal, its own interest and its excltisive

advantage. If this Prussian principle is allowed to continue to

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gain ground, what hope is there for those who will succeed us

one day? \*

As a result of warnings such as these Marie Antoinette

adopted that anti-Prussian attitude for which she paid so

dearly, and Frederick, centring all his hatred of Austria on

the luckless Dauphine of France, circulated libels against

her through his agent von der Goltz, who combined the

r61e of ambassador and spy at the Court of Versailles.

Such indeed was the thoroughness of Hohenzollem

methods that he had even taken the trouble to enter into

relations with an obscure thief in France named Carra,

afterwards to become a leading revolutionary, who appa-

rently proved so efficient that Frederick saw fit to reward

him with a gold snuff-box in recognition of his services.

The policy of Frederick the Great was faithfully carried

out by his successor, Frederick William IL, and Prussian

agents, chief amongst them a Jew named Ephraim, were

sent over to Paris to mingle with the revolutionary mobs

and inflame their passions.

The intrigue that directed the opening stages of the

Revolution was, however, the Orl6aniste conspiracy, and it

was by this faction that the artificial scarcity of grain was

created during the spring and sunmier of 1789, and that the

siege of the Bastille on July 14 and the march on Versailles

on October 5 were organized. Now it has been objected by

several critics that in my descriptions of these days I over-

rated the imjKDrtance of the Orl6aniste conspiracy, and that

the feeble character of the Due d'Orl^ans makes it impos-

sible to see in him a determined conspirator. The latter

fact is true, but it will be noticed that I did not attribute to

the Duke himself the organization of the conspiracy, but

to his supporters, notably Choderlos de Laclos. Since,

however, in research of this kind no progress can be made

unless one is willing to reconstruct one's view in the light

of further knowledge, I frankly admit that in my French

Revolution I underrated the importance of lUuminism, and

it is therefore quite possible that part of the organization

I attributed to the genius of Choderlos de Laclos was in

reality the work of illuminized Freemasonry. This would

^ Deschamps, op. cU, pp. 22-28, quoting from the German press.

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in no way affect the descriptions of the mechanism by

which the so-called popular risings were brought about,

but would supply a further explanation of its eflSciency.

But since the Due d'Ori^ans, whilst lending himself to

the plan of usurping the throne of France, was at the same

time Grand Masterjof the Grand Orient, and all the revo-

lutionary leaders, Orl6aniste or otherwise, were members

of the lodges, it is obviously impossible to disentangle the

threads of the two intrigues. How can we know which of

the Duke's supporters were genuinely working for a change

of dynasty and which for the overthrow of monarchy and

all ordered government? The plan of Weishaupt was

always to make use of princes to further their own ends,

and it would be interesting to discover whether the loans

raised by the Due d'0rl6ans in Amsterdam and England,

wherewith, as the Revolution proceeded he replenished his

coffers, came from the funds of the Illuminati in those

places.

To whatever agency we attribute it, however, the

mechanism of the French Revolution distinguishes it from

aU previous revolutions. Hitherto the isolated revolutions

that had taken place throughout the history of the world

can be clearly recognized as spontaneous movements

brought about by oppression or by a political faction

enjoying some measure of popular support, and therefore

endeavouring to satisfy the demands of the people. But in

the French Revolution we see for the first time that plan in

operation which has been carried on right up to the present

moment — the systematic attempt to create grievances in

order to exploit them.

The most remarkable instance of engineered agitation

during the early stages of the Revolution was the extraor-

dinary incident known to history as " The Great Fear,'\*

when on the same day, July 22, 1789, and almost at the

same hour, in towns and villages all over France, a panic

was created by the announcement that brigands were

approaching and therefore that all good citizens must take

up arms. The messengers who brought the news post-haste

on horseback in many cases exhibited placards headed

\*\* Edict of the King," bearing the words "The King orders

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all ch&teaux to be burnt down; he only wishes to keep his

own! " And the people, obedient to these commands,

seized upon every weapon they could find and set them-

selves to the task of destruction. The object of the con-

spirators was thus achieved — the arming of the populace

against law and order, a device which ever since 1789 has

always formed the first item in the programme of the social

revolution.

It is said that the idea originated with Adrien Dupont

and has therefore been attributed to the Orl6aniste con-

spiracy, but Dupont was not only an intitne of the Due

d'Orlfeans, but an adept of illuminized Freemasonry, and

the organization of the \*\* Great Fear " may well have been

masonic. This explanation seems the more probable when

we remember that the plan of the lodges even before they

became illuminized had been \*\* to make a revolution for the

benefit of the bourgeoisie with the people as instruments."

With this end in view the conspirators held up the food

supplies, blocked all reforms in the National Assembly, and

organized demonstrations directly opposed to the interests

of the i)eople. From the attack on the factory of ReveiUon

in April 1789 to the murder of the baker Frangois in

October, nearly every outrage was directed against men

who had fed and befriended the poor.

Under the domination of the Tiers fitat-ahnost

entirely composed of bourgeoisie far more occupied with

their own grievances against the nobles than with the suf-

ferings of the i)eople — the legislation carried out by the

National Assembly cannot be described by so mild a word

as " reactionary " ; it was frankly and ruthlessly repressive

of all Socialistic or even democratic ideas. Not only was

jjroperty safeguarded by new laws, but suffrage was

extended only to citizens possessing certain incomes, whilst

the trade tmions that had existed peacefully tmder the

name of \*\* working-men's corporations " were rigorously

suppressed by the famous \*\* Loi Chapelier \*' on June 14,

1791.

By this glaringly anti-democratic act working-men

were forbidden to \*\* name presidents, keep registers, make

resolutions, deliberate or draw up regulations on their pre-

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tended common interests," or to agree on any fibced scale of

wages. The wording of the first Article runs as follows :

The annihilation of all kinds of corporations of citizens

belonging to the same state or profession being one of the funda-

mental bases of the French Constitution, it is forbidden to

reestablish them on any pretext or tmder any form whatsoever.

This law Twas passed without a word of protest from

Robespierre or any of the so-called democrats of the

Assembly.^

As to the " Constitution " held up before the eyes of

the people as the supreme benefit the Revolution was to

confer on them, it will be noticed that every step on the

road to its final promulgation was marked by a fresh out-

break of revolutionary agitation. No sooner had its first

principles been placed before the Assembly by Mounier,

Clermont Tonnerre, and other honest democrats than a

price was placed on the heads of these men by the revolu-

tionaries of the Palais Royal, and an attempt was made to

march on Versailles. When two years later the King finally

accepted the Constitution, this immense concession to the

demands of the people, which if the Revolution had been

made by the people would xmdoubtedly have ended it,

became the signal for a fresh outbreak of revolutionary

fury, expressed by the hideous massacre known as the

\* \* GlaciSre d' Avignon. ' ' Can we not believe then that there

may be some truth in the PSre Deschamps' statement that

\*\* the cry of \* Constitution ' has been in all countries the

word of command of the Secret Societies," that is to say,

the rallying cry of revolution ? \* We shall find further con-

firmation of this theory later in the history of the revolu-

tionary movement in Russia.

Thus during the first two years of the Revolution

lUuminism concealed itself xmder the guise of poptilar

ttmiults, but with the formation of the Jacobin Clubs all

over France its scheme of domination becomes more

apparent.

These societies, Robison in his Proofs of a Conspiracy

declares, were organized by the revolutionary committees

\* Bnchez et Roux, Histoire parUmentaire, x. 196.

\* Les SocUUs secrius et la socUU, by P. Deschamps and Claudio Jannet.

p. 242.

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under the direct inspiration of the Bavarian lUuminati,

who taught them their " method of doing business, of

managing their correspondence, and of procuring and

training pupils." It was thus that at a given signal insur-

rections cotild be engineered simultaneously in all parts of

the country or that the Faubourgs could be siunmoned

forth at the word of command.

The plan of Weishaupt for enlisting women in the move-

ment had been adopted from the beginning by the revolu-

tionaries, and we see in the declamations of Th6roigne de

M6ricourt,^ and of the militant suffragette Olympe de

Gouges, how cleverly the idea of \*\* giving them hints of

emancipation " was carried out. Madame Roland, likewise

glorying in the political power the Revolution had brought

her, little dreamt whither the movement was tending —

to the disappearance from the stage of all women except

the furies of the guillotine. Olympe and Madame Roland

paid for their illusions with their heads; Th6roigne, pub-

licly flogged in the Tuileries gardens by the tricoteuses of

Robespierre, lost her reason and died raving mad in the

Salp6tri6re some years later. For in times of revolution it

is not the women of brains and energy who can ever take

a leading part, but only those whose disordered imagina-

tions and x>erverted passions inspire them with a ferocity

more horrible than that of man.

The Jacobins, in playing on these passions amongst the

women who assembled at the meetings held three times

weekly at their " Soci6t6s Fratemelles," fanned thdr fury

into flame and prepared those terrible bands of harpies

who committed the atrocities of August 10th.

So complete had the organization of the Jacobin Clubs

now become that during 1791 and 1792 all the masonic

lodges of France were closed down and Philippe Egalit6

sent in his resignation as Grand Master. This was held

advisable for several reasons : the Jacobms, once the mas-

ters of France, could not with safety tolerate the existence

> Th6roigne thus expressed her views on the Revolution to an'^nglish

contemporary: " Society is undergoing a change, a grand reorganization,

and women are about to resume their rights. We shall no more be flattered

in order to be enslaved; these arms have dethroned the tyrant and con-

quered freedom " (France in 1802, Letters of Redhead Yorke, p. 62).

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of any secret association that might be used as a cover for

cotinter-revolutionary schemes; moreover, as the great

plan of Illuminism was by this time in process of fulfilment,

what further need was there for secrecy ? Projects formerly

discussed with bated breath in the lodges could now be

openly avowed in the tribtme of the Jacobin Clubs, and

nothing remained but to put them into execution.

It was not, however, until after the overthrow of the

monarchy on the 10th of August that the work of demoli-

tion began on the vast scale planned by Weishaupt. From

this moment the r61e of Illuminism can be clearly traced

through the succeeding phases of the Revolution, Thus it

is from the 10th of August onwards that we find the tri-

colour, banner of the usurper, replaced by the red flag of

the social revolution, whilst the cry of " Vive notre roi

d' Orleans! " gives way to the masonic watchword "Liberty

Equality, Fraternity! " During the massacres in the

prisons that followed in September the assassins were

observed to make masonic signs to the victims and to spare

those who knew how to reply. Amongst those not spared

was the Abb6 Lefranc, who had published a pamphlet

tmveiling the designs of Freemasonry at the beginning of

the Revolution.

The proclamation issued by the Convention in Decem-

ber summoning the proletariats of Europe to rise in revolt

against all ordered government was the first trumpet-call

to World Revolution, and it was the failure to respond to

this appeal that forced the Jacobins into a " national "

attitude they had never intended to assume.

In November 1793 the campaign against religion, inaug-

urated by the massacre of the priests in September

1792 was carried out all over France. In the ceme-

teries the cherished motto of the lUuminati, \*\* Death is an

eternal sleep," was i)osted up by order of the Illuminatus

\*\* Anaxagoras " Chaumette. The Feasts of Reason cele-

brated in the churches of Paris were the mere corollary to

Weishaupt's teaching that " Reason shotdd be the only

code of Man \*'; and Robison states that the actual cere-

monies which took place, when women of easy morals were

enthroned as goddesses, were modelled on Weishaupt's

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plan of aa " Eroterion " or festival in honour of the god of

Love.^

It was likewise to Weishaupt's declamations against

" the mercantile tribe " that the devastation of the manu-

facturing towns of France and the ruin of her merchants

can be traced, whilst the campaign against education

formed a further part of the scheme for destroying civiliza-

tion. The Terrorists in burning down the libraries and

guillotining Lavoisier, on the plea that \*' the Republic has

no need of chemists," were simply putting into practice

Weishaupt's theory that the sciences were \*\* children of

necessity, the complicated needs of a state contrary to

Nature, the inventions of vain and empty brains." " The

system of persecution against men of talents was organ-

ized," a contemporary declared — organized, as was the

whole system of the Terror, by the lUuminati and carried

out by men who had accepted the guiding principle of the

sect. For it was Weishaupt's favourite maxim, '\* The end

justifies the means," that we find again in the mouths of

the Jacobins under the form of " Tout est permis k qui-

conque agit dans le sens de la R6volution." The Reign of

Terror was the logical outcome of this premise.

But this does not imply that all the Terrorists were

niuminati, that is to say, conscious adepts of Weishaupt.

It is true that, as we have seen, all were Freemasons at the

beginning of the Revolution, but it is probable that few

were initiated into the inner mysteries of the Order. The

art of Illtiminism lay in enlisting dupes as well as adepts,

and by encouraging the dreams of honest visionaries or the

schemes of fanatics, by flattering the vanity of ambitious

egoists, by working on unbalanced brains, or by playing on

such passions as greed of gold or power, to make men of

totally divergent aims serve the secret ptirpose of the sect.

Indeed, amongst all the revolutionary leaders one man

alone stands out as a pure Illuminatus — the Prussian

Baron, Anacharsis Clootz.

^ The idea seems to have been long current in Germany. " In 1751 an

impious work, dedicated to Frederick II. (the Great), published as a frontis-

piece the scene of the adoration of a prostitute whidi was destined to be

realised on the 20th of Brumaire 1793 on the altar of Notre Dame of Paris "

(Deschampe, L$s SocUUs secriUs, ii. 98, quoting Der Goetu der HumanMi

Oder das PosUkm der Freimaurerei, Freiburg Herder, 1875, pp. 75-80).

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In the utterances of Qootz we find the doctrines of

Weishaupt expressed with absolute fidelity. Thus in his

R^publique Universelle the scheme of Weishaupt for weld-

ing the whole human race into " one good and happy-

family " is set forth at length: \*\* One common interest! one

mind! one Nation! \*\* cries Anacharsis. \*\* Do you wish," he

asks again, " to exterminate all tyrants at a blow? Declare

then authentically that sovereignty consists in the common

patriotism and solidarity of the totality of men, of the one

and only nation. . . . The Universe will form one State,

the State of tmited individtials, the inmiutable empire of

the great Germany — the Universal Republic." Or again :

'\* When the Tower of London falls like the tower of Paris

it will be all over with tyrants. All the people forming

only one nation, all the trades forming only one trade, all

interests forming only one interest," etc. It was Clootz,

moreover, who played the most active part in the cam-

paign against religion. Was it not he who had invented

the word to " septemberize," regretting that they had not

\*\* septemberized " more priests in the prisons, and who

openly declared himself " the i)ersonal enemy of Jesus

Christ " ? The fact that he never revealed himself to be

an Illtuninatus and never referred to Weishaupt was in

strict accordance with the rule of the Order, which we shall

find adhered to by every adept in turn. ' \* The Illuminati, "

Professor Renner had declared before the Bavarian Court

of Inquiry, \*\* fear nothing so much as being recognized

imder this name," and frightful punishment was attached

to the betrayal of the secret. It is thus that historians,

unaware of the sources whence Clootz drew his theories,

or anxious to conceal the rdle of Illtmiinism in the revolu-

tionary movement, describe him as an amiable eccentric

of no importance. In reality Clootz was one of the most

important figures of the whole Revolution if viewed from

the modem standpoint, for it was he alone of all his day

who embodied the spirit of anti-patriotism and Interna-

tionalism which, defeated in France of 1793, finally secured

its triumph on the ruins of the Russian Empire of 1917.

It was Clootz's Internationalism that ended by antag-

onizing Robespierre. When at the Jacobin Club the

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Prussian Baron declared that \*\* his heart was French and

sans-culoUe^\*\* but at the same time proposed that as soon as

"the French army came in sight of the Austrian and Prus-

sian soldiers they should, instead of attacking the enemy,

throw down their own arms and advance towards them

dancing in a friendly manner," \* Robespierre, " who was

not without a certain penetration in his hatreds . . .

acidly apostrophized him, saying that he distrusted all

these foreigners who pretended to be more patriotic than

the French themselves, that he suspected the good faith of

a so-called sans-culoUe who had an income of 100,000

livres,\*'\* and he ended by sending Clootz and his fellow-

atheists H6bert, Chaumette, Ronsin, and Vincent to the

scaffold.

Was Robespierre then not an lUuminatus? He was

certainly a Freemason, and Prince Kropotkine definitely

states that he belonged to one of the lodges of the lUumi-

nati founded by Weishaupt. But contemporaries declare

that he had not been fully initiated and acted as the tool

rather than as the agent of the conspiracy. Moreover,

Robespierre was the disciple not only of Weishaupt but of

Rousseau, and under the inspiration of the Contrai Social

had elaborated a scheme of his own which held none of the

aimless destructiveness of the lUuminati. Thus Robes-

pierre clearly recognized the necessity for the vast social

revolution indicated by Weishaupt; but whilst Weishaupt

fixed his eyes on the explosion and " smiled at the thought

of tmiversal conflagration," Robespierre regarded anarchy

simply as a means to an end — the reconstruction of

society according to the plan he had evolved with the

co-operation of Saint- Just, which was simply an embry-

onic form of the system known later as State Socialism.

This statement will of course be challenged by Social-

ists, who have always — for reasons I shall show later —

denied the Robespierrean origin of their doctrines. It is

true of course that the word Socialism was not invented

until some forty years later, but it would be absurd by

means of such a quibble to disassociate Socialism from its

^ Franu in 1802, Letters of Henry Redhead Yorke, p. 72.

\* Biograpkie Michaud, article " Clootz."

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earliest exponents. M. Axalard is no doubt i)erfectly right

in saying that Robespierre's Declaration of the Rights of

Man contains \*\* all the essentials of French Socialism

founded on the principles of 1789 and such as Louis Blanc

popularized in 1848. It is for having proposed these

Socialistic articles, it is for having proposed this charter

for Socialism, and not for having vaguely declaimed

kgainst the rich and soimded the praises of mediocrity,

that Robespierre after his death, as much in our own

Century as in the time of Babeuf , became the prophet of

many of those amongst us who dreamt of a social renova-

tion, and he remained so until the period when German

influence made French Socialists temporarily forget the

French origins of their doctrines." ^ Robespierre may

indeed, in the language of Socialism, be described as more

V advanced " than his French successors of the early nine-

teenth century, for he anticipated the Marxian theory of

the class war, which was not again to find acceptance in

JPrance until adopted by the Guesdists and Sjmdicalists

at the very end of the century. Robespierre's cherished

tnaxim, \*\* The rich man is the enemy of the sans-culotte,'' \*

contains the whole spirit of the class war. We have in fact

only to transpose the phrases current in 1793 into their

modem equivalents to recognize their identity with modem

SociaUstic formulas. Thus the magic phrase \*\* dictator-

ship of the proletariat " — of which it is doubtful whether

any one tmderstands the precise meaning — was expressed

iit that date by the words " Sovereignty of the People,"

and formed tie text of Robespierre's gospel. " The

people,'\* he wrote, " mtist be the object of all political

institutions." • All other classes of the commimity were

to be entirely unrepresented or, preferably, not to be

allowed to exist.

Even the theory of "wage slavery,\*\* later on proclaimed

by Marx, was already current during the Reign of Terror,

and on this point we have the evidence of a contemporary.

^ Aulard, Histoire poUHque de la RholuHon Fran^ise, iv. 47; see also

Aulaixl, Etudes et Ugans sur la RholuHan Frangaise, ii. 51. •

\* Papiers trouoSs chet Robespierre, i. 16.

' Discours et rapports de Robespierre^ edited by Charles Vellay, p. 8;

see also p. 327.

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" The plan of the Jacobins," wrote the democrat Fantin

D6sodoards» " was to star up the rich against the poor and the

poor against the rich. To the latter they said: ' You have made

a few sacrifices in favour of the Revolution, but fear, not patriot-

ism, was the motive.' To the former they said: \* The rich man

has no bowels of compassion; tmder the pretext of feeding the

poor by providing them with work he exercises over them a supe-

riority contrary to the views of Nature and to Republican prin-

ciples. Liberty will always be precarious as long as one part of the

nation lives on wages from the other. In order to preserve its inde-

pendence, it is necessary that every one should be rich or that

every one should be poor.' " \*

It will be seen then that the whole theory of the class

war, and even the very phrases by which it was to be

promoted, as also the necessity for abolishing the relation-

ship of capital and labour, which is usually associated with

Marx, were ideas that existed twenty-five years before his

birth. We cannot doubt that it is to Robespierre and

Saint- Just that they must be mainly attributed. Robes-

pierre, as we know, definitely advocated the aboUtion of

inheritance. " The property of a man," he said, \*' must

return after his death to the public domain of society ";

and although he was known to declare that \*\* equality of

wealth is a chimera," it was no doubt because he well knew

that wealth can never be evenly distributed, and therefore

that the only way to achieve equality is by the process .

known to-day as the nationalization of all wealth and

property. " This," says the editor of his discourses,

M. Charles Vellay, " is what the Revolution means to him

— it is to lead to a sort of Communism, and it is here that

he separates himself from his colleagues, that he isolates

himself, and that resistance gathers around him." In 1840

the Socialist Cabet, who had received the Robespierriste

tradition direct from the contemporary Buonarotti,

expressed the same opinion :

All the proposals of the Comity de Salut Public during th^

last five months, the opinions of Bodson and of Buonarotti — -

both initiated into the profound views of Robespierre, both his

admirers, and both Communists, — give us the conviction that

Robespierre and Saint- Just oiUy blamed the tmtimely invocation

^ Fantin IMsodoards, Histoire pkUosophique de la Rholution Frangaise^

iv.344.

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of Community by declared atheists (i,e. Clootz, Hubert, etc.),

and that they themselves marched towards Communism by

paths they judged more suited to success.^

Still more clinching evidence of Robespierre's real aim

is, however, provided by the Conununist Babeuf, who

wrote these words in 1795 :

He (Robespierre) thought that equality would only be a vain

word as long as the owners of property were allowed to tyrannize

over the great mass, and that in order to destroy their power

and to take the mass of citizens out of their dependence there

fiuis no way but to place all property in the hands of the governments

In the face of this statement how can any one deny that

Robespierre was a State Socialist in precisely the sense in

which we understand the term to-day? That the State

was of course to be represented by Robespierre himself and

his chosen associates it is needless to add, but what Com-

munist or group of ComLmunists have ever excluded the

hypothesis of their own supremacy from their plan of a

Socialist State? \*\* L'Etat c'est nous " is the maxim of all

such theorists.

On one point, however, Robespierre differed from most

of the members of the same school of thought who came

after him in that he showed himself a consistent Socialist,

for he had the singleness of aim, aided by an entire want of

moral scruples, to push his theories to their logical con-

clusion. A Labour extremist in this country recently

described the modem Bolsheviks as " Socialists with the

courage of their opinions/\* and the same description might

be applied to Robespierre and Saint- Just. Thus Robes-

pierre did not talk hypocritically of '\* peaceful revolu-

tion " ; he knew that revolution is never peaceful, that in

its very essence it implies onslaught met with resistance,

a resistance that can only be overcome by an absolute dis-

regard for human life. " I will walk willingly with my feet

in blood and tears," said his coadjutor Saint- Just; and this,

whether he admits it or not, must be the maxim of every

revolutionary Socialist who believes that any methods are

justifiable for the attainment of his end.

1 Histoire pofnUaire de la RholuUon Frangaise, by Cabet (1840).

' Sur U systhne de la dipopulation, p. 28.

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The Reign of Terror was therefore not only the out-

come of lUuminism but also the logical result of Socialis tic

doctrines. Thus, for example, the attacks on civilization

carried out in the summer of 1793, the burning of the

libraries and the destruction of treasures of art and litera-

ture, were all part of the scheme of Weishaupt, but they

were also perfectly consistent with the Socialistic theory

of the \*\* sovereignty of the people." For if one considers

that in the least educated portion of the community aU

wisdcxn and all virtue reside, the only logical thing to do

is to bum the Ubraries and close down the schools. Of

what avail is it to train the intellectual faculties of a child

if manual labour alone is to be held honourable ? Of what

use to civilize him if in civilization is to be found the bane

of mankind ? It is idle in one breath to talk of the beauties

of education and in the next to advocate the '\* dictatorship

of the proletariat " and condemn all educated people as

bourgeois.

Of this strange contradiction the Jacobins of France,

like the Bolsheviks of Russia, at first were guilty. Mag-

nificent schemes were propounded to the Convention for

'\* 6coles normales," " 6coles centrales," etc.; regiments of

professors were to be commandeered for the instruction of

youth; but aU these schemes came to nought, for by the

end of 1794 public education was said to be non-existent,^

owing obviously to the fact that meanwhile the emissaries

of the Comit6 de Salut Public had busied themselves

destroying books and picttues and persecuting all men of

education.

This campaign against the bourgeoisie found its prin-

cipal support in Robespierre. It was he who first soimded

the call to arms which has since become the war-cry of the

social revolution. \*\* Internal dangers come from the

bourgeois; in order to conquer the bourgeois we must rouse

the people, we must procure arms for them and make them

angry." \* The natural consequence of this policy carried

out against the mercantile bourgeoisie by the attacks on

the manufacturing towns of France was of course to create

^ Joseph de Maistre, Melanges inrdits, pp. 122, 124, 126, quoting oaa\*

temporary documents.

' Papiers trouUs chez Robespierre, ti. 15.

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vast unemployment. Already the destruction of the aris-

tocracy had thrown numberless workers on the streets,

so that by 1791 nearly all the hands that had ministered to

the needs or caprices of the rich were idle, and thousands

of hairdressers, gilders, bookbinders, tailors, embroiderers,

and domestic servants wandered about Paris and collected

in crowds \*\* to debate on the misery of their situation."

The situation must always arise, if the leisured classes

are suddenly destroyed either by killing them off or by a

ruthless conscription of capital. Socialists are fond of

describing luxury workers as parasites; obviously then if

one destroys the animal on which the parasite lives one

must destroy the parasite too. It is possible that by a very

slow and gradual redistribution of wealth luxury workers

might be more or less absorbed into the essential trades,

but even this is very doubtful. At any rate the attempt to

abolish the luxury trades at a blow must inevitably lead to

unemployment on a vast scale, for not only wiU the luxtiry

workers themselves be idle, but, since all classes are inter-

dependent, many of the workers in the essential trades who

depend on them for a livelihood wiU be idle likewise. Any

sudden dislocation of the industrial system must therefore

mean national bankruptcy.

This is precisely what hapi)ened in Prance — as even

Socialist writers admit. Malon in his Histoire du socialisme

illustrates, by a picture of a scene in a Paris street, the

situation described by Michelet in the words:

The Revolution was to open a career to the peasant but

closed it to the workman. The first pricked up his ear at the

decrees which placed the goods of the clergy on sale; the second,

silent and sombre, dismissed from his worktop, wandered about

all day with folded arms.\* "^ '-^

The condition of the industrial workers was stiB further

aggravated by the legislation of the Terror. Not only was

the Loi Chapelier against trade unions confirmed and

severely enforced by the Comit6 de Salut Public under the

domination of Robespierre, but the workers were obliged

to toil very much harder than ever before. This point,

^stematically ignored by historians, constitutes one of the

^ Malon, HisUfire du sociaUsme, i. 267, 297.

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chief ironies of the period and illustrates the ingenious

method by which the so-called advocates of the People's

Sovereignty contrived to dupe the People to their own

undoing. Thus, under the pretext of abolishing the obso-

lete customs and superstitions of the Old R6gime, the

workers were deprived of all the holidays they had enjoyed

in honotir of the Saints or the festivals of the Church.

Under the monarchy not only every one of these days but

also the day following it had been a holiday, and neither

on Stmday nor on Monday was any work done.

By substituting \*\* decadi,\*' that is to say one day in

every ten, for Simday and making it only a half -holiday,

the new masters of France added three and one-half work-

ing days to every fortnight. The result per year is shown in

an amusing article of the Maniteur for September 9, 1794,

entitled " National Idleness," of which the following is an

extract :

Easter, Christmas, All Saints, da3rs of the Virgin, of Kings,

Saint Martin, fifty thousand patrons of parishes and priories

... all these f^tes and their morrows have been suppressed; by

expelling the saints from their shrines and all the priests from

their confessionals thirty-six half Sundays are left us {t,e. the

thirty-six decadis which occurred in the course of the year, which

were half -holidays). The Revolution has consecrated to work

at least a htmdred and twenty days which the Pope and his

Elder Son (the title given to the King of France) left to idleness

in France. This national idleness was a tax on misery, a tax

that diminished the revenues of the State and increased expenses

for alms, assistance, and hospitals. Permission to work is a

charity which costs nothing to the public treasure and which

will bring to it considerable funds. All is new in France —

weather, mankind, the earth, and the sea. . . . The Reptiblican

year gives to work four months more than the papal and monarchic

year}

It is not necessary to be a believer in the principle of

Ca\* Canny as a remedy for unemployment to recognize

that the result of this legislation was to reduce the number

of hands required and leave the vast reserve of labotir

which enables the employer to make his own terms with

the workers. It will be seen that this expedient which State

Socialists are fond of denouncing as one of the evils of

^ Moniteuft xxi. 699.

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Capitalism was practised under the regime of that first

experimenter in State Socialism — Maximilien Robes-

pierre.

But towards the end of 1793 it became evident that

there was no possibility of absorbing the residuum created,

for the attacks on the manufacturing towns of France had

dealt the fibaal blow to trade and the Republic found itself

faced by himdreds of thousands of working-men for whom

it could not find employment. It was then that the Comit6

de Salut Public, anticipating the Malthusian theory,

embarked on its fearful project — the system of depopu-

lation.

That this plan really existed it is impossible to doubt

in the face of overwhelming contemporary evidence. In

The French Revolution I quoted in this connection the

testimony of no less than twenty-two witnesses — all

revolutionaries ; ^ and since then I have f oimd further cor-

roboration of the fact in the letters of an Englishman,

named Redhead Yorke, who travelled in France in 1802

and made particular inquiries on this question from the

ally of Robespierre, the painter David :

I asked him whether it was true that a project had been in

contemplation to reduce the population of France to one-third

of its present number. He answered that it had been seriously

discussed and that Dubois Craned was the author.

In another passage Yorke states:

Monsieur de la M^therie assured me that during the time ot

the Revolutionary Tribtinals, it was in serious contemplation to

reduce the population of France to 14,000,000. Dubois Craned

was a very distinguished and enthusiastic partisan of this

htmiane and philosophical policy.'

It will be noticed that there is here a discrepancy in the

exact figures ; the poptdation of France at that period being

twenty-five millions, the proposal to reduce it to one-third

was to bring it down to approximately eight millions. The

difference then lies between the projects of reducing it by

one-third or to one-third — issues which Yorke evidently

1 The French Revolution, pp. 426-428.

\* France in 1802, Letters of Redhead Yorks, edited by I. A. C Syket

(Heinemann), 1906, pp. 102, 127.

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confused; but it was precisely on this point that the

opinions of the Terrorists differed. Thus we are told that

d'Antonelle of the Revolutionary Tribunal advocated the

former and more moderate policy, but that a reduction to

eight millions, that is to say to one-third, was the figure

generally agreed on by the leaders.

The necessity for this lay not only in the fact that there

was not even enough bread, money, or property to go

round, but also, after the destruction of the aristocracy

and bourgeoisie, not enough work.

" In the eyes of Maximilien Robespierre and his council,"

says Babeuf , " depopulation was indispensable because the cal-

culation had been made that the French population was in

excess of the resources of the soil and of the requirements of

useful industry, that is to say, that with us men jostled each other

too much for each to be able to live at ease; that hands were too

numerous for the execution of all works of essential utility — and

this is the horrible conclusion, that since the superabxmdant

population could only amount to so much ... a portion of

sans-culottes mtist be sacrificed ; that this rubbish could be cleared

up to a certain quantity, and that means must be fotmd for

doing it."

The system of the Terror was thus the answer to the

problem of tmemployment — unemployment brought

about on a vast scale by the destruction of the luxtuy

trades.

If the hecatombs carried out all over France never

reached the huge proportions planned by the leaders, it

was not for want of what they described as " energy in the

art of revolution." Night and day the members of the

Comit6 de Salut Public sat round the green-covered table

in the Tuileries with the map of France spread out before

them, pointing out towns and villages and calculating how

many heads they must have in each department. Night

and day the Revolutionary Tribtmal passed on, without

judgment, its never-ending stream of victims, whilst near .

by the indefatigable Fouquier bent over his lists for the

morrow, and in the provinces the proconsuls Carrier,

Pr6ron, CoUot d'Herbois, Lebon toiled imremittingly at

the same Herculean task.

Compared to the results they had hoped to achieve the

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mortality was insignificant; compared to the ax^counts

given US by \*' the conspiracy of history " it was terrific.

The popular conception of the Reign of Terror as a pro-

cession of powdered heads going to the guillotine seems

strangely naive when we read the actual records of the

period. Thus during the great Terror in Paris about 2800

victims perished, and out of these approximately 500 were

of the aristocracy, 1000 of the bourgeoisie, and 1000

working-class. These estimates are not a surmise, since

they can be proved by the actual register of the Revolu-

tionary Tribimal published both by Campardon and

Wallon, also by the contemporary Prudhomme,^ and they

are accepted as acctirate by the Robespierriste historian

Louis Blanc\*

According to Prudhomme the total number of victims

drowned, guillotined, or shot all over France amoimted to

300,000 and of this number the nobles sacrificed were an

almost negligible quantity, only about 3000 in all.'

At Nantes 500 children of the people were killed in one

butchery, and according to an English contemporary 144

poor women who sewed shirts for the army were thrown

into the river.\*

Such was the period during which Carlyle dared to

assiure us that \*\* The Twenty-Five Millions of France "

had " never suffered less."

But this frightful mortality was not the only dreadful

feature of the Terror — ruin, misery, starvation were the

lot of all but the band of tyrants who had seized the reins of

power, and this state of affairs continued long after the

reign of Robespierre ended. The conception of France

rising like a phoenix from that great welter of blood and

horror is as mythical as the allegory from which it is taken

and has existed only in the minds of posterity. Not a single

contemporary who lived through the Revolution has ever

pretended that it was anything but a ghastly failure. The

conspiracy of history alone has created the myth.

Yet in France the truth is at last beginning to be

\* Prudhomme, Crimes de la RSvolution, voL vL Table VL

s Louis Blanc, Hisioire de la Rholution, xi. 155.

• Prudhomme. Crimes de la Rholuiion, voL vi. Table VL

^ Playfair's History of Jacobinism, p. 789.

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known. Thus M. Madelin, the most impartial and enlight\*

ened of modem historians, has described the condition of

Prance at the end of the Terror in these forcible words :

France is demoralized. She is exhausted — this is the last

trait of this country in ruins. There is no longer any public

opinion, or rather this opinion is made up only of hatred. They

hate the Directors (members of the Directory) and they hate the

deputies; they hate the Terrorists and they hate the chouans

(the Royalists of La Vendue) ; they hate the rich and they hate

the anarchists; they hate the Revolution and the counter-

revolution. . . . But where hatred reaches paroxysm is in the

case of the newly rich. What is the good of having destroyed

Kings, nobles, and aristocrats, since deputies, fanners, and

tradesmen take their place? What cries of hatred! ... Of all

the ruins found and increased by the Directory — ruins of

paities, ruins of power, ruins of national representation, ruins of

churches, ruins of finances, ruins of homes, ruins of consciences,

ruins of intellects — there is nothing more pitiable than this:

the ruin of the national character,^

Eight years after the ending of the Terror, France had

not yet recovered from its ravages. According to Redhead

Yorke, even the usually accepted theory of agricxiltural

prosperity is erroneous.

Nothing can exceed the wretchedness of the implements of

husbandry employed but the wretched appearance of the persons

using them. Women at the plough and young girls driving a

team give but an indifferent idea of the progress of agriculttue

tmder the Republic. There are no farmhouses dispersed over

the fields. The farmers reside together in remote villages, a cir-

cumstance calculated to retard the business of cultivation. The

interiors of the houses are filthy, the fannyards in the utmost

disOTder, and the miserable condition of the cattle sufficiently

bespeaks the poverty of their owner.'

Everywhere beggars assailed the traveller for alms; in

spite of the reduced population unemployment was rife,

education was at a standstill, and owing to the destruction

of the old nobility and clergy, and the fact that the new

rich who occupied their estates were absentee landlords,

there was no system of organized charity, Yorke is finally

driven to declare:

The Revolution, which was brought about ostensibly for the

^ Madelin, La RholuHon, pp. 443, 444.

> France in 1802, p. 2&

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benefit of the lower classes of society, has sunk them to a degree

of degnulation and misfortune to which they never were reduced

tmder the ancient monarchy. They have been disinherited,

stripped, and deprived of every resource for existence, except

defeats of arms and the fleeting spoil of vanquished nations.

In another passage Yorke asks the inevitable question

that arises in the minds of all thinking contemporaries :

France still bleeds at every pore — she is a vast mourning

family, clad in sackcloth. It is impossible at this time for a

contemplative mind to be gay in France. At every footstep the

merciless and sanguinary route of fanatical barbarians disgust

the sight and sicken humanity — on all sides ruins obtrude them-

selves on the eye and compel the question, \*\* For what and for

whom are all this havoc and desolation? " \*

It will of course be said that Redhead Yorke was a

" reactionary." As a matter of fact he was a constitutional

revolutionary and had served a term of imprisonment in

Dorchester Castle from 1795 to 1799 for having declared

himself to be '\* a man who had been concerned in three

revolutions already, who essentially contributed to serve

the Republic in America, who contributed to that of

Holland, who materially assisted that of France, and who

will continue to cause revolutions all over the world." His

visit to France in 1802, however, dispelled his illusions,

and he had the cotirage to admit his change of views. His

letters were not published till after his death.

Advocates of social revolution, to whom the revelations

on the real facts of the Terror which have recently been

published are extremely disconcerting, have adopted the

convenient line of describing the first French Revolution

as a " bourgeois movement." It is true that it was made by

bourgeois, and at the beginning also by aristocrats — and

that the people throughout were the chief sufferers; but

this has been the case in every outbreak of the World

Revolution. All revolutionary leaders or writers have

been bourgeois, from Weishaupt to Lenin. Marx was a

bourgeois, Sorel was a bourgeois likewise. No man of the

people has ever taken a prominent part in the movement.

But in the French '\* Terror," as in Russia to-day, the

bourgeoisie were also the victims.

> France in 1802, p. 33.

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\*' In that sort of epilepsy into which France had fallen,"

wrote Pnidhonime, " not only the revolutionary nobles set them-

selves by preference against nobles, priests against priests,

merchants against merchants, rich against rich, but even the

sansculottes once they themselves became judges did not any

the more spare the sans-culottes who had remained amongst the

crowd of citizens. How could the people have suspected the

system of tmiversal depopulation? Until then it had not been

heard of in history. This great doctrine, however, was not

chimerical, it existed, it was visible, the leaders of opinion only

wished to reign'over deserts." \*

What power can have inspired this fearful system?

The pages of accepted history provide no clue to the prob-

lem. Only by a recognition of the secret forces at work

beneath the surface is it possible to tmderstand how the

French nation fell a victim to the hideous r6gime of the

Terror. In the opinion of numberless enlightened con-

temporaries Illuminism alone explains the mystery. As

early as 1793 the Journal de Vienne pointed out the true

source of inspiration beneath the system of the Jacobins :

It is not the French who conceived the great project of

changing the face of the world; this honour belongs to the

Germans. The French can claim the honour of having begun its

execution, and of having followed it out to its ultimate conse-

quences, which, as history is there to prove, were in accordance

with the genius of this people — the guillotine, intrigue, assas-

sination, incendiarism, and cannibalism. . . . Whence comes the

eternal Jacobin refrain of universal liberty and equality, of the

suppression of kings and princes who are merely tyrants, of

oppression by the clergy, of necessary measures for annihilating

the Christian religion and establishing a philosophic religion — a

refrain that reminds every one of the declarations of Mauvillon,

a notable lUimiinatus, touching Christianity, of those of Knigge

and Campe touching State religion? Whence comes it that all

this harmonizes with the \*\* Original Writings " of the Illuminati

if there is no alliance between the two sects? Whence comes it

that Jacobinism has partisans everywhere, even in the most

distant countries, and how can we explain that these, as far as

researches can extend, have been in touch with Illuminism?

Aloys Hoffman, editor of this Journal, wrote: " I shall

never cease to repeat that the Revolution has come from

masonry and that it was made by writers and the Illu-

minati."

^ Prudhomme, Crimes de la Rholution, i. p. zxiii

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That the objects of the conspiracy were precisely the

same as they are to-day is shown by this remarkable

extract from a letter of Qiiintin Crawf urd to Lord Auck-

land on May 23, 1793 :

The present crisis is certainly the most extraordinary in its

nature, and may be the most important in its consequences of

any that is to be fotmd on the page of history. It may decide

the fate of the Religion and Government of most of the nations

of Etirope, or rather it may decide whether religion and govern-

ment are to exist, or Europe be pltmged again into a state of

barbarism. Hitherto the basis of human polity was religion, the

Supreme Being was everywhere adored, and the great maxims of

morality respected; but when the order of civil society had

attained a degree of perfection unknown in former ages, we see

endeavours almost everywhere put in practice to destroy it,

Atheism rising against JR.eligion, Anarchy against govermnent,

vagabonds against the industrious, men who have nothing to

lose against those who enjoy what they received from tiieir

ancestors or acquired by their labour, and this conflict brought

at last into the field to be decided by the sword. On one hand

we see the chief powers of Europe taking arms in defence of

Religion and lawful authority, and on the other a multitude of

disorganized barbarians endeavouring to undo them. Such, my

Lord, with some political shades that might be added is a pretty

faithful picture of what the French Revolution has produced

hitherto.

What words coidd better describe the situation of

Europe in this year of 1921 ?

But in spite of the vast demolition effected by the

Terror, neither the disciples of Weishaupt nor their tools

the revolutionary Socialists had achieved their purpose.

One more effort must be made to bring about the \*\* Uni-

versal revolution that should deal the deathblow to

society." This attempt was made two years after the

Terror ended by the Communist, Gracchus Babeuf .

CHAPTER III

THE CONSPIRACY OP BABEUP

Gnochus Babeuf — The Panth^onistes — Manifesto of the Equals —

System of Babeuf — Plan of the Conspirators — The Great Day of

the People — Discovery of the Plot — Execution of Babouvistes —

lUuminism in England — Ireland ^ The United Irishmen — Ban try

Bay — lUuminism in America.

Francois Noel Babeup was bom in 1762, and at the

beginning of the Reign of Terror occupied the post of com-

missary in the Supply Department of the Commune, where

he incurred the displeasure of the Comit6 de Salut Public

by publishing a placard accusing the Committee of a plan

to drive the people to revolt by means of a fictitious famine

and so provide a pretext for killing them off.^ For this

offence Babeuf and his colleagues in the same department

were thrown into prison at the Abbaye, but Babeuf, being

apparently regarded as mentally irresponsible, was soon

afterwards released, and once more proceeded to attack

the party in power, which was no other than that of Robes-

pierre, Couthon, and Saint- Just. This is the more remark-

able since the pohtical opinions of Babeuf were entirely

in accord with those of the Triumvirate ; for Robespierre's

" Declaration of the Rights of Man " Babeuf entertained

the warmest admiration. But where, at this point in his

career, Babeuf joined issue with Robespierre was in the

method by which this ideal system should be brought

about ; for the plan of reducing the population of France by

some fifteen millions in order to be able to provide bread

and work for the remainder, which Babeuf later described

as " the immense secret " of the Terror, seemed to him too

drastic, and in his pamphlet Sur la depopulation de la

\*• Babeuf et U soctalisme en 1796, by Edouard Fleury, p. 20.

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France he denounced the noyades, fusillades, and guillo-

iinades that had decimated the provinces — methods

which he held should not have been adopted until pacific

measures for winning the peasants over to Republicanism

had at least been attempted.

But the regime that followed on the fall of Robespierre

led Babeuf to readjust his views, for the Thermidoriens,

with whom he had thrown in his lot, showed themselves

to be Opportunists of the most flagrant description, and it

was thus that after the Directory had been in power a few

months Babeuf insulted Tallien and Frferon,^ declared that

the 9th of Thermidor had been an unmitigated disaster,

and that the only hope for the people now lay in carrying

out the tmfinished plan of Robespierre for \*\* the common

happiness." Robespierre, he held, was the one " pure "

revolutionary of his day ;\* all the rest — the Girondins, who

had only wished to dethrone the IQng in order to usurp

power and riches, the Orl6anistes, led by Philippe Egalit6

and Danton, a faction '' composed of men as monstrous

as their chief . . . avid and prodigal of gold . . . auda-

cious, liars, intriguers " • — had exploited the people for

their own advantage; " Robespierre and his companions

in martyrdom " alone had aspired to \*\* the eqtial distribu-

tion of work and pleasure " \* which was the ideal of Babeuf.

Accordingly, he now appealed to the people to rise against

the Directory and maintain the Constitution of 1793

fotmded on Robespierre's " Declaration of the Rights of

Man."

The publication of this call to insurrection led to the

arrest of its author, and Babeuf was again thrown into

prison, first at Plessis, then at Arras ; but while in captivity

he encountered a number of kindred spirits, with whose

co-operation he was able to mattire his plan for a further

revolution — a sodal revolution for " the common happi-

ness and true equality " (^ bonheur common ei VigaliU

rielle).^

\* Fleury, of, eit. p. 37.

\* Pieces satsies chez Babeuf ^ L 147.

\* IM. i. 98, 106.

« Conspiration pour VigaliU diU de Babeuf, by Ph. Btionaxotti, L 88.

\* Fleury, op. cU, p. 45.

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M. Louis Blanc is no doubt right in pronouncing Babeuf

to have been an Illuminatus, a disciple of Weishaupt, and

it was thus in accordance with the custom of the sect that

he had adopted a classical pseudonym, renoimcing his

Christian names of Frangois Noel in favour of Gracchus,\*

just as Weishaupt had asstmied the name of Spartacus, the

Illtiminatus Jean Baptiste Clootz had elected to be known

as Anacharsis, and Pierre Gaspard Chaimiette as Anax-

agoras. The plan of campaign devised by Babeuf was there-

fore modelled directly on the system of Weishaupt, and on

his release from prison — which was brought about by the

amnesty of the " Treize Vend6miaire " — he gathered his

fellow-conspirators arotmd him and formed an association

on masonic lines by which propaganda was to be carried

on in public places, the confederates recognizing each other

by secret signs and passwords.\* At the first meeting oi

the Babouvistes — amongst whom were found Darth6,

Germain, Bodson, and Buonarotti — all swore to " remain

tuiited and to make equality tritmiph," and the project

was then discussed of establishing a large popular society

for the inculcation of Babeuf's doctrines. In order to

escape the vigilance of the police it was decided to assemble

henceforth in a small room in the garden of the Abbaye

de Sainte Genevieve lent by one of the members who had

rented part of the building; later the society moved to the

refectory of the Abbey, or, on nights when this hall was

required for other purposes, meetings were held in the

crypt, where, seated on the ground, by the lig^t of torches,

the conspirators discussed the great plan for overthrowii^

society. The proximity of this building to the Pantheon

led to their being known tmder the name of the Panthia-

nistes.\*

Unfortunately the confusion of mind prevailing

amongst the advocates of \*\* Equality " was so great that

the meetings — which before long consisted of two thou-

sand people — became " like a Tower of Babel." \* No one

knew precisely what he wanted and no decisions could be

reached ; it was therefore decided to supplement these huge

» Plcury, op. cU, p. 38. « Ibid, p. 69.

» Ihid. pp. 69, 70. \* Ibid, p. 71.

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assemblies by small secret committees, the first of which

held its sittings at the house of Amar — one of the most

ferocious members of the Comit6 de S<iret6 G6n6rale

during the Terror — and here the scheme of social revolu-

tion was elaborated. Starting from the premise that all

property is theft, it was decided that the process known in

revolutionary language as \*' expropriation " ^ must take

place ; that is to say, all property must be wrested from its

present owners by force — the force of an armed mob.

But Babeuf , whilst advocating violence and tumult as the

means to an end, in no way desired anarchy as a permanent

condition; the State must be maintained, and not only

maintained but made absolute, the sole dispenser of the

necessities of life.\* '\* In my system of Common Happi-

ness," he wrote, " I desire that no individual property shall

exist. The land is God's and its fruits belong to all men in

general." • Another Babouviste, the Marquis d'Antonelle,

formerly a member of the Revolutionary Tribunal, had

expressed the matter in much the same words: " The State

of Commtmism is the only just, the only good one ; without

this state of things no peaceful and really happy societies

can exist." \*

But Babeuf \*s activities had again aroused the attention

of the Directory, and during the winter of 1795-6 the

apostle of Equality was obliged to retire into hiding.

Nevertheless from his retreat Babeuf still contrived, with

the aid of his twelve-year-old son fimile, to edit his papers

Le Tribun du Peuple and Le Cri du Peuple, and to direct

the movement. At one of the meetings of the Panthton-

istes, however, Darth6 incautiously read the last number

of Le Tribun du Peuple aloud, and this time no less a per-

sonage than General Bonaparte himself descended on the

" den of brigands," • as it was known to the police, and,

after ordering it to be closed down before his eyes, went off

with the key of the building in his pocket.

^ This word was first coined by Thouret, a member of the National

Assembly, in a debate on the goods of the clergy in 1790,

• Fleury, op. cit, p. 111.

• Ibid. p. 173.

\* Antonelle in the Orateur Plebeien, No. 9. See P\*\i4s saisies ekes

Babeuf, ii. 11.

\* Buonarotti, op, cU. L 107.

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Babeuf then decided that a \*\* Secret Directorate " must

be formed,^ of which the workings bear a curious resem-

blance to those of the Illunoinati. Thus Weishaupt had

employed twelve leading adepts to direct operations

throughout Germany, and had strictly enjoined his fol-

lowers not to be known even to each other as lUtmiinatij

so Babeuf now instituted twelve principal agents to work

the different districts of Paris, and these men were not

even to know the names of those who formed the central

committee of four, but only to commtmicate with them

through intermediaries partially initiated into the secrets

of the conspiracy. Like Weishaupt also Babeuf adopted a

domineering and arrogant tone towards his subordinates,

and any whom he suspected of treachery were threatened,

after the manner of the secret societies, with the direst

vengeance. \*' Woe to those of whom we have cause to

complain! " he wrote to one whose zeal he had begun to

doubt; " reflect that true conspirators can never relinquish

those they have once decided to employ."\*

By April 1796 the plan of insurrection was complete,

and the famous Manifesto of the Equals drawn up ready for

publication.

" People op France," this proclamation announced, " for

fifteen centuries you have lived in slavery and consequently in

unhappiness. For six years {ue, dtuing the course of the Revo-

lution) you have hardly drawn breath, waiting for independence,

for happiness, and equality. Equality! the first desire of Nature^

the first need of Man and the principal bond of all legal asso-

ciation! . . .

" Well! We intend henceforth to live and die equal as we

were bom; we wish for real equality or death, that is what we

must have. And we will have this real equality, no matter at

what price. Woe to those who interpose themselves between it

and us! ...

" The French Revolution is only the forerunner of another

revolution, very much greater, very much more solemn, which

will be the last! . . . What must we have more than equality

of rights? We must have not only that equality transcribed in

the \* Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen,' we

must have it in our midst, on the roofs of our houses. We will

^ BuonaroUii. 114, 115.

\* Pi^es saisies chez Babeuf, ii. 163.

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consent to anything for that, to make a dean sweep so as to hold

to that only. Peri^ if necessary all the arts provided that real

equality is left to us! . . .

\*\* The agrarian law and the division of lands were the momen-

tary wish of a few soldiers without principle moved by instinct

rather than by reason. We tend to something more sublime

and equitable, the Common Happiness or the Community of

Goods. No more private property in land, the land belongs to

no one. We claim, we wish for the commtmal enjoyment of

the fruits of the earth: the fruits of the earth belong to every

one.

" We declare that we can no longer endtire that the great

majority of men should work and sweat in the service and for

the good pleasure of an extreme minority. Long enough and

too long have less than a million individtials disposed of what

belongs to more than twenty millions of their fellowmen, of

their equals. Let it cease at last, this great scandal in which our

nephews will not be able to believe. Vanish at last, revolting

distinctions of rich and poor, of great and small, of masters and

servants, of governors and governed. Let there be no other

difference between men than that of age and sex. Since all have

the same needs and the same faculties, let there be only one

education, one kind of food. They content themselves witii one

sun and air for all; why should not the same portion and the

same quality of food suffice for each of them.^ . . .

" People op France, we say to you : the holy enterprise that

we are organizing has no other object but to put an end to dvil

dissensions and to public misery. Never has a more vast design

been conceived and executed. From time to time a few men of

genius, a few sages have spoken in a low and trembling voice.

Not one of them has had the courage to tell the whole truth.

The moment for great measures has arrived. The evil is at

its height; it covers the face of the earth. Chaos under the

name of politics has reigned for too many centuries. . . . The

moment has come to found the Republic of the Equals, the

great hostel open to all men. . . . Groaning families, come and

seat yourselves at the common table set up by Nature for all

herdiildren. . . .

" People op France, Open your eyes and heart to the

plenitude of happiness; recognize and proclaim with us the

Repubuc op the Equals." ^

This document was destined, however, not to be dis-

played to the eyes of the public, for the Secret Committee

finally dedded that it would be inexpedient to admit the

people into the whole plan of the conspiracy; particularly

& Buonaiotti, op, cii. iL 130-134.

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did they judge it inadvisable to publish the phrase which

had been expressed in almost identical language by

Weishaupt: " Perish all the arts, provided that real equal-

ity is left to usl " The people of Prance were not to know

that a rettun to barbarism was contemplated. Accordingly

a second proclamation was framed tmder the title of

" Analysis of the Doctrine of Babeuf " — a far less

inspiring appeal than the former Manifesto, and mainly

unintelligible to the working-classes, yet, as M. Plexiry

remarks, " the veritable Bible or Koran of the despotic

system known as Communism." ^ Por herein lies the crux

of the matter. No one reading these two documents of the

Babouvistes can fail to recognize the truth of certain of

their strictures on society — the glaring disparity between

poverty and riches, the uneven distribution of work and

pleasure, the injustice of an industrial system whereby,

owing largely at this period to the suppression of trade

unions by the revolutionary leaders, employers could live

in luxury by sweated labour — but the point is : how did

Babeuf propose to redress these evils? Briefly, then, his

system, founded on the doctrine '' Community of goods

and of labour," ' may be summarized as follows:

Every one must be forced to work so many hours a day

in rettim for equal remuneration; the man who showed

himself more skilful or industrious than his fellows woidd

be recompensed merely by " pubUc gratitude." • This

compulsory labour was in fact not to be paid for in money

but in kind, for, since the right to private property con-

stituted the principal evil of existing society, the distinc-

tion of " mine " and " thine " must be abolished \* and no

one shotild be allowed to possess anything of his own. Pay-

ment could therefore only be made in the products of

labour, which were aU to be collected in huge commtmal

stores and doled out in equal rations to the workers.\*

Inevitably commerce would be entirely done away with,

and money was no longer to be coined or admitted to the

^ Babeuf et U socialisme en 1796, by Edouard Fleuxy.

' Buonarotti, op. cit, i. 87.

\* Analyse de la doctrine de Babeuf, Buonarotti, op.dLiL 14G,

« Ibid. u. 146.

• Ibid. I 213.

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country; foreign trade must therefore be carried on by coin

now in circulation, and when that was exhausted, by a

system of barter.\*

Only work of essential utility was to be tmdertaken,

and in order to ensure the requisite number of hands for

each industry boys were no longer to be allowed to choose

their professions but must be trained for whatever work

was most urgently needed. The workers would then be

drafted off in gangs to perform the labour assigned them

\*\* according to the needs of the nation and the supreme

principle of equality.\*\*

Since in France agrictdture was of the first importance,

the greater ntunber of inhabitants, both boys and girls,

would be sent out to till the soil ;\* and it was hoped that by

degrees Paris and aU the large towns of France would dis-

appear, for it was in towns that wage-slavery flourished

and that " big capitalists " were able to surroimd them-

selves with luxtiry and display.' The hosts of parasites

who had hitherto contributed to their enjoyment —

shopkeepers, domestic servants, poets, painters, actors,

dancers — would all now be obliged to seek a livelihood

in the fields, and villages consisting of salubrious houses

" remarkable for their elegant symmetry " would spring

up aU over France.\*

The better to ensure a hardy race of toilers, children

were to be given over to the State at birth and trained in

institutions.

" In the social order conceived by the Committee," wrote

Buonarotti, '' the country seizes upon the individual at birth

(s'empare de Vindividu naissant) in order only to relinquish it at

death. It watches over his first moments, assures him the milk

and the care of her who gave him birth, keeps him from all that

would injure his health or weaken his body, preserves him from

false tenderness and conducts him by the hand of his mother to

the national house where he will acquire virtue and the enlight-

enment necessary to a true citizen.\*' •

> Buonarotti, o(. cU. i. 238, 271, ii. 318. \* Hid. i. 208-211.

» Ibid. i. 221. Note here the theory of " wage-slavexy " again formu-

lated: " Prom the perpetual exchange of services and salaries there arises

on one side the habit of authority and of commanding, and on the other

that of submission and servitude (p. 222).

« Buonarotti, op. cii. i. 221-224.

\* Ibid. i. 282. " Plus d'Mucation doroestique, plus de puissance

patcmelle " {ihid. i. 288).

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In order to replace family affection by civic virtue in

the mind of the child, it was further proposed to forbid

him to bear the name of his father unless he were a man

who had distinguished himself by great virtues.\*

His education was to be of course only of the most

primitive kind: reading, writing, enough arithmetic to

enable him to work in a Government oflBce if required;

history — but only that relating to the evils ended by the

Republic and the blessings of which it was a source — and

sudi knowledge of law, geography, and natural history as

would give him an idea of the wisdom of the institutions

under which he lived. In order to embellish the fStes

arranged by the Government he should also be versed in

music and dancing.^

Beyond this all avenues of knowledge were to be closed

to him, for it was feared that " men might devote them-

selves to sciences," and thereby grow vain and averse from

manual labour.' Had not Weishaupt declared the sciences

to be \*\* the complicated needs of a state contrary to Natiure,

the inventions of vain and empty brains " ?

Such, then, was the scheme of Babeuf \* for the libera-

tion of the French people, and it is diiBBcult to see wherein

it differed from the serfdom tmder which their forefathers

had groaned during the Middle Ages. There is in fact

nothing to be said for Communism that does not equally

apply to serfdom; in both the means of subsistence are

assured, the spectre of tmemployment is dispelled, in both

the taskmaster may be kind or cruel, and in neither can

the worker call his body or his soul his own. Was not then

Babeuf 's remedy worse than the disease ? Were not even

" the revolting distinctions of rich and poor " preferable to

a dead level of slavery from which the one inspiring emo-

tion of human life — hope — would be for ever removed ?

It. is at any rate impossible to imagine a system more

distasteful to the French character than the labour colony

thus devised by Babeuf. That the people of France, of all

people the most acquisitive and the most retentive of their

» Buonarotti, op. cU, p. 219. « Ihid. i. 286-287.

> Ibid. L 293.

4 See Slimming up of system by Babeuf himself (ibid, ii. 220) in which

he describes it as a " plan enchanteur."

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possessions — the nattiral consequence of their inherent

thrift and industry — should be willing to renounce

the right to possess anything; that the pleasure-loving

Parisians, to whom amidst all their privations the gay whirl

of streets and spectacles was as the breath of life, should

submit to be driven forth to seek a living on the desolate

plains of the provinces, with no amusements to vary the

monotony but the f fetes provided by the Republic — at

which they were not to be allowed to wear festive attire,

but to attend in their working clothes ^ for fear of violating

the principle of absolute equality; that the nation dis-

tinguished for its poets and painters, its savants and beaux-

esprits, should consent to become a race of tmpaid manual

labourers ; above all, that a people who for six years had

thrilled to the cry of \*\* Liberty! " shotild now meekly place

its neck tmder a yoke far more oppressive than that from

which it had been relieved, would be grotesque if it were

not so tragic.

But when one realises the misery of the people at this

crisis and the cotmtless disillusionments through which

they had passed, one can feel nothing but burning indig-

nation at the charlatans who thus set out to exploit their

sufferings. For if these men had dealt honestly with the

people, laying before them the real plan they had framed

for their relief, the people wotild only have had themselves

to blame if the conspirators had succeeded in carrying out

their design.

But the people were not in the secret of the movement.

Just as in the great outbreaks of the Revolution the mob of

Paris had been driven blindly forward on false pretexts

supplied by the agitators, so once again the people were

to be made the instruments of their own ruin. The

\*\* Secret Committee of Direction " well knew that Com-

mxiziism was a system that would never appeal to the

people; they were careful, therefore, not to admit their

dupes among the working-classes into the whole of their

programme, and believing that it was only by an appeal to

self-interest and covetousness they could secure a following,\*

^ Buonarotti, of. eit, L 225.

' Ibid. i. 07: '\* It was impossible to inspire the people with enersrv

without talking to them of their interests and their rights. '

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they skillftily played on the people's passions, promis-

ing them booty they had no intention of bestowing

on them. Thus in the '' Insurrectional Act " now drawn

up by the Committee it was announced that " the goods

of the imigriSy of the conspirators {i,e. the Royalists), and

of the enemies of the people were to be distributed to the

defenders of the cotmtry and the needy" ;^ they did not

tell them that in reality these things were to belong to no

one, but to become the property of the State administered

by themselves. Buonarotti in his naive account of these

manoeuvres justifies the deception by observing that \*\* the

great point was to succeed,'\* and so the Secret Directory

judged it advisable to " fix the attention and sustain the

hopes of the working-classes " by the promise to divide

everything up amongst them.^ The people then were not

to be allowed to know the truth about the cause in which

they were asked to shed their blood — and that they

would be obliged to shed it in torrents no sane man could

doubt.

It is here perhaps that Babeuf lays himself most open

to the charge of mental irresponsibility. At one moment

we find him declaring that the process can be carried out

by perfectly pacific methods, at the next inciting the

populace to violence of the most fearful kind. Thus when

d'Antonelle suggested that, however urgent it might be to

establish absolute equality, this ideal condition could only

be brought about " by brigandage and the horrors of dvil

war, which would be a dreadful method," • Babeuf indig-

nantly replied: " What do you mean by saying that one

could only achieve real equality by brigandage? Is it

really Antonelle who defines brigandage after the manner

of the patriciate? Any movement, any proceeding that

would bring about, if oidy partially, the disgorging of those

who have too much for the profit of those who have not

enough would not, it seems to me, be brigandage, it would

be the beginning of a return to justice and real order." \*

As to d'Antonelle's further contention that in the confusion

following on general pillage it would be impossible to carry

I Buonarotti. op, cU. ii. 262. « Ibid. L 156, 166.

• PiUes saisies chez Babeuf, u. 16. « Ibid.

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out any scheme of redistribution, Babeuf was equally

incredtdous. \*\* What will they do after the upheaval, you

will say ; will they be capable of erecting the august temple

of Equality ? " Babeuf anticipated no diflfictdty here ; they

had only to read Diderot to discover how easy it would be

to provide for the needs of a multitude of citizens; " all

that is only a simple affair of numbering things and people,

a simple operation of calculation and combinations and

consequently susceptible of a very fine degree of order." ^

But when it came to organizing the required insurrec-

tion Babeuf adopted a very different kind of language. In

fact the former denouncer of Robespierre's \*\* system of

depopulation " now asserted that not only Robespierre's

aims but his methods were to be commended.

I confess to-day that I bear a grudge against myself for having

formerly seen the revolutionary government and Robespierre

and Saint- Just in such black colours. I think these men alone

were worth all the revolutionaries put together, and that their

dictatorial government was devilishly well thought out. . . .

I do not at all agree . . . that they committed great crimes and

made many Republicans perish. Not so many, I think. . . .\*

The salvation of twenty-five millions of men must not be weighed

against consideration for a few equivocal individuals. A regen-

erator must take a wide outlook. He must mow down every-

thing that thwarts him, everything that obstructs his passage,

everything that can impede his prompt arrival at the goal on

whidi he has determined. Rascals or imbeciles, or presumptuous

people or those eager for glory, it is all the same, tant pis pour

eux — what are they there for? Robespierre knew all that, and

it is partly what makes me admire him.\*

But where Babeuf showed himself the intellectual

inferior of Robespierre was in the way he proposed to

overcome resistance to his plan of a Socialist State.

Robespierre, as he well knew, had spent fourteen months

"mowing down those that obstructed his passage," had

kept the guillotine tmremittingly at work in Paris and the

provinces, yet even then had not succeeded in silencing

objectors. But Babeuf hoped to accomplish his purpose

^ Pieces saisies chet Babeuf^ ii. 23.

'It should be noted that in his pamphlet on Le Systhne de la dipoputo'

Hon Babeuf had estimated the victims of the Terror at no less than a

million.

\* Pieces saisies ehet Bc^feuf, iL 52.

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in one day — that \*' great day of the people'\* ^ wherein all

opposition shotild be instantly suppressed, the whole exist-

ing social order annihilated, and the Republic of Equality

erected on its ruins. If, however, the process were to be

brief it must necessarily be all the more violent, and it was

thus with none of the calm precision of Robespierre mark-

ing down heads for destruction that Babeuf set about his

task. When writing out his plans of insurrection, his secre-

tary Pill6 afterwards related at his trial, Babeuf would rush

up and down the room with flaming eyes, mouthing and

grimacing, hitting himself against the furniture, knocking

over the chairs whilst uttering hoarse cries of \*\* To arms!

to arms! The insurrection! the insurrection is beginning! "

— it was an insurrection against the chairs, said Pill 6 drily.

Then Babeuf would fling himself upon his pen, plunge it

into the ink, and write with fearful rapidity, whilst his

whole body trembled and the perspiration poured from his

brow. \*\* It was no longer madness," added Pill6, " it was

frenzy! " \* This frenzy, Babeuf explained, was necessary

in order to work himself up to the required degree of elo-

quence, and in his appeals to insurrection it is difficult to see

where his programme differed from the brigandage and

violence he had deprecated in his reply to d'Antonelle.

" Why," he wrote in Le Tribun du Peuple, " does one speak

of laws and property ? Property is the share of usurpers and laws

are the work of the strongest. The sun shines for every one,

and the earth belongs to no one. Go then, my friends, and

disturb, overthrow, and upset this society which does not stiit

you. Take everywhere all that you like. Superfluity belongs

by right to him who has nothing. This is not all, friends and

brothers. If constitutional barriers are opposed to your generous

efforts, overthrow without scruple barriers and constitutions.

Butcher without mercy tyrants, patricians, the Gilded Million,

all those immoral beings who would oppose your common happi-

ness. You are the People, the true People, the only People

worthy to enjoy the good things of this world! The justice of

the People is great and majestic as the People itself; all that it

does is legitimate, all that it orders is sacred! " \*

Inevitably Babeuf secured a certain following amongst

the working-classes — the call to violence must ever find

^ Pieces saisies chez Babeuf ^ ii. 21.

« Plcury, op. cit, p. 244. » Ibid. p. 77.

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an answering echo in the minds of the despairing, and the

people of Paris at this crisis had good catise for despair.

Pood — owing to four years of war and seven of revolution

— was at famine prices, the destruction of commerce car-

ried on by the emissaries of the Comit6 de Salut Public in

the mantif acturing towns of France had raised all the com-

modities of life to the same prohibitive level and created

vast tmemployment ; meanwhile the newly rich — the war

profiteers, the army contractors, the adventurers who had

made their fortunes out of the Revolution — revelled in

luxury, their wives and mistresses swathed in pearls and

diamonds, and little else besides, flatmted their charms

and opulence before the htingry eyes of the poor. What

wonder, then, that the soldiers cried out their " rulers were

all rascals, all murderers of the people, that they were

ready to exterminate them," or that the wretched inhabit-

ants of the faubourgs declared all their ills " were to be

attributed to the Revolution and that they were happier

under the Old R6gime "? ^

To a people in such a mood as this it was easy to make

the counsel of despair which consisted in smashing every-

thing appear to be the simplest solution of all difficulties,

and the agents of Babeuf , versed in all the methods of the

Secret Societies for stirring up popular fury, succeeded in

winning over a ntunber of working-men to their views.

One ingenious plan consisted in pasting up large incendiary

placards around which accomplices known as groupeurs —

or, as we might say, " crowd-collectors " — were employed

to assemble as if by accident, and then to read the words

aloud, pointing out the most important passages with their

fingers.\* The Analyse de Babeuf thus exposed met with

much applause from the w6rking-men, who could but

dimly understand its real purport. At the same time

inflammatory pamphlets dilating on the greed of the

tradesmen and the infamies of the Government were cir-

culated in the faubourgs, where the women of the people

eagerly read them aloud to their men-folk whilst at work.

So great was the enthusiasm thus created that the Babou-

^ PUces saisies, ii. 164.

\* Fleury, op, cU, pp. 74, 131; PiUes saisies, ii. 106.

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yistes entertained no doubt of being able to enlist the whole

proletariat in the movement, and by the beginning of May

it was estimated that an army of no less than 17,000 people

wotald assemble on the day of insxirrection.^ These forces

included 4500 soldiers and 6000 of the police, who by lavish

promises of booty had been won over to the conspiracy.

The following programme for the " Great Day " was

now drawn up by the Secret Directory : at a given moment

the revolutionary army was to march on the Legislative

Assembly, on the headquarters of the Army, and on the

houses of the Ministers. The best-trained troops were to

be sent to the arsenals and the munition factories, and also

to the camps of Vincennes and Crenelle in the hope that

the 8000 men encamped there would join in the movement.

Meanwhile orators were to hold fortJi to the soldiers, and

women were to present them with refreshment and civic

wreaths. In the event of their remaining proof against

these seductions the streets were to be barricaded, and

stones, bricks, boiling water, and vitriol thrown down on

the heads of the troops.' All supplies for the capital were

then to be seized and placed under the control of the

leaders; at the same time the wealthier classes were to be

driven from their houses, which were immediately to be

converted into lodgings for the poor.' The members of the

Directory were then to be butchered, likewise all citizens

who offered any resistance to the insurgents.\* The insur-

rection thus \*' happily terminated," as Babeuf naively

expressed it,^ the whole people were to be assembled in the

Place de la Revolution • and invited to co-operate in the

choice of their representatives. \*\* The plan," writes

Buonarotti, \*\* was to talk to the people without reserve and

without digressions, and to render the most impressive

homage to its sovereignty." ' But lest the people per-

chance, blinded to its truest interests, might fail to recog-

nize its saviours in the person of the conspirators, the

Babouvistes proposed to follow up their homage of the

people's sovereignty by demanding that " executive power

should be exclusively confided to themselves"; for, as

^ Buonarotti, op. cU. L 189. \* Ibid, I 194.

« Ibid. i. 196. \* Ibid.

• Ibid, L 197. • Ibid, i. 166. » Ibid. I 200.

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Buonarotti observed, " at the beginning of the revolution

it is necessary, even out of respect for the real sovereignty

of the people, to occupy oneself less with the wishes of the

nation than to place supreme authority in strongly revolu-

tionary hands." ^ Once in these hands it would of course

remain there, and the Babouvistes with all the civil and

military forces at their back would be able to impose their

system of State serfdom on the submissive people.

It is fearful to imagine what blood might once again

have reddened the streets of Paris if an xmf oreseen obstacle

had not arisen in the path of the conspirators — namely, a

traitor in the camp. This man, called Grisel, was a soldier

in the 33rd Brigade who had been drawn against his will

into the conspiracy. StroUing one April evening on the

Quai des Tuileries, Grisel had encountered an old friend, a

tailor named Mugnier, who was an enthusiastic Babouviste.

Mugnier, convinced that he would find a sympathizer in

Grisel, proceeded to potu\* forth complaints against the

Government, and ended by introducing him to several of

his fellow-conspirators. A few days later one of these men

met Grisel in a caf6, and becoming loquacious vinder the

influence of drink, confided to him part of the plan of the

conspiracy. Grisel, fearing to make an enemy of so dan-

gerous a man, dared not express his disapproval, and his

new associates, encouraged by his apparent agreement with

their views, invited him to one of their meetings at the cafS

of the \*\* Bains Chinois," whither they had removed after

the closing down of the so-called " Panth6on. " Here Grisel

found himself in the thick of the conspiracy; violent

speeches were made — both by men and women — revo-

lutionary songs were sung, amongst others a dirge on the

death of Robespierre. Meanwhile wine and dder flowed

freely, and Grisel, invited to take part in the " orgy " as he

afterwards described it, was hailed as an acquisition to the

cause. One of the conspirators then handed him some of

Babeuf 's pamphlets for distribution amongst the soldiers

and asked him to comxxDse others for the same imrpose.

Grisel realized that it was too late to draw back, for the

conspiratorSi having taken him into their confldence,

\* Buonarotti, op.dki, 134.

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would certainly dispose of him by a dagger-thrust if he now

disassociated himself from their designs. Accordingly he

set himself to the task assigned him, but not without first

consulting his battalion-commander, who advised him to

continue in his r61e of Babouviste. Grisel, warming to the

work, thereupon composed a violent letter entitled Franc-

Libre A son ami La Terreur, inciting the troops to rebellion,

and in which he was careful to imitate the pompous and

meaningless phraseology of the conspirators. This effusion

met with the heartiest applause at the '' Bains Chinois,"

and Grisel, who had hitherto been only partly initiated into

the details of the insurrection, now f otmd himself received

into the inner councils of the leaders. At the first of these

meetings, consisting only of five members — Babeuf,

Germain, Buonarotti, Didier, and Darth6 — Grisel saw

the leader of the conspiracy for the first time, and looking

at him with some curiosity noticed with surprise that

Babeuf, of whose genius he had heard so much, presented

an appearance of " extreme mediocrity," whilst his

behaviour showed him to be more eccentric than original.

In fact the whole band seemed to the newcomer a party of

maniacs, and his first feeling was one of remorse at the idea

of giving over the victims of mere mental disorder to

justice. When, therefore, Babeuf unfolded his scheme of

insurrection, entailing the wholesale massacre of the

Government, the wealthy, and all existing authorities,

Grisel, overcome with horror, ventured to exjx^stulate,

pointing out the terrible consequences of overthrowing the

Government: \*\* What will you put in its place? . . . Will

there not be an interval between the fall of the Govern-

ment . . • and that which you will put in its place? It

will be complete anarchy; all the restraints of law will be

broken. I pray you think it over. . . •" ^

This moderation nearly proved fatal to Grisel, and

seeing the threatening glances directed towards him, he

hastily repaired his error by pltmging into a violent

harangue in which he proposed to btun down all the

chateaux arotmd Paris before falling on the members of the

Directory. The suggestion did not, however, find favour

\* Fleury, op. cU. pp. 175, 176.

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with the conspirators, who saw in the destruction of the

chateaux an end to their hopes of booty; nevertheless

Grisel had now regained their good opinion and was

admitted to further meetings of the committee. At one of

these, Darth6 read aloud the finished plan of insurrection,

to which further atrocious details had been added — every

one attempting to exercise any authority was instantly to

be put to death, the armotirers were to be forced to give

up their arms, the bakers their supplies of bread, and those

who resisted hoisted to the nearest lantern ; the same fate

was reserved for all wine and spirit merchants who might

refuse to provide the brandy needed to inflame the jx^pu-

lace and drive them into violence.^ " All reflection on the

part of the people must be avoided," ran the written direc-

tions to the leaders; " they must commit acts which will

prevent them from going back." •

Amongst the whole of this ferocious band, Rossignol,

the former general of the revolutionary armies in La

Vend6e, showed himself the most bloodthirsty : " I will not

have anything to do with your insurrection," he cried,

" tmless heads fall like hail . . . unless it inspires so great

a terror that it makes the whole universe shudder . « . "

— a discourse that met with unanimous applause.

The 11th of May had been fixed for the great day of

explosion, when not only Paris, but all the large cities of

Prance worked on by the agents of Babeuf were to rise

and overthrow the whole structure of civilization. But

Grisel had sought an interview with Camot, and the Gov-

ernment, warned of the impending attack, was ready to

meet it. On the morning of the day appointed, a placard

was f otmd posted up on all the walls of Paris bearing these

words:

The ExEcurnrE Directory to the Citizens op Paris

Citizens, a frightful plot is to break out this night or

tomorrow at the dawn of day. A band of thieves and munierers

has formed the project of butchering the Legislative Assembly,

all the members of the Government, the staff of the Army, and

all constituted authorities in Paris. The Constitution of '93 is

to be proclaimed. This proclamation is to be the signal for a

^ Fleury, op. cit. pp. 193-195. Ibid, p. 196.

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general pillage of Paris, of hoiises as much as of stores and shops,

and the massacre of a great ntunber of citizens is to be carried

out at the same time. But be reassured, good citizens; the

Government is watching, it knows the leaders of the plot and

their methods . . . ; be calm, therefore, and carry on your

ordinary business; the Government has taken infallible meas-

ures for outwitting their schemes, and for giving them up with

their partisans to the vengeance of the law.^

Then, without further warnings the police burst into

the house where Babeuf and Buonarotti were drawing up a

rival placard calling the people to revolt. In the midst of

their task the arm of the law surprised and seized them,

and on the following morning forty-five other leaders of the

conspiracy were arrested likewise and thrown into the

Abbaye. Alas for the support they had hoped for from the

populace! The revolutionary army on which they had

coimted, impressed as the people always are by a display of

authority, went over to the police in support of law and

order. With the removal of the agitators the whole popu-

lace came to their senses and realized the full horror of the

plot into which they had been inveigled.

" The working-man," a Government reporter writes, " no

longer regards the conspiracy as a wild story, the pillage prom-

ised him makes him shrug his shoulders, and he feels that the

brigands, hailing from no one knows where, wotdd have pillagai

the working-man himself. Their remark is, ' It would be better

to stay as we are and to send all those rascals to the scaffold! '

When the project of the massacre is read and these words \* all

reflection on the part of the people must be avoided; they must

commit acts which will prevent them from going back,' the

readers are overcome with anger. They see that the scoundrels

wished to make them the victuns. ' Let the Directory have them

all hanged, and may Hell swallow them up! ' — tiiat is their

reflection. Some soldiers reading these dreadful documents say

loudly: \* Soldiers of liberty will never have for friends thieves,

brigands, and assassins! ' " \*

The appeals of Babeuf 's friends to the working-classes

urging them to rescue the prisoners fell therefore on deaf

ears. In vain hordes of viragos enlisted by the conspirators

paraded the faubourgs, telling the working-men of Saint-

Antoine that their comrades in Saint-Marceau were taking

\* Fleury, op. cil, 216. « Schmidt, Tableaux de Paris, iii. 197.

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up arms, and proclaiming in Saint-Marceau that Saint-

Antoine was rising; the working-men of both districts

indignantly reptilsed these furies, who admitted with tears

they had been paid to stir up insurrection.

On the 27th of August 1796 all the leaders of the con-

spiracy to the number of forty-seven were removed to

Venddme to await their trial, which, however, did not

begin tmtil February 20 of the following year and lasted

until the end of May. Babeuf 's behaviour in court alter-

nated between brazen defiance and pitiable weakness.

Already at his cross-examination in Paris he had declared

himself to be merely the agent of a conspiracy:

I attest they do me too much honour in decorating me with

the title of head of this affair. I declare that I had only a

secondary and limited part in it. . . . The heads and the leaders

needed a director of public opinion, I was in the position to enlist

this opinion. . . ^

Who were the mysterious chiefs referred to by Babeuf?

The Illtuninati ? The Order, we know, was still active and

co-operated with the society of the Philadelphes, which,

according to Lombard de Langres, secretly directed the

Babouviste conspiracy. Babeuf, whilst thus disclaiming

responsibility, yet maintained his firm belief in Commim-

ism though admitting it to be an tmattainable ideal. This

final abandonment of his revolutionary programme, how-

ever, did not save him, and on the 27th of May 1797 sen-

tence of death was passed on Babeuf and Darth6; seven of

their fellow-conspirators were ordered to be deported, the

rest acquitted. The two condemned men vainly attempted

to stab themselves with stilettos they had concealed

beneath their clothing, but were removed to their cells by

the police, and on the 28th of May the \*\* Chief of the

Equals " and his companion perished on the scaffold.

So ended Babeuf, but not so Babouvisme. Buonarotti

still survived to hand on the torch of conflagration to the

revolutionary groups of the early nineteenth century.

To-day, however, owing to the pretensions of German

Socialism, Babeuf, even in France, is almost forgotten or

is remembered only as a madman. But why is Babeuf

» Fleury, op. cii. p. 230.

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to be regarded as any madder than his more famous suc-

cessors in the science of revolution? On the contrary, a

dose study of the Babouviste conspiracy reveals its author

to have been far ahead of his times, a man who, if he had

lived to-day, would undoubtedly be hailed as a herald of

the dawn.

The fact is that, as students of the Russian Revolution

will have observed, Babauvisme and Bolshevism are iden--

iical; between the two creeds there is no essential difference.

The third Internationale of Moscow in its first Manifesto

rightly traces its descent from Babeuf . We shall return

to this point later in connection with the programme of

the Bolsheviks.

It may be objected that the Babouviste rising was

lacking in the International spirit of Bolshevism ; it is true

that Babeuf confined his energies to Prance in the matter

of organizing the day of revolution, but that he dreamt of

the movement subsequently developing on a far larger

scale is evident from those momentotis words of his Com-

munist Manifesto: \*\* The Prench Revolution is only the

forerunner of another revolution, very much greater, very

much more solemn, and which will be the last! ^\

• ••••••

The conspiracy of Babeuf was thus the expiring effort

of the Prench Revolution to realize the great scheme of

Weishaupt. The tmiversal nature of that first upheaval

has been too little realized by posterity. Everywhere

lUuminism had found its adepts; in Holland, Belgium,

Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Sweden, Russia, even as far as

Africa, the disintegrating doctrines of Weishaupt had

spread beneath the surface.^ It was not merely the thrones

of Europe that were shaken but civilization itself that

trembled to its very foundations. England had entered

largely into the projects of the conspirators; no less an

adept than Cato-Zwack himself had, as we have seen,

visited this country after his expulsion from Bavaria, and

spent a year at OkLovd University, which, less receptive

to illuminated doctrines than it is to-day, accorded him

scant appreciation.' But the efforts of his fellow-country-

» Bamiel, op, cii, iv. 357-378. \* Ihid. op, ciL iv. p. 400.

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men, Rdntgen, Ibiken, and Regenhardt who followed,\* met

with some degree of success, and Robison, himself a Free-

mason, admits with regret that a certain number of

British masons were won over by the German propagan-

dists. Amongst these was the celebrated Thomas Paine,

who was later on to betray his connection with the Illu-

minati by his work. The Age of Reason, written in France

whilst the " Feasts of Reason " were taking place in the

churches of Paris. Largely, then, owing to the instrument-

ality of Paine several \*\* illiuninized " lodges were started

in England, which Robison, writing in 1797, declared to be

still in existence.^ It is thus that we find noble lords at

their banquets drinking the health of the Sovereign People,

" whilst in their lairs other Brothers are meditating how

they shall set to work in order to put at the disposal of the

Sovereign People the possessions of their Brother Lords,

the treasures of the banks, and the shops of the rich mer-

chants." ' Barruel is no doubt right in describing these

upper class Subversives as the Brother Dupes (Fr^res-

Dupes) of the Order, it was not such men as Fox, Sheridan,

or even " the renegade Lord Stanhope " who desired to see

a levelling down of the wealth they themselves enjoyed;

but the plan of the Illuminati was always to use each sec-

tion of the community for its own destruction. The real

aims of Illuminism were embodied not in the political

revolution devised by the Whigs to bring themselves into

power, but in the social revolution organized by the middle-

dass malcontents, Paine, Price, and Priestly, and their

allies amongst the disgruntled manual workers. It was by

these men that, after the Revolution broke out in Prance,

revolutionary societies were started in England, the most

important being the London Corresponding Society,

founded in 1792 by a shoemaker named Hardy, with

branches all over the kingdom. Although conducting their

agitation tmder the pretext of reform, it is impossible to

see in this movement any connection with the working-

class grievances that tmderlay the Industrial Revolution

^ AppUcoHan of Barruel\* s Memoirs of Jacobinism to ike Secret Societies

Ireland and Great Britain, by the traxislator of that work (the Hon.

C. Cliflford), London, 1798, p. xxiL

\* Robison, op. cit. pp. 478, 479. \* Bairud, op, cit. iv. 414.

ft

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some thirty years later; neither the doctrines nor the

phraseology of these societies savoxir in any way of work-

ing-class mentality but are both obviously of foreign

importation, whilst their plan of organization is simply

that of the lUuminati. " These societies," writes a con-

temporary, \*\* were formed on Weishaupt's corresponding

scale," with a \*\* Grand Council " to direct operations.^

And we have only to read their correspondence to recog-

nize the truth of the further assertion that \*\* all their

forms and even their modes of speech were servilely copied

from the French " \* — that is to say, from the French

disciples of the Illimiinati. It is certainly not British boot-

makers or mechanics who devise such phrases as " Citizens

of the World," the \*\* Imprescriptible Rights of Man," or

who would have bethought themselves of beginning a

letter to the Convention of Paris with the words: \*\* Illus-

trious senators, enlightened legislators, and dear friends! "

The phraseology of Jacobinism is here clearly apparent.

The " traitorous correspondence " that took place during

the auttunn of 1792, when immediately after the ghastly

massacres of September the " English Jacobins " sent

affectionate letters of good-will to their French brethren

and even expressed the hope of setting up a National Con-

vention in England, must not be traced to any native

violence on the part of British working-men, but solely to

the workings of lUuminism. Thus, owing to the inter-

national doctrines instilled in their minds by the adepts

of Weishaupt, the English dupes who subscribed to

these effusions little dreamt that the men to whom they

addressed themselves were in reality their bitterest

enemies.\*

^ Clifford, ApplicaHon of Barruel\*s Memoirs, eU., p. 33.

« Clifford, op. cU. p. 34.

\* It should be remembered that at this date — September to December

1792 — the power of the Girondins, who had shown themiselves friendly to

England, was waning and Robespierre was gaining the ascend^uicv. And

Robespierr e 's opinion of the English is thus concisely expressed in his

speech to the Convention on January 30, 1794: " As a Frenclunan and

representative of the people I declare that I hate the English people — I

declare that I shall increase as far as in me lies the hatred of my fellow-

countrymen against them. What does it matter what they think of me?

I only hope in our soldiers and in the profound hatred the French have for

that people." Such were the " dear friends " at whose feet the English

Jaoobnns saw fit to grovel

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Internationalism has always redounded to the discredit of

England.

By way of further expressing their esteem for the

Jacobins of France, the English revolutionary societies

had collected large sums of money which they dispatched

to Paris and also a quantity of arms made at Birmingham

and SheflSeld.^ Fired by this example, the leading revolu-

tionary society of Scotland, calling itself the \*\* North

Britons,\*\* two years later armed itself with pikes for the

purpose of open insurrection. The plot, however, was dis-

covered, and no less than 4000 pikes were found to have

been ordered for Perth besides those wanted for Edin-

burgh.\*

By this time, 1794, the victories of the Republican

armies had rendered the French formidable allies, and,

before long, plans for the invasion of Great Britain began

to be discussed by the agents of the lUuminati. Then, as

now, Ireland was recognized as the most vulnerable point

of attack, and for three years an Irish Society had been at

work in that country. This association, first known as

the Irish Brotherhood, then as the " United Irishmen,"

was organized in Jtme 1791 on the lines of the lUtuninati.

\*\* The proposals for it," writes ClifiEord, " are couched in

the style and exact terms of the Hierophants of lUtmndn-

ism." They recommend the formation of an association,

or, as it is styled, " a beneficent conspiracy " to serve the

people; asstuning \*' the secrecy and somewhat of the

ceremonial attached to FreenMisonry." • This was eflEected

by means of a central society or lodge from which other

lodges in the different towns radiated ; chairmen or Masters

presided over the lodges, and secretaries were appointed

belonging only to the higher degrees. \*\* The concatenation

^ Oswald's speech to the Jacobins of September 30, 1792 (Aulard'fl

Siances des Jacobins , iv. 346). It was Oswald, an English Jacobin, who

seems to have suggested the idea of the terrible " Loi des Suspects " to the

Convention and even advocated a more extreme measure still, namely to

ptU to deaih every suspected man in Prance. This suggestion, emanating

from n vegetarian (for Oswald had adopted the diet of the Brahmins after

some years spent in India), drew from Thomas Paine the ironical remark,

" Oswald, you have lived so long without tasting flesh that you have now

a most voracioiis appetite for blood " (Letters of Redhead Yorke, 1906

edition, p. 71).

\* Clifford, op, cit, p. 35. » 25i3. pp. 1,' 2.

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of the degrees," Clifford goes on to observe, " perfectly

coincides with Weishaupt's plan," and he illustrates the

fact by a reproduction of the pyramidic scale of adepts,

starting with the one controlling brain at the top and

widening out into the lower ranks of the less initiated,

resembling the one shown in the code of the lUuminati : ^

N

BBB BBB BBB BBB

III III III III III III III III III III III III

Committees were then formed all over Ireland, but " no

person whatever could mention the names of the Com-

mittee-men: they were not even known to those who had

elected them in the case of the National or Executive Com-

mittee. . . . Thus was the Society entirely governed by

unknown Superiors." ' The exact similarity between this

system and the organization of the Babouviste conspiracy

will be readily perceived. The ofl&dal leader of the move-

ment in Belfast was Wolfe Tone, in Dublin Napper Tandy,

and, at first. Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Eman-

cipation were held out as the only objects of the society,

but in time plans of a more subversive nature were

admitted. Thus, when military co-operation with the

French was contemplated and it became necessary to win

over the troops, the soldiers were adjured \*\* to be true to

the French Republic." " The better to propagate the

system it was held out to the military that, when the

French shotild come, the soldiers were to be such as them ;

that there were to be no rich but All Equality.\*\* \* Accord-

ingly the barracks were to be burnt down, the cotmtry set

on fire from end to end, and all arms seized until the

French should land. It should be noted that by this date,

July 1797, even the appearance of liberty tmder the name

» Cf. diagram in Nachtrag . . • Oritinal Sckriften, p. 60.

« Cliflford, op. ciL p. 6. » Ibid.

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of Jacobinism had ceased to exist, and it was with the

troops of the despotic Directory that the Irish soldiers

were asked to coalesce.

In all this agitation the Irish peasants played no part

at all; indeed, on the only occasion when the French

effected a landing the people offered vigorous resistance.

The contemporary account of the incident is so curious

that it must be quoted verbatim :

" On the 24th of December (1796) the French really did make

their appearance at Bantry; and, strange to say, they were not

seconded in their attempts by the people; who universally rose

in the south to oppose their invaders; but this is accounted for

in a still more extraordinary manner. The Executive had

received news that the French had deferred their expedition till

spring; this circtunstance threw them ' off their guard,' and in

consequence of it no measures were taken to prepare the people

for the reception of the French army. The people were left to

themselves.\*\* " I hope in God," adds Clifford, " that this avowal

made by one of their intended Governors may prove a whole-

some lesson to that same people, and encourage them to follow

the loyal and genuine dictates of their hearts." ^

Indeed so little were the Irish people initiated into the

real aims of " the beneficent conspiracy \*\* at work in their

midst that even the County Committees were not in the

secret as to the nature of the engagements entered into

with the French.

^ What tmhappy deluded people then were the lower associates

who were informed of nothing, but were to be the mere agents

of rebellion and mtirder, and were hurried on into this ab3rss of

horror by a few political Ubertines who grasped at dominion, and

wished to wade to the helm of the State through the blood of

their countrymen! \*

These words well describe the workings of the con-

spiracy which from 1791 onwards has never ceased to

exploit the troubles of Ireland in order to bring about the

destruction of England and of Christian civilization.

• ••••••

Whilst these events were taking place in Europe the

^ Clifford, op. cU. 9, 10, quoting official report of the incident.

\* Ibid. p. 12. This very curious pamphlet should be read by every one

interested m the present state of affairs in Ireland, of which it offers an

almost exact picture.

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New World had been illuminized. As early as 1786 a lodge

of the Order had been started in Virginia, and this was

followed by fourteen others in different cities. But the

horrors of the French Revolution, followed in 1797 by the

books of Barruel and Robison, which supplied the key to

events that had hitherto appeared inexplicable, opened the

eyes of the American public to the truth of the conspiracy

at work in its midst. The alarm that spread through the

States was not, as it has been foolishly described, a case of

" panic," but the recognition of a very real danger on which

the clergy had the courage to warn their congregations

from pulpits all over the cotmtry.

At Charlestown on May 9, 1798, the Rev. Jedediah

Morse preached his famous sermon on Illuminism, taking

for his text, \*' This is a day of trouble and of rebuke and

blasphemy ":

Practically all of the civil and ecclesiastical establishments of

Europe have already been shaken to their foundations by this

terrible organization; the French Revolution itself is doubtless

to be traced to its machinations; the successes of the Frendi

armies are to be explained on the same ground. The Jacobins

are nothing more nor less than the open manifestation of the

hidden system of the Illuminati. The Order has its branches

established and its emissaries at work in America. The affiliated

Jacobin Societies in America have doubtless had as the object

of their establishment the propagation of the principles of the

illuminated mother club in France.

In July of the same year Timothy Dwight, president of

Yale, thus referred to the work of the French Revolution in

his sermon to the people of New Haven:

No personal or national interest of man has been uninvaded;

no impious sentiment of action against God has been spared;

no malignant hostility against Chnst and His religion has been

unattempted. Jtistice, truth, kindness, piety, and moral obUga\*

tion universally have been not merely trodden tinderfoot . . .

but ridiculed, spumed, and insulted as the childish bugbears of

drivelling idiocy. . . . For what end shall we be connected with

men of whom this is the character and conduct? Is it that we

may assume the same character and conduct? Is it that our

churches may become temples of reason, our Sabbath a decade,

andourpsalinsof praise Marseillaise hymns? . . . Is it that we

may see the Bible cast into a bonfire, the vessels of the sacra-

mental supper borne by an ass in public procession, and our

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children either wheedled or terrified, tiniting in the mob, chant\*

ing mockeries against God, and hailing in the sounds of the

" Oa ira " the ruin of their religion and the loss of their souls?

. . . Shall our sons become the disciples of Voltaire and the

dragoons of Marat, or our daughters the concubines of the

Illimiinati?

Dwight then refers to the misery wrought by the

Republican troops in Belgium, Bolivia, Italy, and Switzer-

land — \*\* the happiness of the last named, and its hopes

cut off at a single stroke, happiness erected with the labour

and the wisdom of three centuries. . . . What have they

spread but crimes and miseries; where have they trodden

but to waste, to pollute, and to destroy? "

Needless to say, these warnings were met with furious

remonstrances from sympathizers with the principles of

lUuminism. The Independent Chronicle spoke of " the

incorrigible impertinence of the clergy in turning aside

from their legitimate ftmctions to spread alarm about

lUuminism " ; Jefferson — whom Morse declared to be

himself an lUuminatus — strenuously denied all imputa-

tions against the Order, and described Weishaupt as \*\* an

enthusiastic philanthropist " and Barruers revelations as

\*' the ravings of a Bedlamite." The very violence of these

disclaimers shows how truly the shafts had gone home.

The line of defence adopted had been laid down some ten

years earlier by Weishaupt. " The great care of the Illu-

minati after the pubUcation of their secret writings," says

Barruel, " was to persuade the whole of Germany that

their Order no longer existed, that their adepts had all

renounced not only their mysteries and conspiracies but

all connection between themselves as members of a secret

society." It is very ciuious to read these words written

more than 120 years ago, for this is precisely the course

that has been adopted throughout by the Illuminati. Still

at the present day any reference to the r61e of lUuminism

either in the French Revolution or after is immediately

met with the assurance that the whole thing is a '\* mare's

nest," and that in reality lUuminism was an unimportant

and transitory movement, which finally ended with its

suppression in Bavaria in 1786.

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With regard to Baxruers and Robison's revelations,

which we are asked to believe " fell flat " — but which in

reality created so immense a sensation that the entire first

edition of the translation of Bamiel's Memoirs was sold

out before the fourth volume reached the Press, whilst

Robison's book went into at least four editions — every

effort was made at the time of their appearance to counter-

act their effects and even to withdraw them from circula-

tion. \*\* The zealous brothers on the banks of the Thames

asked for help from their German brothers "in order to

destroy the copies of the obnoxious volumes.^ Thereupon

" Brother Boettiger " replied by an article in the Monthly

Magazine for January 1798 in which he assured the British

public that \*\* every one concerned in tmveiling lUuminism

is now only pursuing a chimera on matters long since

buried in profoimd oblivion, that since 1790 no one has

paid the least attention to the lUuminati, that since that

date there is no mention of them in the German lodges,

and that, finally, proofs of this assertion are to be found in

the papers of Bode, who had become the head of the

Order." At least, as Barruel observes, Boettiger here

admits " that the mysteries of Illtmiinism had become

those of masonic lodges," and that the Order had not been

annihilated in 1786 at the time of the discovery of its plots,

as other writers of the sect had pretended, but that it had

survived at any rate tmtil 1790.

A further exoneration of the IDimiinati which is fre-

quently quoted to-day appeared some years later tmder

the title of De Vinfltience attribute aux philosophes, aux

Francs Magons, et aux Illumines sur la Revolution de France ^

of which the author was no other than Jean Joseph

Mounier, proposer of the Oath of the Tennis Court on

June 20, 1789. According to this apparently reliable wit-

ness, neither Freemasonry nor lUtmiinism had the slightest

influence on the Revolution, nor had philosophy either!

Therefore, if we are to believe Mounier, the time-honoured

opening to nearly every existing book on the French Revo-

lution tracing its origins to the theories of Rousseau,

Diderot, Voltaire, and so on, must be ruled out as fictions.

» Bamiel, iv. 218.

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When we come to examine Mourner's attitude more

closely, however, certain considerations present them-

selves, too lengthy to enter into here, which detract some-

what from the value of his testimony. Of these the most

important is the fact that Motmier wrote his book in Ger-

many, where he was living under the protection of the

Dtike of Weimar, who had placed him at the head of a

school in that city where Boettiger himself was director of

the college,^ and, according to the editor of Mourner's

work, it was from Bode, who was also at Weimar and whom

Boettiger declared to be the head of the Illtuninati, that

Motmier collected his information! ' And this is the sort

of evidence seriously quoted against that of innumerable

other contemporaries who testified to the influence of

Illtuninism on the French Revolution!

Space tmforttmately forbids quotations from these

authorities — Lombard de Langres, the Chevalier de

Malet, Joseph de Maistre, the Comte de Vaudreuil, Zim-

mermann, Gochhausen, and many others — but an impor-

tant point to notice is that they belonged to no one party,

religion, school of thought, or nationality, but though

widely differing in their political or religious point of view,

agreed on this one question. Thus the argument frequently

advanced that Barruel wrote simply in the interests of the

Catholic Chxu-ch is obviously absurd, since Robison, who

was a Protestant, arrived independently at precisely the

same conclusions, and the American ecclesiastics quoted

above can certainly not be supposed to have spoken in

obedience to the dictates of Rome.

It will still be objected that all these witnesses and

those who came after them were '' reactionaries " eager to

discredit the Revolution by every possible means. Was

Louis Blanc the Socialist a reactionary? And who has

more clearly indicated the workings of the occult forces

beneath the movement? \* Was George Sand, revolution-

ary and Freemason, a \*\* reactionary " ? And it was George

Sand who, in referring to \*\* the European conspiracy of

^ Mounier, De Vinfluence aUribuie, etc., p. Iviii (1822 edition).

• Ibid. pp. 130, 212.

\* See the whole chapter devoted to this question in the second volume

of Louis Blanc's Histotre de la Rholution Franfoise,

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IHtimimsm " and "the gigantic conceptions of Weishaupt,"

declared that Illimiinism, '\* drawing from the inventive

genius of its leaders and from the traditions of the Secret

Societies of mystic Germany, appalled the world by the

most formidable and the most learned of political and

religious conspiracies," which " shook all dynasties on

their thrones." ^ And Madame Sand adds: " Had these

societies more effect in France than in the heart of the

Germany that had given them birth ? The French Revolu-

tion answers energetically with the affirmative ^ '

How, then, in the face of all tWs evidence — evidence

which, as we shall see later, other Freemasons confirmed —

is it possible to deny the influence of illimiinized Free-

masonry on the French Revolution? How can we doubt

the truth of those terrible words of Barruel which the sub-

sequent history of the world and, above all, its situation

to-day has surely justified :

You thought the Revolution ended in France, and the Revo-

lution in France was only the first attempt of the Jacobins. In

the desires of a terrible and formidable sect, you have only

reached the first stage of the plans it has formed for that general

Revolution which is to overthrow all thrones, all altars, annihi-

late all property, efface all law and end by dissolving all society.

Had not Weishaupt declared : \*' This revolution shall be

the work of the Secret Societies, and that is one of oxir

great mysteries " ?

But for a brief spell after the fall of Babetif the work

of the conspiracy was arrested. The XVHIth of Brumaire

dealt a crushing blow to Illuminism, and the same hand

that had locked the door of the Panth6onistes' meeting-

place closed down the Secret Societies. Thus the fifteen

years during which Napoleon held the reins of power were

the only period in the last 140 years during which Europe

had peace from the devastating fire of Illuminism kindled

by Weishaupt.

^ Xa CanUesu d§ Rudolstadt, iL 219. \* Dnd. p. 260.

CHAPTER IV

THE GROWTH OP SOCIALISM

Revival of Illuminism — The Tugendbund — The Alta Vendita — The

Industrial Revolution — Rdle of the Jews — The Philosophers —

Robert Owen — \*\* New Harmony " — Saint-Simon — Pierre Leroux

— Fourier — Buchez — Louis Blanc — Cabet — Vidal — Pecqueur

— Proudhon — Trade-Union Terrorism.

After the fall of Napoleon the smotildering flames of

Illuminism broke out afresh all over Europe. The \*' Ger-

man Union, ' ' inaugurated immediately on the suppression

of the lUuminati in Bavaria, was in reality Weishaupt's

Order reorganized under a different name, and in the early

years of the following century other societies such as the

Tugendbtmd and the Burschenshaft were started on much

the same lines. ^ The Tugendbtmd, inaugurated in about

1812 and composed of all the most violent elements

amongst the lUuminati, whose doctrines were those of

Clootz and Marat, developed into a further Order known

as the German Association and aiming at a United

Germany.

It is here that for the first time we can clearly detect

the connection between Prussianism and the secret forces

of World Revolution, though, no doubt, it could be traced

back to a much earlier date. As we have already seen,

Frederick the Great, through his ambassador, von der

^ Lombard de Langres, Les SocUUs secriUs^ pp. 81, 102, 110-113.

Mettemich also regarded these German societies as the outcome of Illu-

minism. Writing in 1832 he says: "Germany has long suffered from the

evil which to-day covers the whole of Europe. . . . The sect of Illumines

. . . has never been destroyed although the same (Bavarian) government

has tried to suppress it and has been obliged to inveigh against it, and it has

taken successively, according to circumstances and the needs of the times,

the denominations of Tugendbund, of Burschenshaft, etc.," Mhiunres de

MetUrnich, v. 368.

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Goltz, had worked indefatigably for the rupture of the

Franco-Austrian alliance, but at the same time his

intrigues were conducted through a more obscure channel,

for Frederick was a Freemason, as also were his friends the

philosophers of France, and it was thus largely through his

influence that the disintegrating doctrines of Voltaire were

propagated which paved the way for the anti-Christian

campaign of Weishaupt. In 1807 Joseph de Maistre, who

had the rare perspicacity to perceive the fearful danger of

Frederick's policy to the peace and stability of Europe,

wrote these remarkable words:

I have always had a particular aversion for Frederick II.,

whom a frenzied century hastened to proclaim a great man, but

who was aufond only a great Prussian. History will note this

prince as one of the greatest enemies of the htunan race who has

ever existed.^

But de Maistre reckoned without that conspiracy of his-

tory which, controlled principally by German hands, was

through the instrumentality of such agents as Carlyle, to

maintain the prestige of Frederick in order to smooth the

path for his successors.

After the death of Frederick the Great his policy was

followed not only by his nephew Frederick William II.,

but by the disciples of Weishaupt. It was thus that the

Illuminatus Diomedes (the Marqtiis de Constanza) wrote :

In Germany there must be only one or two princes at the

most, and these princes musf be illuminized and so led by our

adepts and surrounded by them that no profane man may

approach their persons.'

May not the Prussian Clootz's ambiguous reference to

" the immutable Empire of the Great Germany — the

Universal Republic " \* be traced to the same source of

inspiration? It is possible, indeed, that Clootz may have

been not only the adept of Weishaupt, but, as both

Robespierre and Brissot suspected, the agent of the King

of Prussia. Certain contemporaries have in fact declared

1 Lettres itUdUes de Joseph de Maistre (1851), p. 97.

\* Deschamps, op, cU, ii. 397, quoting evidence given at the trial of tht

lUtaninati.

\* Oootz's speech to the Convention, September 9, 1792.

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that Frederick William II. was actually an Ultuninatus.

Thus the Comte de Vaudreuil, writing to the Comte

d'Artois from Venice in October 1790, remarked:

•

What strikes me most is that the sect of the lUuminis is the

cause and instigator of all our troubles; that one finds these

sectaries everywhere, that even the King of Prussia is imbued

with this pernicious system; that the man who possesses his

chief confidence (Bischoffswerder) is one of its chief heads.^

And Robison states that his interest in the Illuminati was

first aroused by an invitation to enter that Society from

" a very honourable and worthy gentleman " who informed

him \*\* that the King of Prussia was the patron of the Order

and that its object was most honourable and praise-

worthy." Robison, however, declined the invitation

because " there was something in the character and con-

duct of the King of Prussia which gave me a dislike to

everything which he professed to patronize," and he was

not surprised when later the same \*\* honourable and worthy

gentleman " confirmed his suspicions of the Order and

said, " shaking his head very emphatically, ' Have nothing

to do with it, we have been deceived, it is a dangerous

thing.' " «

A connection between Prussianism and Uluminism can

therefore be detected from the beginning but with the

Tugendbtmd appears in the dear light of day. According

to Eckert the ultimate ends of the two intrigues were not

identical, but each used the other for its own plan of

world power.

This national sentiment latent in all (German) hearts, these

efforts towards union of the different Gemian States, masonry

attempted to appropriate in order to direct them towards the

overthrow of all thrones and of all nationalities. . . . The Unity

of Germany became then the exclusive theme of the press; from

the Tugendbund there issued, under high masonic direction, the

German Association which absorbed it entirely.

The object of this association (according to " the

authentic Report of the Secret Associations of CJermany "

by Mannsdorf, one of the members of the upper lodges)

> Correspondence du Comte de Vaudreuil et du Comte d\*Artois, i. 342.

• Robison, Proofs of a Conspiracy ^ p. 583.

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was to dethrone all the German princes with the exception oj

the King of Prussia, to bestow on this last the Imperial

Crown of Germany, and to give to the State a democratic

constitution. The final goal of masonry was then to bring

about " the real or Universal Republic and the destruction

of all nationalities." \*

It is easy to see that the Hohenzollems might well

make use of this intrigue in order to accomplish the first

part of the programme — Prussian domination.

But Illuminism had not confined itself to Germany, and

before the fall of Napoleon a further secret society was

organized, tmder the name of the Carbonari, which soon

fell under the control of the lUuminati. Though masonic

in their origin, the Carbonari had not begun as a revolu-

tionary body. Their fotmders were avowedly Royalists

and Catholics who, possibly deluded as to the real aims

of Illuminism, followed the precedent laid down by

Weishaupt of taking Christ for their Grand Master. But

before long the adepts of revolutionary masonry penetrated

into their ranks and, taking the lead, acquired control over

the whole association. \*' Italian genius," says Monsignor

Dillon, \*\* soon outstripped the Germans in astuteness, and

as soon as, perhaps sooner than, Weishaupt had passed

away, the supreme government of all the Secret Societies

of the world was exercised by the Alta Vendita or highest

lodge of the Italian Carbonari." \* It was this formidable

society, the " Haute Vente Romaine," which from 1814 to

1848 directed the activities of all the Secret Societies. Far

more subtle, and therefore more formidable, than the

Carbonari, the leaders of the Haute Vente conducted their

campaign precisely on the lines of the Illuminati, of which

they were indeed the direct continuation.' Thus, according

to the custom of the earlier Order, followed by Anarcharsis

Clootz and Gracchus Babetif , the members of the Haute

Vente all adopted classical pseudonyms, that of the leader,

a corrupt Italian nobleman, being Nubius. This young

man, rich, handsome, eloquent, and absolutely reckless,

> Deschamps, op. cit. ii. 227, 228.

\* Monsignor George P. DiUon, The War of Anti-Christ vrith ths Church

c id Christian Cinlization, p. 63 (1884).

> Ihid. p. 63.

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was " a visionary with an id^e fixe of elevating a pedestal

for his own vanity." ^ But it was not in the band of dis-

solute young Italians he gathered around him, but in his

Jewish allies, that Nubius found his principal support.

Throughout the early years of the nineteenth century Jews

in increasing numbers had penetrated into the masonic

lodges and also into certain Secret Societies, The Egyptian

rite of Memphis had been foimded before the French Revo-

lution by the Jewish lUuminatus CagUostro, and " in 1815

the Rite of Mizraim, consisting of ninety Jewish degrees,

was established by the Jews in Paris. Ragon, the French

Masonic authority, calls it Jewish masonry.'\* \*

Joseph de Maistre declared the Jews now to be playing

an active part in Illuminism — a system which he had

studied deeply and believed to be " the root of all the evil

then afflicting Europe." \* " There are certainly, according

to all appearances," he wrote in 1816, " societies organized

for the destruction of all the bodies of nobility, of all noble

institutions, of all the thrones and of all the altars of

Europe. The sect which makes use of everything seems at

this moment to turn the Jews to great accotmt and we

must very much beware of them." \* In the Haute Vente

for the first time we find them taking the lead. Rich mem-

bers of the Ashkenazim contributed to the f tmds of the

society, lesser Jews acted as their cleverest agents.\*

Amongst the latter class, one who had assumed the pseu-

donym of Piccolo Tigre displayed the greatest energy.

Masquerading as an itinerant jeweller and moneylender.

Piccolo Tigre travelled about Europe carrying the instruc-

tions of the Haute Vente to the Carbonari and returning

laden with gold for the money-boxes of Nubius. On these

journeys Piccolo Tigre received the protection of the

masonic lodges everywhere, although the greater number

of the men who composed them were held by the Haute

Vente in supreme contempt. " Beyond the Masons and

unknown to them," writes Monsignor Dillon, \*\* though

J. Cr6tineau-Joly, VEglise Ramaine en face de la RSuoluHan, iL 883.

A. Cowan, The X-rays in Freemasonry, p. 160.

Lettres inidiUs de Joseph de Maistre, p. 368.

Joseph de Maistre, Quatre ehapitres iiUdits sur la Russie, chap, ir,

Monsignor Dillon, op. cU, p. 72. Cr6tineau-Joly, op. cit. iL 131.

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formed generally from them, lay the deadly secret con-

clave, which nevertheless used and directed them for the

ruin of the world and of their own selves."

So important had the r61e of Piccolo Tigre become, that

in 1822 we find him writing a letter of instruction to the

Haute Vente Piedmontaise of which the following extract

will serve to indicate the methods that he advocated and

incidentally their similarity with those of the lUuminati :

In the impossibility in which our brothers and friends find

themselves, to say, as yet their last word, it has been judged

good and useful to propagate the light everywhere, and to set

in motion all that which aspires to move. For this reason we do

not cease to recommend you to affiliate persons of every class to

every manner of association no matter of what kind, only pro-

vided that mystery and secrecy shall be the dominant characteristics.

All Italy is covered with religious confraternities and with peni-

tents of diverse colours. Do not fear to slip in some of your

people into the very midst of these flocks, led, as they are, by a

stupid devotion. L«t our agents study with care the personnel of

these confraternity men, and they will see that little by little

they will not be wanting in a harvest. Under a pretext the most

futile but never political or religious, create by yourselves, or

better yet, cause to be created by others, associations having

commerce, indtistry, music, the fine arts, etc., for objects.

Reunite in one place or another — in the sacristies or chapels

even — these tribes of yours as yet ignorant; put them under

the pastoral staff of some virtuous priest, well known but

credulous, and easy to be deceived. Then infiltrate the poison

into those chosen hearts; infiltrate it in little doses and as if

by chance. Afterwards, upon reflection, you will yourselves

be astonii^ed at your success.

The essential thing is to isolate a man from his family, to

cause him to lose his morals. He is sufficiently disposed by the

bent of his character to flee from household cares and to run

after easy pleasures and forbidden joys. He loves the long con-

versations of the caf^, and the idleness of shows. Lead him.

along, sustain him, give him an importance of some kind, testch

hm discreetly to grow weary of his daily labours, and by this

manoeuvre, after having separated him from his wife and

children and after having shown him how painful are all his

duties, you will then excite in him the desire of another exist-

ence. Man is a bom rebel. Stir up the desire of rebellion until

it becomes a conflagration, but in such a maimer that the

confljagration does not break out. This is a preparation for the

great work that you have to begin.

When you shall have insinuated into a few souls disgust for

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family and for religion (the one nearly always follows in the wake

of the other), let IsM some words which will provoke the desire

of being affiliated to the nearest lodge. Tliis vanity of the

citizen or of the bourgeois for being enrolled in Freemasonry

is something so banal and so universal that I am always fuU

of admiration for human stupidity. I am not surprised to see

the whole world knocking at the door of all the Venerables and

asking these gentlemen for the honour of being one of the

workmen chosen for the reconstruction of the Temple of Solo-

mon. To find oneself a member of a lodge, to feel oneself apart

from one's wife and children, called upon to guard a secret

which is never confided to one, is for certain natures a delight

and an ambition.

The Alta Vendita desires that under one pretence or another,

as many princes and wealthy persons as possible should be

introduced into the Masonic Lodges. Princes of a sovereign

house and those who have not the legitimate hope of being

kings by the grace of God, all wish to t^ kings by the grace of

a Revolution. The Duke of Orleans is a Freemason. . . . The

prince who has not a kingdom to expect is a good fortune for

us. There are many of them in that pUg^t. Make Freemasons

of them; these poor princes will serve our ends, while thinking

to labour only for their own. They form a magnificent sign-

board.

It is upon the lodges that we count to double our ranks.

They form, without knowing it, our preparatory novitiate.

They discourse without end upon the dangers of fanaticism,

upon the happiness of social equality and upon the grand

principles of religious liberty. They launch amidst their f east-

ings tiiimdering anathemas against intolerance and persecu-

tion. This is positively more tiian we require to make adepts.

A man imbued with these fine things is not very far from us.

There is nothing more required than to enlist him.

It was thus by systematic demoralization that the

leaders of the Haute Vente, like the Illuminati, hoped to

establish their ascendancy over the " peoples " of Europe,

But in order to understand the manner in which they set

out to accomplish this purpose we must now examine the

ground on which they had to work.

Thb Industrial Rbvolution

It is of the utmost importance to realize that the people

at this period were suflfering from very real grievances.

These grievances weighed less, however, on the agricultural

than on the industrial workers, whose conditions of life

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were often terrible. This fact no one has ever attempted

to deny, and we need not have recourse to the writings of

Socialists to gain an idea of the slavery endxired by men»

women, and children in the mines and factories of Europe

during the years following on the Napoleonic wars, for we

shall find the whole case stated with more accuracy and

far greater eloquence in the letters of Lord Shaftesbury,

whose whole life was devoted to the cause of the poor and

oppressed.

What was the reason for this aggravation of the

workers' lot? Partly the speeding up of industry brought

about by the introduction of machinery; partly, in Eng-

land, the rapidly increasing population, but in France to a

large extent the situation must be directly attributed to

the Revolution. We have already seen how the destruc-

tion of trade unions and increase in the days of labotir by

the abolition of national holidays had added to the workers'

burden, but a further effect of the great upheaval had been

the transference of power from the aristocracy to the baur-

geoisie with disastrous consequences to the people. In a

word the destruction of feudalism had inaugurated the

reign of Commercialism. This is admitted by no less an

authority than Marx himself.

The bourgeoisie has played in history a most revolutionary

part. The bourgeoisie, whenever it has conquered power, has

destroyed all feudal, patriarchal, and idyllic relations. It has

pitilessly torn asunder all the many-coloured feudal bonds which

united men to their \*\* natural superiors," and has left no tie

twixt man and man but naked self-interest and callous cash

payment. It has drowned religious ecstasy, chivalrous enthu-

siasm, and middle-class sentimentality in the ice\*cold water of

egotistical calculation. It has transformed personal worth into

mere exchange value, and substituted for countiess dearly-

bought chartered freedoms the one and only unconscionable

freedom of Free Trade. It has, in one word, replaced an

exploitation veiled by religious and political illusions by

exploitation open, unashamed, direct, and brutal.^

Thus in the opinion of the leading prophet of modem

Socialist thought, it was the destruction of feudalism that led

to the enslavement of the proletariat. Exaggerated as this

^ Manifesto of the Communist P.arty, by Karl Maxz and Friedrich

Bogelt, p. 9.

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indictment of the bourgeoisie may be, there is a certain

degree of truth in Marx's theory. The class that lives on

inherited wealth is always the barrier to the exploitation

of the workers. To the noble who paid 500 lotiis for his

carrosse, or the duchess who never asked the price of her

brocaded gown, where was the advantage of underpaying

the workman or the dressmaker? " Sweating " results

largely from the attempt to bring commodities within the

reach of a class that cannot or will not pay a price allowing

a fair rate of remimeration to the worker. After the revo-

lution, when aristocracy with its careless expenditure and

its traditional instincts of benevolence had taken refuge

in garrets, these were the classes that supported industry,

and it is thus against \*' the newly rich " that we find the

bitterest complaints of the people directed.

At the same time, amongst the bourgeoisie had arisen

a new influence that Marx is careful not to indicate, but

about which the Socialist Malon is more explicit :

Feudalism signifies privilege granted in return for certain

duties agreed upon; judaized plutocracy recognizes no duty, it

has only one object, to appropriate the largest possible part of

the work of others, and of the social accumulation in order to

use and abuse it selfishly. That is its great moral indignity, and

the signal for its approaching fall in the name of public welfare

and of the interests of Humanity.

We shall find the same opinion expressed later by the

Anarchist Bakunin.

The Jew was of course not alone in exploiting the

workers; but the spirit of the Jew, permeating commerce

in every country — in France, in Germany, above all in

America — undoubtedly contributed to the industrial

oppression against which Marx inveighs. Under the mon-

archy the Jews had been held in check by laws limiting

their activities, but the edicts passed at the beginning of

the Revolution, decreeing their complete emancipation,

had removed all restraints to their rapacity.

By the Jewish race 1789 is therefore hailed as the year

of deliverance. Without going so far as M. Drumont in

saying that the Revolution delivered the people from the

aristocrats in order to hand them over to the Jews, it

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cannot be denied that the power of the Jews over the

people was immensely increased by the overthrow of the

monarchy and aristocracy. Whether they deliberately

contributed to this end it is impossible to say, but their

influence was susi)ected by contemporaries, as may be

seen by the following passage from Prudhomme, an ardent

democrat and in no way to be accused of anti-Semitism:

The French Revolution did a great deal of good to the Jews;

it entirely proscribed that antiquated prejudice which caused

the remains of this ancient people to be regarded as a race of

degraded men below all others. The Jews in France for a long

while paid no longer at the barriers, as under the reign of Saint

Louis, the same dues that were exacted from the cloven-footed.

But every year each Jewish family was taxed 40 livres for the

right of habitation, or protection and tolerance. This due was

suppressed on the 20th of July, 1790. The Jews were, so to

speak, naturalized French and took the rank of citizens. What

did they do to show their gratitude? What they did before;

they have not changed, they have not mended their ways,

they contributed not a little to the fall of assignats. The disorder

of our finances was a Peruvian mine for them; they have not

abated their infamous traffic; on the contrary, civil liberty has

only availed them to extend their stock-jobbing speculations.

Public misery became a rich patrimony to them. . . . The

Jews took impetus. The Government had need of them, and

God knows how dearly they have made the Republic pay the

resources that it demanded of them. What mysteries of iniquity

would be revealed if the Jews, like the mole, did not make a

point of working in the dark! In a word and to say all, the

Jews have never been more Jews than since we tried to make

of them men and citizens.^

But it was the peasants who became the chief sufferers

from the domination of the Jews. Under the Old R6gime,

the feudal dues had proved oppressive, but in many

instances the seigneurs were the benefactors and protectors

of their vassals. The Jewish usurers on whom the peasant

proprietors now depended to carry on if crops failed or

weather proved unpropitious, showed no indulgence.

" As soon as he " (the peasant), writes Daniel Stem, " has

\* Crimes de la Revolutions iii. 44. Burke relates that the Jews made large

profits out of the plunder of the Churches, and that he is told " the very

sons of such Jew- jobbers have been made bishops, persons not to be sus-

pected of any Christian superstition " (Reflections on the French Revolution^

p. 254). This may explain the apostasy of certain prelates on the 8th of

November, 1793.

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entered into commercial relations with this rusi race, as soon as

he has put his name at the foot of a paper which he has read and

re-read without perceiving the hidden clause that does for him,

the peasant, in spite of all his finesse, will never succeed in recov-

ering his liberty. Henceforth his activity, his intelligence, the

benefits of Providence who sends him rich harvests will profit

him nothing, but only his new master. The exorbitant interest

on a very small capital will absorb his time and his labours.

Every day he will see the comfort of his family diminish and his

difficulties increase. As the fatal day approaches when the debt

falls due the sombre face of his creditor warns him that he can

expect no respite. He must make up his mind, he must go

further along the road of perdition, borrow again, always borrow

tmtil ruin has been brought about, and fields, meadows, and

woods, house, flocks, and home all have passed from his indus-

trious hands into the rapacious ones of the usurer." ^

In a word, the peasant inherited from the aristocrat;

he was disinherited by the usurer. Here is the true history

of the disinherited, not in France alone, but in Russia,\* in

Austria, in Poland; everywhere that the worker lives by

tilling his own soil the abolition of feudalism has led to the

domination of the money-lender, and the money-lender is

in most cases a Jew. If, exasperated by this tyranny, the

peasants from time to time have given way to violence

and turned on their oppressors, is it altogether surprising ?

When in the fourteenth century the peasants rose against

the noblesse, the blame, we are told, must rest solely with

the nobles. Yet why is peasant fury when it took the

form of a " jacquerie " to be condoned, and when it takes

the form of a \*\* pogrom " to be remorselessly condemned?

Surely in one case as much as the other the plea of imcon-

trollable exasperation may be with justice put forward.

The industrial worker as well as the peasant found the

1 La RholuHon de 1848, by Daniel Stem, ii. 89 (La Comtesse d'Agoult).

\* See the account given on his jotimey through White Russia in 1816

by the Grand Ouke Nicholas, who, whilst admitting the support given to

the Imperial authority by the Jews, remarks: " The genoal ruination

of the peasantry of these provinces is attributable to the Jews, who are

second in import to the landowners only; by their industries they exploit

to the utmost the unfortunate population. They are everything here —

merchants, contractors, pothouse-keepers, millers, carriers, artisans, etc.,

and they are so clever in squeezing and cheating the common people that

they advance money on the unsown bread and discount the harvest before

the fields are sown. They are regular leeches who suck up everything and

completely; exhaust this province,'' (E. A. Brayley Hodgett's The Court

of Russia in the Nineteenth Century, L 161).

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Jew an exacting taskmaster. It was not only the introduc-

tion of machinery that at the beginning of the nineteenth

century brought about the speeding up of industry, but

the spirit of the new commercialism, which succeeded^ to

the leisurely methods of the Old Regime. As M. Drumont

has expressed it, if the workers paused for breath the cry

went up from the statisticians: " What are we coming to?

England manufacttired 375 million trouser buttons last

year and we have only produced 374 millions! "

This driving force behind the worker, this spirit of cut-

throat competition, was largely attributable to the Jew.

At any rate, whether we regard the \*\* Capitalistic

system " as an evil or not, we cannot deny that the Jews

were mainly responsible for it.

In order to appreciate thoroughly the insincerity of

Marx with regard to this question, it is only necessary to

glance through his book Das Capital and then the work of

Werner Sombart on The Jews and Modem Capitalism.

" The Jew," as Sombart remarks, \*\* embodied modem

Capitalism," ^ and he goes on to describe, step by step, the

building up by Jewish hands of the system which super-

seded the Old R6gime of amicable trading and peaceful

industry ; he shows the Jew as the inventor of advertise-

ment,\* as the employer of cheap labour,' as the principal

participant in the stock-jobbing or agiotage that prevailed

at the end of the first French Revolution.\* But it is above

all as the usurer that the Jew achieved power. " Modem

Capitalism," says Sombart, " is the child of money-

lending," • and the Jew, as we have seen, is the money-

lender par excellence. The great fortune of the Rothschilds

was built up on this basis. The principal \*' loan-floaters "

of the world,\* they were later the first railway kings. ^ The

period of 1820 onwards became, as Sombart calls it, \*\* the

age of the Rothschilds," so that by the middle of the

century it was a common dictum, \*\* There is only one

power in Europe, and that is Rothschild." '

Now how is it conceivable that a man who set out

1 Werner Sombart, The Jews and Modem Capitalism, p. 50.

• Ibid. p. 139. « Ibid. p. 150. \* Ibid. p. 101,

• Ibid. p. 189. • Ibid, pp. 101. 103. » Ibid. p. 105

• Ibid. The Jews and Modem Capitalism, p. 99.

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honestly to denotince Capitalism shotild have avoided all

reference to its principal authors ? Yet even in the section

of his book dealing with the origins of Industrial Capital\*

ism, where Marx refers to the great financiers, the stock-

jobbing and speculation in shares, and what he describes

as \*\* the modem sovereignty of finance," he never once

indicates the Jews as the leading financiers, or the Roths-

childs as the super-capitalists of the world. As well might

one sit down to recount the history of wireless telegraphy

without any reference to Signor Marconi! How are we

to explain this astounding omission? Only by recognizing

that Marx was not sincere in his dentmciations of the

Capitalistic system, and that he had other ends in view.

I shall return to this point later in connection with the

career of Marx.

Such, then, was the condition of things at the beginning

of the period known as the industrial revolution. The

grievances of the workers were very real; the need for

social reconstruction xirgent, the gulf between poverty and

riches greater than ever before, and the Government of

France had no schemes of reform to offer. If only a great

man had then arisen to lead the people back into paths

of sanity and progress, to show them in that fatal year of

1789 new-bom democracy had taken the wrong turning

and wandered into a pathless jtmgle whence it could only

emerge by retracing its footsteps, and starting afresh led

by the light of its own day, not by the will o' the wisp of

illuminized freemasonry!

Unhappily at this new crisis in the history of the work-

ing classes there was no one to point the way, no one who

had the insight and the courage to rise and declare: \*\* The

great experiment of 1789 to 1794 has proved a failure, the

principles on which it was f oimded have been weighed in

the balance and found wanting, the goals it set before us

have turned out to be mirages towards which we have

marched too long with bleeding feet, the methods it

employed were atrocious and must never be repeated, the

men who led it were the enemies of the people and such as

they shall never deceive us again. There is no hope for

suffering humanity but to repudiate the Revolution and all

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its works, and to strike out a fresh path with new hopes,

new aims founded not on the dreams of visionaries or the

schemes of demagogues but on the true desires of the

I)eople."

Instead of rallying the people by such a trumpet-call

as this, the men who now arose had nothing better to offer

than the worn-out creed of their revolutionary predeces-

sors. The doctrines that had proved fallacious, the visions

that had turned out to be delusions, the battle-cries that

had led the people to disaster were all to be again revived

with the same assurance as if in the past they had been

attended with triumphant success.

The Philosophers

The earliest pioneer of the movement in England, later

to be known as Socialism, was the English cotton mill-

owner, Robert Owen. At the outset of his career it seemed

that Owen might really prove to be the man the people

needed, the enlightened reformer who, sweeping aside the

fallacious theories of the French Revolution, was to estab-

lish the industrial system on new lines. The work of Owen

at New Lanark was wholly admirable, the proper housing

of the workers, the better education of the children, and

indeed of the whole population by the inculcation of ideas

of thrift, sobriety, and cleanliness, brought about a com-

plete regeneration of the town and excited universal

admiration. In all these schemes their author encountered

no resistance. Socialists are fond of declaring that \*\* the

upper classes " are perfectly indifferent to the welfare of

the workers, and that nothing but revolutionary agitation

will rouse them. The history of Robert Owen provides a

striking instance to the contrary, for it was amongst the

so-called " upper classes," dukes, bishops, statesmen, even

crowned heads — for the Czar Nicholas I. visited him in

person — that he received his principal support. New

Lanark speedily became a place of pilgrimage for every one

interested in social reform, and Owen foimd himself in

danger of having his head turned by the adulation of the

great.

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It must be understood, however, that Owen's experi-

ment was not conducted on Socialistic principles. Living

in the big house and driving about in his carriage '' like a

prince amongst his subjects," ^ Owen played the part

simply of a benevolent autocrat.\* His employes existing on

the wage system were obliged to work eight to ten hours a

day,' and were decorated with humiliating badges if they

proved idle or inefficient. The proceeds of industry were

not distributed amongst the workers, but gathered in by

Owen himself and spent as he saw fit. It is true that from

the model shop he erected in the town he drew no profit,

goods being dealt out to customers at cost price, but with

a lordly income Owen could well afford to indulge in this

charitable hobby. No less honour must be attributed to

him on this account, but the fact remains that Owen's

philanthropy at New Lanark was conducted on the system

Socialists condemn as " capitalistic."

At any rate the experiment proved triumphantly suc-

cessful, but unhappily Owen allowed himself to be led from

the path of sane and practical reforms into a wilderness of

philosophic speculation. How are we to explain this unfor-

ttinate aberration? Only by the fact that Owen had

fallen tmder the influence of the occult forces at work on

the Continent, for if we examine his writings in the light

of the doctrines described in the first chapter of this book,

we cannot fail to perceive that his mind was permeated

with lUununism. Thus the ftmdamental point of Owen's

teaching consists in the assumption that Man is the

creature of circimistances, and that character results solely

from environment. Therefore by removing him from evil

conditions Man will inevitably be " transformed into an

intelligent, rational and good being." \* Fxarther, the evil

conditions that at present exist are simply the result of

civilization, which, like Weishaupt, Owen held to be the

bane of humanity. \*\* All the nations of the earth, with all

the bosist of each respecting their advance in what they call

^ Life oj Robert Ottfen, by Sargant, p. 30.

• Cf. Holyoake, The Co-operative Movement, p. 13. " Owen . . . was

one of the small class of benevolent Tories who regard power as including

an obligation to use it for the advantages of the people.

• Sargant, of. cit, 217.

• Life of Robert Owen by himself, p. 60.

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civilimtion, are to-day governed by force, fraud, false-

hood, and fear, emanating from ignorance in governors and

governed.\*\* \* Consequently Owen declared: \*' You must

think of me as not belonging to the present system of

society, but as one looking with the greatest delight at its

entire annihilation, so that ultimately not one stone of it

shall be left upon another." \*

All this is only another way of expressing Weishaupt's

theory that " Man is not bad except as he is made so by

arbitrary morality. He is bad becatise Religion, the State,

and bad examples pervert him," and therefore it is nec-

essary to bring about " the total destruction of the existing

civil system."

Indeed certain passages of Owen are almost word for

word the same as those that occur in the code of Weishaupt.

For example, in the latter it was stated that the aim of the

lUuminati was " to make of the himian race, without any

distinction of nation, condition or profession, one good and

happy family,\*\* and Owen announced " that new state of

existence upon earth, which, when understood and applied

rationally to practice, will cordially unite all as one good

and enlightened family " •

It is idle to attribute these extraordinary resemblances

•^of which many more examples might be given — to

mere coincidence, and to suppose that the Yorkshire

cotton-miU owner evolved the same conclusions and even

the same phraseology as the Bavarian professor out of his

own inner consciousness. And indeed, as Owen's biog-

rapher points out, he himself " dimly indicates the pos-

session of a philosophy which would regenerate society if

men's minds were prepared to receive it. With a Pytha-

gorean reticence, he reserves to himself and his initiated

an esoteric doctrine of which the world is unworthy." \*

What could this doctrine be but lUuminism, which Owen,

obedient to the custom of the Order, is careful not to

reveal?

But it is in the matter of religion that Owen most

clearly betrays the source of his inspiration. By no other

1 Life of Robert Owen by himself, p. 77. ' Ibid, p. xxii.

« Ibid. p. 164. \* Sarxant, op, cU. p. 76.

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means can his campaign of militant atheism be explained.

In a man of Weishaupt's moral character hatred of

Christianity is not surprising, but that Owen, filled with

ardour for the good of humanity, a sincere and tireless

philanthropist, should have paid no tribute to the great

Teacher of love and compassion is so extraordinary as to

be inexplicable by any facts hitherto set forth by his biog-

raphers. But when we examine his theories, it is easy to

see whence he derived them, for what are his ideas of a

\*\* Rational Society " and his perpetual allusions to reason

but the old doctrine of Weishaupt that \*' Reason should

be the only code of Man?" — a doctrine which had

already found expression in Paine's Age of Reason and in

the \*\* Feasts of Reason " celebrated in the churches of

Paris? It was then tmder this malign influence that Owen

gave vent to sentiments utterly foreign to his natural

character, as, for example, his declaration that " the reli-

gions of the world are horrid monsters and real demons

of humanity which swallow up all its rationality and happi-

ness/\* ^ Are we not forcibly reminded by sudi utterances

of the diatribes of the lUuminatus Clootz on " the nullity

of all religions " ? At moments Owen even rivals Clootz in

violence. \*\* Religion," Clootz had written, \*\* is a social

disease which cannot be too quickly cured. A religious

man is a depraved animal," \* and Owen echoes the senti-

ment by saying that \*\* the fundamental notions of every

religion . . . have made man the most inconsistent and

most miserable being in existence. By the errors of these

systems he has been made a weak, imbedle animal," etc.'

The occasion on which these words were uttored by

Owen was the great public meeting where he had deter-

mined \*\* to denounce all the religions of the world." \* This

day he long afterwards declared to have been the most

glorious of his life, but in reality it simply had the effect of

alienating from him public sympathy and destroying all

his power for good. Led still further along the path of

Illuminism, and, according to his biographer, " inflamed

with an extravagant desire for notoriety," Owen, seven

\* Life of Robert Owen by himself ^ p. 207.

\* La Ripublique universelle, p. 27.

« Sargent, op. cit, p. 129. \* Life of Robert Own by himself, p. 161

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years later, abandoned his flourishing experiment at New

Lanark in order to found a colony on Communistic lines in

America.

For some years he had cherished the plan to \*\* cut the

world up into villages of 300 to 2000 souls," in which " the

dwellings for the 200 or 300 families should be placed

together in the form of a parallelogram," where "individ-

ualism was to be disallowed," and \*\* each was to work for

the benefit of aU." ^ Attempts to fotmd a colony on these

lines in Ireland proved abortive, and accordingly in 1824

Owen sailed to the New World, where he bought a large

tract of land named " Harmony " from some German

colonists, disciples of the pastor Rapp. Here in the follow-

ing year he started his \*' New Harmony Community of

Equality." The Commtmist system was finally inaugu-

rated, and other \* settlements on the same lines were

started both in America and Scotland.

But Owen had calculated without taking htunan nature

into account; the difficulty of eradicating the sense of

property amongst the colonists proved an insuperable

difficulty, and the noble desire to work for the common

good with no thought of personal profit failed signally as

an incentive.^ Human passions had a strange way of

springing to the surface even in the minds of the enthu-

siastic Communists who composed Owen's following; thus

the organ of the commtmity. The Co-operative Magazine,

relates that one fine evening a member in the full flow of a

discourse to an open-air meeting, on the theory that all

forms of punishment shall be replaced by kindness, hap-

pened to perceive in the distance a small boy helping

himself to the plums in the speaker's orchard, and instantly

abandoning oratory, hxirried towards the offender and

administered a sound thrashing.'

Various attempts were made to organize the com-

munity on different Socialistic principles. For a time the

system known to-day as Guild Socialism was practised in

the town of New Harmony, whilst Communism was

banished to the country.\* But in all these experiments

1 Sargant, op, ciL p. 171. > Ibid. p. 254.

• Ibid. p. 240. \* Ibid. op. cU. pp. 252, 253.

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human nature still remained the insuperable obstacle, and

in 1827 Owen in despair resigned the management. The

cause of his failure was attributed by convinced Com-

mtmists to his own management. By Owen it was attrib-

uted to the character of the people who made up the

commiuiity. His experience, he acknowledged, " had

shown one thing : the necessity of great caution in selecting

members. No societies with common property and equality

could prosper, if composed of persons unfit for their pecul-

iar duties. In order to succeed it was needful to exclude

the intemperate, the idle, the careless, the quarrelsome, the

avaricious, the selfish. ..." In other words, Communist

settlements must be composed of only perfect human beings.

But as Owen's biographer observes: "One wonders whether

for a society so weeded, any peculiar organization would be

necessary. It is just the selfish and the intemperate who

constitute the difficulty of our present arrangements." ^

The colony fotmded by Owen's disciple, Abram Combe,

at Orbiston, near Glasgow, and other Commtmist settle-

ments started at Ralahine in Cotmty Clare in 1831, at

Tytherley in Hampshire in 1839, proved failures for the

same reason,^ and Owen himself was obliged to recognise

his cherished scheme as impracticable. Indeed, when on

his way back to England in 1827 he had occasion to visit

some slave plantations in Jamaica, he came to the con-

clusion that slavery was after all not such a bad system.

For does not slavery provide all the blessings promised

by Commimism — the certainty of food and lodging, and

freedom from \*\* corroding care and anxiety " at the com-

plete sacrifice of all personal liberty — but with the addi-

tional advantage of being a workable system? '

So ended the experiment of the man whom Socialists

proudly name \*\* the father of British Socialism." Con-

sidering the extraordinary dearth of practical philan-

thropists or of tangible results to be found in the annals

of Socialism, it is nattiral that its exponents should be eager

^ Sargant, p. 256.

' Sargant, op, cU, pp. 278-289. Orbiston started with co-operation

but went over to Communism, and thenceforth, Sargant observes, '\* the

project was doomed." \* Ibid. op. cU. p. 266.

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to claim the famous founder of New Lanark as one of their

number. But in this, as in most of their pretensions.

Socialists have shown themselves singularly dishonest, for

it was when Owen abandoned Capitalism in favour of

Socialism that he failed. It is therefore not the Owen of

New Lanark but the Owen of New Harmony whom

Socialists can justly claim as their own. Rather than admit

this painful truth, Socialist writers in describing the career

of Robert Owen usually content themselves with expatiat-

ing at length on the brilliant success of New Lanark and

omit all reference to New Harmony. It is a curious fact

that no Socialist has so far devoted a book to a truthftil

accotmt of past Socialistic experiments; all such failtires

are passed over in complete silence, and the theories on

which they were founded are vaunted as if no attempt had

ever been made to put them into practice.

A further claim Socialists are fond of making for Robert

Owen is that of having founded the co-operative system.

This is again a perversion of the truth. Owen's model

shop in New Lanark was, as we have seen, simply a benev-

olent hobby such as a rich man drawing his profits direct

from the industry in which the workers were engaged, and

paying them a low rate of wages, could well afford. Owen

did not believe in the co-operative system which was

inaugurated by the famous Rochdale Pioneers at their

little co-operative store in Toad Street in 1844. This was

really the beginning of a great movement, and was fol-

lowed by the Co-operative Society of Oldham in 1860 and

by the co-operative societies, numbering 340,930 members,

which were flourishing in 1874.\*

In all this, however, neither Robert Owen nor Socialism

can claim a share. It is true that some of the founders of

co-operation had been influenced by Owen's example at

New Lanark, but they did not share his Communistic

theories, and Owen therefore \*\* looked coldly " on the

co-operative stores started by his so-called disciples.'

\* Article on " Commtmism," by Mrs. Fawcett, in the Encychpctdia

Britannica for 1877.

\* Beatrice Webb, The Co-cperoHve MovemenL pp. 47, 56. See also

Holyoake, The CtMfperatwe Movement^ p. 18, and Cooperation in Rochdale,

p. 19. " Co-operation," Holyoake observes, " is not to be identified with

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Co-operation then, as Holyoake says, is simply profit

sharing,\* — the system with which SociaKsts will have

nothing to do and indeed oppose with all their might,

except when, like Marx, they perceive its utility as a

stepping-stone to Communism.

The essential difference between Co-operation and

Communism is the system of the right to private property.

Under the former system each person concerned in the

business has the right to claim for his own his share of the

profits; under the latter all profits go to the community.

The former has frequently led to triumphant success ; the

second has invariably ended in total failure. As Mrs.

Fawcett in her adnairable article on \*\* Communism "

explained, the successftd co-operative societies of the last

century were promoted by real social reformers \*\* who had

proved by many failures the futility of Communism as an

engine of social regeneration," and she adds: \*\* There is

no movement more distinctly non-communistic than

co-operation. It strengthens the principles of capital and

private property by making every co-operator a Capitalist

and thus personally interesting him in the maintenance

of the present economic condition of society." \*

In other words, whilst Communism aims at the con-

centration of Capital in the hands of the State or of com-

mtmists, Co-operation aims at the extension of Capital

by distributing it amongst a larger number of individuals.

And all experience teaches us that through Co-operation,

not through Communism, lies the path to industrial peace.

Whilst this really progressive movement had been

developing in England a succession of French philosophers

were devising further schemes for the reorganization of

industry, later to be classified under the generic term of

Socialism.

First on the list comes the Comte de Simon, grandson

of the famous author of the Mimoires relating to the cotut

of Louis XIV. Bom in 1760 with an unbalanced brain

Owen," but since it was his shop at New Lanark that suggested the idea

to the future co-operators Owen may be said to have " originated co-opera,

tion without intending it or believing in it."

\* Holyoike, The Co-operatiue Movement^ p. 24.

\* EncyclopoBdia Britannica for 1877.

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inherited from an insane mother, Saint-Simon had early

thrown himself into the wildest excesses and led the life of

" an adventurer in quest of gold and glory," ^ but after a

while, weary of orgies, he had turned his attention to the

regeneration of the world, in which he believed himself

destined to play the leading part. Since this book is not

intended to form a history of Socialism, but only to indi-

cate the relation between Socialistic theories and the

course of the World Revolution, it would be beside the

point to describe in detail the philosophy of Saint-Simon.

Suffice it then to state briefly that according to his theory

of industrial reconstruction there was no way to prevent

the exploitation of man by man but to place, not only all

properly, but all human beings under State control, thus

arriving \*\* not at absolute equality but at a hierarchy "

in which " each would be classed according to his capacity

and rewarded according to his work " — a formula which

was only another rendering of the Babouviste maxim:

" Every one according to his strength; to every one

according to his needs." \*

In a word, Saint-Simonisme was simply a variation of

our old friend Babouvisme, of which the tradition had been

carried on by Babeuf's colleague Buonarotti. Saint-

Simon's inspiration must, however, be traced still further

back than the Chief of Equals, namely to Weishaupt,

whose doctrines stirvived not only amongst the Babou-

vistes but, as we have seen, in the Haute Vente Romaine.

Saint-Simon, who, we know, was connected with this

formidable secret society, accordingly continued the great

scheme of Weishaupt by proclaiming the abolition of

property, of inheritance, the dissolution of the marriage

tie, and the break-up of the family — in a word, the

destruction of civilization. Like Robert Owen, Saint-

Simon frankly declared that the existing social system was

dead and must be completely done away with. The French

Illuminatus, however, did not fall into the error of his

English contemporary, of alienating public opinion by the

repudiation of Christianity; on the contrary, faithful to

I Thureau-Dangin, La Monarchic de JuiUei, u 221.

\* Thureau-Dangin, op. cU, vL 82.

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the directions of Weishaupt, Saint-Simon, in his dook

Le Nouveau Chrisiianisme, set out to prove that his system

was simply the fulfilment of Christ's teaching on the

brotherhood of man, which had become perverted by the

belief in the necessity for subduing the flesh; " therefore in

order to re-establish Christianity on its true basis it was

necessary to restore its sensual side, the absence of which

strikes its social action with steriHty." \* It is easy to see

how such a theory fits in with the plan of the Haute Vente

for general demoralization.

Of course, as Weishaupt had foreseen, the method of

identifying Christianity with Socialism proved inmiensely

effectual. The wild-eyed revolutionary waving a red flag

will never gain so many converts as the mild philosopher

who preaches peaceftd revolution carried out on the

principles of Christian love and brotherhood. It was this

old deception of representing Christ as a Socialist which

made the strength of Saint-Simonism, and that, practised

later on by the so-called Christian Socialists of our own

country, not only drew countless amiable visionaries into

Socialism, but at the same time drove many virile minds

from Christianity to seek relief in Nietzscheism.

In reality no two principles cotdd be more opposed

than that of Christ, who taught that " a man's life con\*

sisteth not in the abundance of the things that he pos-

sesseth," and that of the purely materialistic philosophy

which urges mankind to strive for one thing only —

present welfare, and to indulge the grossest sensual pas-

sions. As to the perfectibility of htiman natxire and the

consequent \*\* solidarity " between the workers borrowed

by Saint-Simon from Weishaupt and Clootz, no one had

ever shown the fallacy of this delusion more forcibly than

Christ in His parable of the servant, who, being absolved

from his debt towards his master, took his fellow-servant

by the throat, saying, \*' Pay me what thou owest! "

Saint-Simonism carried within it the germs of its own

destruction. In 1823 its founder vainly attempted to blow

out his brains, but only succeeded in destroying the sight

of one eye, and lingered on for two years in semi-blindness

^ Malon, Histair$ du socitUisme, ii. 15,

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and misery. After his death the " Family," as his disciples

were wont to call themselves, headed by the \*\* P6re

Enfantm," split up into opposing factions. It then trans-

pired that the strangest scenes took place amongst them

— reminiscent of the Anabaptists — " ecstasies, deliritims,

transports \*'; finally, piirsued by the police, the Family

broke up amidst the hoots of the crowd. ^

One of the first members to separate from Enf antin had

been Pierre Leroux, who continued, however, to carry on

Saint-Simonism with various elaborations. - Out of the

masonic trilogy Leroux selected " Equality " as the

supreme object of desire, and this was to be obtained by a

system of triads combining the three human faculties —

sensation, sentiment, and knowledge. These were to be

represented in the industrial world by trios composed of a

workman, an artist, and a savant working together, the

whole forming a \*\* triad " ; a number of these triads would

make up a workshop, a nimiber of workshops a commime,

and all the conmiunes collectively were to form a State.

But as the State was to be the sole owner of the means of

existence, the sole director of work, the triad system of

Leroux resolved itself finally into a mere variation on the

Communistic State of Robespierre, Babeuf, and Saint-

Smion.

Meanwhile Charles Fourier, bom in 1772, had devised

another plan for the reorganization of society. Though

not a Saint-Simonien, Fourier held with Saint-Simon that

" civilization had taken the wrong road " {avait fait faiisse

rouie)\ and a return to Nature should be effected by giving

a free rein to aU passions. Starting from the premise that

everything which is natural — that is to say, in accordance

with the pxirely animal side of human nature — is right

and beneficial, Fourier advocated promiscuous intercourse

between the sexes ; even the Pare aux Cerf s of Louis XV.

had, he considered, been needlessly condecMied. \* Greed,

too, was particularly to be encouraged as \*\* the mother of

all industries," because it induced man to cultivate the

ground and prepare food for himself. \*

i Daniel Stem, La RholtUum de 1848, i. 36.

\* Thureau-Dangin, op, cU. vi. 96. \* Ibid, vi. 99 \* Ibid, op, cU, vL 98.

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It wotild be outside the scope of this book to follow

Fourier into all his bewildering speculations on the future

of our planet — that one day the moon would die of putrid

fever, the sea, purged of brine, turn into " a pleasant drink

like lemonade," and men, endowed with seven feet each,

would live to the age of 144, of which 120 were to be spent

in the exercise of '\* free love." \*

The point to be considered here is Fourier's scheme for

the reconstruction of society. On one point, then, he is to

be commended, namely, that he deprecated any repetition

of the first French Revolution ; alone of all his kind, Fourier

proclaimed the great experiment to have proved disastrous,

and never wearied of ftilminating against its crimes and

follies. But in this he showed less insight than logic, for

Fourier had been a victim of the Terror — the small

grocer's shop he had set up in 1793 at Lyon had been

pillaged by the troops of the Convention, and he himself

had narrowly escaped the guillotine.

It was therefore by peaceful methods that he proposed

to destroy the existing Capitalistic system, and to estab-

lish in its place " domestic associations " of workers which

he named phalansteries, each composed of 1800 people,

subdivided into " series," \*\* phalanges," and " groups." •

Amongst these perfect equality was to reign, no one was to

give orders, no one to be obliged to work, for in a commu-

nity where all were able to indulge their passions freely

there would be no temptation to idleness. Fourier even

succeeded in surmounting the great stumbling-block of all

Socialist systems, the question of who was to do " the

dirty work " — this could be quite easily settled by

encouraging the aversion to cleanliness he had observed in

children, so that no tasks however unpleasant wotdd be

repugnant to them.

This ideal condition of things clearly mapped out,

Fourier only awaited the necessary funds to put it into

execution, and accordingly he annotmced that he would be

> Thureau-Dangin, pp. 100, 101.

' See the hideous picture of one of these phalansteries — much resem-

bling Owen's " parallelograms " — in Malon's Histoire du soctalisme, ii.

297. Fourier's idea of the " itat harmonien " was evidently taken from

Owen's " New Harmony " settlement (Stem, i. 36).

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at home every day at 12 o'clock to receive any wealthy

man who would supply him with 100,000 francs for the

purpose. For ten years at the appointed hour Fourier

patiently sat at home waiting for his expected millionaire,

but none presented himself, and it was not until 1832 that

he finally succeeded in raising the required sum from a

certain Baudet Dulaury, and in the same year the first

phalanstery was started at Cond6-sur-Vesgre, but after

the brief life of a year ended in total failure and had to be

abandoned.

A little later on a Saint-Simonien named Buchez, who

in 1836 became one of the leaders of the sect, embarked on

a campaign for combining Socialism not merely with the

vague Christianity of Saint-Simon but with rigorous

Catholicism. \*\* Starting from Jesus Christ and ending

with Robespierre," ^ Buchez collaborated with Roux

Lavergne in the famous Histoire Parlementaire, in which

he palliated the crimes of the Comitfe de Salut Public on

the same moral grounds that in his Trait6 complet de

fhilosophie he had justified the Inquisition and the

Massacre of St. Bartholomew, namely, that \*\* the social

aim justifies everything " \* — a maxim adapted from that

of the Jacobins, \*\* all is justified for the sake of the revolu-

tion," derived in its turn from the doctrine adopted by

Weishaupt that " the end justifies the means." We shall

find many such genealogies in the language of Socialism.

The fijrst followers of Buchez consisted mainly of young

bourgeois — artists, students, doctors — but by degrees a

certain number of working-men, whom it was Us principal

aim to enlist in the movement, became interested, and

Buchez was then able to put his theories into practice by

starting the " associations ouvridres " which had long been

his dream. These were not to be Commimistic in the

sense of being State-controlled, but to be conducted on a

system much resembling that which is known to-day as

Guild Socialism.

The guiding principles of these associations being

" EquaUty " and \*\* Fraternity " — for Buchez, like Leroux,

^ Daniel Stern, La Rholutian de 1848, i. 42.

\* Thureau-Damdn, op, ciL vi. 88.

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had logically eliminated \*' Liberty " from the masonic

formula — the workmen who composed them were invited

to pool their tools and money and share their profits

equally, only putting aside the sixth part to provide capital

for carrying on the industry. In conformity with Buchez's

conception of the teachings of Christ, the foreman, elected

by the workers themselves, was to be the servant, not the

master of all, hence " no more misery, no more inequality,

no more conflicts between labour and capital." \*

At first all went well, and so great was the enthusiasm

aroused amongst the members of these associations that

they now embarked on a \*' labour paper " named U Atelier

(The Workshop), edited and written by the workers them-

selves — an experiment tmique in the annals of SociaKsm,

unrivalled at any rate in the Socialist movement of to-day ;

for by no stretch of the imagination could the so-called

" Labour organs," or the Labour articles expressed in the

ptirest journalese, that figure in the modem press be

supposed to emanate from the pens of working-men. The

episode of the Atelier is all the more a tribute to the

principles of true democracy, in that the viefws it presented

gave evidence of a far greater degree of sanity than those

of middle-class exponents of Socialism; for the writers,

whilst applauding the past Revolution they had been

taught to regard as the source of all social regeneration,

deprecated a repetition of violence, and warned the

workers against any connection with the secret -societies.

A significant restdt of this parting company between

Socialism and lUuminism was shown in the abandonment

of the campaign of militant atheism that had distinguished

the earlier revolutionary movement, and the readers of the

Atelier were enjoined to regard the clergy no longer as

" suspects " but as possible allies. " The Revolution has

only to proclaim itself Christian, to desire only what

Christianity commands," and the clergy wiU be obliged to

unite with it.

Unhappily, in spite of these lofty ideals and the

undoubted sincerity of the men who professed them, the

\*\* workers' associations " were doomed to failure, for the

> Thureau-Daogin, op. cit. vi. 89.

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simple reason that their founder had reckoned without the

weaknesses of human nature. After the first ^lan had sub-

sided, the foreman became weary of being the servant of

all. The workers found no stimulus to eflfort in the system

of equal payment, and all chafed at the necessity for

putting by a sixth part of the profit.\* Finally, the difficulty

of combining Christianity and revolution proved insuper-

able, and the workers, obliged to choose between the two,

split into opposing camps, thus putting an end to the

associations.

Meanwhile, another enthusiastic Robespierriste, Louis

Blanc, was developing his scheme of working-men's asso-

ciations on much the same lines, but with the difference

that they were to be under State control.\* Also the idea

of Christianity was eliminated, for Louis Blanc repudiated

religion in any form and derided Buchez as a sentimenta-

list.

It is usual to attribute to Louis Blanc the doctrine of

" the right to work " (le droit an travail) which figured so

prominently in the Revolution of 1848. In reality the idea

dated from Robespierre, and may be found clearly set

forth in Article X. of his \*\* Declaration of the Rights of

Man," on which the Constitution of 1793 was founded.

Yet if Robespierre must be regarded as the author of the

actual formula of the right to work — that is to say, of the

duty of the State to provide every man with work, or with

the means of subsistence when out of employment — the

principle had been recognized long before the Revolution.

Had not the Government of Louis XVI. provided work, at

great expense to the State, by starting brickyards, work-

shops, etc., for the unemployed of Paris? Indeed, as Karl

Marx, who stigmatizes the doctrine of " the right to work "

as a \*\* confused formtila," truly observes: " What modem

State does not feed its poor in one form or another? " \*

Louis Blanc, then, in his book L\* Organisation du travail

originated nothing ; his doctrines were those of Rousseau,

Robespierre, and Babeuf , supplemented by the theorizings

1 Thureau-Dangin, op, cit, vi. 93.

\* Malon, Histaif9 socicUiste, ii. 267.

' Marx, La LuUe des dosses en Franu, p. 57.

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of Saint-Simon, Fotirier, Cabet, and Buonarotti, and his

system that which was to be later known as State Socialism.

The State, he held, must regulate the conditions of labour

with a firm hand. \*\* We wish for a strong government,

because in the regime of inequality in which we are still

vegetating there are the weak who need a social force to

protect them." But in time the State was to undergo the

process described later on by Lenin as " withering away."

" One day if the dearest wish of o\xc heart is not disap-

pointed, one day will come when there will be no further

need of a strong and active government because there will

be no longer an inferior and minor class of society. Until

then the establishment of a tutelary authority is indis-

pensable." \*

All Louis Blanc's schemes were founded on such

Utopian premises.

But if his hopes for the future were tinged with too

roseate a hue, his outlook on the present was one of

xmrelieved gloom. This attitude was no doubt partly owing

to personal grievances. Nature had been unkind to him,

for she had clothed his ardent soul with so puny a body

that at thirty he was mistaken for thirteen, and full-grown

men, judging him from his undersized frame and high

piping voice to be a schoolboy, would pat him kindly on

the shoulder and address him as " my lad." \* This kind of

htimiliation had inspired him with a grudge against

society; at the same time it would be tmjust not to give

him credit for a genuine and disinterested sympathy with

the cause of the workers. His Organisation du travail

breathes throughout a spirit of sincerity which offers a

striking contrast to the cynical utterances of most modem

Socialist writers, whose indictments of working-class

grievances, like the harrowing details of bodily ills retailed

in advertisements of quack medicines, seem to be actuated

solely by the determination to sell the advertiser's panacea.

Louis Blanc, obsessed with the worker's lot, imhappily

allowed himself to fall a victim to that agony of pity which

verges on neurasthenia.

^ Louis Blanc, L\* Organisation du travail, p. 20.

\* Thureau-Dansin, op. cit. vi. 116; Daniel Stem, La Rholution ds

1848, ii. 43.

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Many sensitive natiires brought in contact with the

miseries of life have suffered from this tendency. Lord

Shaftesbury, overwhelmed at times with the hopelessness

of his task, knew these black moments of despair, but

battled with them as a weakness that must not be allowed

to sap his energies. The error of Louis Blanc, as of the

Russian fanatics who came after him, was to give unbridled

rein to morbid imaginings. To his clouded vision a poor

man is necessarily a miserable man, aU the conditions of

his life are unbearable; of contentment combined with

frugality he has no conception — the mason whistling as

he goes to work, the fisherman singing as he puts out to sea,

the country labourer tossing his rosy baby in his cottage

garden do not exist for him. As long as some one possesses

more than he does, a man must necessarily be miserable.

This distorted view of the ills of life, combined with an

exaggerated conception of his power to cure them, was the

cause of Louis Blanc's subsequent failure and bitter dis-

illusionment.

Quite a different type of Socialist was the genial " Papa

Cabet," — a \*\* faux bonhomme,\*\* says Thureau-Dangin, for

Cabet was a bom autocrat. The son of a barrel-maker,

fitieime Cabet first saw the light at Dijon in 1788, and in

1834 went to England, where he became a convert to the

ideas of Robert Owen.

After his return to Prance in 1839 Cabet sketched out

his plan of a Commtmist settlement, modelled on Sir

Thomas More's Utopia, in his Voyage en Icarie, and in the

same year, 1840, published his great work on the French

Revolution, showing the course of Communistic theories

throughout the movement.\* These ideas, which Cabet

traces from Plato, Protagoras, the Essenians of Judea,

More, Campanella, Locke, to Montesquieu, Mably,

Rousseau, and other philosophers of the eighteenth cen-

tury, formed, as we have shown in an earlier quotation

from Cabet's work, the policy of Robespierre and, in a

lesser degree, of Condorcet, Clootz, H6bert, and Chau-

mette. But it is above all Babeuf whom Cabet rightly

regards as the principal exponent of Communism, and in

^ Histoire populaire de la RtvoltUion Fran^ise, in four vols.

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this connection he provides an interesting explanation of

a subterfuge employed in nearly all histories of Socialism.

Now, as every one knows, the word Socialism had not

come into use at the beginning of the nineteenth century,

and its doctrines were classified under such generic head-

ings as " Babouvisme," " Saint-Simonisme," " Fouri6r-

isme," etc. It was not until about 1848 that '\* Socialism "

began to be employed as a comprehensive term embracing

all these variations on the same theme.^ Nevertheless, it is

customary to describe Socialism as originating with Robert

Owen, Saint-Simon, and Fourier. Why? Since none of

these men called themselves Socialists, and Saint-Simon

died twenty years before the word was invented, there

seems no more reason to include them under the term than

their predecessors of the eighteenth century from whom

they took their theories. To the attentive student of social

history it seems obvious that histories of Socialism, after

tracing its origins in antiquity and in the doctrines of the

French philosophers, should begin their account of the

movement with its earliest exponents in the French

Revolution. Why so resolutely dissociate Socialism, or

its equivalent Commimism, from Robespierre and Babeuf ?

Cabet answers this pertinent inquiry with a question:

Why, in order to represent a doctrine that one believes to be

the most beautiful and the most perfect, choose a man (Babeuf)

who was perhaps not quite perfect, and whose life, attacked by

a party of the patriots (i,e. revolutionaries) themselves, may at

least fumi^ pretexts for attacks from the adversaries of com-

munity? Why choose a proscribed name of which all the enemies

of the people have made a bugbear? To transform Communism

into Babouvisme is it not to fall into a trap and obligingly

increase difficulties already so great? For the same reason

... we have considered it a mistake to invoke the name of

Robespierre just as Bodson blamed Babeuf for invoking the

name of this martyr. . . .\*

Yes, decidedly for the credit of ConMntmism it is better

to keep Robespierre and Babeuf dark and to date the

> Malon (Hisioire du socitUisme, i. 31) says the word was first used in

this sense by Pierre Leroux in 1848 in oontra^isttnction to Individualism,

but Daniel Stem, La Rivolution de 1848, i. 33, says it was not current till

after this date. The verb " to socialize " had, however, as we shall see a

few pages further on, been coined twelve years earlier.

> Cabet, Hisioire populaire, etc,, iv. 331.

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origins of Socialism from the teachings of such amiable

visionaries as Owen, Saint-Simon, and Fourier! The

admission is certainly naivet

Cabet himself was a theorist of the same pacific order,

and, although expressing his firm belief in the practi-

cability of Communism despite its repeated failures in the

past, declared:

But we are profoundly convinced at the same time that a

minority cannot establish it by violence, that it can only be

realized by the power of public opinion, and that far from hasten-

ing its realization violence can only retard it. We think that

one should profit by the lessons of history, that as Babeuf and

his companions foresaw — (did they foresee it?) — their con-

spiracy was the final blow to democracy. We find it dead under

the IMrectory, tmder the Consulate, under the Empire, and

tmder the Restoration.^

Would that our so-called " advanced thinkers " of to-day

would recognize the wisdom of this reflection!

It was therefore in a perfectly pacific spirit that Cabet

gathered around him a circle of enthusiasts calling them-

selves Icarians, all prof oimdly imbued with the Babouviste

tradition and eager, under the guidance of its latest expo-

nent, to put it into practice. Realizing that materialism was

a doctrine that would never make a popular appeal, Cabet

followed the precedent of Weishaupt by declaring: \*\* The

present Communists are the disciples, the imitators, the

continuers of Jesus Christ. Therefore respect a doctrine

preached by Jesus Christ. Examine it. Study it." \*

The old maxim of the Babouvistes was again adopted

by the commtmity: "Prom every one according to his

strength, to every one according to his needs \*' {De chacun

selon ses forces, 4 chacun selon ses besoins).^

In 1847 Cabet judged that the moment had come to

carry his great scheme into execution, and on February the

3rd of the following year a band of sixty-nine enthusiastic

Icarians started forth for Texas, where they eagerly set to

work at clearing the ground for a settlement. Unfortu-

nately they had selected a malarial district, a great ntmiber

of the colonists were struck down by fever, the only doctor

^ Cabet, of. cit, L 334. i^^'.^\*^^

\* Malon, Histoire du socialisme, li. 172. ^ Ibid. ii. 165.

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of the party went mad, and several of the sick died for

want of medical aid.^ Accordingly the community decided

to abandon the few miserable huts they had succeeded in

erecting and to migrate to another part of the country.

The procession, divided into three columns, set forth on

a tragic retreat from Texas to New Orleans, where they

were joined by Cabet himself and about 200 more Icarians,

and under his leadership moved on to the old Mormon

town of Nauvoo in Illinois, where they finally settled in

March 1849. Soon after this Cabet was recalled to France

in order to defend himself in a lawsuit brought against him

by some of the Icarians he had left behind, who accused

him of appropriating 200,000 francs of their funds.^ The

cotirt ended by acquitting him, and Cabet was able to

return to Nauvoo, which was now prospering, for this time

the colonists, finding ready-made houses awaiting them,

were able to embark at once on various communal enter-

prises. Farms and workshops sprang up, also a distillery,

a theatre, a school for the children. For five years all went

well and by 1855 the colonists had increased to over 500

people. Commtmism seemed solidly established at last.

But once again the inevitable occurred, for the history of

Comnitmist settlements is painfully monotonous in its

reiteration, and in Nauvoo, as earlier in New Harmony,

later in New Australia, the autocratic spirit of the leader

began to make itself felt. Cabet indeed had, as Malon the

Socialist observes, \*\* such a hatred for every instinct of

liberty \*' that he forbade the workers to have tobacco or

brandy or even to speak during working-hours.\*

Nauvoo had in fact become an absolute monarchy, for

no one but Cabet was allowed to have any voice in public

affairs. Not tuinaturally the community revolted, and in

1856 organized a ballot which deprived Cabet of his leader-

ship by a majority of votes. The dethroned monarch left

Nauvoo, followed by the faithful minority of 200, but died

— according to Larousse — of grief,\* the same year, at

St. Louis. The remainder of the Icarians now migrated

from Nauvoo to Iowa, and in spite of continued dissensions

\* Malon, Histoire du socialisme, ii. 174-175.

• La Grande Encyclopidie, article on " Cabet." « Malon. ii. 176.

« DicHonnaire Larousse, article on " Cabet."

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struggled on without a further break-up until 1879, when

their number was reduced to fifty-two. By this time, how-

ever, the exalted ideals with which they had embarked on

the enterprise were almost forgotten, only a few of the old

men retained something of their earlier Commtmistic

ardotir , which enthusiastic visitors from time to time fanned

again into flame; the young men meanwhile grew up

impatient at the arrest of all progress, and ended by form-

ing themselves into a hostile camp of Progressives in oppo-

sition to the " Non-Progressives," who cltmg to the old

order.^ This scission led up to a definite rupture in 1879,

when twenty-eight members left the colony and the

remaining twenty-four struggled on painfully until their

final extinction in 1888.

So ended one more attempt to put Communism into

practice. By the middle of the last century, indeed, every

form of Socialism which we hear proclaimed to-day as the

last word in modem thought had already been propounded

if not put to the test.

Space forbids the enumeration of the countless theorists

— D6samy, Raspail, Talandier, Auguste Comte, and many

others — who filled those years with the noise of their

declamations on the regeneration of society. Those who

care to plimge into this sea of words — and words — and

words — all more or less rearrangements of the same old

formulas and phrases — can do so in the pages of Malon's

vast Histoire du sodalisme, where they will find every con-

ceivable variation of the Socialist theme set forth with a

bewildering wealth of detail. They will then find that the

French Socialists of 1825 to 1848 had anticipated all the

theories of modem Socialism, which are habitually attrib-

uted to the Social Democrats of Germany. Thus as early

as 1836 an obscure writer named Pecqueur had already

coined the word to " socialize,\*\* so dear to the heart of the

modem Bolshevik, and in 1838 published a treatise named

Des int&rHs du commerce, de Vindustrie et de V agriculture et

de la civilisation en g&n&ral, etc., in which he proposed that

all banks, mines, railways, and by degrees all great indus-

tries, should be socialized: \*\* In social economy the true

^ Malon, op, cit, pp. 179-182.

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good will be the progressive socialization of the sources of

all riches, of instruments of work, of the conditions of

general welfare." ^

Again : " Capital must end by being entirely social, and

each person must always receive a part of the produce

according to his time of work." \*

A little later Vidal took up the same theme, specializing

on the theory that Marx was later to make famous under

the name of wage-slavery. In his book Vivre en travaiUani,

published in 1848, Vidal, following in the footsteps of

Pecqueur, demanded the " socialization of the land " and

the " socialization of capitals," which was to lead to " col-

lective capital " • — in other words. Communism tricked

out in fresh phrases.

How is it that, in spite of continued failures, the idea of

Communism persisted all through this period? M.

Thureau-Dangin no doubt rightly attributes it to the

Babouviste tradition, which he shows to have continued

right up to the end of the century, and indeed we may say

to the present moment :

In studying Pouri6risme, Saint-Simonisme, and the other

schools deriving from them that called themselves pacific we

have found one of the origins of revolutionary socialism. This

origin is not the only one. There is another, which, whilst less

apparent, can nevertheless be recognized, and for this we must

go back to Gracchus Babeuf, who, under the Directory, loudly

preached the abolition of property, and the dividing up of all

lands and all riches. This affixation has escaped the attention

of most contemporaries, but to-day we have the proof that from

the \*' Equals " of 1796 to the Socialists at the end of the Mon-

archy of July {ue. the moniurchy of Louis Philippe) the tradition

was continued without interruption. One man was found in

fact to receive it from the hands of Babeuf, to preserve it witii

a sort of savage piety and transmit it to new generations: this

was Buonarotti ^

It was Buonarotti who in 1828 published the History of

the Conspiracy of the Equals (quoted in the last chapter of

this book,) which was for ten years \*\* the gospel of the

French proletariat " studied in all the workshops, so that

1 Malon, Histoin du socialisme, ii. 205. ' lUd. p. 206.

\* Ibid. ii. p. 197. ' « Thureau-Dangin, op, cU. vi. 106-108.

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the working-men became infected with Babouvisme. ^

But in tracing this propaganda to Buonarotti's Babou-

vistic fervour M. Thtireau-Dangin stops short of the truth

and it is Malon who supplies the real explanation to the

persistence of Communist tradition. Babeuf, it will be

remembered, was an lUuminatus acting, according to his

own confession, under orders from invisible chiefs, and it

was by these same agencies that the work he had begun was

carried on. \*\* The idea of community (i.e. Communism),\*\*

says Malon, \*' had been transmitted in the dark through the

secret societies,\*' ^ and elsewhere he adds that Buonarotti

had " inspired nearly all the secret societies during the first

thirty-five years of the century." •

It is therefore not only as the coadjutor of Babeuf , but

as the adept of lUuminism, that Buonarotti must be

regarded.

But whilst Communism under the various forms de-

scribed above continued its course through the succeeding

groups of revolutionary Socialists, Illuminism had devel-

oped along another line more in conformity with its original

purpose, namely. Anarchy. Of this creed Proudhon had

become the chief exponent. Hitherto, although anarchic

doctrines had been freely preached by Marat, Clootz, and

Hubert, the appellation of " Anarchist " had been claimed

by no one, but remained a term of opprobrium which even

an enrag6 of 1793 would have indignantly resented. It

was left to Proudhon to adopt the name of Anarchy {i.e.

without government) as the profession of a political faith in

contradistinction to Communism.\*

The difference between the two sjrstems must be clearly

understood if we are to follow the conflicts that marked

the course of the revolutionary movement from this

moment onwards.

Briefly then, whilst Communism declares that aU land,

wealth, and property must be taken out of private hands

and placed under the control of the State, Anarchy

advocates precisely the opposite principle, the complete

abolition of the State and the seizure of wealth by the

» Malon op. cU. ii. 147. • Ibid. p. 163. » Ibid. p. 147.

< Thitreau-Dangin, op. cil. vi. 132.

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people. ';^sOnce again we come back to the old masonic

formtila — Liberty and Equality. Communism, which is

the application of the principle of absolute Equality,

regards humanity only in the mass, and would cut all men

down to one dead level; Anarchy, which proclaims com-

plete Liberty, would leave every man free to live as he

pleases, to do as he will with his own, to rob or to murder.

The former is rigid bureaucracy; the latter, Individualism

run mad.

Now it is obvious that between the two creeds there

can be no imderstanding, that indeed they are more

opposed to each other than either is opposed to the existing

social system. For imder the constitutional governments

enjoyed by all civilized countries to-day a certain degree of

both Liberty and Equality prevails, and so, in England at

any rate, our form of government may be said to represent

the happy mean between two principles which, if pushed

to extremes, must remain for ever irreconcilable.

It was thus that the masonic formula, after leading

mankind into the morass of revolution, from the middle of

the nineteenth century onwards divided the revolutionary

forces into the two hostile camps indicated in the chart

accompanying this book under the parallel columns of

Socialism and Anarchy. This rift, which had first made

itself felt in 1794 when Robespierre turned on the Anar-

chists who had paved his way to power, now with the

advent of Proudhon opened out never to close again. The

rest of the history of world revolution up to the present day

largely consists in the war between the State Socialists

and Anarchists, whose bitter hatred of each other exceeds

even the hatred of either for the " Capitalist system '' both

are eager to destroy.

By Proudhon, sumamed by Kropotkine " the Father

of Anarchy," \* this hatred was, above all, logically directed

against Robespierre, the Father of State Socialism, and

expressed in no mild terms:

\* " They have reproached me with being the Father of Anarchy.

They wish to do me too much honour. The Father of Anarchy is the

immortal Proudhon, who propotmded it for the first time in 1848." —

Kropotkine before the Cour d'Appel of Lyon, Frocks des anarekisUs (1883)\*

p. 100.

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All the runners after popularity, mountebanks of the revolu-

tion, have taken for their oracle Robespierre, the eternal denim-

dator, with the empty brain, the serpent's tooth. ... Ah! I

know him too well, this reptile, I have felt too well the wriggling

of his tail, to spare in him the secret vice of de^mocrats, the cor-

rupting ferment of every Republic — Envy.^

For the nineteenth-century devotees of Robespierre,

Proudhon had nothing but loathing and contempt, and

therefore during the years preceding the 1848 revolution

occupied an almost isolated position. " I am neither a

Saint-Simonien, nor a Fouri6riste, nor a Babouviste," he

wrote in 1840; and again : " I have no desire to increase

the number of these madmen." The system of Fourier he

described as the " last dream of debauchery in delirium " ;

Lotiis Blanc was " the most ignorant, the vainest, the

emptiest, the most impudent and nauseous of declaimers."

" Far from me then, Conmiunists! " he cries, " your pres-

ence stinks in my nostrils, the sight of you disgusts me." \*

The only point in which Proudhon found himself in

accord with the Socialists was in his declamations against

property, and in this be believed himself to be entirely

original. " Property," he declared, \*\* is theft! It is not

once in a thousand years that such a saying is made. I

have no other treasure on earth except this definition of

property, but I hold it more precious than the millions of

Rothschild! "

Unhappily Proudhon's treasure was not his own, for

he had borrowed it almost verbatim from Brissot, who in

1780 had written: ''Exclusive property is a theft in

Nature. The thief, in the natural state, is the rich man." •

Moreover Brissot himself had not originated the idea,

which may be found in the writings of both Weishaupt

and Rousseau. So much for Proudhon's one cherished

In his blasphemies likewise Proudhon had not even the

merit of originality, for we seem to hear " the personal

enemy of Jesus Christ," Anacharsis Clootz, in such phrases

1 p. J. Proudhon, Idie ghUrale de la rivohtium au XlXihne siick

(1851), pp. 188, 189.

' Thureau-Dangin, La Monarchie de Juillet, vi. 128.

\* Recherches pkilosopkiques sur le droit de proprUiS et le vol.'^^

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as these: "God — that is fofly and cowardice; God is

tyranny and misery; God is Evil." ^ And going one step

further he cries: " To me then Lucifer, Satan! whoever

you may be, the demon that the faith of my fathers

opposed to God and the Church." \*

It is Proudhon, racked with a demon of hatred, bitter-

ness, and revenge, in whom the devastating fire of world

revolution is incarnated, a devil that drives him from the

company of his fellow-men to dwell like the Gadarene

demoniac in the wilderness.

One man there was who sought out Proudhon in his

savage isolation, Michel Baktmin, — the first of that band

of Russians later to be known by the name adopted by

Proudhon, that of " Anarchist " — and often before the

outbreak of 1848 these two would sit far into the night dis-

cussing the world revolution that was to overthrow the

existing order. Proudhon's resolution: " I shall arm

myself to the teeth against civilization; I shall begin a war

that will end only with my life! " • may be regarded as the

battle-cry of the party led later on by Bakunin sumamed

" the genius of destruction." \_

• • • • • , • •

But neither Anarchists nor Socialists could alone have

availed to bring about the revolutionary outbreaks that

marked the first half of the nineteenth century; theory,

however violent, must ever prove powerless to put in

motion the concrete machinery needed for the subversion

of law and order, and as in the first French Revolution it

was the Secret Societies that provided the real driving

force behind the movement.

It is possible that some of the leaders of thought during

that period, known as \*' the dawn of Socialism," remained

unconscious of the secret influence behind them; others,,

however wittingly, co-operated with them. Buonarotti, as

we have seen, was one of the principal leaders of the Secret

Societies; Saint-Simon and Bazard '\* consulted Nubius as

a Delphic oracle." Mazzini, professing Christian and

patriot though he was, had joined the ranks of the Car-

^ Thureau-Dangin, op. cU. vi 139.

\* Proudhon, La RhoUUum au XlXihnt siicle, p. 290.

\* Thureau-Dangin, op. cH, vL 127.

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bonari, where his activities merely excited the derision of

the Haute Vente. For the methods of the Carbonari were

not those of the Haute Vente, which held that the noind

rather than the body should be the point of attack.

" The murders of which our people render themselves guilty

in Prance, Switzerland, and also in Italy," writes Vindex to

Nubius, '\* are for us a shame and a remorse . « . we are too

advanced to content ourselves with such means. . . . Our pred-

ecessors in Carbonarism did not understand their power. It

is not in the blood of an isolated man or even of a traitor that it

must be exercised; it is on the masses. . . . Let us . . . never

cease to corrupt. Terttdlian was right in saying that the blood

of martyrs was the seed of Christians ... do not let us make

martyrs, but let us popularise vice amongst the multitudes.

Let liiem breathe it in by their five senses, let them drink it,

let them be saturated in it. . . . Make vicious hearts and you

win have no more Catholics. Keep the priest away from labotu\*,

from the altar, from virtue. . . . Make him lazy, and gourmand.

. . . You will thus have a thousand times better accomplished

your task than if you had blunted the point of yotu\* stiletto

upon the bones of some poor wretches. . . .

" It is corruption en masse that we have undertaken; the

corruption of the people by the clergy and the corruption of the

dergy by ourselves, the corruption that ought one day to put

the Church in her tomb. The best dagger with which to stnke

the Church is corruption. To the work, then, even to the very

end." »

It was thus that Mazzini excited the derision of the

Haute Vente, for, as Nubius writing to " Beppo " on April

7, 1836, observed:

You know that Mazzini has judged himself worthy to

co-operate with us as in the grandest work of our day. The

Vente Supreme has not decided thus. Mazzini behaves too

mudi like a conspirator of melodrama to suit the obscure r61e

we resign ourselves to play until our tritunph. Mazzini IQces

to talk about a great many things, about himself above all. He

never ceases writing that he is overthrowing thrones and altars,

that he fertilizes the peoples, that he is the prophet of human-

itarianism, etc., etc., and all thaX reduces itself to a few miserable

defeats or to assassinations so vulgar that I should send away

one of my lacqueys if he permitted himself to get rid of one of

my enemies by such shameful means. Mazzini is a demigod to

fools before whom he tries to get himself proclaimed the pontiff

of fraternity of which he will be the Italian god. • • . In the

» Crttineau-Joly, ii 147.

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sphere where he acts this poor Joseph is only ridiculous; in order

to be a complete wild beast, he will always want for daws. He

is the bourgeois gentilhomme of the Secret Societies. . . .\*

Mazzini on his part suspected that secrets were being

kept from him by the chiefs of the Haute Vente, and

Malegari, assailed by the same fears, wrote from London

in 1835 to Dr. Breidenstein these significant words:

We form an association of brothers in all points of the globe,

we have desires and interests in common, we aim at the eman-

cipation of himianity, we wish to break every kind of yoke, yet

there is one that is unseen, that can hardly be felt, yet that

weighs on us. Whence comes it ? Where is it ? No one Imows, or

at least no one tells. The association is secret, even for us, the

veterans of secret societies.

Not only amongst the revolutionary leaders but in the

industrial centres a new and mysterious power was making

itself felt — the tyranny of Trade Unionism. Strikes not

to be explained by the existing industrial grievances broke

out continually in Scotland and the manufacturing towns

in the North of England during those years of 1834 to 1860

and were conducted with a ferocity hitherto unknown in

the history of the working-classes; men who would not

co-operate were not merely boycotted but murdered, their

houses burnt down and their wives and children driven

half -clad into the streets at midnight.\* These outrages

reached their height in 1859 and at ShefiSeld continued for

fifteen years. In Manchester the brickmakers' hands were

pierced and maimed by needles mixed in the day they

handled.'

It would be absurd to attribute such methods to honest

Trade Union leaders animated solely by an ardent or even

a fanatical desire to improve the workers' lot. A number of

these men indeed came forward to deny complicity and

in some cases offered a reward for the detection of the

criminals.\* • ' :.

\* Crttineau-Joly, op, ciL ti. 145.

\* Heckethom's Secret Societies, iL 224.'

» Justin M'Carthy, A History of Our Own Times, vr, 162.

' < Ibid. See the trial of the leeulers by the Commission that sat in

Sheffield in June 1867, reported in the Annual Register for that year.

Note the references to ''the mandates of the secret tribunals " and the

descriptions of the terror displayed by the witnesses when questioned on

this point. "

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The truth is clear that lUuminism, following its usual

cotirse of insinuating itself into every organization framed

for the benefit of humanity, and turning it to an exactly

opposite purpose, was using Trade Unionism, which had

been designed to liberate the workers, for their complete

enslavement.

In the noinds of contemporaries no doubt exists that a

hidden and malevolent agency was at work. Alison,

writing in 1847 of the despotism exercised by the " ruthless

trade unions " in condemning thousands of people \*\* to

compulsory idleness and real destitution," adds:

Nearly the whole of the loss arising from these strikes fell on

the innocent and industrious labourers, willing and anxious to

work, but deterred from doing so by the threats of tiie unions,

and the dark menaces of an unknown committee. The mode in

which these committees acquire such despotic authority is pre-

cisely the same as that which made the Committee of Public

Safety despotia Terror — terror — terror " \*

Justin McCarthy in his history of the same period con-

firms this assertion: '

It began to be common talk that among the trades associa-

tions there was systematic terrorizing of the worst kind, and

that a Vehmgericht more secret and more grim than any known to

the middle ages was issuing its sentences in many of our great

industrial communities.\*

So Socialist leaders and working-men alike played the

part of helpless puppets ptdled by wires from behind, held

in the hands of their sinister directors.

We shall now see how the course of world revolution

coincided with the activities of these same secret agencies.

1 Alison's History of Europe, L 255.

\* Justin McCarthy, A History of Our Own Times, iv. 153.

CHAPTER V

THE REVOLUTION OP 1848

Russian Secret Societies — The Dekabrist rising — The French Revolution

of 1830 — The bourgeoisie before 1848 — The Secret Societies —

Apathy of the Government — The outbreak of February — Fall of

the Monarchy — The Social Democratic Republic — National work\*

shops — Associations of working-men — The 17th of March — The

16th of April — The 15th of May — The days of June — Reaction

— The European conflagration.

The first visible result of the work of the Secret Societies

in the nineteenth century occurred in Russia, whither the

doctrines of illuminized freemasonry had been carried by

Napoleon's armies and by Russian officers who had trav-

elled in Germany.^ It was owing to the intrigues of these

societies that the band of true reformers calling themselves

" The Association of Welfare " was dissolved and two new

parties were formed, the first known as the Northern Asso-

ciation demanding constitutional monarchy, the second

called the Southern Association under Colonel Pestel, who

was in direct communication with Nubius — which aimed

not only at a Republic but at the extermination of the

whole royal family.' Many attempts indeed were made on

the life of Alexander I. through the agency of the Secret

Societies,' and after his death in 1825 an insurrection broke

out, led by the " United Slavs '\* who were connected with

the Southern Association and the Polish Secret Societies at

Warsaw.\* The pretext for this outbreak, known as \*\* The

^ La Russie en 18S9, by Astolphe de Custine, ii. 42; The Court of Russia

in the Nineteenth Century, by E. A. Brayley Hodgetts, i. 116.

\* The Revolutionary Movement in Russia, by Konni Zilliacus, p. S;

Brayley Hodgetts, op. cit, i. 122.

\* Deschamps, op, cit, ii. 242; Frost's Secret Societies , ii. 213.

\* Zilliacus, op, cit,; Brayley Hodgetts, op. cit, L 123.

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Dekabrist rising '\* because it occurred in December, was

the accession to the throne of Nicholas I. at the request of

his elder brother Constantine, and a crowd of mutinying

soldiers were persuaded to march on the Winter Palace and

protest against the acceptance of the crown by Nicholas,

represented to them by the agitators as an act of ustirpa-

tion. The manner in which the movement was engineered

has been described by the Marquis de Custine, who trav-

elled in Russia a few years later:

Well-informed people have attributed this riot to the influ-

ence of the Secret Societies by which Russia is worked. . . .

The method that the conspirators had employed to rouse the

army was a ridiculous lie: the rumour had been spread that

Nicholas was usurping the throne from his brother Constantine,

who, they said, was advancing on Petersburg to defend his

rights by armed force. This is the means they took in order to

decide the revolutionaries to cry under the windows of the

Palace: \*\* Long live the Constitution!" The leaders had per-

suaded them that this word Constitution was the name of the

wife of Constantine, their supposed Empress. You see that an

idea of duty was at the bottom of the soldiers' hearts, since

they could only be led into rebellion by a trick.\*

This strange incident tends to confirm the assertion of

P^e Deschamps that the word " Constitution " was the

signal agreed on by the Secret Societies for an outbreak

of revolution. It had been employed in the same manner

in France in 1791, and, as we shall see, it was employed

again in Russia at intervals throughout the revolutionary

movement.

The Dekabrist rising was ended by three rounds of

grape-shot, and five of the ringleaders were hanged. In

no sense was it a xx>pular insurrection, in fact the people

regarded it with strong disapproval as an act of sacrilege,

and so little did it aid the cause of liberty that General

Levashoff declared to Prince Troubetzkoy \*\* it had thrown

back Russia fifty years." \*

Further evidence of the connection between the French

Revolution and the engineering of revolution in Russia is

supplied by de Custine on his travels in the latter country

^ De Custine, op, cii, ii. 42; Brayley Hodgetts, op, cU, i. 192.

\* Brayley Hodgetts, op. cii, L 201, 205.

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fourteen years later. Now in those days before the aboK-

tion of serfdom, the peasants on an estate were bought and

sold with the land, and since the Emperor's serfs were the

best treated in the whole country the inhabitants of estates

newly acquired by the Crown became the objects of envy

to their fellow-serfs. In this year of 1839 the peasants,

hearing that the Emperor had just bought some more land,

sent a deputation to Petersburg, consisting of representa-

tives from all parts of Russia, to petition that the districts

from which they came should also be added to the royal

domains.

Nicholas I. received them kindly, for whilst adopting

repressive measures towards insurrection his sjrmpathies

were with the people. We must not forget that it was he

who visited Robert Owen at New Lanark to study his

schemes of social reform. When, therefore, the peasants

petitioned him to buy them he answered with great gentle-

ness that he regretted he could not buy up all Russia, but

he added: " I hope that the time will come when every

peasant of this Empire will be free ; if it only depended on

me Russians would enjoy from to-day the independence

that I wish for them and that I am working with all my

might to procure for them in the future."

These words, interpreted to the serfs by " savage and

envious men," led to the most terrible outbreak of violence

all along the Volga. \*\* The Father wishes for our deliver-

ance," cried the deluded deputies on their return to their

homes, " he only wishes for otir happiness, he told us so

himself; it is therefore the seigneurs and their overseers

who are our enemies and oppose the good designs of the

Father! Let us avenge ourselves! Let us avenge the

Emperor."

And forthwith the peasants, imagining they were

carrying out the Emperor's intention, threw themselves

upon the seigneurs and their overseers, roasted them alive,

boiled others in coppers, disembowelled the delegates, put

everything to fire and sword and devastated the whole

province.\*

Now when we compare this incident with the \*\* Great

^ 1 La^Russie en 18S9, ii. 219-220.

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Fear" that took place in France precisely fifty years

earlier (i.e. in July 1789) how can we doubt the connection

between the two ? In both the pretext and the organization

are identical. The benevolent intentions of Louis XVI.,

interpreted by the emissaries to the provinces in the words,

" The King desires you to bum down the chateaux; he

only wishes to keep his own"; the placards paraded

through the towns, headed " Edict of the King," ordering

the peasants to bum and destroy, and the massacres and

burnings that followed — all this was exactly repeated in

Russia fifty years later quite obviously by the same

organization that had engineered the earlier outbreak.

How otherwise are we to explain it ?

Five years after the Russian explosion of 1825 the

second French Revolution took place, which, however,

hardly enters into the scope of this book. The revolution

of 1830 was in the main not a social but a political revolu-

tion, a renewed attempt of the Orl6aniste conspiracy to

effect a change of dynasty and as such formed a mere

corollary to the insurrections of July and October 1789.

It is true that beneath the tumults of 1830, as beneath the

Siege of the BastiUe and the march on Versailles, the sub-

versive force of lUuminism made itself felt, and that during

\*' the glorious days of July " the hatred of Christianity

expressed by the Terror broke out again in the sacking of

the " Archev6ch6," in the pillage and desecration of the

churches, and in the attacks on religion in the provinces.

But the driving force behind the revolution that precipi-

tated Charles X. from the throne was not Socialist but

Orl6aniste; it was a movement led by the tricouleur of

July 13, 1789, not by the red flag of August 10, 1792,

emblem of the social revolution ; its strength lay not with

the workmen but with the bourgeoisie, and it was the

bourgeoisie who triumphed.

The regime that followed has well been named " the

bourgeois monarchy." For Louis Philippe, once the ardent

partisan of revolution, followed the usual programme of

demagogy, and as soon as the reins of power were in his

hands turned a deaf ear to the demands of the people. It

was thus tliat in 1848, organized by the Secret Societies,

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directed by the Socialists, executed by the working-men

and aggravated by the intractable attitude of the King and

his ministers, the second great outbreak of World Revolu-

tion took place.

There was then, just as in the first French Revolution,

real grievances that rankled in the minds of the people;

electoral reform, the adjustment of wages and hours of

labour, and particularly the burning question of unem-

ployment, were all matters that demanded immediate

attention. The people in 1848 even more than in 1789 had

good cause for complaint.

But in justice to the bourgeoisie it must be recognized

that they were in the main sympathetic to the cause of the

workers. " Bourgeois opinion," even the Socialist Malon

admits, " was . . . open to renovating conceptions.

Before 1848 the French bourgeoisie had as yet no fear of

social insurrections; they readily allowed themselves to

indulge in innocent Socialist speculations. It was thus that

Fouri6risme, for example, founded entirely on seeking the

greatest sum of happiness possible, had nimierous sym-

pathizers in the provincial bourgeoisie." ^

Like the aristocrats of 1788 who had voluntarily offered

to sturender their pecimiary privileges, and on the famous

4th of August 1789 themselves dealt the death-blow to the

feudal system by renouncing all other rights and privileges,

so the bourgeoisie of 1848 showed their willingness to co-

operate not[merely with reforms but with the most drastic

social changes dkectly opposed to their own interests.

\*\* In the first weeks of 1848/' Malon says again, " it was not

only the proletarians who spoke of profound social reforms;

the bourgeoisie that Fouri&iste propaganda (but above all the

novels of Eugtoe Sue and of George Sand) had almost reconciled

with Sodali^, thought themselves the hour had come, and all

the candidates talked of ameliorating the lot of the people, of

realiziQg social democracy, of aboliSiing misery. Great pro-

prietors believed that the I^visional Government was com-

posed of Commtmists, and one day twenty of them came to

offer Gamier Pagte to give up their goods to the community." \*

But the art of the revolutionaries has always been to

check reforms by alienating the sympathies of the class in

^ Malon, Histoire du socialisme, iLl295. \* Ihid^ ii. 520. '

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power, and they had no intention of allowing the i)eople to

be contented by pacific measures or to look to any one but

themselves for salvation.

As on the eve of all great public commotions, a great

masonic congress was held in 1847.\* Amongst the French

masons present were the men who played the leading parts

in the subsequent revolution — Louis Blanc, CaussidiSre,

Cr6mieux, Ledru Rollin, etc., and it was then decided to

enlist the Swiss Cantons in the movement so that the

centre of Europe should form no barrier against the tide.

It was by the Secret Societies that the plan of cam-

paign was drawn up and the revolutionary machine set in

motion. Caussidifere, a prominent member of these asso-

ciations, and at the same time Prefect of Police in Paris

during the tumults of 1848, has himself provided us with

the clearest evidence on this point.

"The Secret Societies," he writes, "had never ceased to

exist even after the set-back of May 12, 1838. This freemasonry

of devoted soldiers had been maintained without new afiSliations

until 1846. The orders of the day, printed in Brussels or some-

times in secret by compositors of Paris, had kept up its z^.

But the frequency of these proclamations, which fell sooner or

later into the hands of the police, rendered the use of them very

dangerous. Relations between the affiliated and the leaders had

thus become rather restricted when, in 1846, the Secret Societies

were reorganized and took up some initiative again. Paris was

the centre around which radiated the different ramifications

extending into the provincial towns. In Paris and in the prov-

inces the same sentiment inspired all these militant phalanxes,

more preoccupied by revolutionary action than by social the-

ories. Guns were more talked of than Communism, and the

only formula unanimously accepted was Robespierre's 'Declara-

tion of the Rights of Man.' The Secret Societies found their

real strength in the heart of the people of the working-classes,

which thus had its vanguard, a certain disciplined force always

r^dy to act, their co-operation was never wanting to any

poUtical emotion and they were found in the forefront of the

barricades in February/' •

But the working-classes were not admitted to the inner

councils of the leaders ; the place of the vanguard was on

^ Deschamps, op, cU. ii. 281, quoting Gyr, La Franc-Magonnerie, p. 368,

and also Bckert.

\* Memoires de Caussidi^re, i. 38, 39.

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the barricades when the shooting began, not in the meet-

ings where the plan of campaign was drawn up.

Amongst these secret agencies the Haute Vente nat-

urally played the leading part, and two years before the

revolution broke out Piccolo Tigre was able to congratulate

himself on the complete success of his efforts to bring about

a vast upheaval.

On the 5th of January 1846 the energetic agent of

Nubius writes in these hopeful terms to his chief:

The journey that I have just accomplished in Europe has

been as fortunate and as productive as we had hoped. Hence-

forth nothing remains but to put our hand to the;i)task in order

to reach the o(^noM«men< of the comedy. . . . The liarvest I have

reaped has been abimdant . . . and if I can believe the news

communicated to me here (at Livomo) we are approaching the

epoch we so much desire. The fall of thrones is no longer a

matter of doubt to me now that I have just studio the work of

our societies in France, in Switzerland, in Germany, and as far

as Russia. The assault which in a few years and perhaps even

in a few months from now will be made on the princes of the

earth will bury them under the wreckage of their impotent

armies and their decrepit thrones. Everywhere there is enthu-

siasm in our ranks and apathy or indifference amongst the

enemies. This is a certain and infallible sign of success. . . .

What have we asked in return for our labours and our sacrifices ?

It is not a revolution in one country or another. That can

always be managed if one wishes it. In order to kill the old

world surely, we have held that we must stifle the Catholic and

Christian germ, and you, with the audacity of genius, have

offered yourself with tiie sding of a new David to hit the pon-

tifical Goliath on the head.^ \*

Piccolo Tigre was perfectly right in his estimate of the

" apathy and indifference " of the niling classes, and in the

success this attitude promised to the conspirators. No

civilized modem government can be overthrown by vio-

lence if it realizes the danger that threatens it and firmly

resolves to defend itself. It is not resistance but weakness

that produces revolution, for weakness invites audacity

and audacity is the essence of the revolutionary spirit.

\*\* Osez! " said St. -Just, \*\* ce mot est toute la politique de la

Revolution. " C\* Dare! this word is the whole policy of

1 Cr6tineau-Joly, UEglise Romaine en face de la RtoduHon^ iL 387.

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revolution.") So whilst the revolutionary forces were mus-

tering, the Government of France remained sublimely

oblivious to the coming danger. On the siuface few signs

of popular effervescence were apparent. The incendiary

doctrines of the agitators seemed to have made little head-

way amongst the great mass of the people. The peasants,

indeed, with their passionate love of possession, saw little

to attract them in the communal ownership of the land

and contained to dig and plant with undiminished ardour.

Only in the towns the fire of revolutionary Socialism was

smouldering silently, unnoticed or ignored by those in

power. The government, reassiu-ed by the loyal spirit of

the army and deluded by the perfect calm that reigned in

the streets, made no preparations for defence. The circu-

lation of seditious papers was known to be small, the

theories of Buchez and of Louis Blanc were believed to

have taken no hold on the masses — one could afford to

shrug one's shoulders at the number of their following. As

to Proudhon the police had declared in 1846: " His doc-

trines are very dangerous, there are gim-shots at the end of

them; fortunately they are not read." Perhaps the most

unconcerned person was the King himself. \*\* No htunan

power," wrote M. Cuvillier Fleury, " could' have made

him read a page of M. Louis Blanc, of M. Pierre Leroux, of

M- Buchez, or of M. Proudhon." ^

So with sublime insouciance the " monarchy of July "

awaited the explosion.

This is not the place to relate in detail the political

events which led up to the four months revolution of 1848.

Ministerial corruption — always the bane of Prance from

the first revolution onwards — opposition to electoral

reform, indifference to the interests of the people provided

quite sufficient grounds for insurrection. In vain de

Tocqueville warned the Chamber of Deputies whither this

state of public affairs must lead them: " My profoimd

conviction is that we are sleeping on a volcano." And

after quoting various scandalous instances of corruption

he went on to say:

^ Imbert de Saint-Aznand, Marie AtnUie el la sociiU francaise en 18A7

pp. 102-110.

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It is by such acts as these that great catastrophes are pre\*

pared. Let us seek in history the dScadous causes that have

taken away power from the governing classes; they tost it when

they became by their egoism tmworthy to retain it. . . . The

evils I point out will bring about the gravest revolutions ^do

you not feel by a sort of intuition that the soil of Europe trembles

once more? Is there not a breath of revolution in the air? . . .

Do you know what may happen in two years: in one year,

perhaps to-morrow? . . . Keep your laws if you will, but for

God's sake change the spirit of, the Government. . That spirit

leads to the abyss.^

No truer words were ever spoken. Corrupt and selfish

politicians will always be the most useful allies of Anar-

chists. We cannot doubt that Proudhon and Blanqui

rejoiced over the callous attitude of the Government as

heartily as de Tocqueville deplored it. The very real

grounds for popular discontent would serve, as de Tocque-

ville clearly saw, to " magnify doctrines which tend to

nothing less than the overthrow of all the foundations on

which society rests."

The ministerial banquets planned by the heads of the

masonic lodges \* for the 22nd of February and forbidden

by the government provided the pretext for insurrection.

When in the morning of that day the obedient army of the

proletariat assembled in answer to the summons of the

revolutionary papers Le Naiional and La Riforme, the cry

of " A bas Guizot! " that rose from their ranks was less

a protest against Guizot's policy than a call to revolution

for revolution's sake. Deluded by the promises of the

Utopian Socialists, inflamed by the teachings of the

Anarchists, it was now no longer electoral reform nor even

universal suffrage that could satisfy the people; it was not

a mere Republic they demanded or a change of ministry,

it was the complete overthrow of the existing system of

government in favour of the sodal miDennitun promised

them by the theorists, and which the agitators had urged

them to establish by force of arms.

The dismissal of Guizot by the King on the 23rd of

February did nothing, therefore, to allay popular agitation,

and according to the usual revolutionary programme the

> fixziile de Bonnechose, Histoire de France^ iL 647

\* Deschamps, op, cil. ii. 282.

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insurgents proceeded to barricade the streets and to piUage

the gunsmiths' shops.

But even then it proved difficult to bring about a

conflict, for the sympathies of the bourgeoisie were still

with the people, and the National Guards, seeing in the

working-men their brothers, showed reluctance to use force

against them.^ This feeling of camaraderie, contemptu-

ously described by Marx as " charlatanry of general fra-

ternity," \* was dispelled by the menacing attitude the

working-men were persuaded to assume, and inevitably

the demonstrations that followed — the hoisting of the

red flag, the marching of processions amongst which could

be seen the gUnt of steel and brandishing of sabres — led

to a collision with the troops. In the confusion a number

of the insurgents fell victims to the fire of the irritated

soldiery. This skirmish, described as " the massacre of the

Boulevard des Capudnes," gave the signal for revolution.

Throughout that night of February 23-24 the Secret

Societies were at work issuing their orders; meanwhile

Proudhon busied himself drawing up a plan of attack.'

Dawn fotmd the city in a state of chaos, the trees of the

boulevards were broken to the ground, the paving-stones

torn up, excited bands of insurgents — working-men of the

faubourgs, students, schoolboys, deserters from the

National Guard — collected round the Tuileries, shots

were fired in at the windows of the young princes. This

was the moment chosen by Louis Blanc and his friends to

issue a protest against the employment of troops in civil

commotions, which, handed from barricade to barricade,

immensely enboldened the audacity of the revolutionaries,

who now proceeded to seize munitions and attack the

mtmidpal Guard, killing a number of them. The hesitating

policy of the government and the declarations of the agita-

tors inevitably aflfected the morale of the troops, and by

the middle of the morning they ceased to offer any f mther

resistance and left the people in possession of the field.

Already Proudhon and Flocon had posted up a placard

demanding the deposition of the King, and amongst the

\* Cambridge Modem History, vol. xi. 97.

\* Marx, La Lutte des classes en France, p. 40.

\* Cambridge Modem History, vol. xi. p. 99.

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leaders — Caussidi&re, Arago, Sobrier, and others — the

word " Republic " made itself heard. In vain Louis

Philippe, profiting by the error committed by his prede-

cessor Louis XVI. in precisely the same circumstances,

mounted a gorgeously caparisoned horse in order to

inspect the troops assembled in the Tuileries gardens and

promised reforms to the excited populace ; the hour of the

Orl6aniste dynasty had struck, and at one o'clock the

royal family chose the prudent course of flight.

Thus in the space of a few hours the monarchy was

swept away and the " Social Democratic Republic "

was proclaimed.^

But now the men who had brought about the crisis

were faced with the work of reconstruction — a very

different matter. For it is one thing to sit at one's desk

peaceably writing about the beauties of revolution, it is

quite another to find oneself in the midst of a tumultuous

city where all the springs of law and order have been

broken; it is one thing to talk romantically about \*\* the

sovereignty of the people," it is less soothing to one's

vanity to be confronted with working-men of real flesh

and blood insolently demanding the fulfilment of the

promises one has made them. This was the experience that

fell to the lot of the men composing the Provisional Gov-

ernment the day after the King's abdication. All advo-

cates of social revolution, they now for the first time saw

revolution face to face — and liked it less well than on paper.

The hoisting of the red flag by the populace —

described by Lamartine as \*' the symbol of threats and

disorders " — had struck terror into the hearts of all except

Louis Blanc, and it was not until Lamartine in an impas-

sioned speech had besought the angry multitude to restore

the tricouleur that the red flag was finally lowered and the

deputies were able to retire to the H6tel d^ Ville and dis-

cuss the new scheme of government.

In all the history of the " Laboiu" Movement " no more

dramatic scene has ever been enacted than that which now

took place. Seated arotmd the cotmcil table were the

^ Louis Blanc, La Rholuiian de 1848, p. 23; Mimaircs de Caussidihe,

p. 62.

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men who for the last ten years had fired the people with

enthusiasm for the principles of the first Revolution —

Lamartine, panegyrist of the Gironde, Louis Blanc the

Robespierriste, Ledru Rollin, whose chief source of pride

was his supposed resemblance to Danton.

Suddenly the door of the cotmcil chamber burst open

and a working-man entered, gun in hand, his face con-

vulsed with rage, followed by several of his comrades.

Advancing towards the table where sat the trembling

demagogues, Marche, for this was the name of the leader

of the deputation, struck the floor with the butt end of his

gun and said loudly: " Citizens, it is twenty-four hours

since the revolution was made ; the people await the results.

They send me to tell you that they will brook no more

delays. They wish for the right to work — the right to

work at once."

Twenty-four hours since the revolution had been made,

and the New Heavens and the New Earth had not yet been

created ! The theorists had calculated without the immense

impatience of \*' the People," they had forgotten that to

simple practical minds to give is to give quickly and at

once; that the immense social changes represented by

Louis Blanc in his Organisation du travail as quite a simple

matter had been accepted by the workers in the same

unquestioning spirit ; of the enormous difficulties incidental

to the readjustment of the conditions of the labour, of the

time it must take to reconstruct the whole social system,

Marche and his companions could have no conception.

They had been promised the " right to work," and the

gigantic organization that brief formula entailed was to be

accomplished in one day and instantly put into operation.

Louis Blanc admits that his first emotion on hearing

the tirade of Marche was that of anger; \* it were better if

he had said of shame. It was he more than any other who

had shown the workers the land of promise, and now that it

had proved a mirage he, more than any other, was to

blame. Before promising one must know how to perform

— and to perform without delay.

It was apparently Lamartine whom the working-men

> Louis Blanc. La Revolution de 1848, p. 31.

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regarded as the chief obstacle to their demand for " the

right to work, " for throughout his speech Marche had fixed

his eyes, " blazing with audacity," on those of the poet of

the Gironde. Lamartine, outraged by this attitude, there-

upon replied in an imperious tone that were he threatened

by a thousand deaths, were he led by Marche and his com-

panions before the loaded cannons down beneath the

windows, he wotdd never sign a decree of which he did not

understand the meaning. But finally conquering his irri-

tation, he adopted a more conciliatory tone, and placing

his hand on the arm of the angry workman he besought

him to have patience, pointing out that legitimate as his

demand might be, so great a measure as the organization

of labour must take time to elaborate, that in the face of

so many crying needs the government must be given time

to formulate its schemes, that all competent men must be

consulted. . . .

The eloquence of the poet triumphed, gradually

Marchess indignation died down; the workmen, honest

men touched by the evident sincerity of the speaker,

looked into each other's eyes questioningly, with an expres-

sion of relenting, and Marche, interpreting their attitude,

cried out, \*' Well, then, yes, we will wait. We will have

confidence in our government. The people will wait ; they

place three months of misery at the service of the

Republic! " \*

Have more pathetic words ever been uttered in the

whole history of social revolution ? Like their forefathers

of 1792 these men were ready to suffer, to sacrifice them-

selves for the new-formed Republic represented to them as

the one hope of salvation for France, and animated by this

noble enthusiasm they were willing to trust the political

charlatans who had led them on with fair promises into

abortive insurrection. Even whilst Lamartine was tffging

patience, Louis Blanc, still intent on his tmtried theories,

had retired into the embrasure of a window, where, with

Plocon and Ledru Rollin, he drew up the decree, fotmded

on the 10th article of Robespierre's " Declaration of the

Rights of Man." by which the Provisional Government

Daniel Stem, op, cU. u 379.

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undertook to '" guarantee work to all citizens/' Louis

Blanc was x>robably the only man present who believed in

the i>06sibility of carrying out this promise, yet all ended

by subscribing to it, and the same day the decree was

publicly proclaimed throughout Paris.

Two days later the National Workshops, which were to

provide the promised employment, were opened under the

direction of £mile Thomas and of M. Marie. The result

was inevitably disastrous, necessary work being insuffi-

cient, the workmen were sent hither and thither from one

employer to another, useless jobs were devised that neces-

sarily proved discouraging to the men engaged on them,

whilst the workers in the skilled trades for whom no

employment could be foimd had to be maintained on \*\* an

unemployment dole." This last measure, the most demor-

alizing of all, had the effect of attracting thousands of

workers from all over the country, and even from abroad,

into the capital^

The organization of the National Workshops and their

lamentable failure has frequently been ascribed by oppo-

nents of Socialism to Louis Blanc. This is inaccturate. The

manner in which these workshops were conducted was not

that advocated by Louis Blanc in his Organisation du

travail, and must be ascribed solely to MM. Marie and

Thomas. But the principle on which they were foimded,

namely the duty of the State to provide work or pajrment

for every man, was nevertheless the one adopted by Louis

Blanc from Robespierre. Once this premise is accepted

many of the difficulties that contributed to the f ailtire of

the National Workshops are bound to follow. The mere

fact that a man has no longer to depend on his own efforts

to seek and find employment must inevitably lead to lack

of enterprise and to idleness on the part of those who do

not want to work; moreover, if pa3nnent is to be received

whether a man is in or out of employment it will be

obviously a matter of indifference to the slacker whether

he keeps his job or loses it.

That in a civilized state no man should be allowed to

t Daniel Stem, op. cit. i. 4S1. See also report of May 29 givea in The

Economist for June 3, 1843 (vi. 617).

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starve because he cannot find work is clearly evident, but

that some degree of privation should attach to unemploy-

ment is absolutely necessary to the veiy existence of

industry.

The truth is, as Mermeix points out, the Provisional

Government of 1848 had promised the impossible because

" a government cannot guarantee work since it does not

depend on it to provide consumers." \* Moreover, the funds

with which it pays out unemployment doles can only be

raised in the form of taxation which automatically reduces

the spending power of the commtmity, thus creating fur-

ther unemployment.

Magnificent, then, as the recognition of \*\* the right to

work " may be in theory, no Government has so far been

able to put it into practice without aggravating the evil it

has set out to cure.

If, therefore, Louis Blanc cannot be held responsible

for the methods of the National Workshops, it is impos-

sible to deny that his precipitate action in formulating the

proclamation of " the right to work " largely contributed

to the chaos that followed. Moreover, we shall see that

when at last he was able to put his own theories into prac-

tice the experiment proved not much more successful than

that of MM. Thomas and Marie.

It was on the 10th of March that a committee began

its sittings at the Luxembourg, presided over by Louis

Blanc with the workman Albert as vice-president. Before

this board employers and employed were sununoned to

attend and put forward their claims or grievances ; builders

and their workmen, master bakers and baker boys, omni-

bus owners and drivers, all arrived in crowds to discuss the

questions of hours and payment. In general the employers

showed themselves magnanimous and perfectly ready to

co-operate in any reasonable reforms,\* but this, as Mme.

d' Agoult observes, could not satisfy the ambition of Louis

Blanc, " which dreamt of changing the world." • A sane

and practical man with the interests of the people really

at heart, given his opportimity, might have laid forever the

^ Mermeix (G. Terrail), Le Syndicalisme contre It sociaUsme, p. 51.

' " The employers gave evidence of the most conciliatory disposition "

(Daniel Stem, op. cU. ii. 49). < Ibid. p. 48.

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foundations of an improved industrial system, but Louis

Blanc seated in the historic armchair of the Chancelier

Pasquier could only fall back, like his predecessors of 1789,

on the fatal gift of eloquence, and at every moment " began

again the epic recital of the Revolution and the tableau

of the great things accomplished by the people." \*

Strange this tendency of Socialism that imagines itself

progressive to hark back eternally to the past!

The working-men on their part showed themselves in

the main perfectly sane and reasonable, demanding protec-

tion from the exploitation of middle-men, and a reduction

in the hours of labour to ten or eleven a day, giving for

their reason a theory tenable perhaps at a period when

working days consisted of fourteen or fifteen hours, but

which to-day has been perverted into the disastrous sys-

tem known as \*\* Ca' Canny," namely that '\* the longer the

day is the fewer workers are employed, and that the

workers who are occupied absorb a salary which might be

divided amongst a greater ntmiber of workers." They

also \*\* criticised excessive work as an obstacle to their

education and the intellectual development of the people.''

At any rate, whether sound or not in their political

economy, the people of Paris at this crisis showed them-

selves in no way prone to violence ; the people did not wish

for bloodshed and for barricades, for burnings and destruc-

tion. Reduced to its simplest expression, they asked for

two things only — bread and work : what juster demand

could have been formulated? And they were ready, as

Marche had said, to wait, to suffer, to sacrifice themselves

not only for their own ultimate welfare but for the glory of

France. Misled as they had been by visionaries, iUusioned

as they were on the benefits of the first French Revolution,

they asked for no repetition of its horrors but only to be

allowed to work in peace and fraternity.

\*\* Citizens, . . ." wrote the doth printers to the Provisional

Government at the end of March 1848, " we, workers ourselves,

printers on stuflf, we offer you our feeble co-operation, we bring

you 2000 francs to help towards the success of your noble crea-

tion. . • • Let them be reassured those who may believe in a

\* Daniel Stem, op. cit. p. 41.

' Mimaires de CausMihe, L 286.

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return to the bloody scenes enacted in our history! T^ them

be reassured! Neither dvil war, nor war abroad shall rend the

entrails of our beautiful France! Let them be reassured on our

National Assembly, for there will be neither Montagnards nor

GirondinsI Yes, let them be reassured and let them help to give

to Europe a magic sight, let them show the universe that in

France there has been no violence in the revolution, that there

has only been a change of system, that honour has succeeded to

corruption, the sovereignty of the people and of eqtiity to odious

despotism, force and order to wealmess, tmion to castes, to

tyranny this sublime device: \* Liberty, Equsdity, Fraternity,

progress, civilization, happiness for aU and all for happiness! ' "^

What might not have been done with a people such as

this, so filled with gay enthusiasm, with noble patriotism,

if only they had had leaders worthy of them? But on one

side Louis Blanc, helpless and hesitating now that he was

brought face to face with realities, pushing aside sane

reforms in favour of unrealizable ideals, and on the other

Blanqui, Proudhon, wild beasts crouching to spring,

waiting to rend and destroy that very civilization for which

the people were ready to sacrifice their all!

But Louis Blanc, obsessed with his idea of " working-

men's associations," ted the people from the path of true

reform into the wilderness. The National Workshops, he

afterwards declared, were a failure because they were not

conducted on the Socialistic Unes he advocated, and the

Government refused to give him f imds to put his own

theories into practice. But, as Mme. d'Agoult explains,

what the Government really refused to M. Blanc was \*\* a

budget and a ministry " which would have satisfied his

ambitions. The Government did provide M. Blanc with

funds to start " associations of working-men " on his own

lines, and gave him a i)erfectly free hand in organizing

them. The first of these experiments was made at the

H6tel de Clichy, which M. Blanc was allowed to transform

from a debtors' prison into an enormous national tailors\*

shop; he was then given capital free of interest, " subsist-

ence money \*\* was advanced to the workers, and an order

for 25,000 imiforms for the National Guards was placed by

the Government. The usual contractor's price for these

uniforms was eleven francs each, " a stun found sufficient

^ Daniel Stem, op. a/. L 514.

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to provide the profit of the master tailor, remuneration for

his workshop and tools, interest on his capital and wages

for the workmen." ^ But now that the profits of the rapa-

cious capitalist were to be eliminated it was expected that

a handsome balance would remain over after the cost of

materials had been defrayed, and this was to be divided

equally amongst the workers. Unhappily when the first

order was completed the cost proved to be far higher than

under the old capitalistic system, and the uniforms worked

out at 16 instead of 11 francs each. Moreover, though

\*' the principle of glory, love, and fraternity was so strong

that the tailors worked twelve and thirteen hours a day,

and the same even on Sundays," the ragged new recruits

to the army were kept waiting so long for their tmiforms

that, driven to exasperation, they went several times to

Clichy and quarrelled violently with the tailors over the

delay. '\* This," says Mme. d'Agotdt, " was the origin of the

scission between l^e ' people ' in blouses and the ' people '

in uniforms which led at last to a mortal combat." ^

Louis Blanc's other experiments were attended with

not much more success. His " association of arm-chair

makers " dwindled in one year from 400 members to 20,

and out of 180 associations in all only 10 survived until

1867.\*

A further breach was brought about between the

soldiers and the industrial workers by the attempt of the

Government to establish " equality " in the army. On the

14th of March it had passed the decree ordering the

smartest battalions of the National Guards to renounce

their distinctive uniforms and likewise all insignia of

superior rank. More preposterous still, the election of new

officers was to be made henceforth by xmiversal sufiErage.^

The result was of course an explosion of indignation

amongst the soldiers, and on the 16th of March a proces-

sion of 4000 to 5000 National Guards marched on the

Hdtel de Ville to protest against the decree. Here they

^ Problems and Perth of SociaUstn, by J. St. Loe Strachey, Quoting

contemporary account on this experiment in The Economist for May 20,

1848 (voL vi. p. 562).

' Daniel Stem, op. cit. ii. 165.

' Heckethom, Secret Societies, ii. 222, 223.

\* Daniel Stem, op\* cit, ii. 55; Caussidi^re, op. cit, i. 176«

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encountered a crowd of workmen and young boys, with

whom they came into coUision; insults and blows were

exchanged, and the breach between the bourgeoisie and the

people was now definitely created.

This breach was necessary to the Socialist leaders if

they were to retain their ascendancy, and the revolution

was not to end in the peaceful amelioration of the workers\*

lot. Accordingly they seized the opportimity oflfered by

popular excitement to organize a demonstration for the

following day, and as in the first French Revolution the

people were ordered out en masse. A huge crowd was to

assemble in the Place de la Concorde and march to the

H6tel de Ville in order to congratulate the members of the

Provisional Government and demand the ix)stponement

of the elections, which might possibly remove the Socialists

from power. This progranune, naively drawn up by the

Socialists themselves — Louis Blanc, Caussidi^, and

Ledru Rollin — was issued to all the diflEerent districts of

Paris on the evening of the 16th.

But already the organizers of the procession fotmd

themselves outdistanced by the clubs acting under the

orders of the Secret Societies, and whilst the people were

being invited by the members of the Provisional Govern-

ment to come and demonstrate in f avotir of their remaining

in office Blanqui was concerting another agitation for the

purpose of ejecting them. It was thus that, when the

immense procession arrived at the Hdtd de Ville on the

17th of March, Louis Blanc and his colleagues found them-

selves confronted not by congratulatory and admiring

bands of workers but by a hostile army, at the head of

which were found their enemies and rivals to power —

Barb^, Blanqui, Cabet, Sobrier, and others — "whose

expression," says Louis Blanc, " held something sinister."

In vain Louis Blanc took refuge in his habitual revolu-

tionary eloquence, declaring that the only desire of the Pro-

visional Government was "to march with the people, to live

for them, if necessary to die for them" ; the crowd, wearied

of such protestations, gave way to prolonged mxumurs.

"The people," cried one of them, "expect more thanwords.'\*^

^ Caussidi^e, op. cit, i. 182,

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But words in the end prevailed, and floods of oratory

poured forth by Ledru RoQin and Lamartine finally had

the effect of calming the agitation of the crowd, which

towards five o'clock in the afternoon gradually melted

away to the cries of "Vive Louis Blanc, Vive Ledru RoUin!"

Caussidi^e afterwards described this \*\* day of March

17 " as the \*\* pacific victory of the people by calm and

reason \*' ; in reality it was a victory for the Socialists of the

Provisional Government. From the people's point of view

the day had proved as abortive as most of the " great

days " of the first revolution, in which they had acted

simply as the tools of political adventurers. \*\* The greater

number of the workmen," says Mme. d'Agoult, \*\* who had

joined spontaneously in the manifestation in a sincere and

naive spirit of Republican fraternity, were persuaded that

they had given the Government a mark of respect and had

defended them against royalist plots." For themselves

they had gained nothing but an increase of hostility on the

part of the bourgeoisie, who had watched with growing

anxiety the menacing aspect of the procession.

The result of " the day of March the 17th " was to

throw back irretrievably the cause of the Paris workmen.

So far they had gained certain points in their programme

— the establishment of the " social and democratic

Republic," the promise of universal suffrage at the coming

elections, the recognition by the Provisional Government

of " the right to work," and the application of this prin-

ciple in the National Workshops, which, however unsatis-

factory from the point of view of the State, had relieved

unemployment. Had the revolution ceased early in March

before the passing of the impolitic decree concerning the

National Guards, it must have ended in a tritunph for the

workers. But the action of the Socialists in throwing this

apple of discord between the people and the bourgeoisie

turned the tide in favour of reaction. Not only in Paris

but all over the country the display of force exhibited by

the procession of March 17 created widespread alarm. The

provinces had no intention of falling again, as in 1793,

under the domination of the Paris populace, and a strong

Conservative spirit was aroused that boded ill for the

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success of Socialist candidates at the elections. '" Prom

this moment/' writes the Comtesse d'Agoult, '' tiiere

begins for the proletariat a series of reverses in which it is

to lose all the advantages it had won in a few hours, and of

which it had made use generously, it is true, and with

greatness, but without discenmient or foresight." ^

This was the whole cause of the working-men's failure

in 1848. Instead of acting on their own initiative, instead

of pressing the advantages they had really gained, they

allowed themselves to be led into fruitless agitation by a

band of political charlatans who were mainly occupied in

quarrelling amongst themselves.

Thus whilst Louis Blanc continued to represent himself

to the people with his usual eloquence as the sole repre-

sentative of their cause, the partisans of Ledru RoUin

(amongst them George Sand the novelist) intrigued to

establish a revolutionary government under his dictator-

ship, and Blanqui stirred up the workmen to resist the

convocation of the National Assembly. Meanwhile

Lamartine, seeing his own power waning, endeavoured to

frighten Ledru Rollin '\* with visions of Blanqui sharpening

his dagger in the backgrotmd," and at the same time con-

tinued to confer secretly with Blanqui in the hope of

winning him over to his side. Amidst all this conftision of

plans the people counted for nothing, but each faction

hoped by a further '' popular manifestation " to triumph

finally over its rivals.

On the 16th of April the people of Paris were once more

summoned forth on the pretext of electing f otuteen officers

for the staff of the army, according to the new decree of

election by popular suffrage. At 10 o'clock in the morning

a procession of 8000 working-men assembled in the Champ

de Mars, holding aloft their banners with Socialist devices

such as: \*\* Abolition of the exploitation of man by man,"

\*' Equality," \*\* Organization of work," etc. This army,

whidi had started out quite peaceably, now stirred up by

Blanqui, increased to 40,000 and then proceeded to march

on the Hdtel de Ville, whereat a panic spread throughout

the dty. Scare news was passed from mouth to mouth:

\* Daniel Stem, op, cU. ii. 154.

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«

"The Faubourg St. Antoine has risen in revolt! The

Communists have taken the Invalides, they are setting

fire to it; 200,000 proletarians in arms are preparing to

sack Paris! "

On arrival at the Place de Gr6ve before the entrance to

the H6tel de Ville a number of troops, however, were drawn

up, and now the scission that had been created between

the soldiers and the working-men became again apparent.

The inclination to fraternize with their comrades in blouses

that earlier in the Revolution had marked the attitude of

the troops had changed to active hostility, and from their

ranks arose the cry: \*\* Down with the Communists! Down

with Blanqui! Down with Louis Blanc! "

The tide had turned irrevocably against the workers.

As the dejected battalions of the industrial \*\* proletariat "

filed past the H6tel de Ville through the serried ranks of

the soldiery and finally dispersed, no doubt remained that

the day had ended in defeat and it was to the Socialists

the workers owed their humiliation. The working-men

had not on their own initiative asstuned the menacing

attitude that alarmed the citizens of Paris; they had not

devised the truculent mottoes inscribed upon their banners.

It was Blanqui with his ferocious methods of agitation,

it was Louis Blanc with his foolish theorizings, who had

turned their just demands for social reform into war on the

community and created the gulf that yawned between the

workmen and the rest of Paris. Up to the outbreak of

the 1848 revolution the bourgeoisie, as we have seen, had

regarded the aspirations of the " people \*' with the greatest

sympathy; the work of the Socialists was to destroy this

understanding and to consolidate not only the bourgeoisie

but the whole non-industrial population in a mass antag-

onistic to the workers. It is from this moment that we can

date that narrowing down of the word \*' people '\* to

signify only the " industrial proletariat," ^ the sense in

which it has been used throughout by Marxian Socialists,

and that has contributed so largely to the divorce between

Socialism and democracy.

The 16th of April was followed by a great wave of

^ Daniel Stem, op, cit. ii. 15^

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reaction in all quarters of the city. The authors of the

manifestation became the objects of indignant dentrnda-

tions ; a f tuious crowd carried a cofSn beneath the window

of Cabet. \*\* One half of Paris," wrote the Prefect of the

Police, " wishes to imprison the other." ^ Even the allies

of the Socialists were suddenly smitten with misgivings,

and it was George Sand, the disciple of Babeuf and Pierre

Leroux, who was believed to have written these words in

the Bulletins de la Ripublique for the 20th of April:

As to the Communists, against whom so many cries of repro-

bation and of anger have bosn heard, they were not worth the

trouble of a demonstration. That a little number of sectarians

should preach the chimerical establishment of the impossible

equality of forttmes need not surprise or alarm one. At all

periods misguided minds have pursued the realization of this

dream without ever attaining it.^

The reaction was not confined to Paris alone. All over

France the tide turned irrevocably against Socialism, and

in the elections that followed the people showed themselves

overwhelmingly in favour of the moderates. But the

revolutionaries had gained one point, namely that they

had put an end to what Marx described as " the char-

latanry of universal fraternity," and the gulf between the

industrial proletariat and the rest of the nation yawned

more widely than ever.

When the new National Assembly met on the 4th of

May the extremists Proudhon, Cabet, Louis Blanc, and

Blanqui were all rejected by the electors, as also the

" Labour " candidates in favour of Communism who had

been put forward by the Committee of the Luxembourg :

and it was Lamartine who now received the plaudits of the

crowd. This was largely owing to the attitude of Louis

Blanc, who had made it clear that he aimed at nothing less

than \*\* the absolute domination of the proletariat," • a

proposition that, placed before a spirited nation possessing

an energetic and intelligent bourgeoisie, must necessarily

encoimter determined opposition.

Louis Blanc, moreover, possessed the irritating char-

acteristic, common to many Socialists, of imagining that he

» Daniel Stem, op, cU. ii. 179-180. > Ibid. p. 183.

\* Ihid., op. cU. iL 207.

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alone was animated by sincere love for the people, and

his discourse to the Assembly on the 10th of May, again

demanding '\* a ministry of work and progress," was so

tinged with this peculiar form of egoism as to provoke cries

of protest. Finally the whole Assembly rose in a body,

whilst from all sides shouts went up: " You have not the

monopoly of love for the people! We are all here for the

social question, we have all come in the name of the people!

The whole Assembly is here to defend the rights of the

people! " ^

The new assembly thus foimd itself crushed between

two forces — on one hand the bourgeoisie rendered intrac-

table by the menace of Commtmism, on the other the revo-

lutionaries who, now legally excluded from the government,

were obliged to cast about for a further pretext to stir up

the people. This was provided by a revolt in Poland which

the Prussian troops had ruthlessly suppressed on the 5th

of May, and the working-men of Paris were summoned to

assemble in their thousands as a protest against this dis-

play of arbitrary authority. Accordingly, on the 13th a

procession of 5000 to 6000 people, led by Sobrier and

Huber, a professional agitator of equivocal antecedents,

marched to the Place de la Concorde, shouting: \*\* Vive la

Pologne! " The working-men in the crowd, who had

started out in all good faith to agitate, as they had been

told to do, in favour of oppressed Poland, were animated

by no revolutionary intentions and never dreamt of over-

throwing the Assembly elected by universal suffrage. But,

as usual, agents of disorder had mingled in their ranks,

strangers of sinister appearance ready to side either with

police or mob in order to provoke a riot, well-dressed

women not of the people were observed inciting the crowd

to violence.\*

At the bridge of the Concorde the procession seemed to

hesitate, but Blanqui, now placing himself at its head,

cried loudly, \*\* Forward! " and the whole mass surged

towards the palace occupied by the Assembly. The small

number of National Guards assembled proved powerless

to stem the oncoming tide of 1-^0. 000 men and women,

» Daniel Stem, pp. 237-238. > Ibid. op. cit. ii. 258.

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which pressed onwards with such force that a number of

people were crushed to death at the entrance of the Palace.

It was then that Lamartiae, braver than his predeces-

sors the revolutionaries of 1792, came forward out of the

Assembly and faced the people.

\*\* Citizen Lamartine," said one of the leaders, Laviron,

'' we have come to read a i)etition to the Assembly in

favour of Poland. ..."

\*' You shall not pass," Lamartine answered imperiously.

" By what right will you prevent us from passing?

We are the people. Too long have you made fine phrases ;

the people want something besides phrases, they wish to

go themselves to the Assembly and signify their wishes."

How true was the word uttered by a voice in the crowd

at this jimcture: \*\* Unhappy ones, what are you doing?

You are throwing back the cause of liberty for more than

a century! "

In vain the men who had raised the storm now tried to

quell it. Whilst the crowd pressed onwards into the hall

of the Assembly, Thomas, Raspail, Barbte, Ledru RoUin,

Buchez, Louis Blanc struggled amidst the su£Eocating

heat of the May day and the odour of massed humanity to

make their voices heard. Louis Blanc at the table declared

that \*\* the people by their cries had violated their own

sovereignty"; the crowd responded with shouts of:

" Vive la Pologne! Vive Torganisation du travail! "

Louis Blanc, attacked with the weapon he himself had

forged, was reduced to impotence; it was no longer the

theorist who had deluded them with words that the people

demanded, but Blanqui, the man of action, the instigator

of violence and fury. " Blanqui! Where is Blanqui? We

want Blanqui! " was the cry of the multitude. And

instantly, borne on the shoulders of the crowd, the strange

figure of the famous agitator appeared — a little man pre-

maturely bent, with wild eyes darting flame from hollows

deep simk in the sickly pallor of his face, with black hair

shaved close like a monk's, his black coat buttoned up to

meet his black tie, his hands encased in black gloves —

and at this sinister vision a silence fell upon the crowd.

Blanqui, suiting himself to the temper of his audience.

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thereupon delivered a harangue demanding that France

should immediately declare war on Europe for the deliver-

ance of Poland — truly a strange measure for the relief of

public misery in Paris! Meanwhile Louis Blanc, with a

Polish flag thrust into his hands, was making a valiant

effort to recover his popularity. An eloquent discourse on

'' the sovereignty of the i)eople " had at last the desired

effect, and amidst cries of " Long live Louis Blanc! Long

live the social and democratic Republic! " he too was

hoisted on to the shoulders of the people and carried in

triumph. But the emotion of the moment proved too great

for the frail body; Louis Blanc, his face streaming with

perspiration, attempted in vain to address the crowd, but

no sound came from his Ups and, finally lowered to earth,

he fell fainting on a seat.

The dementia of the crowd, urged on by the " Club-

istes," now reached its height. Whilst Barbte vainly

attempted to deliver a speech the tribtme was assailed by

a group of maniacs, who with clenched fists threatened

each other and drowned his voice in tumultuous cries.

To add to the confusion the galleries began to break down

under the weight of the increasing crowd and a bursting

water-tank flooded the corridor.

At this jtmcture Huber, who had likewise fallen into a

long swoon, suddenly recovered consciousness, and,

motmting the tribtme, declared in a voice of thunder that

the Assembly was dissolved in the name of the people.

At the same moment Buchez was fltmg out of his seat,

Louis Blanc was driven by the crowd out on to the espla-

nade of the Invalides, Ra^ail fainted on the lawn, Sobrier

was carried in triumph by the workmen, and Huber

disappeared.

Then followed the inevitable reaction. The troops

arrived on the scene and dispersed the crowd, Barb^ was

arrested. Louis Blanc, with tumbled hair and torn clothes,

succeeded in escajnng from the National Guards and took

refuge in the Assembly, only to flnd himself assailed with

cries of indignation.

\*\* You always talk of yourself! You have no heart! "

Whilst these extraordinary scenes had been taking

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place at the Assembly another crowd of 200 people had

invaded the Prefecttire of Police, where Caussidifire, fol-

lowing the example of P6tion on the 10th of Augtist,

remained discreetly waiting to see which way the tide

ttimed before deciding on the course he should take. Faced

by an angry mob of insiu\*gents the wretched Caussidi^re,

Iiitherto in the vanguard of revolution, now began to talk

of \*\* constitutional authority " and threatened to run a

rebel through the body with his sabre. ^

With the aid of the Republican Guard the Prefecture of

Police was finally evacuated, and throughout Paris the

troops set about restoring order. \*\* The repression," writes

the Comtesse d'Agoult, " is without pity because the

attack has been terrible " — words ever to be remembered

by the makers of revolution. The fiercer the onslaught the

fiercer must be the resistance, and anarchy can only end in

despotism. Even the revolutionary leaders are obliged to

admit the reactionary effects of May the 15th, and the

people themselves, always impressed by a display of

authority, sided with the victors. When on the 16th of

May the arrested conspirators leave for Vincennes " they

hear, on going through the Faubourg St. Antoine, the

imprecations of the crowd of men, women, and children

who, in spite of the extreme heat of the day, follow the

carriages with insults in their mouths as far as the first

houses of Vincennes.\*\*

But this revulsion of popular feeling was only momen-

tary; before long the Socialists had re-established their

ascendancy over the people. In the by-elections on June

the 5th Pierre Leroux, Proudhon, and Caussidi^re were all

successful, and the situation was further complicated by

the election of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte.

It was now that the Imperialist schemes of the Bona-

partistes first became apparent, and that the cry of " Vive

I'Empereiu\*! " was first heard. The leaders of this faction,

no less than those of the Socialists, realized that the over-

throw of the existing government must be brought about

by a popular insurrection, and the usual weapon of class

hatred was employed by both with equal imscrupulous-

^ Mhnoircs de Caussidikre, ii. 136.

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ness. Side by side with the hawkers of such gutter-press

journals as the Robespierre^ the Pire Duchesne, the

Carmagnole, the Journal de la Canaille, the vendors of the

NapoUon R6publicain pressed their wares on the soldiers,

warning them that \*' the bourgeois Terror " would repre-

sent them as the murderers of their brothers and invoking

the red flag of social revolution.\*

The government elected by the system of tmiversal

suffrage so long demanded thus found itself between two

fires, and the whole revolutionary movement turned into

a contest between the warring political parties.

The industrial situation had now become chaotic.

Trade was paralysed by the feeling of general insecurity

and by continual strikes of workmen, whilst the men

employed in the National Workshops showed an increasing

tendency to revolt. This method of absorbing unemployed

labour had, as we have seen, from the beginning proved

a failtire; and at last, after a vain attempt to improve

matters by dismissing the provincial workmen who had

crowded into Paris, and by reintroducing the system of

piece-work, the Government announced its intention of

abolishing the National Workshops. A decree to this

effect was passed on the 21st of June and inevitably

brought about the final crisis. On the evening of the same

day bands of workmen again assembled, and to the rival

cries of " Vive Barbte! " and " Vive Napoleon! " planned

a fresh demonstration.

Then followed the three fearful days of Jtme the 22nd

to the 25th. Barricades were once more erected in the

streets, and war to the knife was declared on the Republic.

As in every outbreak of the World Revolution, the insur-

gents were composed of warring elements, all resolved to

destroy the existing order and all animated by opposing

aims. Thus, according to the report of Panisse, the head of

the division for general security, the crowds that took part

in the insurrection included, besides the workmen driven

by hunger and despair to revolt, a number of honest and

credulous people duped by the agitators — \*\* Communists,

dreamers of a Utopia amongst which each has his system

' Daniel Stem, op, cil, u. 341.

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and disagreeing with each other; " Legitimists, demanding

the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty in the person of the

Due de Chambord; Bonapartistes, partisans of a regency;

and, finally, " the scum of all parties, convicts and wastrels ;

in a word, the enemies of all society, men vowed by

instinct to ideas of insurrection, theft, and pillage." \*

Against this terrible army the troops, led by the Gen-

erals Cavaignac and Lamorici6re, reinforced by National

Guards from all over France, displayed the greatest vigour,

and on the 26th of June, after terrible fighting which left

no less than 10,000 killed and wotmded in the streets of

Paris, Cavaignac remained master of the situation and a

military dictatorship asstmied control.

It is unnecessary to follow the French Revolution of

1848 through its final political stages — the election of

Prince Louis Napol6on to the Presidency of the Republic

in December of the same year, the coup diktat carried out

by him three years later (on December 2, 1851), by which

the Constitution of 1848 was overthrown, and, finally, the

proclamation of the Empire on December 10, 1852, with

the prince as Napoleon III. at its head. Throughout this

period the fire of social revolution cotild only smoulder

feebly, and with the accession of the Emperor was tem-

porarily extinguished in France. The regime that followed,

like that which succeeded to the first French Revolution,

was one of absolute repression. The Socialist leaders were

arrested, no less than 25,000 prisoners were taken by the

Government and a great number deported without trial.

At the same time the Secret Societies were put down with

an iron hand, aU the liberties guaranteed to the French

people, including the liberty of the press, were abolished

by the Constitution of 1852, and this despotism was

accepted by a majority of 7,000,000 to 600,000 votes. For

as in 1800 the nation, wearied of revolution, was ready to

throw itself at the feet of a strong man who would restore

order and give it peace once more.

The revolution of 1848 thus ended in the total defeat of

the workers, and for this it is impossible to deny that the

principal blame lay with the Socialist leaders — above all

1 Daniel Stem, iL 508.

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with Louis Blanc. It is only just to recognize the excel-

lent intentions of the man, who devoted all his energies

to the reorganization of labour on an ideal system, yet it

must stu^y be admitted that social experiments of this

kind can only be judged by results. The scientist who

fails in a laboratory experiment may be pardoned for fail-

ure, but in the case of men who juggle with htmian lives

failure is crime. If a duke were to invent a novel system

of drainage, and, without assuring himself of its efficacy,

were to install it in all his tenants' cottages, thereby killing

them off by diphtheria, he would not be regarded as a

noble enthusiast whose only crime was excess of zeal, but

as a criminal fool for whom no mercy should be demanded.

Why then should reckless ventures, merely because they

are conducted in the name of Socialism, ensure the

immunity of their authors? Louis Blanc may well have

been a sincere and well-meaning man, the fact remains

that through his application of impracticable schemes and

obstinate belief in lis own infallibility he led the working-

classes to disaster. No one has recognized this truth more

clearly than the anarchist Proudhon, who in these words

has apportioned to this dangerous dreamer the blame he

so truly deserves: ' ' -'"• ^ -- <• -

A great responsibility will rest in history on Louis Blanc.

It was he who at the Luxembourg with his riddle " Equality,

Fraternity, Liberty," with his abracadabra " Every one accord-

ing to his strength, to every one according to his needs! " —

b€i;an that miserable opposition of ideologies to ideas, and who

roused common sense against Socialism. He thought himself the

bee of the revolution and he was only the grasshopper. May

he at last, after having poisoned the working-men with his

absurd formulas, bring to the cause of the proletariat, which on

a day of error fell into his feeble hands, the obol of his abstention

and his silence ! ^

But a further reproach to be brought against Louis

Blanc and his colleagues of 1848 is their habit of per-

petually reverting to the past. " Let us respect the past,"

said Victor Hugo, " provided it is content to be dead; but

if it wishes to be ahve, we must attack it and try to kill

it." Socialists who are quite willing to apply this maxim

^ La Rholutian au XlXihne siide, p. 108.

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to the noblest traditions of the past reject it when it is a

matter of reviving exploded subversive doctrines or

methods. So the men of 1848, instead of considering the

needs of the present hour, instead of pressing forward to

more enlightened schemes of social reform, persisted in

harking back eternally to the principles of the first French

Revolution ; soaked in the doctrines of their revolutionary

predecessors all craved to emulate them, and thus the

so-called popular demonstrations organized by them in

Paris between February and June of 1848 were directly

modelled on those of 1789 to 1792. On this point both

Marx and Proudhon are in accord. " The Revolution of

1848," says Marx, \*\* cotdd do nothing better than parody

first 1789 and then the revolutionary tradition of 1793-

1795;" ^ and Proudhon covers with ridicule the manner

in which the '\* souvenirs " of 1793 were constantly

evoked by the leaders. It was \*\* a imiversal mania," Mme.

d'Agotdt observes likewise, \*\* from the 24th of February

onwards to refer everything back to our first revolution."

The failure of 1848 lay, therefore, not in over-zeal for

progress, but in reactionariness, in blind attachment to

past and dead traditions.

• ••••••

The outbreak of revolution in Paris had given the

signal for the European conflagration. On the 1st of March

insurrection began in Baden, on the 12th in Vienna, on

the 13th riots took place in Berlin, on the 18th a rising in

Milan, on the 20th in Parma, on the 22nd a Republic was

declared in Venice, on the 10th of April a Chartist demon-

stration was organized in London, on the 7th of May

troubles began in Spain, on the 15th in Naples, and dur-

ing the course of the year no less than sixty-four out-

breaks of serfs occurred in Russia.

Of course, in the pages of official history we shall find

no explanation of this sudden recurrence of the revolu-

tionary epidemic, which is once more conveniently

ascribed to the time-honoured theory of contagious

popular enthusiasm for liberty. Thus the Cambridge

Modern History, describing the revolution in Germany,

^ Marx, La LutU des classes^ p. 192.

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observes: " The Grand Duchy of Baden was the natural

starting-place for the revolutionary movement, which,

once set on foot, seemed to progress almost automatically

from State to State and town to town."

Precisely ; but we are given no hint as to the mechanism

which produced this automatic action aU over Etu^ope.

The business of the ofl&dal historian is not to inquire into

causea but to present the sequence of events in a manner

tmintelligible to the philosopher but satisfying to the

uninquiring mind of the general pubUc.

That the European Revolution of 1848 was the result

of masonic organization cannot, however, be doubted by

any one who takes trouble to dig below the surface. We

have already seen how Mazzini and the \*\* Young Italy "

movement had proved the blind instruments of the Haute

Vente Romaine, and how the same society operating

through the lodges had prepared the ground in every

cotmtry. In France the part played by Freemasonry in

the revolutionary movement was quite frankly recognized,

and the Supreme Council of the Scottish rite presenting

themselves before the members of the Provisional Gov-

ernment on the 10th of March received the congratula-

tions of Lamartine in these words:

I am convinced that it is from the depths of your lodges that

have emanated, first in the shade, then in the half-light, and

finally in the fiill light of day, the sentiments which ended by

producing the sublime explosion we witnessed in 1789, and of

which the people of Paris have just given to the world the

second and, I hope, the last representation.\*

But, of course, the people were to be allowed to think

they had acted on their own initiative. Thus the Jewish

Freemason Crfemieux, whom the Revolution had raised to

a place in the Provisional Government, declared in a

speech to the crowd that on the ruins of the shattered

monarchy \*\* the people took for the eternal symbol of

revolution \* Liberty, Equality, Fraternity ' " ; ^ it was only

to the Freemasons themselves — this time a deputation

of the Grand Orient, on the 24th of March — that he

acknowledged the true origin of this device: '\* In all times

' Deschamps, op, cil. ii. 282. ' Mcmoires d$ Caussidi^e, L 131.

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and under all drcumstances • . . Masonry ceaselessly

repeated these sublime words: ' Liberty Equality, Fra-

ternity.' " \*

In Germany as in France the principal leaders of the

revolution — Hecker, Fielder, and Herwegh in Baden;

Robert Blum in Saxony; Jacobi in Koenigsberg; von

Gagem in Berlin — were all Freemasons who had been

present at the aforesaid Masonic Congress in 1847.

The 1848 Revolution was thus the second great

attempt of illtuninized Freemasonry to bring about a

world conflagration. But there was one cotmtry where the

movement proved completely abortive ; this was England.

It is true that for many years the Chartist riots had

created widespread anxiety, but the independent char-

acter of the English people had hitherto always prevented

them from modelling their agitations on continental prec-

edents; and " the People's Charter," aiming rather at

political reform than at social disintegration, was essen-

tially a national product. That agitators working for the

overthrow of the existing social system had introduced

themselves into the movement as earlier they had found

their way into Trade Unionism cannot be doubted ; it was

this, however, that led to the final defeat of Chartism.

When on the 13th of April 1848 a great demonstration

was organized and a monster petition carried to Kenning-

ton Common, London prepared itself for self-defence and

prudent tradesmen put up their shutters in expectation of

riots, but the insignificant proportions of the assembled

mob, and the discovery that a great number of the signa-

tures appended to the petition were fraudulent, covered

the whole affair with ridicule and the dreaded explosion

ended in smoke. The truth is that in a country where

reforms were in progress revolution could make little

headway, and the passing of the Ten Hours Bill in 1847

had done much to quell agitation. Moreover, as we have

already seen, the Co-operative movement had begun and

was taking a strong hold on the imaginations of the British

workers. It is not a little to the credit of our country that,

whilst France continued to turn in a vicious circle of

> Descfaamps, iL 283.

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abortive revolution, the EngKsh people, true to their tra-

ditions, had struck out a fresh path entirely on their own

initiative, which but for Socialist opposition might have

led — and may yet lead — to the regeneration of the

industrial system.

Thus the situation stood at the end of 1848. Socialism

in every conceivable form had been tried and found want-

ing. It had failed in the form of peaceful experiments

under Robert Owen, St-Simon, Fourier, Pierre Leroux,

and Cabet; it had failed still more signally when the

attempt was made to establish it by revolutionary

methods. So we find that at this crisis a change came over

the revolutionary movement, and Socialism, a derelict

concern, was taken over by a company. What that com-

pany was we shall see in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

THE INTERNATIONALE

R61e of the Jews in Germany — German Social Democracy — Lassalle —

Karl Marx — Engels — Russian Anarchy — Michel Bakunin —

" The Working-men's Association " — Intrigues of Marx — The

\*\* Alliance of Social Democracy " — Bakunin and the " German Jew

Company.''

ft

In order to follow the new course on which the World

Revolution now entered it is necessary to understand some-

thing of the events that had taken place in Germany dur-

ing the memorable year of 1848.

We have already seen how the plan of a United Ger-

many, with Prussia at its head, originating with Frederick

the Great, had been carried on not only by his successor

Frederick William II. but by the Illtuninati, the Tugend-

bimd, and the Masonic Lodges. Under Frederick William

III., Master of the Grand Lodge of Prussia, a further pact

was concluded between Prussia and Freemasonry.

The lodges judged that Prussia was of all the States of Europe

the one most capable of carrying out their work, and they made

it the pivot of their political action . . . the idea of a union

imder their domination never ceased to be the aim of all the

lodges.^

But it seems that in Frederick William IV. they

encountered a rebel. Without this hypothesis the agitation

that took place in Berlin on the 18th of March 1848 is

incomprehensible. Why should the ICing of Prussia have

become the object of a hostile demonstration led to the

cry of a " United Germany " in which Prussia was to be

supreme? Why should he have rejected as \*\* a crown of

shame " (Schandkrone) the Imperial diadem subsequently

Deschamps, op. cU. iL 400.

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offered him by the National Assembly of Frankfurt and

have pressed the claims of Austria to supremacy? May

not the explanation be that Frederick William IV. had

broken away from the traditions of the Hohenzollems in

refusing to ally himself with the subversive forces of which

his predecessors had made such good use abroad, and that

in preferring the claim of Austrian to Prussian supremacy

his motive was reluctance to make himself the tool of the

masons and to subscribe to their formula, as expressed by

Mazzini : \*\* Delenda est Austria " ? \* The crown of shame

which he declined to wear when offered to him by the

Frankfurt Assembly under the President von Gagem,

Freemason and Member of the Burschenschaft, was the

Masonic crown worn by Frederick the Great and his two

successors, offered by the Freemasons of France to the

Duke of Bnmswick and placed on the head of William I.

in 1871.

But there was yet another consideration that may

well have weighed with Frederick William IV. Free-

masonry was not the only subversive force at work in

Germany. Behind Freemasonry, behind even the secret

societies that made of Freemasons their adepts, another

power was making itself felt, a power that ever since the

Congress of Wilhelmsbad in 1782 had been slowly gaining

ground — the power of the Jews.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century the part

played by the Jews in the revolutionary movement is more

or less obscure. We have seen their mole-like working

below groimd during the first French Revolution, sus-

pected by Prudhomme, we have seen them insinuating

themselves into Masonic Lodges and secret societies, we

have seen rich Jews financing the Haute Vente Romaine,

and needy members of the tribe acting as agents of Nubius,

but at the same time we have watched the building up of

Capitalism by Jewish hands, and Jews in Russia support-

ing the authority of the Czar. How are we to explain this

> Deschamps et Claudio Jannet, op, cii, iii. 245, quoting instructions

of Mazzini published in the Journal des Dibais for May 16, 1851, where

the following passage occnirs: " Delenda est Austria is the first and last

word for action against that empire. . . . We must get hold of Prussia

by exciting her miUtary pride and her irascibility."

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double rdle of the Jews throughout the social revolution?

The common theory that as victims of oppression they

embraced with fervour the doctrine of " Liberty and

Equality " formtdated by the lodges is completely refuted

by Disraeli in an illuminating passage:

" The Jews represent the Semitic principle; all that is

spiritual in our nature. They are the trustees of tradition and

the conservators of the religious element. They are a living and

the most striking evidence of the falsity of that pernicious

doctrine of modem times, the natural equality of man."

Cosmopolitan fraternity" — or, as we should say to-day,

International Socialism " — Disraeli goes on to observe, '\* is a

principle which, were it possible to act on it, would deteriorate

the great races and destroy all the genius of the world. . . . The

native tendency of the Jewish race, who are justly proud of their

blood, is against the doctrine of the equality of man. They have

also another characteristic, the faculty of acqtiisition. Altiiough

the European laws have endeavoured to prevent their obtaining

property, they have nevertheless become remarkable for their

accumulated w^th. Thus it will be seen that all the tendencies

of the Jewish race are conservative. Their bias is to religion,

property, and nattural aristocracy. ..." \*

In a word, then, the Jews are not genuine revolution-

aries, but only throw themselves into revolutions for

their own ends. Whilst professing to believe in Liberty and

Equality they secretly deride such ideas, but make use of

them to destroy existing governments in order to establish

their own domination in religion, property, and power.

Thus, according to Disraeli, it was they who played the

principal part in preparing the 1848 conflagration:

The influence of the Jews may be traced in the last out-

break of the destructive principle in Europe. An insurrection

takes place against tradition and aristocracy, against religion

and property. Destruction of the Semitic principle, extirpation

of the Jewi^ religion whether in the Mosaic or in the Christian

form, the natural equality of men and the abrogation of prop-

erty, are proclaimed by the secret societies who form provisional

governments, and men of Jewish race are fotmd at the head

of every one of them. The people of God co-operate with

atheists; the most skilftil accumulators of property ally them-

selves with communists; the peculiar and chosen race touch

the hand of all the scum and low castes of Europe! And all

t^i«? because they wish to destroy that ungrateful Christendom

i Life of Lord George BenUnck, pp. 496, 407.

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which owes to them even its name, and whose tyranny they can

no longer endure.^

It is a favourite ruse of the Jews to represent the

Christians as their only enemies; in reality the persecution

of the Jews began long before the Christian era, nor has it

since then been confined to countries where the Christian

religion prevails.

If Christendom is to be accused of ingratitude for the

privilege of harbouring numbers of the chosen people in

her midst, the pagan world showed itself quite equally

ungrateful. Egyptians, Persians, and Assyrians kept them

in complete subjection; indeed, owing to their racial char-

acteristics, it was found impossible even tmder the more

liberal regime of Alexander the Great's successors to

receive them into the commimity of nations.

" The sullen obstinacy with which they maintained their

peculiar rites and unsocial manners," writes Gibbon, " seemed to

mark them out a distinct species of men, who boldly professed,

or who faintly disguised, their implacable hatred to tiie rest of

human kind." \*

Here, then, rather than in Christian intolerance, may

be found at least a partial explanation of the persecution

of the Jews. Nor was persecution confined to one side only

in the war of Semite against Gentile, for, given the oppor-

tunity, the Jews showed themselves in no way behind

other races in cruelty.

" From the reign of Nero to that of Antoninus Pius," Gibbon

says again, '' the Jews discovered a fierce impatience of the

dominion of Rome which repeatedly broke out in the most

furious massacres and insurrections. Humanity is shocked at

the recital of the horrid cruelties which they committed in the

cities of Eg3rpt, of Cyprus, and of Cyrene, where they dwelt in

treacherous friendship with the unsuspecting natives. ... In

Cyrene they massacred 220,000 Greeks; in Cyprus 240,000; in

Egypt a very great multitude. Many of these unhappy victims

were sawed asunder, according to a precedent to winch David

had given the sanction of his example."

Here follow details too horrible to transcribe.\*

Under the humane rule of Antoninus Pius the Jews

1 Lift of Lord George Bentinck, pp. 497, 498, published in 1852.

\* Gibtxni's Decline and Fall of ike Roman Empire (Oxford University

Press edition), iL 3. < Ihid. iL 83.

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" assumed the behaviour of peaceable and industrious

subjects." But '\* their irreconcilable hatred of mankind,

instead of flaming out in acts of blood and violence,

evaporated in less dangerous gratifications. They em-

braced every opportunity of overreaching the idolaters in

trade. . . ." \*

Thus since the earliest times it is as the exploiter that

the Jew has been known amongst his feUow-men of all

races and creeds. Moreover, he has persistently shown

himself imgrateful. As Gibbon again points out, in spite

of the Jews' attachment to the Mosaic religion, their fore-

fathers who first received the law given in thunder from

Motmt Sinai had '\* perpetually relapsed into rebellion

against the visible majesty of their Divine King " — even

though \*\* the tides of the ocean and the course of the

planets were suspended for the convenience of the Israel-

ites," so that at last even the Almighty was led to declare:

\*\* How long will this people provoke me? " \*

The truth is, then, that the Jews have always formed a

rebellious element in every State, and not more so in those

where they were persecuted than in those where they were

allowed to dwell at peace. In fact, a careful study of their

character throughout history shows that the Jew is well

able to endure persecution with serenity provided he is

permitted to carry on his natural avocations without

hindrance, whilst on the other hand he finds it impossible

to exist tmder a benevolent regime that limits his activities.

Thus in China, where the Jews were welcomed and allowed

all the privileges of good citizens, the race fotind life imen-

durable because the Chinaman blandly declined to be

exploited. The Jews therefore, finding it impossible to gain

control of the principal wealth of the country, sought more

congenial climes, and still to-day, outside the treaty ports,

very few are to be foimd in China.

On the other hand, Germany has always been the

favourite resort of the Jews. If they object to persecution,

how can we explain this fact? In no other coimtry have

they been so despised as in \*\* the Fatherland," which does

not recognize the Israelites amongst its progeny. We in

\*• Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, u. 85. \* Ibid, u. 5.

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England, living under a regime of tolerance and \*\* live and

let live " unparalleled in any other land, can hardly con-

ceive the bitterness, or even the existence, of Judenhetze.

\*\* The social peril is the Jew," was a phrase currrent in

Germany; " the Jew," said Treitschke, " is our mis-

fortune." Yet in spite of these amenities the Jew has

found in Germany more than in any other land his natural

home.^ The reason may perhaps be found in the foregoing

explanation of the Jewish point of view given by Disraeli.

If indeed the Jew is a natural aristocrat, a disbeliever in

the doctrine of equality, and an admirer of forceful govern-

ment, he finds in Prussian Imperialism a system which,

though oppressive of his own liberties, wins, nevertheless,

his confidence and his respect. Here in the land of the

jackboot and the spur he encounters few of those ener-

vating theories of htunanitarianism, those disintegrating

concessions to democracy which he regards as " deteri-

orating to the great races and the genius of the world." In

a word, the Jew has always been inclined to regard Prussia

as the best investment for his money. If only he could gain

some meastire of control over the great military machine

his position in Europe was secure.

It is thus that, as M. Claudio Jannet observes, " the

Jews had always shown themselves the most active in the

work of the unification of Germany," and he quotes from

an article \*\* devoted to the exaltation of Israel," in the

Journal des D4hats for November 5, 1879, the following

remarkable words:

In Germany from 1830 onwards the Jews play an important

part: tiiey are at the head of Young Germany. If German

unity has been hastened by Prussian diplomacy and Prussian

militarism, this work has been prepared, supported, and com-

pleted by them. \*

Here, then, is the link between the apparently incompat-

ible elements of Judaism and Imperial Germany. In spite

» Mr. Wickham Steed in The Hapsburg Monarchy (p. 172) relates that

he once asked a learned Austrian Hebrew for an explaniation of " the pro-

German tendencies displayed by Ashkenazim Jews the world over.

'German/ said this pundit, \* is the basis of our jargon, and, next to Pales-

tine, Germany is the country which we regard as our home. Hence our

sentimental leaning towards Germany.\* "

\* Dcschamps, op. cU. ii. 417.

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of Judenhetze the Jews have always had a peculiar affinity

with the Prussians, so that to-day, after the ending of the

Great War, we find the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung con-

fidently declaring that there is \*\* no contradiction between

the desiderata of the Jews and German interests." \*

But before this alliance could be effected it was neces-

sary for the Jews to establish their position in the State,

and for this reason rather than from a spirit of revenge

they threw themselves into the revolutionary movement.

It was they who provided the driving force behind the

masonic instirrection of 1848 in Germany, which started

with the cry of Jewish emancipation and proclaimed as its

ultimate purpose the supremacy of Prussia. This eventu-

ality had been clearly foreseen by Disraeli, who in 1844

declared through the mouth of Sidonia. the Jewish hero of

Coningsby:

That mighty revolution which is at this moment preparing

in Germany and which will be in fact a greater and a second

Reformation, and of which so little is as yet known in England,

is entirely developing tmder the auspices of the Jews, who

almost monopolize the professorial chairs of Germany.

'|The dialogue ends with the significant words:

So you see, my dear Coningsby, that the world is governed

by very different personages from what is imagined by those

who are not behind the scenes. '

Four years after these words were written the revolu-

tion broke out in Germany exactly as Disraeli had foretold,

and if it did not assume the proportions he had anticipated,

the year of 1848 inaugurated the emancipation of the Jews

in Germany as surely as 1790 had inaugurated it in France.

The accession to the throne of William L, " the pro-

tector of masonry," and the ministry of Bismarck opened

a fresh field to Jewish activities. For the new rulers of

Prussia realized that the Jews cotdd be very useful to

their cause. Hohenzollem tradition had always recognized

the utility of the despised race as agents. Frederick the

Great had not disdained to employ a Jew named Ephraim

for the purpose of coining false money • — probably the

^ Date of January 30, 1919.

\* Coningsby (Longman's edition), pp. 250-252.

. \* The DespaUhes of Earl Cower, edited by Oscar Browning (1885), p. 885.

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same Ephralm whom his successor, Frederick William II.,

had sent as a paid agitator to finance the tumults of the

French Revolution. According to a strongly pro-Semitic

writer in the Revue des Deux Mandes for 1880, Bismarck

had recourse to the Jews for replenishing his war-chests.

" The Jews," the same writer goes on to observe, \*\* were

the only people who were able to use Bismarck so that all

Liberal reforms in Germany from Sadowa onwards carried

out with the acquiescence of Bismarck turned to the profit

of the Jews." \*

It was this date of 1866 which sealed the definite alli-

ance between Prussianism and Jewry. Sadowa had proved

the efficiency of the Prussian military machine, and hence-

forth persecutors and persecuted were to march hand in

hand to the conquest of world power.

But already Bismarck had found a valuable ally in the

person of the Jewish \*\* Socialist " Lassalle.

Ferdinand Lassalle, the son of a rich Hebrew merchant,

was bom in 1825. Tormented from his youth by hatred

of the Christian races, whose blood even as a schoolboy

he hoped to shed, Lassalle early embarked on a revolution-

ary career. \*\* Congenitally idle," dishonest, revengeful, an

avowed atheist,' Lassalle declared himself a \*\* revolution-

ary by principle " who " would not hesitate at a Reign of

Terror as a means to secure his ends." '

After the German Revolution of 1848, in which he

played a leading part, Lassalle settled in Berlin, where he

lived in splendour, not caring to drink wine at less than

twenty or thirty marks a bottle, and entertaining his

friends at gorgeous banquets.^

The source of Lassalle's wealth was the Hatzfeldt

property, on which he lived complacently; indeed he

frankly declared that he would willingly have married any

woman who could bring him two or three million thalers

of revenue. Such was the man who posed as the champion

of the working-classes.

But Bismarck had been quick to recognize the advan-

^ " La Question des Juifs en Allemagne," by G. Valbert, in Revtu des

Deux Mondes, voL xxxviii. p. 203.

\* Ferdinand Lassalle, by George Brandes, pp. 10-12.

• Ibid, pp. 44. 46. \* Ibid. p. 88.

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tage of harnessing the Jewish agitator to the Prussian

Imperial machine, and before long we find Lassalle sinking

his racial hatred against the Gentiles in favour of the worst

oppressors of his kind. By 1859 he had become an ardent

Prussian Jingoist, subscribing to the whole i>olicy of Bis-

marck, aiming at the absolute annihilation of Austria,

\*\* whose German provinces were to form an integral part

of the one and indivisible German Republic " — a phrase

strangely reminiscent of Anacharsis Clootz's vision of " the

great Germany, the Universal Republic " — yet at the

same time an enthusiastic propagandist for the Hohen-

zoUems.\* Under these circumstances it is not surprising

that to the day of his death Bismarck always spoke of

Lassalle with gratitude and respect.

Even more valuable to the cause of German Imperial-

ism was the founder of the creed now known as " Marxian

Socialism."

Karl Marx, the son of a Jewish lawyer whose real name

was Mordechai, was bom at Treves in 1818. In 1843 he

settled in Paris to study economics, but his revolutionary

activities led to his being expelled from France, and in 1845

he moved to Brussels, where, in collaboration with his

German friend Friedrich Engels, he reorganized the Com-

munist League, and a few years later (in 1847) published

the now famous Communist Manifesto. Soon after this he

returned to Germany, where he took an active part in the

1848 Revolution, and in the same year we find him in

Berlin at the head of a secret Communist society wielding

the powers of hfe and death.\* For this it is said that he was

condemned to death,' but succeeded in escaping to Lon-

don, where he settled down for the rest of his life and

devoted himself to his great book Das KapitaL This pon-

derous work has been described as the " Bible of the work-

ing-classes." In reality the term, if employed at all, might

be more aptly applied to his earlier production. The Com--

munist Manifesto. To the working-man Das Kapital must

^ Ferdinand Lassalle, by Edouard Bernstein, pp. 47, 62.

' Edmond Laskine, V Internationale et le Pangermanisme (quoting

Nettlau's Bakunin),p. 56.

' Louis Enault, Paris hruU par la Commune, p. 23; Beaumont Vassy,

La Commune de Paris, p. 9.

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be completely unintelligible, for even Marxians of the

educated dass are totally divided as to its meaning. But

to that small minority amongst the working-men that

composes \*\* the revolutionary proletariat " the meaning of

The Communist Manifesto , described by Marxians as " the

Charter of Freedom of the Workers of the World," is

clear enough. Here are all the diatribes against the

bourgeoisie and capitalists with which Marat, Hebert, and

Babeuf had familiarized the people, and here in plain

language are set forth the doctrines laid down in the code

of Weishaupt — the abolition of inheritance, of marriage

and the family, of patriotism, of all religion, the institution

of the community of women, and the commtmal education

of children by the State. This, divested of its trappings,

is the real plan of Marxian Socialism, which, enveloped in

the algebraical phraseology of Das Kapital, is less easy to

discover.

In neither work had Marx originated anything. His

theory of \*' wage-slavery " was, as we have seen, current

dtuing the first French Revolution, and had been con-

tinued by Vidal and Pecqueur, to whom the idea of the

socialization of mines, railways, and transport was also

due ; his Commimism was that of Babeuf, of Louis Blanc,

and Cabet; his Internationalist schemes had been pro-

pounded by Weishaupt and Clootz, as also his attacks

upon religion; his doctrine that " Labour is the source of

all wealth " had been set forth by such early English

writers as Locke, Petty, Adam Smith, and later by Robert

Owen ; ^ even his theory of surplus value was not his own

but had been formulated with some vagueness by Owen,

more definitely by the Chartists in their organ ( The Poor

Man's Guardian) in 1835, seven years before Marx began

to write.\* When we have traced these ideas to their original.

1 Sargant, Life of Robert Owen, pp. 170, 441-442. "The poor and

working-classes," Owen wrote, \*' create all the wealth which the rich

possess."

\* Marx's plagiarisms are admitted even by his admirer the Syndicalist

Sorel. \*\* The new Marxian school," he writes, \*\* perceived with a certain

stupefaction that pretended inventions had been put down to the accotmt

of the master which originated with his predecessors or were even common-

places at the time when The Communist Manifesto was drawn up. Accord-

ing to an author who ranks amongst well-informed people, ' . . . the

accumulation (of capital in the hands of a few individuals) is one of the

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sources, what then is left of Marx's system? Absolutely

nothing but the form in which it was conveyed.

Werner Sombart has remarked on the peculiar aptitude

of the Jewish race for making use of waste product. The

Jews, it appears, are the chiffoniers par excellence of the

world. This then was the particular art of Marx, who,

as we know, collected aU the materials for his book on

Capital in the reading-room of the British Museimi. It was

there that he foimd his whole system ready to hand. Can

we not see him, like some veteran Jewidi rag-and-bone

merchant, going over the acctunulated d6bris of past

social schemes, passing through his fingers the dry bones

of dead philosophies, the shreds and tatters of worn-out

doctrines, the dust and ashes of exploded theories, and

with the practical cunning of the German and the Hebrew

brain shrewdly recognizing the use that might be made

of all this Itunber by skilfully welding it into one subver\*

sive whole ?

Marx then was an impostor from the beginning. Posing

as the prophet of a new gospel, he was in reality nothing

but a plagiarist, and a plagiarist without the common

honesty to pay tribute to the sources whence he drew his

material. For after pillaging freely from all the earlier

Socialists Marx dismisses them with a sneer. For Owen»

Fourier, and Cabet — the " Utopian Socialists '' as he

describes them — Marx has nothing but a light contempt^

because they " consistently endeavour to suppress the

class struggle and to reconcile antagonisms/' ^ whilst

amongst " the Republican asses of 1848 " ' Louis Blanc is

referred to as " a high priest of the Socialist synagogue." \*

But it was for Proudhon that Marx reserved his bitter-

great disooveries of Maiz, one of the finds of which he was the proudest.'

(A. M6tin, Le SociaUsme en AngleUrre, p. 191). With all due deference to

this notable academician this thesis was known to the man in the street

(cauraU Us rues) before Marx had ever written anything, and had become

a dogma in the Socialist world at the end of the reign of Louis Philippe.

There are a quantity of Marxian theses of the same kind '\* (fiiflsxians sur la

violence, pp. 173, 174).

^ Communist Manifesto (edited in pamphlet form by Socialist Labour

Party), p. 27.

> Letter from Marx to Engels, July 7, 1868, Briefwechsel twiscken

Priedrich Engels und Karl Marx (published by Diets of -Stuttgart), iv. d&

\* Marx, La LuUe des classes.

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est animosity, as Bakunin the Anarchist, whilst still under

the spell of Marx, described in an illuminating passage :

His vanity . . . has no bounds, a veritable Jew's vanity.

. . . This vanity, already very great, has been considerably

increased by the adulation of his friends and disciples. Very

personal, very jealous, very touchy, and very vindictive, like

Jehovah the God of his people, Marx will not suffer that one

should recognize any other God but himself; what do I say?

that one should even render justice to another Socialist writer

or worker in his presence. Proudhon, who has never been a God,

but who was certainly a great revolutionary thinker, and who

rendered immense services to the development of Socialist ideas,

became for this reason the bite noire of Mane. To praise Proud-

hon in his presence was to cause him a mortal offence worthy

of all the natural consequences of his enmity; and these con-

sequences are at first hatred, then the foulest calumnies. Marx

has never recoiled before falsehood, however odious, however

perfidious it might be, when he thought he could make use of it

without too great danger for himself against those who had

the misfortune to incur his wrath.^

Such was the personal character of the man represented

to us to-day as the saviour of the working-classes. How

far was he consistent in his championship of the " prole-

tariat " ? Here we come to the greatest irony of all in the

career of Marx.

It has been seen that the principal theory proclaimed

by Marx was the necessity for the overthrow of Capital-

ism, a system founded on the exploitation of the workers by

whom all wealth is produced. Yet probably few of his

followers have troubled to inquire whence Marx derived

his own means of liveUhood. We know that throughout

his whole life he never did a stroke of manual labour — the

only form of work that Marxians recognize as " pro-

ductive " — and that his writings did not bring him in

sufficient to maintain himself and his family in comfort.

How then did Marx live? On the bounty of Friedrich

Engels.

Engels has been described by the Socialist Guillaume,

Secretary of the Internationale, as " a rich manufactturer

accustomed to regard workmen as machine fodder and

^ Michael Bakunin, eine Biographie, by Dr. Max Nettlau, i. 69, quoting

letter from Bakunin in 1873 to the " Fr^es de rAlliance en Espagne."

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cannon fodder." ^ His large fortune had been made out

of Lancashire cotton spinning, and it was he who supple-

mented the meagre earnings of his collaborator.\* So we

have the ludicrous situation of these two German oppo-

nents of Capitalism and industrial exploitation living com-

placently on capital accumulated from the exploitation of

English workers! How in the face of this fact can any one

retain a lingering belief in the genuineness of Marx's

Socialism ? Indeed the more we study Marx's writings —

not those intended for publication, but the real expression

of his opinions contained in his private correspondence —

the more the conviction is borne in upon our minds that

Marx never believed a word of the doctrines he professed,

but that to him Socialism was merely a system to be made

use of for his own ends.

It was thus that with the rise of German Social Democ-

racy under the aegis of LassaUe, Marx, and Engels true

Socialism — that is to say French Socialism — died, and

its dry bones were taken over by the company which

Bakimin described as \*\* the German Jew Company," the

" red btireaucracy." From this moment the vein of ideal-

ism that had run through the earlier stages of the revolu-

tionary movement ceases entirely, and Socialism reduced

from a Utopian dream to a cut-and-dried system, practical

and unaspiring as the prospectus of a Gennany company

promoter, is seen in all its heartless materialism, its ruth-

less Prussianism^ as it had first appeared in the code of

Weishaupt.

• ••••••

Meanwhile lUuminism had continued to develop along

the line of Anarchy. No longer represented merely by the

visionary Proudhon but by the fierce Slavonic force of

Bakunin, Anarchy for the first time showed itself under its

true colours. Hitherto even such anarchic wri'ters as

Marat and H6bert had professed to entertain some scheme

of reconstruction. Proudhon had formulated an elemen-

tary theory of Syndicalism with which to replace the

existing order; it was left to Bakimin to advocate the

^ Guillaume, Documents de V Internationale^ iii. 153.

\* Reminiscences, by H. M. Hyndman, pp. 278, 279.

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system of Anarchy as a permanent institution, not as a

transitory period necessary to traverse on the way to a

regenerated social order.

Michael Bakimin (or Bakoimine), bom in 1814,

belonged to the Russian nobility, and at the age of twenty

entered the artillery school at St. Petersburg. He passed

his examinations brilliantly, but, always an incorrigible

idler, spent most of his time, when quartered in a pro-

vincial town, lying on his bed in his dressing-gown.^

Before long he left the army, but took up no other pro-

fession, preferring to dabble in philosophy and to meddle

in his friends' affairs, one of whom, Bielinski, driven to

exasperation, wrote: \*\* I should be capable of throwing him

down and stamping on him with sabots." \* Even his

intimes and fellow- Anarchists Ogareff and Herzen had little

good to say of him. \*\* I infinitely regret having nourished

this reptile . . ." wrote the former; " he is a man with

whom it repels me to shake hands; " whilst Herzen

described him briefly as a man " with talent but a detest-

able character and a mauvais sujet,'' • Incidentally

Bakunin had applied the same description to Herzen.

Embroiled in all these private quarrels, too indolent to

do any honest work, Baktmin ended by taking up the pro-

fession of a revolutionary — a career which, like many

another of his kind, he found both easy and remunerative.

By dint of perpetually borrowing money from his

friends, Bakunin was spared from exerting himself even in

a literary way, and during the course of seven years, 1840-

1847, his entire output of work consisted in six newspaper

articles. Meanwhile his revolutionary energies found their

vent in talk — endless, discursive talk — with his feUow-

revolutionaries, lasting frequently all through the night,

to the accompaniment of excellent Russian tea and sand-

wiches. It is thus that in 1847 we have already found him

discussing with Proudhon and Sazanoflf the prospect of

\*\* the universal revolution."

At this period Bakunin seems not to have formulated

any definite revolutionary creed, and thus, although he

^ Correspondence de Michel Bakounine, published by Michel Drago

manov (1896). p. 7. \* Jbid. p. 8. » Ibid. p. 13.

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vaguely regarded Communism as " logically imjxjssible,"

he was quite content to throw in his lot with the Com-

munists of Paris, amongst them his future antagonist

Marx. Twenty-nine years later Bakunin described their

first meeting in these words:

Marx and I are old acqtiaintances. I met him for the first

time in Paris in 1844. . . . We were rather good friends. He

was much more advanced than I was, as to-day he still is, not

more advanced but incomparably more learned than I am. I

knew nothing then of political economy, I had not yet got

rid of metaphysical abstractions, and my Socialism was only

that of instinct. He, though yotinger than I, was already an

atheist, a learned materiahst, and a thoughtful Socialist. It

was precisely at this epoch that he elaborated the first founda-

tions of his present system. We saw each other fairly often,

for I respected him very much for his knowledge and for his

devotion, passionate and serious though always mingled with

personal vanity, to the cause of the proletariat, and I eagerly

sought his conversation, which was always instructive and witty

when it was not inspired by petty hatred, which, alas! occurred

too frequently. There was never, however, any frank intimacy

between us. Our temperaments did not permit of it. He

called me a sentimental idealist, and he was right; I called him

a vain man, perfidious and crafty, and I was right also.^

It is easy to read between the lines here, to see how

from the beginning Bakunin was simply a tool in the hands

of Marx. The shrewd German Jew clearly recognized the

value of the Russian as a huge dynamic force to be made

use of and then cast aside when it had served his ptirpose.

Before the Revolution of 1848, Bakunin, like Marx, was

expelled from Paris, but after the explosion of February

he contrived to return and join himself to the extreme

party, with whom he passed his nights preaching revolu-

tion, equality of salaries, the levelling down of all classes

in the name of Equality.

But Caussidiire and Flocon, exasperated by his

tirades, finally sent him off on a mission to the Slavs, in the

hope of his breaking his neck. "What a man! What a

man! " said Caussidifire. \*\* The first day of a revolution

he is a treasure, the second he is only good to shoot."

^ Michael Bakunin, eine Biographie, by Dr. Max Nettlau, i. 69. (This

work 13 unpublished, and only 50 copies were reproduced in lithograph

from manuscript. One of these is in the British Museum.)

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Herzen, who records this expression of opinion, adds that

Caussidi^e himself needed shooting the day before the

revolution began.^

Baktinin's jotimey eastwards effectively rid France of

his presence for many years; for after taldng part in the

revolutionary outbreaks in Russia, Prague, and finally in

Dresden, he was arrested at Chemnitz and imprisoned first

at Altenburg, then at Koenigstein, then taken in chains to

Prague, transferred to Olmutz, where he remained chained

to the wall for five months, and last of all given over to the

Russian Government, by which he was imprisoned in the

fortress of Peter and Patil in May 1851. Two months later

Count Orloff came to visit him and urged him to write a

confession of his naisdeeds to the Emperor as to a father

confessor. Baktmin complied, but Nicholas I. on reading

the document observed briefly: " He is a brave boy with

a lively wit, but he is a dangerous man and must be kept

under lock and key." Accordingly Bakunin remained in

prison, for a time in St. Peter and Paul, later at Schlussel-

bourg, where he remained three years, during which time

he contracted scurvy and all his teeth fell out.

On the accession of Alexander II. a fresh demand was

made for a reprieve, but the new Emperor, on being shown

Bakunin's \*• confession " to his predecessor, remarked,

" I see not the least repentance in this letter/' and sent

him to Siberia.

Here Baktmin spent four quite pleasant years; free to

move about, he actually, for the only time in his life, took

up a little work, and finally married a Polish girl who

" shared all his aspirations." " I am completely happy,"

he wrote in 1860. " Ah! how sweet it is to Uve for others,

especially when it is for a charming woman."

But peace and quiet could not content the restless

spirit of Bakunin for long. The revolutionary fever was on

him and he craved to be back again at his old game of

agitation. The emancipation of the serfs, which took place

in the following year, stirred him but mildly; in this

immense concession to the cause of Uberty he saw only a

means of shaking the Imperial authority, and at the end

A Correspondance de Bakounine, pp. 41, 42.

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of this same year he succeeded in escaping from Siberia,

whence he travelled across Japan and America to London.

Here Baktmin, received with open arms by Ogareff and

Herzen, found himself once more in a congenial atmos-

phere. Surroimded by conspirators of all nationalities he

was able to get to work on fresh plots, on schemes for

stirring up the Poles, and organizing revolutions every-

where. Herzen has thus described his activities at this

crisis:

Bakunin renewed his youth; he was in his element. It is

not only the rumbling of insurrection, the noise of the dubs, the

timiult in the streets and public places, nor even the barriaides

that made up his happiness; he loved also the movement of the

day before, the work of preparation, that life of agitation, yet

at the same time rendered continuous by conferences — those

sleepless nights, those parleyingsand negotiations, rectifications,

chemical ink, cyphers, and signs agreed upon beforehand.

And Herzen, who took revolution more seriously, adds

that Baktmin " excited himself exactly as if it were a

question of preparing a Christmas tree — that annoyed

me. \*

It is easy to understand that to a man of Bakimin's

temperament an existence of this kind — maintained as

ever by the charity of his friends — was infinitely prefer-

able to a life of honest toil such as most htunan beings are

condemned to lead. Indeed in the above description we

find the key to many an agitator's career, and we cannot

wonder that as long as revolution provides constitutional

idlers with a lucrative and amusing profession the world

should continue to toss on the waves of unrest.

I have dwelt at some length on the character and career

of Baktmin because more than any one he seems to me to

embody the spirit of Anarchy — a spirit widely different,

indeed diametrically opposed to that of State Socialism.

The Anarchist is imdoubtedly a more amiable being than

the State Socialist; instead of wishing to cut every one

down to the same pattern, he desires, on the contrary, to

give all men unbotmded liberty to develop along whatever

lines they please — the idler should be free to idle and live

on other men's labour, the drunkard to drink himself into

^ Corr€spondanu de Bakounine, p. 67.

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a condition of maudlin imbecility, the mtirderer to cut

throats until he wearies of the pastime, the thief to con-

tinue helping himself to other people's goods until he has

accumulated enough to satisfy him. Exaggerated Indi-

vidualism is the keynote of his system: liberty, not

equality, is his goal. His belief in the amiability of human

nature endows him with a bonhomie not to be found

amongst the Communists, who regard their fellow-men as

creatures to be dragooned into obedience to the dictates of

the State, by which of cotirse they mean themselves. The

difference between the two is that which exists between the

amiable eccentric who, believing in the innate benevolence

of the entire animal kingdom, wishes to open all the cages

in a menagerie and leave the wild beasts free to roam about

the world, and the lion-tamer who loves at the crack of his

whip to see king of beasts and performing poodle alike

meekly rotating on a merry-go-round.

It is easy, therefore, to imderstand that Anarchists, far

more than their dour opponents the State Socialists, have

succeeded in endearing themselves to the people with

whom they came in contact. The vision of " the Russian

giant " in his big hat was remembered aflEectionately long

afterwards by the inhabitants of Lugano, where Bakunin

spent some years, and later on his disciple Prince Kropot-

kine made himself beloved in London drawing-rooms.

The truth is that to the Western mind such beings are

impossible of comprehension. Deceived by the outward

urbanity of the Anarchists, it fails to realize that beneath

the smiling surface there lurks a tiger ready to be aroused

by the smeU of blood; it cannot believe that people can

really exist who love violence for its own sake, who crave

to bum and mtirder and destroy.

But in Eastern Europe creatures of this kind have

always existed, and we find the exact prototype of Bakunin

in the Baron Ungem von Sternberg who had pursued a

career of crime at the beginning of the century in his island

of Dago. The favourite pastime of this robber baron, who

had vowed hatred to the whole human race, the Emperor

in particular, was to lure ships to their destruction by

means of a lighthouse installed in the tower of his castle.

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As soon as a vessel was on the point of wrecking, the banm

descended to the beach, embarked secretly with several clever

and determined men whom he kept to help him in his noctximal

expeditions; he received the foreign mariners, finished them off

in the darkness instead of rescuing them, and after having

strangled them he pillaged their ship; all this less by cupicUty

than by ptire love of evil, by a disinterested zeal for destruction.

Disbelieving in ever3rthing, and above all in justice, he regarded

moral and social disorder as the closest analogy to the state of

man here below and civil and political virtues as harmful

chimeras, since they only oppose Nature without subduing it.\*

This was precisely the creed of Bakunin, who, if he had

lived a htmdred years earlier, before brigandage had been

sanctified by the revolutionary Socialists and Anarchists

of France, would doubtless have foimd a vent for his

energies on the same lines as the robber baron, instead of

masquerading as a champion of the people.

Such a dynamic force as Bakunin provided could not

fail to be of immense value to the revolutionary move-

ment, and it was thus that, during his stay in London,

Marx — who incidentally had taken the opporttmity of

Baktmin's incarceration at Koenigstein in 1850 to declare

that he was an agent of the Russian Government — came

rotmd to his lodgings and assured him that he had not

intended to calumniate him in the past.

The fact is that Marx was now very busy at the great

scheme of his life and needed all the co-operation he could

muster — this scheme was the organization of the famous

" Internationale."

In order to tmderstand the origin of this association

it is necessary to go back two years, that is to say to 1862,

the year of the Great Exhibition in the Cromwell Road.

Now whilst Anarchists and State Socialists were striv-

ing for the mastery over the revolutionary movement, the

working-men of France had begun dimly to realize that

if they hoped to improve their lot it was to themselves

they must look for salvation and not to the theorists who

had hitherto led them to disaster. Accordingly in 1862 a

deputation of French working-men was sent to England on

a visit to the Great Exhibition to study technical questions

^ La RusHe en 18S9, by Astolphe de Custine, L 175.

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connected with labour, and during the course of their stay

they had the opportunity to observe the utility of Trade

Unions in protecting the interests of the workers. This

system was denied to them, for the " coaUtions of working-

men " suppressed in the first French Revolution still

remained under the ban, and the Frenchmen now resolved

to form a new association on their own accoimt. Although

imbued with the " mutualist " theories of Proudhon their

programme was in no way revolutionary, and they hoped

by pacific means to bring about a reorganization of the

industrial system. An interesting little book which has

now become very rare. The Secret History of the Inter-

national, published in 1872, had admirably described the

attitude towards the social problem of two of these men,

Tolain and Fribourg, bronze-workers of Paris who visited

London in 1864.

They talked of peace, of study, of arrangement, of associa-

tion. ... A better knowledge of each other, a more frequent

interchange of thought, a clearer view of the great laws which

govern rise and fall in wages, and a means of stretching friendly

hands from town to town, from sea to sea in case of need —

these are the ends we have in view, they urged, not secret plots

and wine-shop agitations.^

The path of peaceful progress was paved the more

smoothly by the action of Napoleon III., who in May of

this same year repealed the laws against Trade Unions and

replaced them by a fresh edict threatening with pimishment

any concerted attempt, either on the part of employers or

employed, to paralyse industry by malicious strikes or

lock-outs. This year of 1864, as Mermeix points out, was

thus '\* a great date in the history of the workers in Prance/'

for the new law " at last estabUshes equality of rights

between the masters and the working-men," and if firmly

applied should have accustomed them to respect each

other. '\* It would not have permitted the method of

\* direct action,' which is nothing but a series of fraudulent

manoeuvres concerted and carried out." \* There was,

therefore, at this moment less, reason than ever to have

^ The Secret History of the IntermUional, by Onslow Yorke, alias

Hepworth Dixon (187^.

\* Mermeix (G. Terrail), Le Syndicalisme contre le socialisfne, pp. 53-56.

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recourse to violent methods for the redress of social evils.

But the work of the World Revolutionists is always to

strangle true reforms at their birth, and the new liberty-

accorded to the workers proved the signal for fresh agi-

tation on their part. In the \*\* Working-men's Association"

they saw the very instrument they needed for carrying out

their plans. Karl Marx was then in London and frequently

to be found in the clubs and caf6s where the working-men

forgathered. " In evil hour," says the Secret History,

\*\* the Paris bronziers met this learned and xmsmiling Jew."

From that moment the cause of the workers was lost.

It was not that Marx immediately introduced himself

into the movement. On the contrary, at the meeting in

St. Martin's Hall on September 28, 1864, when the \*\* Inter-

nationale " was definitely founded, Marx played no part

at all. \*\* I was present," he wrote to Engels, \*\* only as a

dumb personage on the platform." But he was named,

nevertheless, a member of the sub-conunittee, the other

members being Mazzini's secretary — a Polish Jew named

Wolff — Le Lubez, a French Freemason, Cremer, the

secretary of the English Masons' Union, and Weston, the

Owenite. At the first meeting of this conmiittee Wolff

placed before it the statutes of Mazzini's working-men's

associations, proposing them as the basis of the new

association; Le Lubez suggested amendments described

by Marx as \*\* perfectly childish." " I was firmly resolved,"

he wrote, \*\* not to leave a single line if possible of all their

balderdash." In a few weeks he had succeeded in estab-

lishing his authority. " My propositions were all accepted

by the conmiission ; they only insisted on the introduction

in the Preamble of the statutes, of two phrases on duties

and rights, and on truth, morality, and justice; but I

placed them in such a way that it can do no harm." ^

The \*\* provisional statutes of the Internationale " thus

amended by Marx were then sent from London to Paris in

the following November and accepted by the members

of the association.

In all these manoeuvres Marx had again displayed his

James Guillaume, Karl Marx, pan-Cermaniste, p. (Librairie Armand

Collin, 1915).

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skill in making use of the ideas of others to serve his own

purpose. Just as he had succeeded in appropriating the

theories of earlier Socia]ists and passing them off as his

own invention, so he now contrived to gain the reputation

of having founded the Internationale, an achievement we

shall find habitually attributed to him by Marxian writers.

But on this point we have further the conclusive evidence

of James Guillaume, a Swiss member of the association and

its principal chronicler:

It is not true that the Internationale was the creation of

ICarl Marx. He remained completely outside the preparatory

work that took place from 1862 to 1864. He joined the Inter-

nationale at the moment when the initiative of the English and

French workmen had just created it. Like the cuckoo he came

and laid his egg in a nest which was not his own. His plan

from the first day was to make the great working-men's organ-

ization the instrument of his personal views.^

But Marx was not the only intriguer to introduce him-

self into the movement. Monsieur Drtimont has admirably

described the manner in which middle-class theorists,

entirely tmsympathetic to the workers, succeeded in

capturing the association:

In its origin the French Internationale was far from being

revolutionary, from seeking disturbances in the streets, from

liking insurrection for insurrection's sake. The Emperor

Napoleon III., the only sovereign since 1789 who had sincerely

inter^ted hinaiself in the working-classes, who understood their

sufferings and desired to improve their lot, had followed the

progress of the new association with sympathy. ... It was

only after a time that bourgeois agitators could make the Inter-

nationale deviate from its goal. This fact is ceaselessly repeated

in everyUiing the proletarians attempt. The bourgeois Cscpitsiist

exploits them as workers; when tiiey deliberate together in

oixler to consider means for improving their lot, the bourgeois

Revolutionary, that is to say tiie needy bourgeois who wants

to become a Capitalist, always finds a way of introducing him-

self into these associations and of making them serve for the

satisfaction of his ambitions.\*

It was through the secret societies that these bourgeois

elements found their way into the new association.

1 Tames GuiBaume, iCor/ MarXf pan-Germaniste^ p. 11 (Librairie Annand

Collin, 1915). '

\* fidouard Dnimont, La Fin d\*un monde, p. 127.

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Fribourg himself has declared that " the Internationale

everywhere fotind support in Freemasonry," \* that is to

say, in the lodges of the Grand Orient, and M. Louis

£nault records that " in March 1865 all the secret associa-

tions of Europe and North America were merged in the

\* International Association of Working-men,' \* The Mari-

anne,' the \* Fr^res de la R6publique ' of Lyons and

Marseilles, the Fenians of Ireland, the innumerable secret

societies of Russia and Poland, the remains of the Car-

bonari, joined up with the new society. This fusion was

made." \*

The Internationale, though itself an open and avowed

association, thus became through its absorption of these

existing secret organizations a huge semi-secret society —

that is to say, it formed the outer shell that covered a

ramification of conspiracies alien to the ideas of its founders

and of which the secrets were known only to its middle-

class directors.\*

The anti-religious policy adopted by the Internationale

was the work of these secret influences. In this same

year of 1865 a great students' Congress took place in

Li6ge, at which Fontaine declared:

^What we wish for, we revolutionaries and socialists, is

physical, moral, and intellectual development of the human race.

Note that I say physical first, intellectual afterwards. We wish,

in the moral order, by the ani^hilation of all prejudices of religion

and the Church, to arrive at the negation of God and at free

examination.^

And Lafargue, after chanting the praises of "our

grand master Proudhon " at a further sitting of the Con-

gress held in Brussels, had ended with the cry: " War on

God! Hatred towards God! That is progress! We must

shatter Heaven like a vault of a paper! " •

A ntimber of these men — proudly claimed by the

Freemasons as members of their Order — crowded into

^ VAssociaUon InUmationale des TravailUurs, by[£. £. Fribourg (1871),

p. 31.

\* Louis £nault, Paris hrdU par la Commune (1871), p. 24.

' P. Deschamps on this account describes the Internationale as a

secret society {op, ciL ii. 541), and Heckethom includes it in his work on

" Secret Societies."

« P. Deschamps, op, eit. ii. 527a. • Ibid. p. 5286.

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the Internationale, which thus became permeated with the

spirit of Illuminism. At a meeting of the association

Garibaldi, venturing to propose that " faith in God should

be adopted by the Congress/' met with a stony silence,

and was obliged to quaHfy the suggestion with the expla-

nation that by the religion of God he meant the religion of

Reason — the worship of the goddess of Reason, he added

later, such as was practised in the French Revolution.\*

The working-men took no part in these blasphemies.

When Jaclard declared that outside Atheism there was no

hope for man — \*\* To be religious is to be ridiculous " —

Fribourg, the bronze-worker, Chaudey, and Lemonnier

" combated these views in the name of liberal Paris and of

liberal France." " For," as the author of the Secret His-

tory truly adds, " these are not so much the views of work-

ing-men as of professors and philosophers." Indeed the

vine-growers of Neuchatal so little understood the aims of

the Internationale as to declare naively that the principal

article of their branch of the association should be : "Every

vine-dresser must have a Bible and not neglect divine

service " — a suggestion received with derision by their

middle-class directors.\*

It is difficult to write of these things calmly. For to

deceive the people, whose simple faith and lack of educa-

tion prevent them seeing whither they are being led, is as

cowardly as to guide a blind man into a ditch. Yet tifis

is what the exploiters of the Internationale did for the

working-men. The identity of these middle-class inter-

lopers who assembled at the Second Congress of the

association in Lausanne in 1867 has thus been given by the

author of the Secret History;

One delegate from Belgium, six delegates from England,

seventeen from France, six from Gennany, two from It^dy, atul

thirty-one from Switzerland, came together in a room of the

Casino at Lausanne. Three only of the deputies from England

were of English name. England was mainly represented by two

German tailors and a French fiddle-maJcer. Germany was

represented by two doctors, one professor, an hotel-keeper, a

machinist, and a gentleman of no profession that he cared to

^ Documents et sattvenirs de I\* InUntaHonale, by James Guillaume, ii.

47^9. « Ibid. i. 248.

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name. Italy was represented by two doctors, Stamfa and

Tomasi. Four professors, three joumdists, and a commercial

agent represented the toilers of Zurich and Geneva. Observe

that here is not a gathering of the craftsmen, bent on study of

the questions which affect them in their hours of work and in

their rate of pay, but an assembly of middle-class dreamers and

theorists.

The " English " deputies here referred to are further

described by James Guillaume. The tailor Eccarius,

friend and cHsciple of Marx, was \*\* a long personage with

an unkempt beard, hair falling carelessly over his eyes,

always stuffing his nose with tobacco " ; the other German

tailor, Lessner, was " the true type of bearded democrat

with burning eyes " — "his rdle seemed to be to protest

perpetually. During discussion Eccarius speaks slowly

with an imperturbable phlegm; Lessner cannot contain

himself and exhales his passionate soul in a torrent of

violent and bitter words; before an unintelligent con-

tradictor Eccarius shrugs his shoulders, Lessner bounds

about and seems to wish to devour his adversary.\*\*

Eugene Dupont, the Frenchman and future president of

the Congress, belonged to qxiite a different type — "a

yotmg man of thirty resembling all yotmg men with a

moustache." \*' I remark in him," adds Guillaume, " noth-

ing but an innocent fondness for punning.'\* \* Another

London member, this time an Englishman, not present at

this Congress, was an eccentric millionaire named CoweU

Stepney, " deaf as a post," an enthusiastic Communist

and member of the General Council.\*

The International Association of Working-men had

become a farce. In vain the real workmen from Paris had

protested at the First Congress in Geneva against the

invasion of their ranks by men who were not manual

workers, declaring that if the workers' Congress " were to

be composed in greater part by economists, joumaUsts,

lawyers, and employers, the thing would be ridiculous and

would annihilate the Association." ' Marx, who in his

\*\* Preamble of the Provisional Rules of the Internationale"

had himself declared that " the emancipation of the work-

i Guillaume, Documents, etc., i. 30, 31. \* Ibid. L 80, 139, note.

\* Ibid. Karl Marx, pan-GermanisU, p. 2X.

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ing-dasses must be brought about by the working-classes

themselves/' waxed indignant at what he described as

\*\* the manoeuvre of Tolain and Fribourg " in \*\* invoking

the principle that only working-men can represent

working-men/' and the French workmen's motion was

defeated by 26 votes to 20.^

Marx indeed did not conceal his contempt for the

originators of the Internationale

" The working-men, particularly those from Paris," he

wrote a month after the Congress to his young Jewish friend

Dr. Kugelmann, " belong as luxury workers (i.e. engravers on

bronze) no doubt strongly to the old filth {dem alien Dreck

angehoren.) Ignorant, vain, pretentious, garrulous, swollen

with pomposity, they were on the point of spoiling everything,

having rushed to the Congress in nimibers which in no way

corresponded to that of their adherents. In the report I shaU

clandestinely rap them over the knuckles." ^

As M. Guillaume tndy observes: " All Marx is already

in this letter,"

The EngUsh delegates fared no better at his hands, for

in the following year we find him writing in this strain to

Engels: ' '. ' '

I shall go personally to the next Congress at Brussels so as

to give the coup de grdce to those asses of Proudhoniens . . .

in tiie official Report of the General Council — for in spite of

their efforts the Parisian chatterboxes have not been able to

prevent our re-election — I shall give them the stick. The

swinehounds amongst the English trade unionists who thought

we were going too far will not catch us up easily. . . . Things

are advancing, and at the first revolution, which is perhaps

nearer than it seems, we, that is to say, you and I, mil have

this powerful instrument in our hands. • • • We can really be

well satisfied!'

In the light of these passages it is amusing to find

one of Marx's admirers explaining that " the essence of

\* Gt]iIlatixne,JBraW Marx^pan-Germaniste^ p. 25.

\* Letter from Marx to Kugelmann on October 9, 1S66, VIntemaHonaU

et le Pan-Germanisme, by Edmond Lasldne (1916), p. 24, quoting Movoe-

tnerU SocialisU, 1902, pp. 17-46. Also Adolphe Smith, The Pan-German

InUmaUonale, p. 5.

\* Laskine, of. cU. pp. 26, 27, quoting Der Briefwechsel nvischen Kar

Marx und Friedrich Engels (Dietz, Stuttgart), iii. 406.

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Marxian Socialism is that the working-classes must them-

selves work out their own salvation." \*

It was, moreover, not only the industrial " prole-

tariat " of France that Marx despised, but also those

dwellers in the country districts who remained contentedly

at work on their own bit of land — an arrangement, of

course, directly opposed to the principles of Communism.

" The Bonapartes," he had written contemptuously

after 1852, " are the dynasty of the peasants, that is to say,

of the mass of the French nation." This dynasty, he goes

on to point out, is therefore represented not by the revo-

lutionary peasant " who wishes to overthrow the old

order," but by " the conservative peasant," who, "stupidly

bound by the old order, wishes to see himself saved and

protected with his portion of the soil imder the shadow of

the Empire." \*

If then it was the prosperity of the French peasant that

roused Marx's ire, we might at least expect him to extend

some sympathy towards the poor and destitute amongst

the working-classes. Not at all. This portion of the people

is designated by him as the " Lumpenproletariat," that

is to say, the \*\* ragged proletariat," for which, as Bakunin

pointed out with indignation, \*\* Marx, Engels, and all the

school of Social Democrats of Germany display a pro-

found contempt." \* What section of the " proletariat "

then did Marx approve? Obviously the section that

showed itself submissive to his dictates.

The respective attitudes of Marx and of Bakunin

towards the people much resembled those of Robespierre

and Marat, their predecessors in the rival schools of State

Socialism and Anarchy. To Robespierre the people whose

" sovereignty " he proclaimed consisted simply of his own

following amongst the men, and more particularly the

women, of the Paris Faubourgs; to Marx, the proletariat,

whose dictatorship he advocated, was represented by the

small number of working-men who showed themselves

willing to play into the hands of their German and Jewish

> Violence and the Labour Movement^ by Robert Hunter, p. 148.

\* Marx, La LuUe des dosses, p. 345.

\* Bakunin, L'Elal ei Vanarchu, L &

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exploiters. But both to Marat and to Balomin the people

meant merely the turbulent elements amongst the popu-

lace — wastrels, criminals, drunkards, thieves, and vaga-

bonds. Bakunin proposing his favourite toast, " To the

destruction of all law and order and the unchaining of

evil passions! " ^ might well have been the soul of the

Spanish dwarf reincarnated in the body of the Russian

giant. For criminals he expressed his predilection quite

frankly:

\*\* Only the proletariat in rags is inspired by the spirit

and force of the coming social revolution, and in no way

the bourgeois stratimi of the working masses." His hopes

even in the moujiks of Russia were disappointed, owing to

the patriarchal conditions of their lives and their respect

for the Emperor, so that it is to the brigands that he looks

for salvation.

The only man who in the midst of the Russian people has

the audacity to revolt against the Commune is the brigand.

Thence brigandage constitutes an important phenomenon in

the history of the Russian people — the first revolutionaries of

Russia, Pougatcheff and Stenka Razine, were brigands.'

" Robbery," Bakunin writes again, \*\* is one of the most

honourable forms of Russian national life. The brigand is the

hero, the defender, the pooular avenger, the irreconcilable

enemy of the State, and of all social and dvil order established

by the State. He is the wrestler in life and in death against all

this civilization of officials, of nobles, of priests, and of the

crown. •

In all this Bakunin showed himself a true and faithful

follower of Weishaupt — was the robber baron of Dago

perhaps an lUuminatus too ? — and it is here that we fiaid

the explanation of his creed. Until the dawn of lUuminism

crime and virtue, good and evil, held their opi)Osing

positions in the conceptions of the human mind. Even in

pagan Greece Kerkuon and Procrustes f otmd no apologists,

but ranked simply as monsters of whom it was necessary

to rid the world. It was left to Weishaupt to confuse the

^ Guinaume, Documents de I\* InterrtationaU, i. 130.

\* Cofresp<mdance de Bakounine, p. 38.

\* Words addressed to Students, by Bakunin and Netchaleff (1869).

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issues, to glorify by the name of " useful larceny " \* what

had hitherto been described by the ugly name of theft, and

to Brissot, the adept of illtmiinized Freemasonry, to

declare theft to be a virtue. And it was Weishaupt who

had first set out to destroy that religion and civilization

which Bakimin and the Baron von Sternberg alike

detested.

Bakunin then must not be regarded as a soUtary

demoniac, but as an exponent of those doctrines of Illum-

inism which foimd a fruitful soil in his wild Russian nature.

On this point we have definite evidence, for the Socialist

Malon, who was a member of the Internationale and

personally acquainted with the Russian Anarchist, has

explicitly stated that " Bakunin was a disciple of Weis-

haupC \* It is only necessary to study the writings of

Bakunin in order to recognize the truth of this statement.

Moreover, in the same year of 1864 that the Inter-

nationale was founded, Bakunin and his disciple Netduueff

started a society on precisely the lines of the lUuminati.

The plan of such conspirators has always been to envelop

one secret society in another on the system of a nest of

Chinese boxes, the outer one large and visible, the inner

ones dwindling down to the tiny, almost invisible cell that

contains the secret. This was the plan of Weishaupt,

effected by his grades of adepts, initiated by successive

stages into the greater and the lesser mysteries; and this

too was the plan of Bakunin and his confederate Netchaieff .

The society organized by them consisted of three orders:

(1) the International Brothers, (2) the National Brothers,

and (3) the International Alliance of Social Democracy,

which in its turn covered the inner secret society called the

\*\* Fraternal Alliance/' over which Bakunin exercised

supreme control-

We have only to compare the programme of the Inter-

national Social Democratic Alliance with the plan of Weis-

haupt to recognize the evident connection between the

two. Placed in parallel columns the aims of both will be

seen to be identical :

> Bamiel, Mlmoires sur le Jacobinisme, iv. IS.

\* Article on the Internationale, by Malon, in the NouoelU Revti^t

xxvi. 752.

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Wbxshaupt

The order of the Illuminati

abjured Christiaxiity. ... In the

lodges death was declared an

eternal sleep; patriotism and

loyalty were called narrow-

minded prejudices incompatible

with universal benevolence;

further, they accounted all princes

usurpers and tyrants, and all

privileged orders as their abet-

tors. They meant to abolish the

laws which protected property

accumulated by long-continued

and successful industry; and to

prevent for the future any such

accumulation. They intended to

establish universal liberty and

equality, the imprescriptible

rights of man, and as prepara-

tion for all this they intended to

root out all religion and ordinary

morality, and even to break the

bonds of domestic life by destroy-

ing the veneration for marriage

vows, and by taking the educa\*

tion of children out of the hands

of the parents.

Bakunin

The Alliance professes Athe-

It aims at the abolition

of religious services, the replace-

ment of belief by knowledge

and divine by human justice,

the abolition of marriage as

a political, religious, and civic

arrangement. Before all, it aims

at the definite and complete

abolition of aU classes and the

political, economic, and social

equality of the individual of

either sex. The abolition of in-

heritance. All children to be

brought up on a uniform system,

so that artificial inequalities may

disappear. . . .

It aims directly at the triumph

of the cause of labour over capi-

taL It repudiates so-called patri-

otism and the rivalry of nations

and desires the universal associa-

tion of all local associations by

means of freedom.

The final aim of this society

was " to accelerate the universal

revolution."

Now how is it possible to suppose that the extraordi-

nary similarity between these two programmes can be due

to mere coincidence ? In the Alliance of Bakunin, as in the

Communist Manifesto of Marx, we find again all the points

of Weishaupt — abolition of property, inheritance, mar-

riage, and all morality, of patriotism and all religion. Is it

not obvious that the plan had been handed down to the

succeeding groups of Socialists and Anarchists by the

secret societies which had carried on the traditions of the

Illuminati, and that Bakunin, and still more his coadjutor

Netchaieff , was simply an Illuminatus ?

Netchaieflf, moreover, is a type of no small importance

to the history of social revolution. Uninspired by such

anarchic philosophy as that proclaimed by Weishaupt and

Bakunin, Netchaieff showed himself a pure destructionist

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whose ferocity was untempered by the genial moods of

Bakunin. "He was a liar, a thief, and a murderer — the

incarnation of Hatred, Malice, and Revenge, who stopped

at no crime against friend or foe that promised to advance

what he was pleased to call the Revolution." ^ In the

Revolutionary Catechism he composed in conjimction with

Bakimin the following passages occtir:

The revolutionary must let nothing stand between him and

the work of destruction. . . . For him exists only one single

pleasure, one single consolation, one reward, one satisfaction —

the success of the revolution. Night and day he must have but

one thought, but one aim — implacable destruction. ... If he

continues to live in this world it is only in order to annihilate it

all the more surely.

For this reason no reforms were to be advocated; on

the contrary, " every effort is to be made to heighten and

increase the evil and sorrows which will at fength wear out

the patience of the people and encourage an insurrection

en masse.\*' \* The second category of the association was

therefore to be composed of '\* people to whom we concede

life provisionally in order that by a series of monstrous

acts they may drive the people into inevitable revolt." \*

In other words, oppressors of the people were to be

encouraged.

To the sane mind it is almost impossible to believe

that any man could put forward such theories, but this is

precisely the advantage obtained by the advocates of

World Revolution — their doctrines are so monstrous that

they appear unbelievable to the world in general. Yet

here is no possibility of misrepresentation, for the Revolu-

tionary Catechism may be seen in print by any one who

cares to look at it.

But like many another conspirator, from Weishaupt

onwards, Bakunin foimd himself outwitted by his coad-

jutor. Perfectly unscrupulous as to the means he employed

he had at first welcomed Netchaieff as " a force," but by

degrees he came to realize the danger he himself incurred

^ Hunter, Violence and the Labour Movement ^ p. 16.

\* Alliance de la Dhnocratie Socialiste, etc., puhliie par ordre du Congrks

International de la Haye (1873), p. 90. \* Ihid.

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by allying himself with a man who failed to recognize even

the principle of " honour among thieves." Towards 1870

Bakunin discovered that NetchaieflE, whilst pretending to

be his most devoted disciple, had all the while been a

member of another society still more secret than the

Alliance Sodale D^mocratique, and of which he had never

divulged the inner mysteries to his master.

" Netchaieff," Bakunin wrote to Talandier, "is a devoted

fanatic, but at the same time a very dangerous fanatic, and one

with whom an alliance cotild only be disastrous to every one.

This is why: He was first a member of an occult committee

which really had existed in Russia. This committee no longer

exists; all its members have been arrested. Netchaieff alone

remains, and alone he constitutes what he calls the committee.

The Russian organization having been destroyed, he is trying to

create a new one abroad. All this would be perfectly natural,

legitimate, and very useful, but the way he goes to work is

detestable. Keenly impressed by the catastrophe which has

just destroyed the secret organization in Russia, he has gradually

arrived at the conclusion thaX in order to found a serious and

indestructible society one must take for a basis the policy of

Machiavelli, and adopt in full the system of the Jesuits —

bodily violence aud a lying soul.

" Truth, mutual confidence, serious and severe solidarity

exist only between about ten individuals who form the sanctum

sanctorum of the society. All the rest must serve as a blind

instrument aud as matter to be exploited by the hands of these

ten men really solidarized. It is permitted, and even ordered,

that one should deceive them, compromise them, steal from

them, and even if needs be ruin them — they are conspiracy-

fodder {chadr d conspiration). • . ."

Then Baktmin goes on to describe NetchaieflE's methods :

In the name of the cause he must get hold of your whole

person without your knowing it. In order to do this he will

spy on you and try to get hold of your secrets, and for that

purpose, in your absence, left alone in yotir room he will open

all your drawers, read all your correspondence, and when a

letter seems interesting to him, that is to say, compromising

from any point of view for you or for one of your friends, he will

seal it and keep it carefully as a document against you or

against your friend. . . . When convicted of this in a general

assembly he dared to say to us: " Well, yes, it is our system.

We consider as enemies, whom it is our duty to deceive and

compromise, all those who are not completely with us. . . .\*\*

If you have introduced him to a friend, his first thought will be

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to raise discord, gossip and intrigue between you — in a word,

to make you quairel. Your friend has a wife, a daughter, he will

try to seduce her, to give her a child, in order to diag her away

from oflSdal morality and throw her into an attitude of forced

revolutionary protest against society. All personal ties, aU

friendship are considered by them as an evil which it is their

duty to destroy, because all this constitutes a force which, being

outside the secret organization, diminishes the tuiique force of

the latter. Do not cry out that I am exaggerating; all thi s ha s

been amply developed and proved by me.\*

It will be seen that all these were the exact principles

and methods laid down by Weishaupt for the lUuminati.

Now it is curious to find the description of the inner

ring of secret intrigue described by Bakunin in the above-

quoted letter exactly corroborated by a very different

authority, namely, the book of Gougenot des Mousseaux,

entitled Le Juif, le Judaisme et la Judaization des peuples

chritiens, published just a year earlier, in 1869.

It was in December 1865, that is to say, a year after

Bakunin had formed his Alliance in conjunction with

Netchaleff , that Des Mousseaux received a letter from a

Protestant statesman in the service of a great Germanic

power, saying:

Since the revolutionary recrudescence of 1845, I have had

relations with a Jew who, from vanity, betrayed the secret of

the secret societies with which he had been associated, and who

warned me eight or ten days beforehand of all the revolutions

which were about to break out at any point of Europe. I owe

to him the unshakable conviction that all these movements of

" oppressed people," etc., etc., are devised by half-a-dozen

individuals, who give their orders to the secret societies of all

Europe. The ground is absolutely mined beneath our feet,

and the Jews provide a large contingent of these miners. . . •

The Je^sh bankers will soon be, through their prodigious

fortunes, our lords and masters. . . . All the great Radical news-

papers of Germany are in the hands of Jews.\*

It is impossible to suppose any collusion between men

of opinions so divergent as the Royalist Catholic Des

Mousseaux, his friend the Protestant statesman, and the

Russian Anarchists Bakimin and Netchaieff. We must,

therefore, admit that each must have reached his conclu-

^ Carrespandance de Bakounine, published by Michel Dragomanov.

ttn, .^2.5^27. s Gougenot des Mousseaux, op. cU, pp. 367, 368.

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sions independently of the other, and the extraordinary

similarity between their two accounts tends most cer-

tainly to confirm the assertion that this mjrsterious asso-

ciation really existed.^ Of whom was it composed?

According to Des Mousseaux it was largely controlled by

Jews who had insinuated themselves into the Masonic

Lodges and secret societies, and curiously enough it was

in October of this same year, 1869, that Bakunin, who had

been attacked by certain Jews in the Internationale, wrote

his Study on ike German Jews, where he repeats precisely

the same story of Jewish intrigue. The passage in question

runs as follows :

I begin by begging you to believe that I am in no way the

enemy nor the detractor of the Jews. Although I may be con-

sidered a cannibal, I do not carry savagery to that point, and I

assure you that in my eyes all nations have their worth. Each

is, moreover, an ethnographically historic product, and is con-

sequently responsible neither for its faults nor its merits. It is

thus that we may observe in connection with the modem Jews

that their nature lends itself little to frank Socialism. Their

history, long before the Christian era, implanted in them an

essentially mercantile and bourgeois tendency, with the result

that, considered as a nation, they are par excellence the exploiters

of other men's work, and they have a natural horror and fear

of the popular masses, whom they despise, moreover, whether

openly or in secret. The habit of exploitation, whilst develop-

ing the intelligence of the exploiters, gives it an exclusive and

disastrous bent and quite contrary to tiie interests as well as to

the instincts of the proletariat. I know that in expressing with

this frankness my intimate opinion on the Jews I expose m3rseU

to enormous dangers. Many people share it, but very few d^ure

publicly to express it, for the Jewish sect, very much more

formidable than that of the Jesuits, Catholic or Protestant,

constitutes today a veritable power in Europe. It reigns

despotically in commerce, in the banks, and it has invaded thiree-

quarters of Geiman journalism and a very consid^able portion

of the journalism of other countries. Woe, then, to hiTn who has

the dumsiness to displease it! ^

But Bakunin heid underestimated the control of the

Jews over the press. The great anarchist might tilt with

impunity against principalities and powers, might incite

to murder, pillage, and rebellion, but the moment he

& See chart, society marked with note of interrogation.

\* (Euvres de Bakounine, v. 241.

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attempted to attack the Jews he was unable to obtain a

hearing, and his poUmique never saw the light tintil his

works were published thirty or forty years later. The

same failure had attended the efforts of the H6bertiste

Tridon, who at about the same date wrote a denunciation

of the Jews which could not be published during his

lifetime-^'

It will be seen tnat for all their destructive energy the

French and Russian anarchists were no match for the

German Jews of the Internationale into which Bakunin

and his Alliance had been admitted in August 1869.

Indeed Bakunin clearly stood in awe of Marx, for in the

above-quoted letter he is careful to specify that he includes

in his strictures only \*\* the crowd of Jewish pygmies " who

had penetrated into the Socialist movement, and exempts

" the two Jewish giants Marx and Lassalle," and ten

months earlier he had written to Marx himself in terms of

the most servile flattery J.

You ask whether I continue to be your friend.^ Yes, more

than ever, dear Marx. . . . You see, dear friend, {that\*! 'am

your disciple, and I am proud of it.\*

But in a letter to Herzen on October 28, 1869, Bakunin

explains his attitude to Marx and his reason for conferring

on him the title of giant. ^

Marx, who detests me and who, I imagine, loves no one but

himself ... is nevertheless a man very useful to the Inter-

nationale. ... If at the present moment I had undertaken a

war against Marx three quarters of the members of the Inter-

nationale would have turned against me, and I^should/Mve

been at a disadvantage. . . .\*

Although from the beginning Marx had hoped to make

the Working-Men's Association " the instrument of his

personal views," it was not tmtil 1868 that he succeeded in

definitely directing its policy along his line of State Social-

ism. At the first two congresses, of Geneva in 1866 and

Lausanne in 1867, the theories of the French Proudhoniens

still prevailed; the Congress at Brussels in 1868 showed,

however, the parting of the ways by declaring that the

\* Dnimont, La France juive, p. 13. .

\* GuiUaume, Documents , etc., i, 108.

f Correspondance de Bakounine, p. 290.

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machines and instruments of work should belong to the

workers, but all public services — railways, mines, etc. —

to the community. This programme was therefore a blend

of the system later to be known as Syndicalism and of the

Commtmism of Vidal and Pecqueur which had been

adopted by Maix.

At the Fourth Congress in Basle in 1869 the policy of

the Association veered still further towards Communism

by the abolition of private property in land and of inherit-

ance. The programme of Weishaupt had thus been

accepted almost in its entirety by the Internationale.\*

FriboTirg, who with the other French workers of the

association opposed the abolition of private property in

land, points out that the history of the Internationale

must be divided into two periods, the first up to the Con-

gress of Lausanne \*' mutualist," that is to say, demanding

free control of industry, the second period Russo-German,

when the association " became Conmiunist, that is to say

authoritative." \* From this policy, as also from the prin-

ciple of class hatred upheld both by Marx and Bakunin,

Fribourg disassociates himself and his comrades entirely.

" I insist," he writes, " that it should be known that no

upright mind could have conceived the idea of giving birth

to a society of war and hatred." ' And since this is what it

had become, Fribourg declares that by 1869 " the Inter-

nationale of the French founders was dead, quite dead." ^

\*' The working-men's International," remarks Duhring,

'' was no longer working-class, in the sense that it

manoeuvred, used, and exploited the workers of different

cotmtries."\*

Such then were the intrigues of the men who called

themselves the champions of the " proletariat."

1 M^ Louis finault (Paris hrCU par la Commune, p. 27) and the Vicomte

de Beaumont Vassy {La Commune de Paris, p. 325) both reproduce the

programme of the Internationale as publishea in 1867 in which the five

points of Weishaupt, viz.: " The abolition of all religion, of property, of the

familv, of heredity, of the nation (t. e. of patriotism) " are exactly repro-

duced. The document which they quote is stated to have been signed

by the secretary of the Internationale and to have been published in the

form of a pamphlet entitled Le Droit des travaHUurs. I have been imable

to discover this pamphlet in the British Museum or elsewhere.

\* Fribourg, L\* Association Internationale des Travailleurs, p. 2.

» Ibid. \* Ibid. p. 140.

\* Eugen Diihring, KriUsche Geschichte der NationalOkonomie, p. 566.

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All talk of conditions of labour, all discussion of the

practical problems of industry had been abandoned and

the Internationale became simply an engine of warfare

against civilization. By its absorption of the secret

sodeties and of the doctrines of lUuminism all the nmchin-

ery of revolution passed into its keeping. Every move in

the game devised by Weishaupt, every method for engi-

neering disturbances and for spreading inflammatory

propaganda, became part of its programme.

So just as the Jacobin Club had openly executed the

hidden plan of the lUuminati, the Internationale, holding

within it the same terrible secrets, carried on the work

of World Revolution in the full Ught of day.

CHAPTER VII

THE REVOLUTION OF 1871

The Franco-Prussian War — Internationalism — Karl Marx, pan-Ger«

manist — The Commtme — Conflict between Marx and Bakunin —

End of the Internationale. ,.,\*»/.. ///<

We have seen in the last chapter that as a means for the

reorganization of industry the Internationale had failed

signally of its purpose. What then of its Internationalism?

How far was the brotherhood of man which had consti-

tuted one of its f tmdamental doctrines to avail as a barrier

against militarism?

The conviction that war is a relic of barbarism and

should be done away with, has been held by htmianitarians

at every stage in the history of civilization; the question

is how so obviously desirable an end can be accomplished.

In Prance, as we have'fseen, groups of enthusiasts as far

back as the Confreres of the twelfth century had declared

it possible, and the Constituent Assembly of the First

Revolution had devoted their energies to the formation of

a "League of Perpetual Peace." \*' Let aU men be free as we

are," a deputy had cried, " and we shall have no more

wars! " Forthwith the decree was passed that the French

nation shoxild never again imdertake any war of conquest.

Mirabeau alone had shown the f utiUty of such resolu-

tions in his immortal reply : " I ask myself," he said to the

Assembly, lulled in its dreams of pacifism, " I ask myself

whether because we suddenly change oxir political system

we shall force other nations to change theirs. . . . Until

then perpetual peace will remain a dream and a dangerous

dream if it leads France to disarm before a Europe in arms."\*

^ Albert Sord, U Europe et la RholvHon Frangaise, iL 87.

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Mirabeau's prophetic instinct was justified when eighty

years later the same dangerous dream led the French

workers of the Internationale to weaken before a Prussia

in arms.

The idea of " a strike of the peoples against war " was

proposed as early as 1868 at the Congress of the Inter-

nationale in Brussels, and Dupont, the mouthpiece of

Marx, closed his presidential address with the words:

The clerics say: "See this Congress, it declares that it wishes

neither for government, armies, nor religion." They say the

truth, we wish for no more governments because governments

crush us with taxes; we wish for no more armies because armies

massacre us; we wish for no more religion because religion

stifles intelligence.\*

When, therefore, two years later the first rumblings of

the Franco-Prussian War were heard, the French workers

fondly imagined that the Internationale would intervene

and stop the conflict. Accordingly with touching naiveU

they published in their paper Le Reveil on the 12th of July

1870 an address to the people of Germany begging them to

desist from strife:

Brothers of Germany, in the name of peace do not listen to

the subsidized or servile voices which seek to deceive you on the

true spirit of Prance. Remain deaf to senseless provocations,

for war between us would be a fratricidal war. Remain calm,

as a great and courageous people can do without compromising

its dignity. Our divisions would only bring about on both sides

of the Rhine the complete triumph of despotism.\*

When, however, a week later, on July 19, Napoleon III.

was tricked by Bismarck into declaring war on Prussia, the

German Social Democrats rallied in a body to the standard

of Imperialism, and the so-called " Central Committee of

the German International Sections " sitting at Brunswick

issued a proclamation on the 24th of July referring to " the

legitimate aspirations of the German people for national

unity," and ending with the words: " Long live Germany!

Long live the International struggle of the proletariat." •

Deluded by the last hypocritical protestation. Solidar-

ity, the organ of the Internationale, still expressed its

hopes for the future.

i 1 Guillaume, Karl Marx, pan-Germanisie, p. 51.

\* Ibid, p. 84. \* Guillaume, Documents^ ii. 70.

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Two great military powers are about to devour each other.

Since we have obtained this immense result, that the two peoples

whom their masters have declared to be in a state of war, instead

of hating each other, hold out the hand of friendship, we can

await the d&nouement with confidence.^

But it was not until the tide of war had turned defi-

nitely in favour of Prussia that the Committee of Bruns-

wick saw fit to respond with a plea for peace. It is true

that isolated working-men in Germany expressed their

sympathy with the French people, and that the Socialists

Bebel and Liebknecht were later on thrown into prison for

protesting against the war after it had broken out, never-

theless Liebkneckt himself, before it was too late, had

tirged Prussia on to aggression. Thus in the Volkssiaai for

July 13, 1870, he \*' had reproached Bismarck and the

King of Prussia for showing themselves too conciliatory

towards Prance and of damaging the prestige of Germai^

by a too humble attitude." \*

The fact then remains that as a preventive to war the

Internationale proved completely futile for the very

reason given by Mirabeau eighty years earlier. The

French Internationalists had reckoned without the

German national spirit, and GuiUaume, writing in Soli-

dariti on March 28, 1871, is obliged to confess:

What an infinitesimal minority is formed by these men with

convictions (Bebel and Liebknedrt)! How many are there in

Germany, alas! of whom we can call ourselves the brothers?

The immense majority of the German working-men, are they not

intoxicated like the bourgeoisie by Bismarck's victories? And

are we not obliged today, whilst making an honourable excep-

tion of the friends we have just mentioned, to consider the

German people in the mass as an obstacle to the Revolution? \*

It was not till two years later that the Latin members

of the Internationale discovered to their pained surprise

that the " Central Committee of the German International

Sections " was not, as they had imagined, the German

branch of the Internationale but merely an unofficial

group with no organization, for the German Government

had taken the precaution to forbid the formation of an

1 QmUaume, Documents, etc., ii. 69.

' Laskine, V IntematioTtaU et le pan-Germanisme, p. 202.

\* GuiUaume, Documents, etc., ii. 137.

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Internationale amongst its own people.^ Thus, although

Germans controlled the policy of the Internationale

abroad, the Internationale was not allowed to exist in

Germany! As Mr. Adolphe Smith has well expressed it

in relation to the 1917 situation-

That Socialism, as " made in Germany," and destined mainly

for foreign exportation, would facilitate the invasion not only of

Russia, but also of France, Italy, and even England, was not

very apparent at first. Yet this might have been suspected,

for it was evident that the Socialist Internationale, whenever it

was controlled by Germans, became a pan-Ger}nan association^

The real meaning of Internationalism became in time

apparent to the French workers. The hand of Bismarck

had been strongly suspected in the great strike at Creuzot,'

".Strikes, always strikes, and still more strikes," Friboui^

wrote in 1871, '' no more study nor anything that resembles

it. . . . Foreign Internationals who hold the ground, support

the movement, found violent newspapers, an epidemic of dis-

turbances rages in France and paralyses production." ^

What was the rfile of Marx in this question of Inter-

nationalism? In order to realize his full perfidy we must

refer again to the Preamble to the Statutes of the Inter-

nationale drawn up by him. The first principle, that " the

emancipation of the workers must be brought about by the

workers themselves," he had violated, as we have seen,'^by

insisting on the admission of non-workers to the Associa-

tion; the further principle of " a fraternal union between

the workers of different countries " was now at stake, and

Marx repudiated this likewise.

The truth is that Marx had never believed in universal

brotherhood any more than he had believed in the dictator-

ship of the proletariat — these were slogans to be made

use of but not carried into practice. Thus just before

Sadowa he had written to. Engelsii

The Proudhonien clique amongst the Paris students preaches

peace, declares war an anachronism, nationalities vain words,

attacks Bismarck. ... As disciples of Proudhon — my, good

^ Guillaume, Documents, etc,, ii. 137..

' The Pan-German Inlematianale, p. 3., ,,. .. - .. .,^

^ La Commune de Paris, by the Comte de Beaumont vas$y, p'. 13.,

\* Fribourg, L\* Association Internationale des Travailleurs (1871).

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friends Laf argue and Longuet are amongst them — they wish

to abolish misery and ignorance, ignorance with which they

themselves are afflicted aU the more that they make a parade of

a so-called '\* social science/' they are quite simply grotesque}

The appeal of the French working-men to their

brothers of Gennany in 1870 was now declared by Marx

to be " ptire Jingoism."

•\* The French," he wrote to Engels on July 20, " need a'

thrashing (die Franzdsen brauchen Prugel). If the Prussians^

are victorious, the centralization of the power of the State will

be useful to the centralization of the German working-class.

Besides, German preponderance will transport the centre of

gravity of the working-class movement from France to Germany,

and it is sufficient to compare the movement in the two coun-

tries from 1866 until the present moment in order to see that the

German working-class is superior to the French as much from

the point of view of theory as of organization.

The preponderance in the theatre of the world of the German

proletariat over the French proletariat would be at the same

time the preponderance of our theory over Proudhon's.\*

Now it is curious to notice that Nietzsche, who as the

prophet of autocracy, Imperialism, and warfare has usually

been regarded as the opposite pole to Marx, had expressed'

himself at the above-quoted date, namely in 1866, at the

time of Prussia's victory over Austria at Sadowa, in the

following words :

We hold the cards; but as long as Paris remains the centre

of Europe things will remain in the old condition. It is inevi-

table that we should make an efiEort to upset this equilibrium,

or at least try to upset it. If we fail, then let us hope to fall,

each of us, on a field of battle, struck by some French shelL\*

How are we to explain the extraordinary resemblance

between the point of view expressed in these two passages?

Can we attribute it to mere coincidence, or shall we find a

common inspiration at work behind both writers? It is

impossible to study the lives and writings of Marx and

Nietzsche without recognizing a certain resemblance

between the two men; both were continually at war with

the rest of the human race, both had been embittered by

^ Laskine, VIniemaHonale et le pan-Germanisme, p. 23; letter of

Jtme 7, 1866.

\* Der Briefwechsel gwischen Marx und Engels^ iv. 296.

\* Life of Nietzsche, by Daniel Hal^vy (Eng. trans.), p. 53.

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early experiences, and both were animated by a fierce and

undying hatred towards Christianity arising from the

same cause, namely that both worshipped jorce. If Marx

incarnated the destructive spirit we associate with Bol-

shevism, Nietzsche was in reality an inverted Bolshevik, a

man who had narrowly escaped being a violent revolu-

tionary SociaUst. Whilst Nietzsche desired to maintain

the tmeducated classes in a state of slavery, Marx aimed at

the enslavement of the intelligentzia; whilst Nietzsche

advocated the autocracy of Superman, Marx professed to

believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat ; whilst Marx

devoted his energies to stirring up class hatred from below,

Nietzsche by his " class consciousness of a higher dass " \*

strove to promote it from above. In a word, both were in

revolt against the existing social order tempered by

Christian forbearance and compassion, which they

regarded as debilitating to man's highest faculties.

This meeting of extremes explains the fact that

Nietzsche found an affinity in Mazzini whilst Marx entered

wholeheartedly into the aims of Bismarck. It is impossible

not to suspect a common inspiration behind them both,

working for the advancement of pan-German interests.

At any rate in 1870 Marx faithfully served the cause of

German Imperialism. Indeed the French branch of the

Internationale in London actually denounced him as an

agent of Bismarck, and Marx wrote to Engels on August 3,

1870, saying that he was not only accused of being a Prus-

sian agent but of having received £10,000 from Bismarck.

Fortunately, adds the author of The Pan^German Inter--

ftationaley who quotes these admissions, '' all this private

correspondence has been recently printed by the Sodalist

publisher, Dietz of Stuttgart. We are thus able to obtain,

not from what others have said but from what the prin-

cipals themselves wrote, a dear indication of their motives

and acts." \*

In the Ught of these revelations it is difficult to see in

^ FrUdrich Nietzsche^ by Georges Brandes (Eng. trans.), p. 30.

\* Adolphe Smith, The Pan-German Iniematumale^ p. 5; see also Laskine,

VIntemakonaU el le pan-Germanisme, p. 83. Note that both these

writers are themselves Socialists. Edmond Laskine is said to be a Russian

Jew; he was educated in France.

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Marx's revolutionary violence the Jewish spirit of revenge

for the persecution of his race to which it has frequently-

been attributed. If Marx resented persecution, why did

he throw in his lot with the country in which Judenhetze

was most rampant? It is possible that Bismarck knew

how to exploit his racial hatred against Christian civiliza-

tion, but the fact remains that, as two modem writers have

expressed it, Marx was, or at any rate became, '\* a German

of the Germans, and Marx has done more for the Father-

land " — which incidentally had exiled him! — " than all

the hordes of German agents that have filtered across the

world." ^

In this attitude he was naturally supported by Engels

— " Marx's evil genius," as Mrs. Marx was wont to

describe him — a constitutional militarist. Thus when the

Internationale of Paris again protested to the German

people against the invasion of French territory, and

this time the German Social Democrats at Brunswick

responded with the proposal of \*\* an honourable peace

with the French Republic/' Engels wrote indignantly to

Marx:

It is just the old infatuation, the superiority of France, the

inviolability of the soil sanctified by 1793, and from which all

the Frendi swinishnesses (les cochonneries frangaises) com-

nutted since then have not been able to take away the character,

the sanctity of the word Republic. ... I hope that these

people will return to good sense once their first intoxication

has passed, otherwise it will become devilishly difficult to con-

tinue international relations with them. ^,

By Marx and Engels the French working-men were

therefore abjured to dissociate themselves from the war

and to forget the memories of 1792. ^Meanwhilethe

German workers must be kept quiet.

'\* Longuet (the French Socialist)," Engels wrote again, " is

very amusing! Because William I. has granted theip a Republic

now they want to make a revolution in Germany! ... If we

have any influence in Paris we must prevent the working-men

from moving until peace is made. • . ." •

1 Bolshevik Russia, by G. £. Raine and E. Luboff, p. 17.-

a Guillaume, Karl Marx^ pan-GermanisU, p. 95. \* Ibid, p. 99.

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And next day he adds:

The war by being prolonged is taking a disagreeable turn.

The French have not yet been thrashed enough, and yet on the

other hand the Germans have already triumphed a good deal.

It is true that, in the end, Maix in a letter to the Daily

News on January 16, 1871, professed some sympathy with

the martyred nation, and even expressed the opinion that

the complete supremacy of Prussia not only over the

people of France but of the rest of Germany would be fatal

to the cause of liberty, but as by this time the triumph of

Prussia was a fait accompli — for two days later the King

of Prussia was crowned Emperor of Germany at Versailles

— such protestations could be made with imptmity. The

fact remains that, as M. Gtiillaume expresses it:

In 1870 Marx and Engels, German patriots before everything

applauded the victories of tiie German armies. . . . And they

took advantage of their position to try, in the name of the

General Council of the Internationale, to dissuade the French

proletariat from fighting against the invaders. . . . Their

attitude at this moment was a real treachery towards the Inter\*

nationale for the profit of pan-German interests. These are

things that it is necessary to make known to all Republicans,

Socialists or otherwise, in France and elsewhere.\*

It will be seen, then, that Internationalism as devised

by Weishaupt, interpreted by Qootz, and carried out by

Marx and Engels, and in our own day by the agent of

Germany, Nicholas Lenin, has served two causes only —

German Imperialism and Jewish intrigue.

• ••••••

After the defeat of the French armies at Sedan on

September 1, 1870, the Empire was swept away and social

revolution dealt the final blows to crushed and suffering

France.

The first outbreak of revolution occurred in the prov-

inces, and at Lyons was carried out by the Bakunists.

Like the war-horse smelling the battle afar, Bakunin him-

self at Locarno heard the revolutionary Socialists of Lyons

calling, and borrowing some money, according to his usual

custom, hastened to the scene of action. Here he foxmd

himself once more in his element. The city was in a state

1 Guillaume, Karl Marx, pan'Cermaniste, p. iv.

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of chaos; '' none of the leaders of the Internationale had

any dear idea what they intended to do; " public meetings

of ^extraordinary violence were taking place, at which " the

most sanguinary motions were put forward and received

with enthusiasm; " Mn a word, it was a state of affairs

after Bakunin's own heart.

But once again the bourgeoisie rose in defence of law

and order; and the Comity de Salut Public, that had

occupied the Town Hall, was obliged to evacuate. The

rdle of Bakunin himself was thus derisively described by

Mane:

On the 28th of September, the day of his arrival, the people

had seized the Hdtel de Ville. Bakunin installed himself there;

then the critical moment arrived, the moment awaited for so

many years, when Bakunin was able to accomplish the most

revolutionary act the world has ever seen. He decreed the

(Volition of the State, But the State, in the shape and kind of

two companies of bourgeois National Guards, entered by a door

that it had been forgotten to guard, cleared the hall, and made

Bakunin hastily take the road for Geneva.^

Bakunin, therefore, bruised and battered — for he had

been severely handled in the fray — returned to Italy a

chastened man. Yet wild as appears his scheme of saving

France from Prussia by \*' the complete destruction of the

whole administrative and governmental machine," • we

must admit that he displayed a certain perspicacity with

regard to the future of French Socialism:

" I begin to think now," he wrote to PaUx, " that it is all

up with France. . . . She will become a viceroyalty of Gtamany.

In the place of her real and living Socialism we shall have the

doctrinaire Socialism of the Germans, who will say no more than

the Prussian bayonets permit them to say." ^

But the final triumph of German Social Democracy

was reserved for three years later.

Whilst these events were taking place in Lyons, the

Third Republic had been proclaimed after the abdication

of Napoleon III. On the 17th of September the Siege of

^ GtdUauine, Documents , etc., iL 92.

\* Alliance de la DSmocratie Socialiste, etc., pvblUe par ordre du Congrks

Internationale de la Haye (1S73), p. 21.

\* Guillaume, Documents , etc,, li. 98. \* Ibid,

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Paris began. Six weeks later, on the 31st of October, great

poptdar indignation was created by the belief that the

Government had attempted to conceal the news of the

surrender of Bazaine and the capittdation of Metz. At the

same time it was announced that the recent victory outside

Paris had been turned into a defeat and Le Bouget recap-

ttired by the Germans; further, that M. Thiers was

coming to Paris, under a flag of truce, to negotiate an

armistice. Then the people who had ending so much

throughout the siege, feeling that all their sacrifices had

been in vain, rose against the Government, and the anar-

chic elements, exploiting the outraged patriotism of the

Parisians, threw the city into confusion. National unity

was thus destroyed, and the Prussians, emboldened by

these dissensions, immediately increased the severity of

their terms, demanding the ceding of Alsace and Lorraine

and a heavy war indemnity.^ Meanwhile their troops were

carr3dng terror and desolation throughout the provinces of

France — burning, pillaging, destroying, and killing with-

out mercy those who offered the least resistance.

According to the terms of the armistice declared after

the coronation of the Emperor William I., the garrison of

Paris, with the exception of 12,000 men, was ordered to

be disbanded, but the National Guards, known to be

infected with revolutionary doctrines, were to be retained.

It was thus that some of the French soldiers refused to

march against the Prussians, declaring that they preferred

to reserve themselves for fighting Frenchmen; that dvil

war was to be preferred to war against a foreign enemy.'

But it was observed that these doctrines, the outcome of

German Social Democracy, exercised no influence over the

German mind, for whilst the French disciples of Inter-

nationalism fell back in battle not one Prussian faltered.'

The triumphal entry of the Prussians into Paris on

March 1 was the signal for the revolution to break out;

and on the 18th of March the National Guards, acting on

this occasion in a spirit of outraged patriotism at the

incompetence of the Government in the matter of national

1 Bonnechose. p. 707. \* Louit finaialt, Paris bntU^ p. 10.

\* Heckethom 8 Secret Societies, iL 250.

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defence, took possession of the guns ranged in the Place

des Vosges lest they shotdd fall into the hands of the

Prussians, and carried them up to the heights of Mont\*

martre.

At the same time a central committee of National

Guards, formed on the plan of the Committee of Insurrec-

tion that had organized the plan of attack on August 10,

1792, seized the reins of power. In vain the Government

ordered fresh troops to recapture the guns. The soldiers

went over to the side of revolution, and barbarously

mxirdered their generals Lecomte and Thomas. Once more

the tricouleur, defeated, gave way to the red flag of the

social revolution.

Pour days later the affray known as the " Massacre of

the Place Vendfime " took place, when a procession of " the

Priends of Order " — an immense demonstration com-

posed of unarmed National Guards, civilians, women, and

children, bearing the tricouleur as a rallying sign against

disorder — were fired on by the insurgents and — accord-

ing to certain contemporaries — thirty of their number

killed.'

Prom this moment the revolutionaries were masters of

Paris. The H6tel de Ville was seized, the Government

driven out of Versailles and the Commune established in

its place.

It is impossible to foUow the events of 1871 with the

same precision as those of 1848 owing to the chaotic nature

of the movement. Whilst 1848, in spite of the diversity of

views that prevailed amongst the leaders, remained essen-

tially a Socialist revolution, 1871 developed more along the

lines of Anarchy. It is true that at the outset some attempt

was made by Marx and Engels to control the movement.

•' When the Commune insurrection began in Paris," writes

Prince Kropotkine, " the General Cotmcil insisted upon direct-

ing the insurrection from London. It required daily reports

atxnit the events, gave orders, favoured this and hampered that,

and thus put in evidence the disadvantage of having a govern-

ing body, even within the association." \*

^ Bonnechose, Histoire de France, ii. 722; Louis finault, Paris brUU

par la Commune, p. 33; John Leighton, Paris under ike Commune, p. 54.

\* Memoirs of a Reuolulionary, ii. 66.

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But these orders of Marx seem to have been disre-

garded, and it was German Illtiminism rather than German

Social Democracy that gained the ascendancy. When on

the 26th of April a deputation of Freemasons arrived to

congratulate the Commime, the old war-cry of Illtmiimsm,

" The Universal Republic," inaugurated by Anarcharsis

Clootz, greeted their appearance.^

Brother Thirifocque, the orator of the procession,

declared that \*\* the Commtme was the greatest revolution

it had been given to the world to contemplate ; that it was

the new Temple of Solomon which Freemasons were bound

in duty to defend." To which Lefrangais, member of the

Commune, replied that he himself had been received into

the Loge Ecossaise, and had long been convinced that the

aim of the association was the same as that of the Com-

mune — social regeneration.\*

In accordance with the principles of " universal

masonry " national interests were soon lost to sight and

French patriotism became dominated by the spirit of the

World Revolution. Here again 1871 cQflfered essentially

from 1848, for whilst that earlier movement, led entirdy by

Frenchmen, retained its national character throughout,

the Commune quickly became an assemblage of cosmo-

politan elements entirely imrepresentative of the spirit of

France.

Amongst the foreigners in the service of the Commtme

there were 19 Poles, 10 Italians, 7 Germans, 2 Americans,

2 Russians, 2 Wallachians, 2 Portuguese, 1 Egyptian, 1

Belgian, 1 Hungarian, 1 Spaniard, and 1 Dutchman.\*

Generically its elements were divided into IntemationaJs,

Jacobins, and professional agitators. Amongst this hetero-

geneous crowd — \*' the d6class4s of the whole world,"

writes a contemporary \* — there could be no unity of

action or of purpose.

\ Nevertheless the French Communards niunbered sev-

1 Leighton, Paris under the Commune, p. 221 : " An enthusiastic czy

of Vive la Franc- Ma^onneriel Vive la lUpuHigue Unioerselle/ is re-echoed

from mouth to mouth."

> Deschamps, ii. 421, 422.

> I^ghton, op. cU, (quoting the Figaro) p. 75; £nault, Paris brUU^

p. 315.

\* Paris hrHU, p. 42.

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eral sincere patriots. It is impossible indeed to conceive

of any movement taking place in Paris without the roman-

tic and passionately patriotic spirit of the French making

itself felt, and the incompetence of the Government had

driven many enthusiasts over to the side of the revolution.

Unhappily this enthusiasm had led to fanaticism. Thus

Flourens, killed by a mounted patrol whilst leading a troop

of insurgents to Versailles, has been described by an

English contemporary as \*\* an enthusiast in search of a

social Eldorado, who would put himself at the service of

the most forlorn cause." " In the bitter cold winters he

fed and clothed the poor of Belleville, going from attic to

attic with money and consolation.\*\* But the turbulence of

his nature had thrown him into agitation. " He was a man

of barricades. He did not seem to think that paving-

stones were made to walk on; he only cared to see them

heaped up across the street for the protection of armed

patriots. . . . Wherever there was a chance of being

killed he was sure to be. ... He was a madman, but he

was a hero." \*

In justice to the men of 1871 we must admit their

bravery. These French Communards did not, like their

predecessors who composed the Commtme of 1792, sit

safely behind thick walls or take refuge in cellars whilst

the crowd they had set in motion bore the brunt of the

battle on the great days of tumult; the men of 1871 went

boldly out into the streets to face the fire of the soldiery,

and many died fighting, fired with enthusiasm to the last.

But alas! to what purpose? If the Government had

proved incompetent the Commune proved more incom-

petent still. And as in all anarchic movements it was

inevitably the most violent — more than this, the most

criminal — elements that obtained control, M. finault

declares that no less than 52,000 foreigners and 17,000

released convicts took part in the scenes that followed.^

Under these influences the war on civilization planned

by Weishaupt and inaugurated by the Terror of 1793 broke

out afresh. As in 1848, all the memories of that earlier

period — fatal precedent from which the French seemed

^ Leighton, op. ciL 116, 116. \* Paris briUi, p. 28.

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destined never to depart — were once again evoked. A

\*\* Comit6 de Salut Public " was formed, the calendar of

1793 revived, and with a pitiable poverty of imagination

even the names of the newspapers were copied from those

of the first Revolution — the Cri du Peuple of Babeuf , the

Pire Duchesne of H6bert, in which the gutter verbiage of

the famous '\* stove merchant " was faithfully reproduced

by his imitator Vermesch,

Naturally the de-Christianization of Paris inaugurated

in 1793 entered again largely into the programme. The

same desecration of the churches took place; the images

of the saints were broken or tricked out in ignoble disguises,

the pictiu-es torn, plate and ornaments pillaged; parties

played at cards on the high altar, orators mounted the

pulpit to blaspheme God. In the church of Saint Eustache,

where the font had been filled with tobacco and the statue

of the Holy Virgin dressed up as a " vivandiire"a, crowd

of \*' female patriots," of the same class as those who had

seduced the soldiery in 1789, declaimed the doctrines of the

social revolution: " Marriage, citizenesses, is the greatest

error of ancient humanity. To be married is to be a slave.

..." A tall gatmt woman, with a nose like the beak of

a hawk and a jaundice-colotired complexion, demanded

amidst thunders of applause that the Commune should no

longer recognize marriage by according pensions to the

legitimate as well as the illegitimate wives of the National

Guards: " The matrimonial state is a perpetual crime

against morality. . . . We, the illegitimate companions,

win no longer suffer the legitimate wives to usurp rights

they no longer possess and which they ought never to have

had at all. Let the decree be modified. All for the free

women, none for the slaves! " \*

The honest women of the people took no part in these

revolting scenes; indeed the \*\* Ladies of the Market "

showed themselves some of the most determined oppo-

nents of disorder.\* In the poor streets of Paris respect for

religion still held sway, and women wept to see their

children's coffins lowered into the grave without a prayer.

There are mothers, writes our English contemporary,

^ Leighton, op, ciL p. 283. \* Paris brOU, p. 208.

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" quite unworthy of course to bear the children of patriots,

who do not want their dear ones to be buried like dogs;

who cannot understand that to pray is a crime, and to

kneel down before God an offence to humanity, and who

are still weak enough to wish to see a cross planted on the

tombs of those they have loved and lost! Not the cross of

the nineteenth century — a red flag! " \*

This attitude on the part of the people of Paris natur-

ally proved exasperating to the makers of World Revo-

lution. Baktmin, like his prototype Marat, despaired of

them altogethei.

" The cause is lost," he wrote from Locarno, on the 9th of

April; '\* it seems that the French, the working-class itself, are

not much moved by this state of things. Yet how terrible the

lesson is! But it is not enough. They must have greater calam-

ities, ruder shocks. Everything makes one foresee that neither

one nor the other will be wanting. And then perhaps the demon

will awake. But as long as it slumbers we can do nothing. It

would really be a pity to have to pay for the broken glasses,

it would in fact be quite useless. Our task is to do the prepara-

tory work, to organize and spread out so as to hold ourselves

in readiness when the demon shall have awoken." \*

But as far as the true people of Paris were concerned

the demon never did awake, and it was a gang of foreign

adventurers, \*\* the most horrible horde that ever invaded

civilization," • which carried out the pillage and burnings,

the outrages and mtirders that followed on each other

throughout those dreadful three days of May

Bakunin's claim to responsibility in these happenings

finds confirmation in the words of Fribotirg, one of the

original foxmders of the Internationale: " Personally we

firmly beheve that the decrees of spoliation, the arbitrary

arrests, the shooting of the hostages, and the systematic

incendiarism of the capital are the work of the Russo-

German party," \* In other words, they were the work of

German lUim^iinism and of its development in the Alliance

Sodale D6mocratique.

^ Leighton, p. 117. Note adds: " Early in April the Commune forbade

divine service in the Panth^n. They cut off the arms of the cross, and

replaced it by the red flag during a salute of artillery."

\* Correspondance ds Bakaunine, p. 350. \* Paris britU, p. 28.

\* Fribourg, V Association InUmationale des Travailleurs^ p. i&.

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The prelude to this final stage of the revolution was

the entry of the Versailles troops into Paris, five da3rs after

the destruction of the Colonne Venddme. On the 16th of

May the famous monument, erected in honottr of French

victories and now declared to be an insult to the principle

of Internationalism, had been overthrown by order of the

Commtme — influenced, it was said, by Prussian gold \* —

whilst German officers looked on, rejoicing.\* This outrage

to the national traditions of France infuriated the army

of Versailles, which had been recently reinforced by

returned prisoners from Germany, and on the 21st of May

an entry was made to the capital through the Porte de

Saint-Cloud. The " bloody week " of street fighting fol-

lowed. By the third day the Versailles troops had reached

the approaches to the Tuileries, and it was then that the

generals of the Commune, Brunei and Bergeret, set fire to

the palace and the Rue Royale.

Once again the idea of war on cities, that had originated

with Weishaupt, that had been carried out by the Ter-

rorists of 1793 and revived by the Nihilists who had

advocated the burning of towns, was put into practice

with terrible effect. Amongst the dregs of the populace,

wretched, drink-sodden old women, degenerate boys,

armed with paraffin, set out to bum down Paris.\* The plan

had evidently long been premeditated in Germany; eight

months before that terrible night of May 23, a cartoon had

appeared in the shop windows of German towns depicting

Paris in fiames, with Germania above triumphant, and,

beneath, the words: '" Gefallen, gefallen ist Babylon die

Stolze " (Babylon the mighty is fallen, is fallen!)^

Nearly a hundred years eariier, Weishaupt, the arch-

enemy of civilization, had declared, '" Hie day of confla-

gration will come!" Now it had come, and Paris, once the

centre of the world's civilization, was to be burnt to the

ground.

It cannot be doubted that the total destruction of the

l^'Heckethom's ^'ecret Societies^ u. 253.

' Bonnechose, Histaire de France, ii. 729.

\* Heckethom's Secrei Societies, ii. 268, 262; Leighton, op. cii, p. 339.

^ This cartoon is reproduced in Le Fond de la socUU sous ia Commune^

by C. A. Dauban.

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city was desired by the enemies of France, and if this plan

was not realized the havoc worked was terrible enough.

The Palace of the Ttiileries reduced to ashes, the Ministry

of Finances, the Palace of the Legion of Honour, the Palais

de Justice, the H6tel de Ville with its treasures of art and

priceless national archives — in a word the glory of old

France lost to the worid for ever — numerous houses in the

Rue de Bac, the Rue de Lille, the Rue Royale, turned into

rows of blackened ruins; and so little did the incendiaries

concern themselves with the cause of the people that the

Bureau de TAssistance Publique, that existed solely to

relieve distress, besides several houses belonging to it, of

which the revenues belonged to the poor, were consumed

by the flames. The granaries containing com, wine, oil,

and other provisions destined to relieve the sufferings of

Paris famished by the siege shared a like fate.^

On the evening of the following day the horrible mas-

sacring of hostages was carried out. Six victims, including

the Archbishop of Paris and four other priests who had

been imprisoned seven weeks earlier, were shot down \* in

cold blood at the prison of La Roquette; in vain the poor

women of the district with tears and cries besought for the

life of their pastor the aged Abb6 Deguerry, cur6 of La

Madeleine; the massacrers, faithful to the traditions of

September 1792, dragged him to his death amidst the

curses and invectives of his parishioners.\* All died with the

courage of their eighteenth century predecessors in mar-

tyrdom. At the last moment the Archbishop, hearing the

word liberty uttered by one of his mtirderers, said with

dignity, \*\* Do not pronotmce that word of liberty; it

belongs only to us who die for liberty and faith."\*

As in September 1792, men of the people were not

spared, and on the 27th of May a general massacre of the

prisoners, including 66 gendarmes, took place. Amongst

these was .an unfortimate man, the father of eight children,

accused of having stolen the blouse and blue trousers he

wore, who met with a fearful death at the hands of a mob

led by a revolutionary Amazon armed with a chassepot.^

\* Paris brilU, p. 203. • Bonnechose, op, cit, ii. 733.

\* Beaumont Vassy, La Commune de Paris, p. 118.

\* Bozmechose, ii. 733. \* Leighton, op, cU, p. 327.

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But the plan of the niuminati for the destruction of

civilization was once more frustrated. Civilization had

risen in self-defence as civilization will always rise, and

the fiercer the onslaught the more furious will be the

reaction. When the struggle between the revolutionary

army of the Commune and the forces of law and order had

ended in a victory for the latter, thousands of victims

strewed the streets of Paris; according to Prince Kropot-

kine, no less than 30,000 men, women, and children per-

ished in the fray. But what were these to the Anarchists

who, according to Marx, regarded the people as " cannon

fodder " (chair d canon) on the day of revolution? \*

So ended the third experiment in revolutionary govern-

ment carried out on unhappy France. Even Mr. Adolphe

Smith, who had hoped great things of the Commune

admits its incompetence. Sanguine revolutionists after

1871, he writes, \*\* began to reahze the innate weakness of

mere theories divorced from administrative capacity."

They saw that even when in possession of one of the fairest

cities of Europe — with the bank of Prance in their hands, an

enthusiastic army at their command, weapons and munitioss

of war innumerable — while Ihe country was disorganized, the

regular army flying in terror before the insurrection for it could

not rely upon its own soldiers — still the Commune, though so

strong and successful, was unable to accomplish anything. The

leaders frittered away the precious moments for action in futile

discussions and squabbles, till the reaction, gathering strength,

organized its scattered forces and crushed them. The similitude

of this with the position of Petrograd before and after the

Bolsheviks seized the reins of government will not fail to be

noticed by every observer.\*

Yet in spite of its ghastly fiasco the regime of the Com-

mune met with unanimous applause from the Inter-

nationale; at Zurich, Geneva, Brussels, Leipzig, members

vied with each other in extolling the bloody deeds com-

mitted during those terrible months of March to May. An

English Internationalist declared that '\*• the good time

was really coming," and that " soon we shall be able to

dethrone the Queen of England, turn Buckingham Palace

^ VAUiance Sociale DhnocraHgue, p. 15.

\* Unpublished work by Mr. Adolphe Smith entitled The Betrayal of the

IntemaHonaL

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into a workshop and pull down the York Column as the

noble French people had pulled down the Vend6me

column." ^

Bakunin, who now apparently considered that the

demon had awoken, admiringly described the French pro-

letariat as '' the modem Satan, the author of the sublime

insurrection of the Commune."\*

Marx, not to be left out of the movement, which in

reality had, in its negation of the State, been conducted on

principles opposed to his avowed opinions, now published

a panegyric of the Commune entitled The Civil War in

France, in which he referred to the State as " that parasite

which exploits and hinders the free movements of society."

How are we to reconcile this with Marx's advocacy of

State Socialism? \*

Guillaume, commenting on Marx's sudden volte-face^

asks whether he had really become converted to the

principles of federalism, and quotes Bakunin as declaring

that the power of the Commune had proved so formidable

that even the Marxians had been obliged to take ofE their

hats to it. But the meastire of Marx's sincerity in writing

his panegyric of the Commune was revealed later when

his correspondence with his friend Sorge was published

in 1906. It seems that at the end of 1871 several refugees

of the Commtme who had fled to London and Geneva

refused to obey his commands. Thereupon Marx wrote to

Sorge:

And that is my reward for having wasted nearly five months

working for the refugees, and for having saved their honour by

the publication of the Address on the Civil War.\*

Thus Marx, with his superb talent for using everything

that could serve his purpose, turned the anarchic r6gime

of the Commtme to account. But now the moment had

come to suppress that djmamic force which threatened his

supremacy and to concentrate his attention on the Anar-

chists of the Internationale.

^ Heckethom's Secret Societies, ii. 252.

' GuiUaume, Documents, ii. 253.

\* First formulated in his Communist Manifesto: "to centralisa all

instruments of production in the hands of the State."

\* GtuUaume, Documents^ iL 192.

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by a ruse.' At a meeting of the Geneva sections of the

association that same spring, he and his allies had declared

that the Alliance had never been received into the Inter-

nationale at all, and when in reply to this statement the

secretary of the Alliance produced the original letters

signed by Eccarius and Jtmg in the name of the Inter-

nationale announcing that the General Council had

admitted the Alliance on the 25th of August 1869, Outine

calmly replied that the letters were forgeries and brought

forward a Russian Jewess, Mme. Dmitri^, who had just

arrived from London, in supi)ort of this assertion.\*

A conference was finally arranged between the two

factions on the 25th of July, 1871, at which Jung himself

presided and Marx and Engels were present. The docu-

ments were again produced, and this time Jung was

obliged to confess that he had signed the second, whilst

Engels, after a quarter of an hour of prevarications, mum-

bled that it was imix)ssible to deny either of the letters.

As to Marx, Guillaume observes: " The great man, usually

so sure of himself in the midst of his courtiers, was dtunb-

f ounded. He was caught in the flagrant d4lit of a Ue and

his act was authentically proved." \*

Marx afterwards retaliated by accusing Bakunin of

duplicity, declaring that in 1869 he had believed the

Alliance to have been dissolved whilst in reality it con-

tinued to work in secret, and that " by means of this

freemasonry its existence was not even suspected by the

great mass of the Internationals." '

It is impossible to disentangle the truth from all this

web of lying and intrigue; both sides had, as we know,

accepted the doctrine that the end justifies the means, and

both lied freely to obtain the mastery. Sufl&ce it then to

say that finally, at the Hague Congress of the Inter-

nationale held in 1872, the London General Council —

" by a fictitious majority," says Prince Kropotkine —

excluded the Bakuninists and the Jura Federation they

had formed from the Internationale. The latter now

moved its headquarters to New York and four years later

1 Guillaume DocumeiUs, ii. 167. > Ibid. vL 176, 177.

\* VAUianu SociaU DhnocraHqtu^

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quietly expired at Philadelphia. So ended the great asso-

ciation which for twelve years had spread terror through-

out Europe. Long before its death the working-men had

lost all faith in it, and the engineers of Brussels, led by it

into an abortive strike, had denounced it as " the leprosy

of Europe " and \*\* the Company of Millionaires on paper."\*

As a means for ameliorating the conditions of Labour

it had proved from 1864 a fraud, as a barrier against inter-

national conflicts it had proved its futility in 1870,

throughout its whole career it had existed merely as a

hotbed of intrigue — mainly pan-German — and all its

protestations of fraternity had led only to the old conflict

between the rival forces of revolution. The inner history

of the Internationale, like the history of all revolutionary

organizations from the Terror onwards, is simply a series

of petty rivalries and of miserable quarrels between the

leaders, conducted without the faintest regard for the

interests of the people whom such demagogues profess to

represent. Readers have merely to glance through the

voliuninous Documents de V Internationale by James

GuiUatune (4 vols. 1907), the best official record of the

proceedings of the society, to convince themselves of the

truth of this assertion. Further light has been thrown on

the Marxian intrigues by Gmllatune's recent brochure

Karl Marx, pan-Gertnaniste (Armand Colin, 1915), and

by Edmond Laskine's admirable work, V Internationale

et le pan-Germanisme (Floury, 1916). In France, there-

fore, the Marxian legend has been completely shattered,

and it is doubtless owing to the fact that none of these

books have been translated into English that a belief m

Marx still survives in this cotmtry. Mr. Adolphe Smith's

very valuable pamphlet is the only English work of this

Idnd known to the present writer, and it should be scat-

tered broadcast through the land.'

On the other hand, the Marxians' accusations against

A Heckethom's Secret Societies, xi. 235.

\* The Pan-German Internationale, articles by Adolphe Smith, Official

Anglo-French Interpreter from 1882 at the Congresses of the Internationale.

Reprinted from the Times, price 3d. Copies may be obtained from Adolphe

Smith, 17 Scarsdale Terrace, Kensington, W.8. It is regrettable that

Mr. Smith's larger work, The Betrayal of the Internationale, of which he has

kindly allowed me to make use, has not yet been published.

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the Anarchists may be read in the pamphlet U Alliance

Sociale Dimocratique, published by order of the Congress

of La Haye in 1873; the first part written by Engels and

Laf argue, the conclusion by Marx and Engels with " the

object of killing Bakunin dead (le tuer raide mort),'\* ^

After perusing the case for both sides in this final

dispute it is impossible to retain any illusions on the char-

acter of either Marx or his opponent ; we need not, there-

fore, have recotirse to anti-SociaUst literature in order to

realize to the full the perfidy and hypocrisy of that bogus

company that called itself "' Hie International Associa-

tion of Working Men."

1 Guillaiime, Documents^ iiL 14S\*

CHAPTER VIII

THE COURSE OP ANARCHY

Nibilism in Rtissia — Murder of Alexander II. — The revived Illtuninati —

Johann Most — Revolutionary Congress in London — Anarchist

outrages in Western Europe — Fenianism — British Socialism.

Although Anarchy had been vanquished in the Inter-

nationale, it was Anarchy not State Socialism that after

the revolution of 1871 obtained control of the revolution-

ary movement. Revolts against the Marxian autocracy

of the Internationale — " the Marxist synagogue " \* as

Bakunin described it — broke out in Italy, Spain, Bel-

gitun, and in the Jura Federation that had been organized

by the expelled Anarchists.\*

But it was in Russia that Anarchy found its natural

home, where the ground had been prepared by the propa-

ganda of the Nihilists carried on indefatigably since the

early 'sixties. Romantic Russian writers are anxious to

make us believe that Nihilism — of which the name first

appears in Turghenieflf's novel, Fathers and Sons, in 1861

— was some kind of mystic creed indigenous to Russia,

but to the readers of this book the tenets of the Nihilists

will seem strangely familiar. Thus, for example, Bazaroff,

the hero of TurghenieflE's romance, explains that " it is

necessary above all to clear the groimd. Later, when all

institutions have been destroyed, when a tabula rasa is

complete, then existing forces, then humanity will crystal-

lize again in new institutions which will no doubt be

appropriate to surrounding conditions." The words have

a reminiscent echo of Rabaud de St. Etienne's: \*\* Every-

^ Ettore Zoccoli, VAnarchia, p. 116.

' Kxopotkine, Modem Science and Anarchism, pp. 43, 62.

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thing, yes, eveiything must be destroyed, since everything

must be remade."

The Nihilist, Prince Eropotkine informs us, " declared

war upon what may be described as ' the conventional lies

of civilized mankind ' ... he refused to bow before any

authority except that of reason. ..." Accordingly he

'\* broke, of course, with the superstitions of his fathers "

with regard to religion, whilst in the matter of social

relations " he assumed a certain external roughness " —

as a protest against conventional politeness. " Art was

involved in the same sweeping negation," the Nihilist's

attitude being expressed in the words: " A pair of boots is

more important than all yotir Madonnas and all yotu\*

refined talk about Shakespeare/' ^

The \*\* equality of the sexes " was a fundamental doc-

trine of Nihilism which, as the P^e Deschamps points out«

is only another expression for the destruction of family

life.\* " According to the Nihilists, men and women live

together in little groups where all is in common. In order

to be wholly independent the woman must herself provide

her livelihood." Maternity being an inequality of nattu^,

" the Nihilist woman therefore willingly abandons " her

offspring.\*

Above all, of cotirse, religion mtist be destroyed, and

Stepniak admiringly describes the campaign carried on by

the band of enthusiastic propagandists who preached

materialism throughout Russia both in speech and print.

"Atheism excited people like a new religion. The zealous

went about, like veritable missionaries, in search of living

souls, in order to cleanse them from the abomination of

Christianity." \*

Had not Anacharsis Clootz done likewise up to the

very foot of the scaffold? What indeed is there in all this

but the resuscitated plan of Illuminism ? P^e Deschamps'

suggestion that Nihilism was simply the Eastern branch

of Bakimin's Alliance Sodale D6mocratique modeUed on

Weishaupt's Order, goes less to the root of the matter

^ Kropotkine, Memoirs of a Revolutionary, iL 86, 88.

\* Deschamps, ii. 674.

\* Fhbourg, L\* Association IntemaHonale des TrawuUeurs^ p. 184.

\* Stepniak. Underground Russia, p. 5.

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than his further explanation that the youthful philosophers

of Russia had gone to the fountain-head by studying at

German universities. TurghenieflE himself had spent three

years in Berlin reading Hegelian philosophy. It was

therefore directly from Germany that lUuminism under

its new name of Nihilism travelled to Russia. The ver\'

name itself had been foretold by Joseph de Maistre in

the first years of the century when he declared that

the doctrines of lUuminism would lead men to become

\*\* rienistes." \*

Yet if the seed was not indigenous to Russia the soil

was peculiarly adapted to its growth. The theory that

" civilization is all ^Tong," however preposterous when

applied to Western Europe, had something to commend it

in the case of Russia. There civilization, consisting in a

foreign veneer hastily applied to a rude natural surface,

might appear even to non-anarchic minds \*\* all wrong " —

a process that needed redoing from the outset.

Civilization to be of any value must be necessarily of

slow growth, must moreover begin at the bottom — in the

hearts not in the manners of the people. England had her

Alfred the Great, her Richard Coeur de Lion ; France her

Saint Louis and her Henry IV. These and other great

founders of their civilizations had implanted deep down

in the life of each nation those principles of humanity and

compassion, of honour and of justice which in the latter

country even the Revolution could not entirely eradicate.

Russia had never known these early influences; founded

on Tartar instead of Roman ideas, she had remained sunk

in barbarism imtil Peter the Great began his veneering

process which, applied to the rude surface of Russian life,

resulted in a form of culttare both prematture and imnatural.

To change the simile, such civilization as Russia had

attained in the nineteenth centxiry was not the natural

growth of the soil; it was a German civilization wholly

foreign to the \*\* genius " of her people. There was much

that was good and wholesome in the life of the Russian

peasants. De Custine declared that it was worth coming

to Russia if only to see \*\* the pure image of patriarchal

^ Deschamps, ii. 686.

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society " and the \*\* celestial faces \*' of the old peasants

seated with dignity at the end of the day before the

threshold of their cottages.\* " One must go into the inte-

rior of Russia to know what primitive man was worth and

all that the refinements of society have made him lose.

I have said and I repeat it ... in this patriarchal

country, it is civilization that spoils man." \*

It is easy then to imderstand how the " illuminated "

doctrine of a return to Nature might find an echo in the

least anarchic minds when applied to Russia, and if it had

been only this foreign and artificial civilization the Nihil-

ists had set out to destroy, who could have blamed them ?

If, further, they had had anything better to offer in its

place, who could have failed to applaud them? But the

tragedy of Russia is never to have been allowed to

develop along her own national lines; she had been made

by the Romanovs to imitate Western civilization, now she

was to be taught by the revolutionaries to imitate Western

methods of overthrowing it. Bakunin had raged against

German Petersbourgeois Imperialism (cet impirialisme

piiersbourgeois alletnand), and it was German Illuminism

his followers brought to Russia in its stead. The tendency

to anarchy latent in the Russian nature, as exemplified in

the Baron Ungem von Sternberg, was to be exploited in

the interests of World Revolution. For, in spite of the

serenity described by de Custine as characteristic of the

Russian peasant in his normal moments, he responds only

too readily to suggestions of violence. And when we

consider this peculiarity, when we remember the tendency

to drunkenness and to brutality that tmderlies his surface

impassiveness we realize the fearful danger of taking

from him the only restraints he knew — respect for God

and the Czar.

Was the Imperial Government, then, to tolerate the

campaign of insubordination and of militant atheism con-

ducted by the Nihilists from 1866 onwards?

Can it be seriously maintained that any government

would have been doing its duty if it had not protected

the simple peasantry from these disintegrating doctrines?

» La Russie en 1839. iv. 9, 10. « Ihid. iv. 97.

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What cotdd it do but arrest, imprison, exile, and suppress

by all means in its power the germ-darriers who would

have infected the whole life of the people? K the methods

adopted resembled those of Eastern potentates rather than

those of our own enlightened legislators, it must be

remembered that the rulers of Russia can no more than

their subjects be judged by Western standards. Moreover,

without condoning the brutality of the repression exercised,

it must be recognized that a revers du m^daillon exists.

Let us put ourselves in the place of Nicholas I., who has

been persistently represented as an intractible autocrat.

Ascending the throne with the warning of the French

Revolution ringing in his ears, he found himself immedi-

ately confronted by the Dekabrist outbreak, obviously

engineered by secret forces — an experience that left a

deep impression on his mind. Yet, in spite of this, have

we not seen him visiting Robert Owen at New Lanark, and

in 1839 receiving deputations of serfs begging to be trans-

ferred to the royal domains, assuring them, moreover, of

his desire for their emancipation — alas, with what fatal

results! No wonder, then, that we find him declaring:

\*\* Despotism exists in Russia since it is the essence of my

government, but it is in accord with the genius of the

nation." \* Three hundred years earlier the Austrian

ambassador to Moscow had asked whether it was the

character of the Russian nation that had made autocrats,

or autocrats that had made the character of the Russian

nation,' and de Custine, echoing the question in 1830, gives

as his opinion: " If the iron rod that directs this still

brutalized people were to cease for an instant to weigh

on it, the whole of society would be overthrown." \*

We have only to study the history of Russia through-

out the nineteenth century to reaUze that every step

towards reform became the signal for a fresh outbreak of

revolutionary agitation. The Nihilist movement followed

directly on the era of reform inaugurated by Alexander II.

The emancipation of the serfs in 1861 did nothing to allay

agitation^ and if, as we are assured, the measure failed to

^ de Custine, La Russie en 1839, ii. 46.

» Ibid. 1. 241. » Ihid. ii. 217,

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satisfy the peasants we mtist at least recognize the sin-

cerity of the Emperor's intentions. To turn against him at

this juncture was nattirally to drive him into reaction and

to arrest the whole movement of refoniL

It cannot be too often repeated — violence begets

violence ; and if we are to see in Nihilism the outcome of

repression, as truly must we recognize in so-called \*\* Czar-

ism " the result of agitation. The revolutionaries plotted

secretly against the State, and the State defended itself by

the secret methods of " the Third Section " ; the authori-

ties forbade the circulation of seditious pamphlets, and the

traffickers in forbidden literature redoubled their eflEorts

to smuggle it into the country; each side pitted its wits

against the other, and thus the vicious circle once created

could not be arrested.

It was not, however, tmtil after 1871 that the Russian

revolutionary movement entered on its violent phases.

The example of the Paris Commune then spread eastwards,

and the revolutionaries, no longer known as Nihilists but

as \*\* Revolutionary Socialists," embarked on the series of

outrages which marked the years 1873-1881.

Much has been written about the heroism, the self-

sacrifice, the burning enthusiasm of the " Tchaikovsky

Circle " that was inaugurated toward the end of 1872 at

St. Petersbxirg with ramifications at Moscow and other

large towns of Russia. This little band of propagandists

that consisted solely of upper-and middle-class intellec-

tuals certainly showed themselves capable of great courage

and endurance when the movement passed from words to

deeds, but at the outset it is evident, from the accounts

given by the members themselves, that they derived no

small amount of enjoyment from the novelty and excite-

ment the new life provided.

One must know something of the Russian character

from personal experience to understand this; to the

Russian, intrigue, particularly of the political variety, is

as the breath of life, and we have already seen how to

Bakimin the preparing of revolution — tie secret signs

and codes, chemical inks, all-night discussions over tea and

cigarettes — afforded a joy incomprehensible to the

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Western mind. More especially was this passion to be

found in the young women of the country who hitherto

had exercised in the service of the Czars their talent for

secret political intrigue; Catherine the Great had made

great use of these \*' Northern Aspasias " acting as her

uno£Scial ambassadors and spies, and under Nicholas I.

the same " organized feminine diplomacy " was continued

by \*' political Amazons " whose passion for meddling in

affairs of State absorbed them to the exclusion of all other

matters — even love.

It is easy to understand that to women of this type the

revolutionary movement should have offered a career even

more entidng; to the delights of intrigue were added the

charm of novelty and the excitement provided by an ele-

ment of danger. The young Russian girls with cropped

hair, dressed in boyish garments, who crowded to Zurich

as students — ^medical or otherwise — could enjoy all the

sensation of an adventure, and on their return to Russia

thousands of men and women students went to live in

towns and villages to carry on Socialistic propaganda

amongst the workers. To the yotmg, the strong, and the

adventurous this kind of life may well have proved con-

genial; indeed in Prince Kropotkine's own account of his

adventures as a member of the Tchaikovsky Circle we

cannot fail to detect an afterglow of exhilaration. Throw-

ing a peasant's shirt and coat over his silk undergarments

this aristocratic anarchist would slip out of the Winter

Palace at night and betake himself to the slums of St.

Petersburg where meetings of the workers were held.

To play at being peasants has frequently proved a

pastime to jaded aristocracy, and Kropotkine, masquerad-

ing as " Borodin " in a sheepskin, consulted as an oracle by

the other sheepskins, evidently found these evenings more

entertaining than the dreary formalities of St. Petersburg

society.

Peter Kropotkine, who may be regarded as the milder

tjrpe of visionary anarchist, was bom in 1842 at Moscow.

Although a follower and an ardent admirer of Bakunin,

Kropotkine in his private life showed himself greatly

superior to liis master. Unlike Bakunin he was a worker.

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though not in the sense he implied in his writings. To

identify himself with the " proletariat " in such phrases as

\*\* we shall succeed in getting our rights respected " is of

course the purest affectation. Kropotkine, who had never

worked with his hands but only with his brain, was

essentially an aristocrat of the same variety as the aristo-

crats of France who before 1789 loved to dilate on the

necessity of destroying the existing order. The keynote

of all Kropotkine's writings is imreality, never does he at

any point come to grips with life, and it is here he diflfers

from Bakunin. The \*\* Russian giant "was a realist, and

in advocating revolution he knew perfectly well what

revolution meant — violence, bloodshed, confusion, chaos

— all things in which his soul delighted. On human

nature, as we have seen, he entertained no illusions, and

it was for criminals that he expressed his warmest sym-

pathy. Kropotkine, less practical, or perhaps less honest,

expressed a botmdless belief in htmian nature; a disciple

of Rousseau as well as of Weishaupt, he held that \*\* the

inequality of forttmes and conditions, the exploitation of

man by man, the domination of the masses by a few, had

in the course of ages tmdermined and destroyed the

precious products of the primitive life of society " \* — a

passage that might well seem to be taken verbatim from

the famous essay on \*\* rin6galit6 des Conditions."

With the same wild disregard for truth Kropotkine

echoes Rousseau's panegyrics on the happiness and

benevolence of savages,\* \*\* the fraternity and solidarity "

that distinguishes tribal life, '\* the hospitality of primitive

peoples, their respect for human life, compassion for the

weak," and personal self-sacrifice. Arriving inevitably at

the same conclusions as Weishaupt, iCropotkine argues

that human nature being so inherently benign, all restraint

should be removed, all law and government abolished, even

murderers should go tmpimished and criminals should \*\* be

soothed with fraternal care." \* So identical are many of

these theories with those of Weishaupt that it is impos-

sible not to beUeve that, like Bakunin, he had fallen imder

^ Kropotkine, Paroles d'un rivolU, p. 10.

\* Les Temps nouveaux^ p. 21.

s Paroles d\*un rholte, pp. 223, 242, 244.

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the spell of Illuminism and was consciously working for the

sect that had as its object the '\* universal revolution which

should deal the death-blow to society."

The connection between all the succeeding disciples of

Weishaupt can only be established by comparing their

writuigs, when it will become evident that passages so

closely resembling each other cannot be attributed to mere

coincidence, and the main ideas of World Revolution will

be seen to descend in tmbroken sequence from one revolu-

tionary group to another. Indeed ICropotkine himself

informs us that between the \*' Alliance Sociale D6mo-

cratique " of Baktmin and the secret societies of 1795

there was \*\* a direct aflBliation." \* If, then, Nihilism was

working in conjunction with Bakunin's association — and

we cannot doubt it — it is easy to see how the theories of

the Philadelphes percolated to the Tchaikovsky Circle.

It is thus that in Kropotkine's Paroles (Tun r^volU,

where more than in any other of his writings his programme

of revolution is set forth, we seem to hear again the voice

of that earlier Ultuninatus Gracchus Babeuf , member of

the Philadelphes and continuer of the plan of Weishaupt.

Although not a Communist like Babeuf, Kropotkine advo-

cates, for example, the same system of trade by barter.

\*\* Do you wish tools and machinery?" he asks the peas-

ants; " you will come to an understanding with the workers

of the towns, who will send them to you in exchange for

your products " \* and we are seriously asked to imagine

life conducted by means of this continual weighing up of

values — the peasant requiring a scythe despatching to

the town a sitting of turkeys' eggs, and the worth being

deemed insufficient, receiving in exchange a chisel —

which he does not happen to want!

Not merely in puerilities such as these does Kropotkine

continue the tradition of Babeuf, but also in the organiza-

tion of the coming revolution. Babeuf, it will be remem-

bered, was the first to preach the " great day of the

people " — the day whereon the maddened mtdtitude

should fling itself upon all wealth and property as the

> Kropotkine, The Great French Revolution^ p. 580.

> Paroles d'un revolti, p. 166.

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preliminary to Commiamsm. This simple and expeditious

method, long since abandoned by the Communists in

favour of the gradual acquisition of political power, was

now revived by the Anarchists with the object of inaugu-

rating their rival system, and thus in his chapter on

" Expropriation " we find Kropotkine reproducing almost

verbatim the old programme of Babeuf .

General expropriation alone," writes Kropotkine,

can satisfy the multitude of sufferers and oppressed\*

From the domain of theory they must be made to enter

that of practice. But in order that expropriation should

answer to its principle, which is to suppress aU private

property and to give back all to all, it must be accom-

pli^ed on a vast scale. On a small scale we should see

nothing but vulgar pillage; on a large one it is the begin-

ning of social reorganization." ^

But although Baktmin had declared that \*' robbery was

one of the most honotirable forms of Russian national

life," and that " he who does not tniderstand robbery can

imderstand nothing in the history of the Russian nmsses,"'

it appears that the plan of laying violent hands on all

property was one to which the people could not be

expected yet to rise: " It would be a fatal error," Kropot-

kine observes regretfully, \*\* to believe that the idea of

expropriation has yet penetrated into the minds of all

the workers and become one of those convictions for which

an upright man is ready to sacrifice his life. Far from it !" '

And he goes on to explain the necessity of educating the

people up to this sublime ideal.

In order to persuade the Russian peasants to emulate

those of France in the preceding centtuy by seizing social

riches, \* \* we " — Revolutionary Socialists — he writes,

\*' must work incessantly from this moment to disseminate

the idea of expropriation by aU our words and all our acts.

. . . Let the word \* expropriation ' penetrate into every

commune of the country, let it be discussed in every village,

and become, for every workman and every peasant, an

integral part of the word Anarchy, and then, only then,

\* Paroles d'un rholU, p. 337.

\* Wards addressed to Students, by Bakunin and Netchaaeff (1869).

\* Paroles d'un rhoUe, p. 320/ "\*

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we shall be sure that on the day of the Revolution it will

be on all lips, that it will rise formidable, backed by the

whole people, and that the blood of the people wiU not

have flowed in vain." \*

ICropotkine's idol Marat himself could not have written

a more direct incentive to violence, and when we consider

that he was one of the leading members of the Tchaikovsky

Circle, and that this was the kind of propaganda the band

of heroic " missionaries " was engaged in carrying out

amongst the people from 1872 onwards, we cannot wonder

that the Government again saw fit to intervene.

Thirty-seven provinces, a Government circtdar de-

clared, had been " infected "by the Socialist contagion,\*

and in 1878 wholesale arrests were ordered. Then the

vicious circle began again: a propagandist, Boguljuboff,

was knouted by the police, and a woman revolutionary

Vera Sassulitch, retaliated by attempting to shoot Trepoff ,

the Prefect of Police in St. Petersburg; Sassulitch was

acquitted, but Kowalsky, the leader of a band of revolu-

tionaries in Odessa, was shot, and in revenge Mesentseff,

head of the Third Section, was murdered by KIravchinsky

(alias Stepniak) on the Nevsky Prospect.

Then followed a series of attempts on the life of Alex-

ander 11. : in September 1879 the conspirators, led by

Sophie Perovskaia and Leo Hartmann, formed a plan to

blow up the Imperial train just outside Moscow, but only

succeeded in destroying a train which did not contain the

Emperor; in the following year two other Terrorists,

Halturin and ScheliabofE, succeeded in exploding a charge

of dynamite beneath the dining-room of the Winter Pal-

ace, but again the Emperor escaped without injury.

Meanwhile Alexander II., with a newly appointed

minister, Count Loris Melikoflf, continued to work out

plans for reform. Melikoflf, whatever his shortcomings

might be,was a man of far more liberal tendencies than his

predecessors, and indeed we find a Finnish writer declaring

that \*' some of the measures adopted by him should have

shown to every thoughtful person that he was planning

> Paroles d'un rhoUi, p.i322.

\* Stepniak, Underground Russia ^ p. 28.

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the introduction of far-reaching reforms which might per-

haps have led to the regeneration of Russia." \* Whether

this is so or not it is certain that Loris Melikoff was largely

instrumental in deciding the Emperor to convoke an

advisory assembly on the question of reforms, and, more

important, it was Meh'koff who finally on the 2nd of

March 1881 laid before him the plan of a constitution.

Are we to believe that, as has been already suggested,

the word '\* Constitution " was the rallying cry of the

secret societies? We have seen that in the French Revolu-

tion both the framing of the Constitution in 1789 and its

acceptance by the king in 1791 became the signals for

fresh outbreaks of revolutionary fury; we have seen the

Dekabrist outbreak of 1825 in Russia led by the same war-

cry, and now again in Russia of 1881 the same strange

phenomenon occurs.

No sooner had Melikoff embarked on his career of

reforms than an attempt had been made to mtirder him,

and on the very day that Alexander IL signed the Con-

stitution he was cut down by the hand of an assassin.

Even Prince Kropotkine is obliged to recognize the

Emperor's courage and noble self-sacrifice at that supreme

moment when, at a signal from Sophie Petrovskaia, a

bomb was thrown at the Imperial carriage as it passed

along the road by the Catherine Canal ; only the mounted

Cossacks surrounding it received any injuries, and the

coachman urged the Tsar to allow him to drive on out of

danger. But Alexander refused to leave his followers to

their fate and deliberately went forth to meet his death.

As he walked towards the wounded and dying Cossacks

lying in the snow beside his carriage a second assassin with

inconceivable cowardice threw another bomb, and this

time Alexander fell mortally woimded.

The same night the draft of the Constitution bearing

the Emperor's signature was torn into a hundred frag-

ments by one of his son's advisers.

So ended for the moment all hope of reform in Russia.

Inevitable reaction followed on this dastardly crime. The

conspirators — Scheliaboff , Ryssakoff , Sophie Petrov-

> The Revolutionary Movement in Russia, by Konni Zilliacus, p. 101.

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skaia, and two others — were put to death, it is said with

fearful cruelty.

But though we must execrate these barbarous methods

of retaliation, we must surely admit that brutality was to

be found on both sides. If we pity the so-called \*' martyrs"

of Imperial despotism may we not also ask : What pity had

these men and woman felt for their victims — not only for

the '\* agents of despotism " they set out to destroy, but for

the innocent men of the people sacrificed with them? What

regard had they shown for human life in their attempts to

wreck the Imperial train ? What of the engine-driver and

other employes involved in the disaster? What of the

many people actually killed and wounded in this attempt

that miscarried? Whsit of the thirty soldiers on duty who

perished in the explosion at the Winter Palace?

Let us pity, then, the "martyrs " whose tortures no

circumstances can justify, but let us reserve some pity

for those humble and forgotten victims whom no

revolutionary writer seems to consider of the slightest con-

sequence.

Anarchy in Western Europe

In 1878 Western Europe experienced a repercussion of

the Russian Terror, and the four leading Anarchists,

Kropotkine, Cafiero, Malatesta, and Brousse, organized a

worldwide scheme of violence described by them as the

\*\* Propaganda of the Deed," which foimd its first expres-

sion in an attempt on the life of King Humbert of Italy.

This outrage was followed by two attempts of the same

kind directed against the Emperor William I. of Germany.

If we are to beHeve Socialist writers, neither Hodel nor Dr.

Karl Nobiling, who within a month fired at the Emperor in

Berlin, had any connection with the Socialist or Anarchist

movement, but served simply as a pretext for the anti-

Socialist law which Bismarck passed triumphantly at the

end of the year. This would be quite in keeping with Ger-

man Imperial policy, which had always consisted in crush-

ing at home the subversive forces it used so freely abroad,

and it is quite possible that a half-witted youth such as

Hodel — with photographs of the leading Socialists,

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Liebkneckt and Bebel, placed in his pockets by the Berlin

police — may have been hired for the de^, — agents

provocateurs are, of course, a favourite resource of auto-

cratic governments.

Bismarck was thus able to nip in the bud not only

Socialism but Anarchy, which in the person of Johann

Most threatened to become a danger.

Germany itself, as Zenker observes, " may be termed

the most free from Anarchists of any country in Europe." \*

The '\* genius " of the German people is naturally disin-

clined to Individualism, and whether in the form of

Prussian militarism or of State Socialism always favours

mass formation. It was thus by the Social Democrats

themselves that Most was finally expelled. It will be noticed

that whenever agitators threaten seriously to disturb the

peace in Germany they are either summarily suppressed

or used for export — preferably to England. Whether in

accordance with this plan or on his own initiative Most

came to London in 1879, where he organized a society

called the " United Socialists," on the principles of Marx's

Communist Manifesto, and having for its motto the

Marxian battle-cry, " Workers of all coimtries, unite ! "

At the same time he founded a secret association under

the name of the \*' Propagandist Club " with a view to pre-

paring " the general revolution." \*

Yet in London he found an even less fruitful fidd for

his labours than in Berlin. " England, the ancient refuge

of political offenders," wrote Zenker in 1895, \*\* although it

has sheltered Bakunin, Kropotkine, Redus, Most, Penkert»

Louise Michel, Cafiero, Malatesta, and other Anarchist

leaders, and still shelters some of them; although London

is rich in Anarchist dubs and newspapers, meetings, and

congresses; yet possesses no Anarchism ' native to the

soil,' and has formed at all times merely a kind of exchange

or market-place for Anarchist ideas, motive forces, and

the literature of agitation. London is espedally the head-

quarters of German Anarchism; the English working-

classes have, however, always regarded their ideas very

» E. V. Zenker, Anarchism (Eng. trans.). P. 238.

« Dr. Zacher, Die Rothe InUmationaU\(l884).

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coldly, while the Government have always regarded the

eccentric proceedings of the Anarchists, as long as they

confined themselves merely to talking or writing, in the

most logical spirit of the doctrine of laisserfaire,'' ^

Indeed, so stiirdy was the resistance offered by British

Labour to Most's doctrines that when he endeavoured to

pubUsh his paper Freedom no printer could be found to set

up the tjrpe. Alas! with the spread " of education " (?)

such obstacles have long since been removed!

In 1881 Prince Kropotkine visited London and found

his reception equally discouraging. At his meetings he was

obliged to talk to almost empty benches. Only in the

towns of the North were anarchic doctrines met with some

degree of enthusiasm. " The year I passed in London," he

wrote despondently, " was a year of real exile. For one

who held advanced Socialist opinions there was no atmos-

phere to breathe in. There was no sign of that animated

Socialist movement which I found so largely developed

on my return in 1886."\*

What was it that provided the fresh impetus to the

plan of World Revolution during those five years? In the

past, as we have seen, the secret societies had provided the

mediimi through which it was able to work, and after their

absorption by the Internationale the so-called " Working

Men's Association " had become the great cover for its

activities. But now that the Internationale was dead it

became necessary for the secret societies to reorganize, and

it is at this crisis that we find that \*\* formidable sect "

springing to life again — the original Illuminati of

Weishaupt.

The facts about this resuscitated order are very diffi-

ctdt to ascertain, for naturally they have been carefully

kept from the public, and as in the case of the earlier

^ Anarchism, p. 242. Zenker here displays remarkable discernment

with regard to the attitude of the British Government, which is usually

incomprehensible to foreigners, the prevalent idea on the Continent

(espeoally in France) being that the tolerance displayed in this country

towards alien agitators springs from a profound Machiavellian policy of

encouraging subversive ideas for the weakening of rival powers. To the

French mind our national naivete is inconceivable; it cannot believe that

we really regard these people as harmless eccentrics whom it woiUd be

tyrannical to suppress.

\* M$moirs of a Revolutionary, ii. 251.

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Illimiinati of 1776 every effort has been made by interested

writers to conceal the existence of the society, or, if it must

be admitted, to represent it as a perfectly innocuous and

unimportant association.

What we do know definitely is that the society was

ref ounded in Dresden in 1880 \* — not in 1896 as it has been

asserted — but it seems that its existence was not dis-

covered until 1899. That it was consciously modelled on

its eighteenth-century predecessor is clear from the fact

that its chief, one Leopold Engel, was the author of a

lengthy panegyric on Weishaupt and his Order, entitled

Geschichte des Illuminaten Ordens (published in 1906), and

in 1903 the original lodge at Ingoldstadt was restored. The

official organ of the association from 1893 onwards was

Das Wort. The society is still in existence and is believed

to number adherents not only on the Continent but in our

own coimtry.

Of course we shall be assured that this association had

no connection with the course of the World Revolution;

yet the fact remains that the year of 1880, in which it was

refoimded, inaugurated a recrudescence of the revolution-

ary movement both in Europe and America.

On the 20th of August of this same year a secret

revolutionary congress was held at Wyden in Switzerland,

which brought about a definite rupture between the two

German groups — the Social Democrats, led by Lieb-

knecht and Bebel, formally expelling the Anarchists, led by

Johann Most and Hasselmann. The theory of the latter as

summarized by Zacher will be seen to be identical with the

plan of the first lUuminati : '\* They held the existing order

of things to be so corrupt that they were ready to compass

its overthrow by any means, however violent, without con-

cerning themselves as to what should take the place of that

which they destroyed. Their ideal was universal chaos,

which must have as its necessary consequence the war of all

against all and the break-up of all civilization,'' ^

The connection between these plotters and the Nihilists

of Russia is also clearly apparent. Two days after the

\* " Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart," Encyclopedia, edited

by Friedrich Schiele and Leopold Zschamack (Tubingen, 1912); article

on " Illuminaten." ' Zacher, Die Rothe Internationale.

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assassination of Alexander II. Hasselmann had addressed a

meeting in New York, from which a message of sympathy

was sent to the Russian Nihilists containing this phrase :

" Brothers, we thoroughly approve your procedure. Kill,

destroy, make of everything a tabula rasa till your enemies

and ours have been annihilated." \* The exact formula of

Nihilism will be here recognized.

The Social Democrats differed only from the Anarchists

in believing that this constimmation should be effected by

a more gradual process; and herein, as Zacher points out,

lies their sole claim to " moderation " — if the Socialist

party \*\* attempts before the outer world to play the rdle of

a peaceable party of reform, this is nothing more than a

strategical manoeuvre in order to maintain a show of

legality in the face of public opinion and not to frighten

waverers away. . . . However divergent, therefore, may

be the views of the two factions of German Socialists, i.e.

the Social Democrats and Anarchists, with regard to the

policy to be pursued and the final goal to be attained, yet

they both rest upon the same f oimdation, that is, the con-

viction that the present system cannot continue and must

therefore be overthrown, which can only take place by

forcible means."

Moreover, by the respective organs of the two parties,

the Sozialdemokrat of the so-called moderates and the

Freiheit of the Anarchists, we find the original ideas of

Weishaupt, Clootz, and Bakunin clearly expressed. Thus,

for example, in the matter of religion the Sozialdemokrat

for the 25th of May 1880 declares that \*\* it must be can-

didly avowed Christianity is the bitterest enemy of Social

Democracy. . . . When God is driven out of the brains

of men, the whole system of privilege by the grace of God

comes to the ground, and when Heaven hereafter is recog-

nized as a big lie, men will attempt to establish Heaven

here. Therefore whoever assails Christianity assails, at

the same time, monarchy and capitalism." '

In the same manner the Freiheit for February 5, 1881,

characterized Christianity as \*' a swindle invented by

jugglers," and went on to observe: \*\* Do but read the

\* Zacher, Die Roihe Internationale, p. 28. \* Ibid. p. 25.

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Bible through, supposing you can overcome the disgust

that must seize you when you open the pages of the most

infamous of all shameful books (" das infamste aller

Schandbucher ")» ^^d you may soon observe that the God

whom this twaddle inculcates is a million-headed, fire-

spitting, vengeance-breathing, ferocious dragon." ^

The war on the bourgeoisie waged by Marat, Robes-

pierre, Clootz, and H6bert tmder the influence of the

Illuminati is again declared by Freiheit for December 18,

1880: \*\* It is no longer aristocracy and royalty that the

people can intend to destroy. Here perhaps but a coup de

grace or two are yet needed. No, but in the coming

onslaught the object is to smite the entire middle-class with

annihilation." Or again: " Extirpate all the contemptible

brood! Such is the refrain of a revolutionary song. . . .

Science now puts means into our hands which make it

possible to arrange for the wholesale destruction of the

brutes in a perfectly quiet and business-like fashion, "etc.\*

In July 1881 the Anarchists assembled a small Inter-

national Revolutionary Congress in London under the

aegis of Johann Most and the German- Jewish Nihilist,

Hartmann — author of the plot for blowing up the Czar's

trains two years earUer — at which Prince Kropotkine was

present as delegate from the Anarchists of Lyons. Amongst

the resolutions passed were the following:

The revolutioxiaries of all countries are uniting into an

" International Social Revolutionary Working Men's Associa-

tion " for the purpose of a social revolution. The headquarters

of the Association is at London, and sub-committees are fonned

in Paris, Geneva, and New York. . . . The committees of each

ootmtry keep up regular correspondence amongst themselves

and with the chief committee by means of interm^Uate addresses

for the sake of giving continuous information; and it is their

duty to collect money for the purchase of poison and arms, as

well as to discover places suitable for the construction of mines,

etc. To attain the proposed end, the annihilation of all rulers,

ministers of State, nobility, the clergy, the most prominent

capitalists, and other exploiters, any means are permissible,

and therefore great attention should be given specially to the

study of chemistry and the preparation of explosives, as being

the most important weapons, etc.\*

^Zacher, Die Rothe Internationale, p;27. « Ibid. p. 26.)

\* Zenker, Anarchism, p. 231; Zacher, Die Rothe IntemationaU.

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This was a little too much even for the confiding British

Government, and^Most was at last condemned to eighteen

months' imprisonment. Disgusted at this treatment, and

still more at his difficulties vnth the printing of his Freheit,

\*\* Most, grtimbling, lef t thankless old England and went to

the New World, where however he was, if possible, taken

even less seriously." \*

Prince Kropotkine also shook the dust of Britain off his

feet. \*\* My wife and I," he writes, '\* felt so lonely in

London, and our efforts to awaken a Socialist movement

in England seemed so hopeless, that in the autumn of 1882

we decided to remove again to France. We were sure that

in France I should soon be arrested; but we often said to

each other, \*' Better a French prison than this grave." ^

People who see in the Russian revolutionary movement

only the natural result of repression will do well to note

this passage. The amazing degree of liberty accorded bj'

the British Government to the foreign agitator elicits from

him no word of gratitude or appreciation, nor does it seem

to occur to him that the fact of England being a free

coimtry might have something to do with the difficulty of

rousing in it a spirit of rebellion. To Kropotkine this land

of liberty, even more than Czarist Russia, was " a grave."

It will be seen that the recrudescence of the revolution-

ary movement cannot then be attributed to any subversive

tendencies on the part of the people, but coincides exactly

with the reorganization of the lUuminati. Even the most

incredulous must surely admit it to be a curious coincidence

that the society was reconstructed in 1880 and that on

Jantiary 1, 1881 — that is to say, the very year when

Prince Kropotkine was lamenting the lack of Socialist

enthusiasm amongst the British working-classes — Mr.

Hyndman in the Nineteenth Century announced " The

Dawn of a Revolutionary Epoch." It is evident that once

again the people were not in the secret of the movement

and that preparations were going forward without their

knowledge in co-operation with foreign revolutionaries.

^ Zenker, p. 243.

\* Memoirs of a Revolutionist, ii. 254. In the light of this sentence it

was arr^tiipng to find the British press referring to Prince Kxx>potkine in

his obituary notices as " a sincere lover of England! "

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The connection between the secret organizations of this

date with German Illuminism is, moreover, clearly evident.

Thus in London a lodge called by the same name as that to

which the lUuminatus Gracchus Babeuf had belonged —

the Philadelphes — carried on the rite of Memphis —

fotmded, it is said, by Cagliostro on Egyptian occultism —

and initiated adepts into the higher grades of illuminized

Freemasonry.^ It was here that Johann Most and Hart-

mann conducted their intrigues and that, in spite of the

recalcitrance of the printers, they succeeded for a time

in publishing their journal Freheit, and it was by asso-

ciations of the same kind in New York, Chicago, and

Philadelphia that both Most and Hartmann were received

on their arrival in America. That these American associa-

tions were continuously in touch with the Anarchist move-

ment in England is clear from the fact that delegates had

been sent by them to attend the aforesaid International

Congress in London in July 1881 \*\* with the object of

studying chemical methods which naight be useful to the

work of revolution." \*

In all these plottings England seems to have been the

chief objective, as the following extraordinary passage that

appeared in the New York World a year or two later

testifies:

" Ca IRA! ficRASEZ LES INFAMES! "

The storm of revolution is looming and lowering over Europe

which will crush out and obliterate for ever the hydra-headed

monarchies and nobilities of the Old World. In Russia the

NiluUst is astir. In France the Communist is the coming man.

In Germany the Social Democrat will soon rise again in his

millions as in the days of Ferdinand Lassalle. In Italy the

Internationalist is frequently heard from. In Spain the marks

of the Black Hand have been visible on many an occasion. In

Ireland the Fenian and Avenger terrorise, and in England the

Land League is growing. All cry aloud for the blue blcod of the

monarch and tiie aristocrat. They wish to see it pouring again

on the scaffold. Will it be by the guillotine that cut off the head

of Louis XVI.? Or by the headsman's axe that decapitated

Charles I.? Or by the d5mamite that searched out the vitals

of Alexander the Second? Or will it be by the hangman's noose

around the neck of the next British monarch?

» Deschamps, iii. 628. « Ibid. iii. 629.

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No one can tell but that the coming English sans culottes^

the descendants of Wamba the Fool and Gurth the Swineherd,

will discover the necessary method and relentlessly employ it.

They will make the nobles — who fatten and luxuriate in the

castles and abbeys, and on the lands stolen from the Saxon,

sacrilegiously robbed from the Catholic Church and kept from

the peasantry of the villages and the labourer of the towns —

wish they had never been bom. They will be the executioners

of the fate so justly merited by the aristocratic criminals of the

past and the present. The cry that theirs is blue blood and

that they are the privileged caste will not avail the men and

women of rank when the English Republic is bom. They will

have to expiate their tyrannies, their murders, their lusts, and

their crimes in accordance with the law given on Sinai amid the

thunders of heaven: \*\* The sins of the fathers shall be visited

upon the children even unto the third and fourth generations." ^

Sir Lepel Griffin, who quotes " these ravings," adds the

significant words: \*\* It is necessary to note that the New

York World is edited by a German."

If we do not believe in a connection between occult

forces and world revolution how are we to explain these

periodic outbursts of revolutionary fury proceeding not

from the people but from the enemies of the country

against which they are directed ? According to Mr. Hynd-

man, in the aforesaid article, the movement was largely

developing under the auspices of the Jews, and it is inter-

esting to compare this prophecy with that of Disraeli that

had immediately preceded the 1848 explosion, for the

point of view in both will be seen to be identical:

The influence of the Jews at the present time is more notice-

able than ever. . . . They are at the head of European capi-

talists. ... In politics many Jews are in the front rank. The

press in more than one European capital is almost wholly in

their hands. The Rothschilds are but the leading name among a

whole series of capitalists, etc. . . . But whilst on the one hand

the Jews are thtis beyond dispute the leaders of the plutocracy

of Europe . . . another section of the same race form the

leaders of that revolutionary propaganda which is making way

against that very capitalist class represented by their own

fellow- Jews. Jews — more than any other men — have held

forth against those who make their living not by producing

"S^ue, but by trading on the differences of value; they at this

moment are acting as the leaders in the revolutionary move-

» The Great Republic, by Sir Lcpd Henry Griffin (1884), pp. 3-4.

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ment wUch I have endeavoured to trace. Surdy we have here a

very strange phenomenon. . . . Those, therefore, who are

accustomed to look upon all Jews as essentially practical and

conservative, as certain, too, to enlist on the side of the prevail\*

ing social system, will be obliged to reconsider their conclusions.

But the whole subject of the bad and good effects of Jewish

influence on European social conditions is worthy of a more

thorough investigation than can be tmdertaken here. Enough,

that in the period we are approaching not the slightest influence

on the side of revolution will be that of the Jew.

That Jews belonging to both the revolutionary camps

of Anarchy and of State Socialism were now co-operating

in their efforts to overthrow the existing social system is

seen from another passage in Mr. Hyndman's works, in

which he describes a visit he paid to Karl Marx when the

anarchist Hartmann was present.^ That these two Jews

both desired the downfall of the country which so foolishly

offered them hospitality is further evident.

Already twelve years earlier Marx had formed his plan

of attack on Great Britain. In the Instructions issued by

the General Cotrndl of the Internationale signed by

Dupont, the acolyte of Marx, and despatched from London

to Geneva in 1870, this axiom had been laid down:

" Although revolutionary initiative must come from

France, England alone can serve as a lever for a serious

economic revolution."

But this revolution was not to be brot^ht about by the

English workers, for the instructions go on to say:

The General Council being placed in the happy position of

having its hand on the great lever of the proletarian revolution,

what folly to let it fall into purely English hands! '

This policy is then suinmed up in the following message

by Marx:

1. England is the only cotmtry in which a real Socialist

revolution can be made.

2. The English people cannot make this revolution.

3. Foreigners must make it for them.

4. The foreign members, therefore, must retain their seats

at the London board.

\* Hyndman's Reminiscences, p. 280.

< Deschamps, ii. 569.

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5. The point to strike at first is Ireland, and in Ireland they

are ready to begin their work.^

" These English," Dupont added, " have all the mate-

rials needed for a Socialistic revolution; what they lack

are the generalizing spirit and the revolutionary fire."

The author of the Secret History, whence we glean this

gem, observes:

What then? Karl Marx, Eugtee Dupont, and George

Eccaritis, must clutch their power and keep their seats. They

say so boldly. . . . These gentlemen were aware that a revolu-

tionary march is not an easy thing in London, where the people

are so individual in their tastes and tempers, and so stupidly

attached to independent judgment, private property, and

personal rights. But they were not without some hope. In

turning to the West they saw a star descending to the Irish Sea.

That star they followed with beseeching eyes: it trembled over

Cork. " The only point where we can strike the great blow

against official England is on Irish soil. In Ireland the move-

ment is made a hundred times more easy for us by the two prime

facts that the social question is that of rent, and that the people

are more revolutionary and exasperated than in England. • • •"

A final phrase completed M. Dupont 's accotmt:

The position of the Internationale in face of the Irish ques-

tion is very clear. Our first care is to push the revolution in

England. To this end we must strike the first blow in Ireland.^

Through what agency was this blow to be struck?

What was the organization on which the World Revolu-

tionists depended for the execution of their plan? Again

a secret society. From the French Revolution onwards it

was always by secret societies that Continental agitators

had carried on their work in Ireland. The Society of

United Irishmen founded in 1791 was, as we have already

seen, directly modelled on the method of Weishaupt, the

Secret Societies under Fenton Lalor in 1848 had followed

the same tradition, and now the Fenians, who had come

into being between 1858 and 1870, were organizing them-

selves on the same model. This was the society on which

Marx and his council depended for support. The state-

ment will of course be indignantly denied by the conspiracy

of history which seeks to prove Fenianism, like Nihilism,

\* The Secret History of the International ^ by Onslow Yorke, p. 156.

« Ibid, p. 159.

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to be indigenous to the soil in which it flourished, a move-

ment wholly imconnected with the central organization of

Worid Revolution. But as it happens, the connection

between Marx and the revolutionaries of Ireland is not a

matter of siu'mise but of fact, for it rests not only on the

above-quoted message dated January 1, 1870, but receives

further confirmation from an entry in the records of the

Internationale containing a message of sympathy

addressed to the Fenians in December 1869 by the Gen-

eral Coimcil of the Internationale in London.\* It was

evidently, therefore, on the strength of the manner in

which this overture was received that Marx a few weeks

later despatched his confident declaration to Geneva.

But the Internationale had failed to bring about the

desired revolution in Ireland, and it was not until the date

we have now reached, 1882 — after Illuminism had been

reconstructed — that Fenianism, which in about 1872 had

become a secret society, known as the \*\* Irish Republican

Brotherhood," embarked on its course of dynamite out-

rages in Great Britain and America. The patriotic

Catholic prelate, Monsignor Dillon, in a course of lectures

held in Dublin, thus eloquently warned Ireland of the

danger to itself and to all Christian coimtries from the

conspiracy that was seeking to destroy every national and

religious ideal : .. • ....

It is not an expression of Irish discontent finding a vent in

dynamite which England has most to fear from anarchy. . . .

The dark directory of Socialism is powerful, wise, and deter-

mined. It laughs at Ireland and her wrongs. It hates and

ever will hate the Irish people for their fidelity to the Catholic

faith. But it seizes upon those subjects which Irish discontent

in America affords to make them teach the millions ever3rwhere

the power of dynamite, and the knife, and the revolver, against

the comparatively few who hold property. This is the real

secret of dynamite outrages in England, in Russia, and all the

world over; and I fear we are but upon the threshold of a social

convulsion which will try every nation where the wiles of the

secret societies have obtained, through the hate of senseless

Christian sectaries, the power for Atheism to dominate over the

rising generation and deprive it of Christian faith, and the fear

and the love of God.

^ Guillaume, Documents de V Internationale, i. 251.

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Monsignor Dillon goes on to describe the manner in

which the occult powers enlist their dupes, and shows the

terrible fate of

the Irishman who first begins to listen to the seducer of the

secret society, and afterwards becomes himself a seducer, a

leader, perhaps a traitor, in the deadly conspiracy to ruin

religion, to destroy God. His career is often this: At first a hope-

ful, young, ambitious student of his country's history, he begins

to feel indignation at her wrongs, and wishes to right them. In

a fatal hour he meets the tempter. He is sworn into the terrible

sect. He gets a command, an importance in the organization.

He is youthful, but the season of Hfe wherein to make an honest

livelihood passes rapidly in intrigue. He knows the course into

which he has fallen is bad, is injurious to religion, but he hopes

to repent. . . . But having lived his best days to conspire, he

now must conspire to live, and inured to bad habits, he is at last

ready for anything. . . .

By degrees he herds with the worst class of Atheistic

and Socialist plotters.

And this is strange, for while the Irish conspirator may be as

able to plot mischief as the worst of the miscreants with whom

he associates in France, he differs from them in this, that in the

secret of his soul he never loses his faith. They know this weU,

and they watch him, use him, but never fully trust him. Many

a broken Irish heart the children of the Revolution in Paris have

made already. Many a one of those Irish victims wishes again

for the days ofhis boyish innocence and blessed faith. . . . God

grant that . . . the race of wretched men who have so often in

the past ensnared generous-hearted Catholic Irishmen in Ireland,

in Great Britain, in America, and elsewhere, may end for ever.

From such false agents, and from the machinations of all enemies

to Irish Faith, we may well pray, God save Ireland.

The New World, like the Old, was soon to experience

the effects of the great conspiracy. In 1886 the Anarchists

of America, led by Johann Most, gave evidence of their

presence by a dynamite explosion in the Haymarket of

Chicago. But it was not until 1891 that the series of

Anarchic outrages described as the p&riode tragique began

in earnest. Was it again a mere coincidence that in July

1889 an International Socialist Congress in Paris decided

that May 1, which was the day on which Weishaupi founded

the lUuminati, shotdd be chosen for an annual Inter-

national Labour demonstration, and that it was with a

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demonstration organized by the Anarchists on May 1,

1891, that the p&riode iragique began?

For three years a gang led by Ravachol continued to

terrorize the population of Paris with bombs and dynamite

outrages, a series of crimes that ended with the stabbing of

President Camot at Lyons on Jime 25, 1894.

Later on followed the attacks on crowned heads —

the murder of the fimpress of Austria in 1898, of King

Humbert of Italy in 1900, of King Carlos and the Crown

Prince of Portugal in 1908, of the King of Greece in 1914.

Professor Hunter, who in his book Violence and Ike

Labour Movement deals in an interesting manner with the

psychology of the men who perpetrated these deeds, asks

oiu" sympathy with them on the score of their devotion to

a cause. Quoting Emma Goldman's explanation that they

were impelled " not by the teachings of anarchism but by

the tremendous pressure of conditions making life unbear-

able to their sensitive natures," Professor Hunter goes on

to ask how it is possible for society to take the lives of these

\*\* tormented souls," driven to desperation by the sorrow

and suffering of the world.

Now to begin with, a great ntunber of the perpetrators

of Anarchist outrages cannot be placed in the category of

tormented souls, but belong simply to the class of common

criminals who, if they had lived a couple of centuries

earlier, would have found a congenial career as footpads,

cut-throats, or banditti. One group of German Anarchists

in New York who lived by arson — that is to say by

insuring their premises for amounts far in excess of their

real value and then burning them down with kerosene —

ended by murdering and robbing an old woman in Jersey

City ; Ravachol, the leader of the Paris Terrorist gang, was

finally convicted and executed for strangling a mendicant

hermit; whilst the motor bandits of 1912 led by Bonnot,

whom we are also asked to regard as rebels against

'\* society," seem to the lay mind indistinguishable from the

highwaymen of romance.

But in the case of those " tormented souls " which it

would perhaps be nearer the truth to describe as " unbal-

anced brains " who appear to be victims of an idea rather

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than of mere criminal instincts, the point overlooked —

and we cannot help thinking wilftilly overlooked — ^by

Professor Htmter is that they were not solitary fanatics

acting on irresistible individual impulse but the agents of a

conspiracy. The art of the secret societies has always been

to seek out physical and mental degenerates and work upon

their minds tmtil they have roused them to the requisite

degree of revolutionary fervour. Bound at the same time

by terrible oaths, the wretched tools selected for each

crime set forth on their tasks knowing full well there could

be no ttiming back for fear of the vengeance of their

instigators. Even as recently as the attack on M. Qemen-

ceau the weak-minded youth Cottin admitted that he was

a member of a secret society and his connection with the

Anarchist movement was clearly established by the papers

found at his lodgings.

It is not then these poor creatures who should be led to

the scaffold or caged in prison cells tmtil they lapse into

imbecility ; the lunatic asylum should be reserved for such

as these, the scaffold for the superiors of the secret societies

who direct their strokes. But hardly less guilty are the

sane and responsible Socialists like Professor Htmter who,

by their glorification of crime, impel other weak minds to

follow the same course.

Whilst Anarchy was thus making itself felt throughout

Europe, Socialism piumied a more leisurely course. As in

all revolutionary movements violence had won the day,

and the decline in popular favour that had begun with the

anti-Marxian demonstrations of 1872 continued to the end

of Marx's life. Although by 1881 he had spent thirty-two

years in London, he was " practically unknown to the

British public " ^ and counted no following amongst

British workmen. Moreover, at this date he contrived to

fall foul of one of his staunchest supporters amongst the

intelligentzia, Mr. Hyndman, whom he accused of pilfering

his works without acknowledgment. \*\* His attacks,'\*

writes Mr. Hyndman, " of the most vindictive character,

\* Hyndman's Reminiscences , p. 272.

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were " " followed up by Engels with even more of vitriolic

fervour for years." \*

Of the various British Socialist organizations inaugu-

rated during this period I do not propose to treat in detail.

Neither the Social Democratic Federation, founded in 1883

by Mr. Hyndman, nor " The Fabian Society," formed by

Mr. Sidney Webb in the same year, nor the \*\* Christian

Socialists " under the Rev. Stuart Headlam, originated

any new doctrines, but merely elaborated the ideas of their

Continental inspirers. Many members of these societies

were probably not Socialists at all but merely honest

social reformers, whilst the less sincere — \*\* drawing-room

SodaUsts " living in luxury and tilting against the social

system to which they owed their mode of existence — took

up Socialism as a novel form of excitement and carried

little weight, for their inflammatory speeches met with

scant appreciation even in the poorest quarters of London.

That they succeeded in obtaining a certain following

amongst malcontents — mainly of their own class — is

undeniable, but it was not they who supplied the driving

force behind the great revolutionary machine which thirty-

four years later was to deliver the supreme attack dreamt

of ^y Weishaupt for the destruction of civilization.

^ Hyndman'i Rtmmiscenut, p. 288«

CHAPTER IX

SYNDICALISM

Quarrels amongst Socialists — The old Guilds — Revolutionary Ssrndical-

ism — Outcome of Anarchy — The General Strike — Georges Sorel

— Syndicalism versus Socialism — Guild Socialism — " New

Australia."

Whilst Socialism in England was thus purstiing a labori-

ous course and still remained almost exclusively confined to

drawing-rooms, the same doctrines met with continued and

active hostility from the French peasants.

Mr. Hyndman in his Reminiscences describes M.

Clemenceau as expressing his opinion that Socialism could

never make way in France in his day.

Looking only at the towns you may think otherwise, though

even there I consider the progress of Socialism is overrated.

But the towns do not govern France. The overwhelming

majority of French voters are country voters. Prance means

rural France, and the peasantry of France will never be Social-

ists. . . . Always property, ownership, possession, work, thrift,

acquisition, individual gain. Socialism can never take root in

such a soil as this. North or South it is just the same. Preach

nationalization of the land in a French village, and you would

barely escape with your life, if the peasants understood what

youmeant.^ .-,. .

It is strange how frankly Socialists at times admit

that, for all their talk of democracy, their plans for the

people's welfare are diametrically opposed to those of the

people themselves. Mr. Hyndman goes on to relate that

M. Paul Brousse, when consulted on Clemenceau's \*' pessi-

mist opinion " of the French peasants, agreed that " to

preach nationalization in the villages would be smcidal,"

^ Reminiscences, p. 321.

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but seemed to think the peasants might be tricked into

Socialism all the same.

The word Socialism need never be used at all; but the ideas

of natural and communal organization and administration would

soon find their road into his mind. In this way the peasant's

conception of the sanctity of private and the curse of public

ownership would gradually be shaken, and he would be on

the path to practical Socialism before he knew what he was

going on.\*

Mr. Hyndman remiarks that he thought this idea quite

admirable.

But while the Socialists were making plans for " edu-

cating the people up " to their own lofty ideals the Social-

ist camp in France was itself divided into at least three

warring factions — the Guesdists, the Broussistes (or

Possibilistes), and the Blanquistes — which continued " to

excommtmicate each other." \* In fact, as Mr. Hyndman

goes on to inform us, the conflict became at times so bitter

that the Guesdists and the Broussistes " could not meet

in one hall without the certainty of bloodshed, or at any

rate of severe contusions, following. A spirit of fraternity

so marked by brotherly hatred had about it something of

the ludicrous."

When therefore an International Socialist Congress

took place \*\* to bring about the unity of the workers of the

world" it was found necessary to assemble in "two

separate halls purposely chosen at some distance from one

another to avoid the possible consequences of fraternal

greetings." •

The two points on which these opposing factions dif-

fered the most violently were the necessity for the class war

and the domination of German Social Democracy. On the

fiirst question the Broussistes held more moderate views,

believing in the possibility of immediate reforms whilst

preparing the way for Socialism by evolutionary methods;

the Guesdists, however, as consistent Marxists, adopted

for their fundamental principle "the doctrine of the class

struggle, a doctrine," says Laskine, " imported from

^ Rgminiscences, p. 326.

\* Mermeix, Le Syndicalisme conirg U Socialisme, p. 90.

' Reminiscences, p. 441.

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Germany and profoundly foreign to the spirit of French

Socialists/\* \*

In ranging himself under the banner of Marx, Jules

Guesde had executed a complete volte-face-, at the time

of the Socialist revolt against the domination of Marx

after the Commune, Guesde in a letter to the Bulletin de la

F6d&raUon jurassienne, published on April 15, 1873, had

denounced \*\* the Marxist proconsuls " and " the infamous

r61e of the founding of power by Marx and the General

Council " (of the Internationale),\* but after a five years'

sojourn in Switzerland — whither he had fled to escape

imprisonment — Guesde returned to France an enthusi-

astic Marxist. '

The methods by which Guesde and other French

Socialists were won over by the subtler German Jews to

the Marxian camp is thus referred to in a significant

sentence by Marx himself:

" I need not tell you," Marx wrote to Sorge on November 5,

1880, " that the secret strings by which the leaders from Guesde

and Malon to Clemenceau have been set in motion must remain

between ourselves. We must not speak about them." •

According to Laskine it was Hirsch — a German Jew

— who had brought about the conversion of Guesde ; at

any rate from 1876 onwards the Guesdists became simply

the French branch of German Social Democracy.

This policy naturally estranged them from the French

workers to whom the principles of bureaucratic Com-

mimism had always been repellent. Still, as in 1862, it was

to Proudhon rather than to Marx that the more revolu-

tionary elements inclined, whilst the great mass of French

workmen saw in peaceful corporative association the true

path of progress. It was the junction of these various cur-

rents that towards 1895 brought about a further develop-

ment in the revolutionary movement — Syndicalism.

" Syndicalism," Mr. Ramsay Macdonald observes, " is

largely a revolt against Socialism." \* That such a revolt

^ Laskme, L\* IntermUionale ei U pan'-Germanisme, p. 218.

«\* JWi. p. 122.

' Ibid, p. 167, quoting Briefe an Sorge, p. 170 Laskine points oat

that Marx was mhtakftn in thinking that Clemenceau had gone over to

the Marxist camp.

« Ramsay Macdonald, Syndicalism (1910), p. 0.

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should have taken place is hardly surprising. For over a

hundred years the working-men of Europe had seen the

middle and upper class men who constituted themselves

their champions living in luxury — sleeping in the gilded

beds of the Tuileries in 1794, housed in safety and comfort

whilst the people perished on the barricades of 1848, enjoy-

ing pleasant trips to Switzerland as delegates of the Inter-

nationale, drawing continual subscriptions from the pock-

ets of the workers in support of \*' congresses " or " leagues"

or associations devised to benefit Labour — and now the

time had come to ask : \*\* What have we gained from all our

sacrifices? What have these men done in return for the

confidence we placed in them? "

Not xmnaturally, therefore, the theory of Syndicalism,

consisting in the immediate control of industry by the

workers themselves, seemed greatly preferable to the

tedious and doubtful method of electing Socialist deputies

to represent them in Parliament. Moreover, in the Syndi-

calist ideas entertained by many of the French workmen

there was nothing essentially revolutionary; their con-

ception of reorganized industry approached more to the

old idea of " guilds " and \*\* corporations " than to the

aggressive combines advocated by revolutionary Syndi-

calists. They thought regretfully of the days of the Old

R6gime before the introduction of cut-throat competition

when men worked peacefully at their trades, botmd

together by ties of comradeship under patrons who showed

some concern for their welfare. Wherever he belonged

\*' the campagnon was almost certain, by virtue of his

corporative privilege, to find employment. The regulations

provided that he should not find competitors amongst his

comrades. The knowledge of his trade, recognized after

the tests through which he had passed, constituted a

capital for him of which the revenues were almost certain.

And if this campagnon wanted to make a tour of France he

foimd help and relief. Provided that he justified his claim

as member of a corporation, he was welcomed and a place

found for him. Defective and imperfect like all human

things, the economic organization of the Old Regime was

nevertheless beneficent, and how much preferable to the

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want of organization into which the regime of liberty had

brusquely precipitated the working-men after the Revolu-

tion." ^

The suppression of the " corporations " by the law of

1791 — confirmed by further laws under the Terror, and in

the Code of Napoleon I. — had dealt the death-blow to the

guild system, and when at last Napoleon III. in 1864

removed the ban on trade unions, and the workers once

more saw their chance of coalescing in defence of their

common interests, the German Social Democrats of the

first Internationale had turned the whole movement to the

advantage of Communism — a system inherently repug-

nant to the French workers. As far as they were concerned

the Syndicalist movement was thus in its origins an

attempt to get back to the freer ideas of friendly corpora-

tions, just as in England the co-operative system inaugu-

rated by the Rochdale Pioneers took an ever firmer hold

on the minds of working-men.

It was in order to meet these demands that, after the

death of the Internationale, a general Union des Chambres

Syndicales was formed xmder the leadership of Barbaret in

1873, a wholly pacific organization which aimed at indus-

trial harmony, and in 1876 a general congress of French

workmen met in Paris, at which seventy unions and twenty-

eight workmen's dubs from thirty-nine towns, with a

membership stated to ntmiber a million workers, were

represented by more than 800 delegates. \*\* At the opening

of the Congress it was expressly insisted on that not

principles of social politics but the piu-ely economical and

practical interests of the working-men would engage the

meetings," \* and real improvements in the industrial

system formed the subject of discussion.

But as in the case of the Internationale the World

Revolutionists succeeded in obtaining control over the

movement; Broussistes, Guesdists, but above all Anar-

chists ended by invading its ranks and blocking the path

of peaceful progress.

It is no figure of speech to say that Syndicalism is

^ Mermeix (G. Terrail), Le Syndtatlisme corUre le Socialistne, pp. 62, 63.

' Zacher, Die Rothe Intemalianale,

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simply a further development of the creed of Anarchy, for

it rests on the same basis — negation of the State. Its

earliest exponents were avowedly Anarchists; in America

the terms were in fact synonymous. Moreover, it was

Proudhon, the " Father of Anarchy," who had first formu-

lated the whole theory of Syndicalism: \*\* According to my

idea, railways, a mine, a manufactory, a ship, etc., are to

the workers whom they occupy what the hive is to the

bees, that is at the same time their instrument and their

dwelling, their coimtry, their territory, their property."

For this reason Proudhon opposed \*\* the exploitation of the

railways whether by companies of Capitalists or by the

State." \*

Syndicalism is, therefore, government by trade unions,

and must inevitably lead to anarchy. For not only are the

workers to run industries but the whole country \*\*0n their

own," and with no State to act as umpire it is obvious

that chaos must result. The miners might raise the price

of coal, the bakers the price of bread, and the rest of the

commtinity would have no means of redress, for in the

conflict that would ensue between the different groups of

workers the key industries alone could exercise any real

authority. For the power of each industry would be in

exact ratio to its ability to hold up the country, and since

society cannot get on for a day without bread, coal, or

transport, the miners, the railway-men, and the food

purveyors would have an immense advantage over the

workers engaged in such trades as boot-making, tailoring,

or upholstery, who might strike in vain against extortion.

Women-workers would of course have no voice at all.

It is not, however, the system of Syndicalism but the

method by which it is to be brought about that constitutes

its principal claim to be ranged in the category of anarchy.

This method is the General Strike.

Now, as Mermeix has pointed out, there are three kinds

of General Strike: (1) the Corporative General Strike of

the workers, (2) the Parliamentary General Strike of the

Socialists, and (3) the Revolutionary General Strike of the

Syndicalist leaders. Let us deal with these one by one.

i Ptoudhon, La RtooluHan au X VIIU sUcU, p. 249.

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(1) The Corporative General Strike as conceived by

the workers was not originally a measure of violence.

Strikes throughout the early history of the Labour Move-

ment had been the workers' only method of obtaining

redress from exploitation, and no one but a Robespierre or

a Lenin would deny the worker's right to lay down his tools

if the conditions of his labour appear to him imjust.

The Corporative General Strike was simply a develop-

ment of this time-honoured method of expressing discon-

tent which, carried out on a larger scale, would enable

wokers in all industries to bring an effective support to

the demands of their oppressed comrades. As Mermeix

points out, the working-men's conception of the way in

which the plan would work was very naive :

Some day one would stay at home; one would not go to the

workshop. The bourgeois who fattens on the sweat of the people

would waste away becaiise the people would cease to sweat, it

would be " a strike of folded arms \*\* ; one would not go down

into the street in tiimultuous crowds, one would not expose one-

self to the brutalities of the police and the guns of the soldiery.

One would walk out in a family party, to lunch on the fortifica-

tion, in the woods of Vincennes, in the Bois de Botdogne or

even further in the smiling subtirbs where the exploiters have

their country houses. Would not this method be much better

than thsit of the Socialist politicians who first of all advised one

to vote for them, their electoral success being the first stage on

the way to final victory, and who, once elected, would think only

of their re-election? The general strike wotdd be the revolution

carried out as a huge joke. One would divert oneself with the

expressions of the employers growing day by day more dis-

consolate. One would watch them grow pale, yellow, distorted,

and their rage would be powerless against the brave proletarians

who would simply roake use of their right to idleness — the right

of Man, a natural and sacred right which the bourgeois has so

long selfishly enjoyed alone. When it had had enough of it

the class of leeches would ask to capitulate. The proletariat

would dictate its conditions: " Give me back what you have

stolen from me, that is to say, give me back everything and we

will become good friends again. I will go back into yotir work-

shop to work not as one exploited for your profit, but to work

as a free social producer." And the bourgeoisie cotdd not do

otherwise than subscribe to this treaty.^

That in reality the worker would grow pale, yellow

1 Mermeix, Le Socialisme contre le Syndicalisme, pp. 135, 136.

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would in fact be dead before the employer reached the ends

of his resources, did not enter into the reckonings of the

\*\* brave proletarians/' nor does it still today when the plan

of the general strike is placed before them.

(2) The Parliamentary General Strike, as approved by

certain Socialists, aims at quite a different (UnoumetU; it

is not to end in improved relations between the workers

and employers or in an entente between the workers and

the Government, but in the overthrow of the political

party which holds the reins of power in favour of the

Socialists themselves. A general strike conducted on these

lines wotdd not " dispossess the Socialist party of the

command which it has arrogated to itself over the working-

classes" ; on the contrary it would confirm this command,

and leave to it the rdle it has chosen of " business man to

the proletariat." \*

Even Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, arch-opponent of the

revolutionary general strike, admits the expediency of the

IX)litical variety. " The general strike,\*\* he observes, " can

be declared for two purposes. It can be used to secure

some specific demand — say an extension of the franchise,

the resignation of the Government, or the defeat of a war

party. ... As a last resort, as a coup de grdce, it may be

justifiable, and need not be unsuccessful.\*\* \*

In order, therefore, to place Mr. Ramsay Macdonald

and his friends at the helm of the State, to overthrow a

Government that retains an insular prejudice against

foreign invasion, and to paralyse national defence, it may

be necessary to bring upon the country the immense

suffering caused by a general strike, which, when carried

out by Syndicalists, as Mr. Macdonald himself remarks,

•\* hits the poor people heaviest, the middle-classes next,

and the rich least of all.\*\* •

For revolutionary Socialists today, as in 1793, " tours

les moyens sont bons.\*\*

(3) But the Revolutionary General Strike, the form of

general strike advocated by the Syndicalists and that now

forms the programme of extremist trade union leaders,

^ Mermeix, Le Socialisme conire le Syndicalisme, p. 142.

\* J. Ramsay Macdonald, Syndicalism, p. 61. ' Ibid. p. 62.

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aims neither at a reorganization of industry nor at a change

of government in the political sense, but at the complete

destruction of constitutional government by violence of the

most frightful kind. It is here that we come back to the

\* connection between Anarchy and Syndicalism ; not only

is the Syndicalist system a development of the creed of

Anarchy, but its method for inaugurating it comprises the

exact programme of the earlier Anarchists.

Now it will be remembered that the idea of \*\* useful

larceny " had first been suggested by Weishaupt, a prin-

ciple applauded by Brissot and put into practice by Marat

when he urged the populace to pillage the shops. Babeuf ,

though a Commtmist, had carried on the same tradition in

his plan of the \*' Great Day of the People," when the

people were to rise as one man and lay violent hands upon

property. From Babeuf onwards the scheme had been

logically abandoned by Communists — since Communism

aims not at mob rule but at bureaucracy — but continued

along the line of Anarchy. Proudhon in his revival of

Brissot's axiom \*\* Property is theft," Bakunin in his glori-

fication of robbery, and finally Kropotkine in his theory of

" The Great Expropriation," all followed out the same

idea, namely, that of a \*\* Great Day " of revolution when

the maddened multitude, driven by want and desperation,

should rise against all wealth and property in one over-

powering onslaught. Had not Bakunin and Netchaieff

indicated this design in an illuminating sentence: \*\* We

must increase and heighten the evils and sorrows so as

to wear out the patience of the people and drive them

to insurrection en masse.\*\* By this means only, the

social revolution could be accomplished and civilization,

obnoxious civilization, wiped out at one stroke.

But how were the people to be driven to this pitch of

exasperation? Obviously by hunger. The want of bread

alone, as the Orl6anistes of 1789 had clearly perceived, can

be depended on to produce popular insurrection, and in the

eighteenth century famine had been easy enough to engi-

neer by buying up supplies, waylaying waggons of com, or

throwing sacks of flour into the river. But a hundred years

later improved means of transport and the complicated

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modem system of food distribution had made such primi-

tive methods impracticable. How, then, were want and

hunger to be brought about ? Only by some gigantic coup

that would paralyze the whole country and lead to the

Great Expropriation dreamt of by the Anarchists. Syndi-

calism now provided the weapon by which this was to be

accomplished — the General Strike.

Let us examine the programme of the revolutionary

General Strike as resumed by Mermeix from the declara-

tions of its advocates, and we shall see how exactly the

" Grand Soir " of the Syndicalists corresponds with the

Anarchists' idea of the Great Day of Revolution.

First of aU, a series of isolated strikes is to take place

in various industries by way of partially paralysing Capital

and of unsettling Labour.

Then at a given signal the workers, roused to violence

by want and idleness, are to invade the workshops, mines,

factories, etc., and take possession of them. At this stage,

of course, the Government will be obliged to call in the aid

of the police and soldiery, and the fight will begin. The

revolutionaries will cut the telegraph and telephone wires;

railway lines will be torn up to prevent the transport of

troops or provisions; at the same time it is hoped that a

number of the soldiers will go over to the side of the revolu-

tion. By this means the capital will be starved out, the

markets will be empty, and the inhabitants rendered sav-

age by htmger may be expected to turn on the Govern-

ment — and also on the bourgeoisie,

• :: Of course there is always the possibility that the popu-

lation, instead of turning on the Government, will turn

upon the revolutionaries, but " this last prospect does not

disconcert the partisans of revolution by the General

Strike. The Parisians will fight amongst themselves; well,

then, things will go all the better. Everything that will make

confusion worse would be an advantage.\*' And in the end,

if the revolutionaries fail to overthrow the Government,

the havoc they will work will be irretrievable. Before

evacuating the workshops the Syndicalists will resort to

sabotage; all the instruments of labour will be destroyed.

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The railways will remain tinusable; the ruin of the capital

will be complete.^

What then? After that frankly the apostles of Syndi-

calism promise nothing; their conception ceases with this

final climax — "a series of atrocious scenes, of burnings,

of ruins, of murders, of terror,\*\* carried out by " tramps,

poachers, marauders, with terror rising from below and

ending in a fearftd m616e." \*

One must read for oneself the work of M. Georges Sorel

to realize that this idea, well characterized by Mermeix as

" the dream of a neurasthenic negro king," • can seriously

enter into the calculations of a man outside a lunatic

asylimi. But to M. Sorel the prospect offers nothing

alarming ; on the contrary, whilst admitting that the Gen-

eral Strike will be " a catastrophe of which the process

baflSes description," \* the leading apostle of Syndicalism

regards it as the goal towards which all agitation should

tend. " Syndicalists,\*' he declares, \*\* concentrate all Social-

ism in the drama of the General Strike,'\* •

It is, in fact, as a drama, as a spectacle, that M. Sorel

looks upon the final cataclysm, or rather as a gigantic

cock-fight of such sanguinariness and of such dimensions

that one can die happily after witnessing it. For what is

to hapi)en afterwards — the lendemain de la r&oolution —

one must take no thought ; it will be enough to have lived

to see " a tidal wave passing over the old civilization."

It will thus be seen, not as a matter of surmise but

of fact, that the General Strike as now advocated by the

extremist leaders is simply the prelude to the Great

Expropriation.\*

By allying the latter plan with the workers' idea of a

corporative General Strike the Syndicalists have evolved

the scheme of \*\* The Day " which is to overthrow civiliza-

» Mermeix, pp. 163-166. • IbU, p. 169. » Ibid. p. 232.

« lUfiexions sur la vioUnce, p. 202. \* Ibid. p. 161.

• See the pamphlet called The Social General Strike by the British

Syndicalist Jack Tamier, which admits this design. "Expropriation/'

which is to be brought about by the General Strike, means " taking back

what belongs to the working-class/' and the author goes on to say: " The

need for food and the necessaries of life would force the people to help

themselves. Hunger forces even the most timid to take what they are

entitled to." From the point of view of the people themselves it is appalling;

to imagine what this sytem of food distribution would lead to.

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tion. Of cotirse the workers themselves have no conception

of the real design, and each time that a General Strike is

attempted doubtless imagine it to be a brilliant inspiration

on the part of their leaders in view of a sudden emergency.

\*\* The miners are striking for a higher wage. Let us stand

by them! Happy thought — let all workers present a solid

front to the oppression of Capitalism! One — two —

three — all together — strike! " .

Thus playing on the simple camaraderie of the workers,

and urging them to solidarity in the interests of Labour,

the Syndicalists hope to drive them onwards into the mfelee

which is to end in no amelioration of the workers\* lot,

but simply in the destruction of the existing social order.

What is to avert the catastrophe? Only greater knowl-

edge on the part of Labour. The first thing, then, is to

dispel the illusion that the General Strike is a modem and

progressive measure. The workers should be told not

only its real purpose but its history; they should be shown

that, instead of being the outcome of any present emer-

gency, it is an old scheme that has been going on for at

least fifty years and has been turned down as impracticable

by all intelligent groups of workers. Let us now follow the

vicissitudes of the idea throughout the last half -century.

As a revolutionary method Mermeix suggests that the

idea of the General Strike may be traced to the phrase of

Mirabeau: " This people whose mere inunobility would be

formidable."

Now Mirabeau, as we know, was an lUuminatus. Had

then even the plan of the General Strike as the weapon

wherewith " to deal the deathblow to civilization " entered

into the \*\* gigantic conception " of Weishaupt? In a vague

sense this is possible, but in its details the General Strike

is, as I have shown, essentially a measure adapted to

modem conditions.

The plan was first definitely proposed at the Congress

of the Internationale in Brussels in 1868, when the decla-

ration was made that " if production were arrested for

a certain time the social body could not exist, and that it

was only necessary for producers to cease to produce in

order to make the personal and despotic enterprises of

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Government impossible.\*\* \* Prom this date the idea of the

General Strike was current, and in 1873 the Belgian section

of the Internationale invited the other sections of the

association to prepare for the attempt to bring it oil, but

the Congress of Geneva declared it to be at present

impracticable.

In 1884 the Government attempted to arrest class

warfare by founding " Bourses du Travail," or Labour

Exchanges, which should not only provide work but main-

tain harmony between employers and employed. But the

Bourses, like the Chambres Syndicales, soon became hot-

beds of revolutionary intrigue, and in 1888 the plan of the

General Strike was pressed with renewed vigour by the

Anarchist carpenter Tortelier.

After achieving some success in the faubourgs of Paris,

Tortelier this same year came to London, where he

preached his gospel before a Labour Congress. But \*\* the

apostle of the General Strike," with his thick-set figure,

bxiU's neck, hoarse voice, and slovenly attire, whose aspect

suggested that of a satellite of Marat, was not taken seri-

ously by British working-men and met with scant success.

In Prance, however, the cherished scheme of Tortelier

found increasing favour. \*\* The idea of the General

Strike,\*' says Mermeix, " charms the working masses

because it is so simple.\*' And in France there are always

the anarchic elements who crave to fairs sauter le bazar.

Thus at a congress of members of the Syndicates and of the

Bourses held at Nantes in 1894 the policy of the General

Strike was definitely adopted by 66 votes against 37. In

the following year the formidable association known as

the Confederation G6n6rale du Travail was founded by the

extremists with the General Strike as the principal plank

in its platform. Prom this date, 1895, onwards a seven

years\* war was waged between the C.G.T. and the Bourses,

until in 1902 the Bourses were finally extinguished and

Syndicalism was left in tritunphant possession of the field.

Several attempts have ^ready been made to bring

about the revolutionary General Strike — in Spain in

1874, in Belgium in 1902, in Sweden in 1909, in South

^ Menneix, p. 131.

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Africa in 1911, in Prance in 1920, but so far the firmness of

governments and the resistance of the community at large

have averted the climax of the " Grand Soir " dreamt of by

the Syndicalists, and the principal sufferers have been the

strikers themselves. But this fact in no way deters the

advocates of the General Strike from pursuing their pur-

pose, which has now become the accepted policy of the

C.G.T. At the same time other revolutionary measures

have been adopted with a view to fretting away the foun-

dations of Capital. Thus after 1889, when the dockers of

Glasgow enforced their demands for higher pay by "going

slow," the policy of Ca\* Canny became a definite part of

the Syndicalist programme.^ In 1897 sabotage, which had

hitherto been regarded as a measure of violence to be

employed in the open warfare of revolution, was introduced

as a method of passive resistance. Railwaymen had dis-

covered that with a pennyworth of a certain ingredient

engines could be put out of working, and the bright idea of

applying this method to other instruments of labour

met with an enthusiastic response at the Congress of

Toulouse in 1897. Pouget, one of its most ardent advocates,

describes this incident as \*\* the baptism of sabotage.\*\* \*

One variety of sabotage known as " Obstructionism,"

introduced in 1905, consists in following out regulations

to the letter — " accomplishment of duty with excessive

care and no less excessive slowness." Pouget gleefully

describes the inconvenience to which railway travellers

may be put by this plan.' For it should be remembered

that the methods of Syndicalism are directed not merely

against the Government or employers but against the

whole community. It is therefore perfectly accurate to

distinguish between Syndicalism and Socialism, because

the policy of Syndicalism is avowedly anti-social and

oligarchic, whilst Socialism at least professes concern for

the welfare of the majority. > ^v\*

The plan of the General Strike further emphasized this

division between the Socialists and Syndicalists. For

although, as we have seen. Socialists are not unwilling to

^ £mile Pouget, Le Sabotage, pp. 6-8.

« Ibid, p. 17. • Ibid. pp. 66-64.

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consider the idea of the parliamentary General Strike

which will bring them into power, they have always con-

tinued to prefer the ballot-box as a method of procedure.

As to the revolutionary General Strike, this was opposed

throughout even by the followers of Marx, represented in

Prance by the Guesdists. \*\* I only wish some one would

explain to me," said Jules Guesde, " how breaking street

lamps, disembowelling soldiers, and burning down fac-

tories can constitute a means of transforming property.

We ought to put an end to all this war of words calling

itself revolutionary. No corporative action, however

violent, partial strike or general strike, would be able to

transform property.'\* ^

Thus although the Marxians were at one with the

Syndicalists in wishing to bring about the grand catastro-

phe, they differed only in the manner by which it was to be

effected. \*\* They (the Syndicalists) said: \* The catastrophe

will be caused by the General Strike. It is the General

Strike that will be the catastrophe.\* This catastrophe is

distinguished from that which is awaited by the Marxists,

the Socialist poUticians, in that it will not be brought

about by chance, it will arise when the workmen wish it.

Syndicalism disciplines the catastrophe which the Socialists

await with the fatalism of marabouts" '

But according to Georges Sorel the Marxians have

entirely misinterpreted their master's meaning, which in

reality excluded \*\* any hypothesis constructed on future

Utopias " ; in fact, Sorel represents Marx to have actually

declared that \*\* whoever has a programme for the future is a

reactionary" •

Now, of course, if Marx really said this the whole

theory of Marxian Socialism is founded on a fallacy and is

proved to be a system in which Marx himself never

believed. But to do him justice we must recognize that

there is some truth in Sorel's contention that Marx never

pretended to have devised any definite system for " the

organisation of the proletariat," that he merely made use

1 Paul L«roy Beaulieu, Le CoUectioisme (1909), p. d50.

\* Mermetz, p. 122.

• lUflexians sur la violence, pp. 185, 191.

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of the '' enormotis mass " of ready-made material which he

found in the British Mtxseiim for his great work on

Capital,^ and that it was his disciples who read into it ideas

for the reconstruction of the social system.

On these groimds Sorel is able to claim Marx as his

ally, that is to say, as a pure destructionist — not as a

Syndicalist, for nowhere in Marx's writings could one find

any hint of the Syndicalist theory of industrial organiza-

tion ; but above all it is as the great promoter of the class

war that Sorel finds in Marx his true a£Snity. To this one

point the apostle of Syndicalism is ready to sacrifice all

other considerations. \*\* The scission of classes," he

declares, " is the basis of all Socialism " ; \* the one thing to

be avoided is social peace.

Indeed, Sorel's one fear is that modem nations," stupe-

fied with humanitarianism {abruPies par Vhumanitair'

isme)''^ — the phrase might be taken straight from

Nietzsche — may prevent the conflict.\* To guard against

this danger every efEort must be made to keep up the class

war, not only by inciting Labour to attack Capital, but by

stiffening the resistance of Capital to the demands of

Labour. \*\* The more ardently Capitalistic the bourgeoisie,

the more will the proletariat be filled with a war-like spirit

confident in its revolutionary force, the more will the

movement be assured." \*

It is necessary, therefore, by violence " to force Capi-

talism to occupy itself solely with its material rdle," so as

" to give back to it the warlike qualities it once pos-

sessed.\*\* \* Employers of labour must be made to under-

stand " that they have nothing to gain by works of social

peace or by democracy." ^ " All then," Sorel concludes

hopefully, " can be saved if by violence it (the proletariat)

succeeds in consolidating class divisions and in restoring to

the bourgeoisie something of its energy; that is the great

aim towards which must be directed the thought of all

\* Reflexions fur la violence, pp. 185, 191.

« Ibid. p. 257. » Ihid. p. 110.

^ See Sorers whole chapter on "La Decadence bourgeoise et la violence/\*

«.e. the disinclination of employers to fight labour. Ibid, pp. 91-121.

• Ibid. p. 105. • IbU. p. 110.

» Ibid. p. 109.

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men who are not hypnotized by the events of the day but

think of the conditions of the morrow." ^

Such, then, is the aim of Syndicalism as set forth by its

chief exponent, Georges Sorel. At first sight the one merit

it seems to possess is frankness. Hitherto revolutionary

writers, to whichever faction they belonged, had always

professed that their system would conduce in some degree

to human happiness; even the Anarchists ai>peared to

derive enjoyment from the prospect of their limatic

dreams of the future. But Sorel promises nothing;

" Utopias of easy happiness " he openly derides; even on

the system of SyndicaUsm he has practically nothing to

say — the only thing that matters is to keep up revolu-

tionary ardour. Yet, after all, we find that Sorel is not

much more honest than his predecessors, for whilst

denotmcing the visionary Socialists who lead the prole-

tariat towards a mirage, Sorel goes on to admit that the

General Strike, which, Hke Der Tag of the Germans, must

ever be held before the eyes of the people, is in reality a

myth. It will probably never come oflf, but just as the early

Christians maintained their religious ardour by looking

forward to the second advent, so the i)eople must be

taught to centre all their hopes on the coming cataclysm.

Thus the idea of the General Strike will serve the purpose

of continually unsettling industry and fretting away the

foundations of Capital.

To the normal mind the theory of Sorel as set forth in

the foregoing pages must of course appear unbelievable;

the incredulous should therefore read his book for them-

selves in order to be convinced that such views can be

seriously put forward. Is Sorel, however, sincere, or is he

secretly an agent of reaction? The hypothesis is not

beyond the boimds of possibility. At any rate if the author

of Reflexions sur la violence had been put up by the Gov-

ernment to discredit the whole Socialist movement by

working it out to a reductio ad absurdum, he could not have

stated his case more ably or have offered sotmder argu-

ments for the defence of the existing order against the

encroachments of so-called democracy. \*\* Experience

1 RSflexions sur la violence, p. 120.

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shows," says Sorel, \*' that in all countries where democracy

can develop its nature freely the most scandalous corrup-

tion is displayed without anyone considering it of use to

conceal its rascalities/\* ^ and after a scathing indictment

of democratic government in America and elsewhere he

ends with the words: "Democracy is the land of plenty

dreamt of by tmscruptilous financiers.\*\* \*

But it is for the parliamentary Socialists that Sorel

reserves his bitterest scorn. The sole object of these people

— " Intellecttials who have embraced the profession of

thinking for the proletariat " • — is to bring themselves

into power. In reasoning on social conflicts \*\* they see in

the combatants only instruments. The proletariat is their

army, which^they love with the love a colonial adminis-

trator maj^feel for the bands which enable him to subject

a great many negroes to his caprices; they concern them-

selves with leading it on because they are in a hurry to win

quickly the great battles which are to deliver up the State

to them; they keep up the ardour of their men, as the

ardour of the troops of mercenaries has always been kept up

by exhortations to coming pillage, by appeals to hatred,

and also by small favours which already permit them to

distribute a few posts.'\* \* But in reality it will not be the

proletariat who will share the spoils, for the prospect on

which the leaders' eyes are fixed is \*\* the day when they

will have the public treasure at their disposal; they are

dazzled by the immense reserve of riches which will be

delivered then to pillage; what f eastings, what cocottes,

what satisfactions to vanity! \*' \* Then, then, at last \*\* our

official Socialists can reasonably hope to achieve the goal

of their dreams and sleep in gorgeous mansions.\*' \* After

that \*\* it would be very naive to suppose that people

profiting by demagogic dictatorship would easily give up

their advantages." ^

As to the \*\* dictatorship of the proletariat " advocated

by the Socialists but \*\* on which they do not much care

to give explanations,\*' \* Sorel declares that this would be

^ Riflexions sur la violence, p. 320. \* Ibid. p. 321.

• Ibid. p. 186. \* Ibid. p. 233.

• Ibid. p. 112. • Ibid. p. 101.

» Ibid. p. 236. • Ibid. p. 234.

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a return to the Old R6gime, a plan for feudalizing Capital,

and he quotes Bernstein in saying that it wotdd end simply

in the dictatorship of club orators and litterateurs.^ Who,

he asks, is to profit by such a government ? Certainly not

the country, which would be ruined, " but what does the

future of the cotmtry matter as long as the new regime

provides a good time for a few professors who imagine they

invented Socialism and a few Dreyfusard financiers? " \*

In the opinion, therefore, of the great Syndicalist,

Jewish finance is largely interested in the triumph of State

Socialism.

The inconsistency of Jaurfes and other French Social-

ists on the question of Dreyfus is shown up in Sorel's book

by a parallel drawn from the first French Revolution, of

which he ruthlessly shatters the legends and destroys the

prestige of " the great revolutionary days," • and he asks

why Danton, of whom Jaur^s in his great history of the

Revolution had made a hero, but whose conduct during

the sad days of September \*\* was not very worthy of

admiration," \* should be defended on the score of acting

in the interests of national defence, when Jaurfes himself

took part against the anti-Semites who also believed they

were acting in the interests of national defence in the

matter of the Affaire Dreyfus. The revolutionaries were

represented by Jaur^s as \*\* sacrificing immediate human

tenderness and pity " for the success of the cause, but then

Sorel inquires: \*\* Why have written so much on the

inhumanity of the tormentors of Dreyfus? They too

sacrificed \* immediate human tenderness \* to what seemed

to them the salvation of the country." •

Not only Jaur^s and Clemenceau in Prance but the

Socialists of England become in tiun the butt of Sorel's

pleasantries:

Sidney Webb enjojrs a very exaggerated reputation tor

competence: he had the merit of compiling uninteresting

dossiers y and the patience to compose one of the most indigesti-

ble compilations on the history of Trade Unionism, but he is

one of the most bomi minds which could only dazzle men little

' \* RifUxions suf la violence, pp. 234, 235. \* Ibid. p. 102.

• Ibid. pp. 124-130. 238, 239. « Ilnd. p. 147.

» Ihid. p. 14ft.

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accustomed to think. The people who introduced his gloxy

into France did not understand a word of Socialism, and if he is

really, as his translator asserts, in the first rank of contemporary

authors of economic history, the intellectual standard of these

historians must be very low.

And Sorel adds that, in the opinion of Tarde, Sidney Webb

was simply " a blotter of paper " (un barbouilleur de

papier).^

In order to appreciate the antagonism between the

opposing camps of Syndicalism and State Socialism it is

only necessary to read Sorel's book in conjunction with

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's little work on Syndicalism,

where \*\* the fantastic programme of revolution produced

by the Syndicalist " is admirably shown up. " If," the

British advocate of Socialism concludes, '\* the grand pro-

gramme of Syndicalism is a mere delusion, its immediate

action is mischievous. Sabotage, destruction of industrial

capital, perpetual strikes injure the workers far more than

any other dass, and rouse in society reactionary passions

and prejudices which defeat the work of every agency

making for the emancipation of labour. They put labour

in the wrong. The Syndicalist might be an agent provoca"

ieur of the Capitalist, he certainly is his tool." '

But in this feud between Syndicalism and Socialism —

the mere continuation of the old conflict between Anarchy

and Commtmism — it would be folly to see any security

for society. The rival revolutionary camps may be — and

are — bitterly antagonistic in their aims, but both will

stand together for the overthrow of the existing social

order, and only when the country has been reduced to

chaos by revolution, or to bankruptcy and ruin by Social-

ist administration, will the leaders of the opposing forces

take each other by the throat in a lif e-and-death struggle.

• ••••••

Although, as we have seen in the preceding pages, the

root idea of Syndicalism — organization and control of

industry by independent groups of workers — has some-

what been lost to sight by Syndicalist writers, who have

concentrated their attention more on the revolution than

1 Riflexions sur la violence, p. 163.

J. Ramsav MacDonald. Syndicalism, p. 167.

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on its morrow, a more constructive phase of the same

theory has been inaugtirated in recent years by the move-

ment known as Guild Socialism.

Now Guild SociaUsm is nothing new. To any one

familiar with Socialist literature the task of embarking on

the gospel of Guild Socialists, as set forth in the writings

of Mr. G. D. H. Cole, must appear something like sitting

down to read through a Dictionary of Famous Quotations.

But this is an experience to which the patient student of

Socialism must resign himself, for since by the middle of

the last century everything that could be said on the

subject had been said already, further exponents of the

creed can only dish up the cold remains left by their

predecessors. The process is, however, frequently very

successful ; nothing is easier than to gain a reputation as a

brilliant Socialist writer by simply rearranging the same

theories, the same phrases, and the same catchwords in a

different manner to tempt the jaded palate. Yet never

have the chefs of Socialism produced a galantine to com-

pare with that of Mr. G. D. H. Cole! Here a little bit of

Lotus Blanc, there a scrap from Vidal, but, above aU, solid

slabs of Marx and Sorel. And all this concealed by a

cunning glaze of modernity!

In reality Guild Socialism is simply Syndicalism with

the addition of a State. But the State is not to exercise

authority, only to act as a mtmicipal body, also as a banker

to the workers, and occasionally as imipire in industrial

disputes. National finance would be decided by \*\* a Joint

Committee representing equally the State and the Guild

Congress. The State would own the means of production

as trustee for the community : the Guilds would manage

them, also as trustees for the commimity, and would pay

to the State a single tax or rent." \*

The assurance of Guild Socialists that the Guilds would

always honourably act up to their part as trustees is based

on \*' confidence in man,\*' although we note that a large

portion of the human race, the present employing class, is

to be regarded with the blackest suspicion. Apparently

the fact of becoming a \*\* Guildsman " miraculously does

^ National Guilds, an Appeal to Trade Unionists, p. 13,

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away with all such characteristics as greed and self-inter-

est. All this is pure Buchez, and we have only to turn back

to page 109 of this book to see Guilds where \*' every man is

a master \*' in operation, whilst Louis Blanc's " associa-

tions of working-men," financed by the State, demonstrate

the precise system of Guild Socialism — and incidentally

its failure in the past.

Unhappily it is not in the spirit of Buchez or even of

the fanatic Louis Blanc that Guild Socialists set about

their task. For all its professions of spirituality and love

for humanity, Guild Socialism is avowedly revolutionary.

" To Revolutionary Trade Unionism the Guild idea

looks," ^ its aim is \*' the realization of Industrial Union-

ism, the building up of the whole body of Labour into one

fighting force." \* Borrowing Marx's phraseology on the

doctrine of \*' wage-slavery," it sets out to promote class

hatred of the most virulent description and advocates

strikes to overthrow the Capitalist system. In its denun-

ciations of State Socialism the influence of Sorel is clearly

detected.

The only point, then, in which Guild Socialism shows

itself superior to Syndicalism is that, instead of concen-

trating solely on destruction and the General Strike, it

makes some plans for the " morrow of the revolution."

In its conception of guilds of busy workers co-operating

in a spirit of fraternity to make a success of their trade,

it takes us back to the original idea of Syndicalism —

Proudhon's old simile of the hive where we see in imagina-

tion the swarms of happy bees flitting through the summer

sunshine laden with honey for the comb, full of joy in their

labours.

Yet all that is to be said in favour of the industrial

system that Guild Socialism advocates can eqtially be said

of Co-operation. Co-operative industry exemplified by

such schemes as profit-sharing, co-partnership, etc., is

simply Guild Socialism without its economic fallacies —

and also without revolution. This is precisely why co-oper-

ation finds in Socialists and Syndicalists alike its bitterest

opponents.

> The Guild Idea, p. 14. • Nalumal GuOds, p. 19.

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But there is also a f tirther difference between Co-opera-

tion and Guild Socialism. Co-operation is an honest move-

ment, for it has always been willing to put its theories to

the test by inaugurating industries on a co-operative basis.

Sometimes these experiments have failed, sometimes they

have triumphantly succeeded. Co-operation has not been

proved a failure.

But it will be noticed that neither Syndicalists nor

Guild Socialists ever propose to start industries on the lines

they advocate, but always to " expropriate " by violence

those already in existence and hand them over to the

workers: In this respect their record compares unfavour-

ably with that of Socialists. The earlier Socialists, whose

sincerity we cannot doubt, did attempt to carry out their

schemes by means of Communists' Settlements; Syndical-

ism ventures on no such experiments. This is the more

significant in that the reason given by Socialists for their

failures in the past does not apply to Syndicalism. For

if one is tactless enough to question Socialists on these

abortive efforts one is inevitably met with the stock reply :

" Oh, of coxirse Socialism cannot exist in isolated com-

mtmities; in order to test its efficacy it must be adopted

by the State." Now although we know that it was not

through outside opposition or competition but from inter-

nal disintegration that these settlements went to pieces, it

is nevertheless obvious that State Socialism can only be

practised by a Socialist State. This condition, however, is

quite unnecessary to the existence of Syndicalism, since the

system it advocates is to consist of autonomous groups of

workers independent of State control. There is therefore

no reason why these should not exist under the present

regime. What is there to prevent a syndicate of miners

from taking over a mine, or of factory workers buying a

factory, and running it on Syndicalist lines? The huge

funds of the Trade Unions would surely be better spent in

an outlay of this kind than in strikes that deplete their

exchequer to no purpose. For not only wotild a successful

experiment on these lines satisfy the aspirations of all the

workers who took part in it, but would proclaim to the

world the efficacy of the Syndicalist theory. Henceforth

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only Syndicalist industries would attract workers, and

employers who continued to maintain the old system of

wage payment would find themselves denuded of employ-

ees. Thus without any violence, without the shedding of a

drop of blood, the whole indttstrial system could be

revolutionized.

Why is this not done? Simply because the leaders of

Syndicalism know that it could not succeed. They are well

aware that an industry which adopted the principle of

control by aU the workers would come to grief as surely as

a ship that adopted the plan of navigation by all the crew.

In a word, they do not believe in the theories they teach.

One experiment f oimded to a certain extent on Syndi-

calism may, however, be quoted. This was the settlement

inaugurated by William Lane in Paraguay at the end of

the last century. Lane, an English journalist who had

settled in Australia, appears to have been a perfectly

honest man who had become deeply imbued with the doc-

trines both of Karl Marx and of Syndicalism. Hence he

believed that " the factory-hand was the rightful owner of

the factory, that the sheep-shearer was entitled to the full

profits of the shearing industry, that the legal owners of all

forms of property were robbing the manual workers of

their dues." ^ Lane, therefore, entered whole-heartedly

into the great Syndicalist strikes which at this date of 1890

were paralysing the trade of the country. But perceiving

the futility of this method of warfare — which had the

effect of reducing the high wages of Australian workers to

the level of forty-five years earlier — Lane decided to

fotmd a workers' paradise in another land. Accordingly at

the end of 1892 he set sail with 250 faithful followers for

Paraguay, where he started a colony under the name of

" the New Australia " a few miles from Asimcion.

The subsequent adventures of the settlers have been

vividly described by Mr. Stewart Grahame in a narrative

which is much more amusing than Three Men in a Boat^

and has the additional merit of being true. It should be

^ Where Socialism failed, by G. Stewart Grahame (John Murray,

1913), p. 5. In view of the above quotation it would perhaps have been

more accurate to name the book Where Syndicalism failed. But the generic

term of Socialism is frequently used to include Syndicalism.

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read by every one interested in SociaKstic ventures, for

only a brief r6sum6 can be given here.

At first everything promised well; the colonists entered

into possession of 350,000 acres of the very finest land in

Paraguay, with pastiu-age sufficient to keep at least 70,000

head of cattle, and since all were filled with \*\* commtmal

ardour," and also with the warmest confidence in their

leader, there seemed no reason why a flourishing settle-

ment should not result. But precisely the same experi-

ences befell William Lane as had befallen fitienne Cabet

forty-four years earlier. The colonists before long took

turns in quarrelling amongst themselves and in accusing

Lane of tyrannizing over them. \*\* The man who worked

arduously for eight hoiu"S in the vegetable garden envied

the more forttmate fellow who spent his day riding about

the pastures herding cattle. The cowboy, on the other

hand, considered that the schoolmaster had a considerably

easier job, and he was perhaps moved to compare his lot

with that of the colonist whose principal duty appeared

to be to blow the dinner horn."

Inevitably " bitter charges of favotuitism were levelled

at the head of Lane and at the heads of the foremen in

charge of every industry." \*\* We have surrendered all civil

rights and become mere cogs in the wheel," wrote one of

the colonists who had come to New Australia to find joy

in " work by aU for all." '\* In fact a man is practically a

slave. Lane does the thinking and the colonists do the

work. Restilt, barbarism."

At the end of fourteen months Lane found nimself

obliged to expel a number of malcontents; in the Following

year (1894) no less than a third of the colony seceded of

their own accord. '\* We came," said one, \*\* to found Utopia

and we have succeeded in creating a Hell upon Earth."

But on the arrival at this juncture of 190 new-comers, who

had been attracted to the New Australia by delusive

reports, Lane was himself deposed, and started off at the

head of a few followers to found another settlement, which

he named Cosme.

For a few years the two colonies struggled on in misery,

but finally in 1899 Lane abandoned his experiment at

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Cosme and returned to Australia. By dint of employing

native labour on the hated wage system they had set out

to destroy, the Cosmians partly succeeded in restoring

their shattered fortunes; but before long the Socialist

principle was recognized as a failure and abandoned by

both settlements in favour of Individualism.

From this moment the energy of the colonists revived.

" In an incredibly short space of time houses shot up sur-

rotmded by well-tilled kitchen gardens. . . . Very soon

the grass lands were once more dotted with cattle . . ." ;

in a word. New Australia became " an average commtmity

of sane, sober, hard-working, self-respecting farmers, living

at peace with one another and taking for their motto:

' What we have we hold ! ' \*\*

The experiment of New Australia offers an interesting

demonstration of Proudhon's theory of the hive and the

bees when carried out to its ultimate conclusion. For in

New Australia, as in all other communal settlements, the

principal difficulties encountered were the lack of public

spirit and the inclination to " slack." " There is absolutely

no regard for common property," one member of the colony

wrote to the Pall Mall Gazette. Moreover, " it was freely

alleged by almost every colonist against some other that

the latter was working less vigorously for the benefit of

' all ' than he would have done in his own interest." Mr.

Stewart Grahame goes on to show us how this lack of

energy would be overcome in a Socialist State, and by a

curious coincidence he illustrates the fate of " won't

works " under Socialist administration by the same simile

as Proudhon in a description of the massacre of the drones,

quoted from Maeterlinck's La Vie de VabeiUe;

' One morning the longrexpected word of command goes

through the hive, and the peaceful workers turn into judges and

executioners. . . . Each one is assailed by three or four envoys

of justice. . . . Many will reach the door and escape into

space . . • but towards evening, impelled by hunger and cold,

they return in crowds to the entrance of the hive to beg for

dielter. But there they encounter another pitiless guard. The

next morning, before setting forth on their journey, the workers

will clear the threshold, strewn with the corpses of the useless

giants.

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On closer inspection the industrial system of the hive

is thus seen to be less peaceful than it had been represented

by the Father of Syndicalism — Proudhon. Yet all the

more it demonstrates the manner in which alone Socialist

or S}mdicalist administration can be carried out on a large

scale.

In isolated settlements of the kind, idlers or objectors

can be banished, but once the system has been made

universal the refusal to do the share of work allotted to

one can only be punishable by death. The text adopted by

militant Socialists as their battle-cry, " If a man will not

work neither shall he eat!\*\* must be literally carried out by

a Socialist State, and the proletarian disciples of Ca'

Canny, no less than the " idle rich," as also those workers

for whom no employment can be found, will find that the

law of the hive can be even more ferocious than the hated

government of " Capitalism."

Mr. Stewart Grahame has well said that " few, even

amongst Socialists, realize the ferocity of SodaUsm." They

imagine that " that classic pattern of Socialist administra\*

tion, the Reign of Terror," was an accident that need not

recur if the experiment of Socialism is repeated. But we

have only to examine the writings of Socialists to recognize

that the Reign of Terror was simply Socialism carried out

to its logical conclusion. Thus we find even a Socialist

of such reputed moderation as Mr. H. M. Hyndman writ-

ing these words:

The whole noble array of barristers, solicitors, accountants,

surveyors, agents, and about mnety-nine hundredths of the

present (Kstributors would be wholly tiseless in a properly

organized society. They live upon the existing bourgeois system

. . . They will disappear with the huckster arrangements on

which they thrive.\*

Since there is at present no way of making human

beings " disappear " it is obvious that they must be killed

off, for, as Robespierre perceived, they cannot all be

absorbed by '\* work of essential utility," and can therefore

only be left to die of starvation. So all Socialist roads lead

bade to the old system of depoptilation, and it is question-

1 H. M. Hyndman, The Historical Basis of Socialism (1883), p. 461.

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able whether the guillotine was not the humaner method.

Syndicalism at any rate does not conceal its intentions

in this matter. The massacre of the drones — and of those

whom overcrowding of the hive forces to become drones —

forms an essential part of the programme that Mermeix

has well described as " a Neronic dream."

In the exultations of Georges Sorel over the coming

death struggle between Capital and Labour, we seem to

hear a Roman Emperor rejoicing in anticipation over the

collision between two racing chariots that is to strew the

arena with the mangled remains of men and horses and

drench its sand in blood.

Syndicalism as formulated by George Sorel is the plan

of the World Revolution stripped of its illusory wrappings

and revealed in all its naked deformity. It is avowedly

anti-patriotic, anti-rehgious, anti-democratic; it is, in the

words of one of its own advocates, Pouget, \*' the negation

of the system of majorities," and its sole aim is rule by

force and violence. Far more than Socialism, it is the

direct continuation of the programme of the lUuminati.

Can we not see Weishaupt smiling in his grave as we read

the words of Sorel: '' It is impossible not to see that a sort

of irresistible wave will pass over the old civilization "?

(Since writing the above chapter I have been infonned on good authority

that M. Georges Sorel has definitely gone over to the Royalists. I wonder

how many youthful Syndicalists are told of this incident in the life of

their prophet. — Author's Notb.)

CHAPTER X

THE REVOLUTION OP 1917

The Great War — Role of British Socialists — Role of German Social

Democrats — The Rxissian Revolution — Bolshevism — Role of

the Jews — The Protocols of Nilus — German Organisation. , «.

When the Great War broke out in 1914 it was on Inter-

national Socialism that Germany coimted to break the

resistance of her enemies.

Everywhere the ground had been carefully prepared.

In England, from the foimding of the First International

onwards, German intrigue had never ceased to play a

leading part in the succeeding Socialist organizations, each

of which in turn had been diverted from its original course

in the direction of pan-German interests.

Although the influence of Marx amongst the British

working-men was practically nil during his lifetime, the

Marxian tradition had been carried on by his colleague

Engels and his British middle-class disciples who formed

the Socialist associations in this country.

Thus the Second Internationale, fotmded in 1882,

became Germanized by 1893, and remained so until the

outbreak of war, when it was suspended and did not recon^

struct itself until the Geneva Congress of 1920. The

Pabian Society, inaugurated in 1883, fell almost imme-

diately imder the control of Mr. G. Bernard Shaw who

has made no secret of his international sympathies. In the

same year the Social Democratic Federation was founded

by Mr. H. M. Hyndman, with Justice as its organ, and in

the following year of 1884 produced an offshoot in the

Socialist League founded by William Morris ^ath the

co-operation of Mr. Belfort Bax, an Austrian semi-

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Anarchist named Andrea Scheu, several English Anar-

chists, and Dr. Aveling, the " husband " of Marx's

daughter, as editor of its organ The Commonweal.

This ceased to exist in 1892. The original S.D.P. mean-

while continued its course, but in 1911 changed its name to

the British Socialist party.

The alien influence in all these associations is thus

plainly visible, but it was not sufficient to content Fried-

rich Engels, who therefore set to work on another enter-

prise, the " Independent Labour Party," which, with the

collaboration of Mr. Keir Hardie, he afterwards boasted

that he helped to create. Engels then instructed Dr.

Aveling, who had formed a " free union " with Marx's

daughter,^ to join the Executive Committee of the I.L.P.,

whilst Eleanor herself '\* was told oflf to work for the Gas

Workers' and General Labourers' Union.'\* >/.'...,

• • •

Engels now imagined that, with the aid of the Independent

Labour Party, he would obliterate the Social Democratic Feder-

ation and the Fabians, as a punishment for not showing sufficient

subservience to German leadership. He evidently beUeved that

he was eminently successful in these efforts. On July 20, 1889,

Engels wrote to Sorge: " I think that we are going to xn^e great

progress here." Then he goes on to explain that as the Anglo-

Saxons are slow and dull of comprehension, it was qtiite natural

that English workmen should be "bossed" (gebosst) by Germans.

In a subsequent letter Engels boasts that the gas workers

of London " were led by Tussy," the diminutive name of Marx's

youngest daughter (Eleanor). Finally, in 1892, Engels repeats

triiunphantly:

We are making great progress here in England. Affairs

advance splendidly. Next year there will be seen marching

behind Germany, not only Austria and France, but also

England.\* ^

These hopes fotmd their fulfilment on the declaration

of war in 1914. What part did the Socialists play? The

true meaning of Internationalism was then revealed.

Although the war on the part of Germany was one of pure

aggression, and on the part of England one of tirgent

national defence, the whole German Social Democratic Party

^ How admirablv Marx was fitted to direct the affairs of the human

race is shown by the way he managed his own family. Eleanor Marx,

her " husband," Dr. Aveling, and her sister all committed suicide.

\* .Adolphe Smith, The Pan-German Internationale, p. 6.

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in a body went over to the German war-party,^ whilst all the

Socialist organizations in this country — the Independent

Labotir Party, the British Socialist Party, and the Socialist

Labour Party — opposed England's participation in the war.\*

Not content with this Pacifist attitude before the out-

break of hostilities, certain Socialists — notably the mem-

bers of the I.L.P. — continued, after the war had begun,

to give active encouragement to the enemy. Mr. Ramsay

Macdonald, who had published a violent indictment of the

British Government on August 13, 1914, was mentioned on

several occasions with the warmest approbation in the

German press. At a congress of the I.L.P, in Norwich in

April 1915, a resolution was passed by a huge majority

opposing recruiting. Worse still, industrial troubles were

stirred up amongst the workers, delaying the supply of war

materials to the troops, so that the Referee declared that

" German Socialists and their English allies were respon-

sible for the death of thousands of Englishmen on the

battle-front." « i

It is only just to add that the question of the war

brought about a spUt in the British Socialist Party, and

though the name was retained by the anti-war party — a

party largely composed from 1916 onwards of Russian-

Jews and foreign Anarchists, with The Call for their organ

— a group of British Socialists, tmder the leadership of Mr.

Hyndman, stood out for national defence, and in 1916

reorganized themselves under the name of the " National

Socialist Party." In 1920 this society resumed the original

name of the Social Democratic Federation, whilst at the

same date the British SodaUst Party, now affiliated to the

Third (Moscow) Internationale, became the British Com-

munist Party and changed the name of its organ from The

Call to The Communist. The fact then remains that at the

outbreak of war British Socialism was represented by no

national and patriotic party. The work of Germany had

been well and truly done.

^ On this point see Laskine's admirable pamphlet, Les Socialistes du

Kaiser, ^ )i» d\*un mensonge (Floury, 1915).

\* The Two Internationals, by R. Falme Dutt (Labour Research Depart-

ment, 34 Eccleston Square), 1^20, p. 3.

' Laskine, V Internationale et te pan-Germanisme, pp. 377-382.

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Unless these preliminaries are clearly recognized, the

attitude of the Socialists must appear only as the most

extraordinary paradox. Why should the so-called cham-

pions of democracy have accorded their sympathy to

Imperial Germany, the most monarchic and the most

autocratic cotmtry in the world, rather than to Republican

France, the home of the revolutionary tradition ? It is true

that the Government of Germany tmder Wilhelm II. was

probably the best in Europe from the point of view of the

working-classes, but this was precisely because it repudi-

ated the Socialistic theory of the dictatorship of the pro-

letariat, and owed its success to the fact that it treated the

people like children, cared for them like children, pxmished

them like children, and never allowed them to dictate.

The pro-German sympathies of British Socialists are

therefore incomprehensible tanless we realize that all their

ideas had been instilled into their minds by German

agents. '\* I am anti-French, but I am none the less anti-

English," Marx, their prophet, had declared,\* and the

\*' anti- Allies " attitude of \*\* International " Socialists in

this country was the natural result of these influences.

In France German propaganda had been less successful.

Although there were a few notorious pro-Germans in the

Socialist and Radical camps the French Socialist party

stood solidly for national defence. Even Jaurte, whose

illusions on Germany had excited suspicions of complicity

with the enemy, warned his cotmtrymen that they must

'' beware of the lUuminaU, who seek to organize the pro-

letariat on a non-national basis." ' Anti-patriotism is a

sentiment not easily aroused in France, and inspires little

admiration there when professed by foreigners. In this

connection it is amusing to observe the attitude of Georges

Sorel — Sjmdicalist, and therefore International, as he

might profess to be — towards our British pacifists.

" Arbitration," he remarks, " always gives results disastrous

to England; but these good people (the English Liberals) prefer

1 Briefwechsel zmschen Marx und Engels, iv. 335, date of September

12. 1870.

\* Quoted in speech of M. Brunet, Socialist deputy for Charleroi,

August 2, 1920.

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to pay or even to compromise the tuture of their country rather

th^ui affront the horrors of war. . . . Many Englishmen think

that by humiliating tJieir country they will become more sym-

pathiques — this is not clearly proved." \*

But it was by pacificism that the great conspiracy

gained its end in Russia. This is not the place to recount

the story of the Russian Revolution, which is still too fresh

in the minds of the public to need repeating ; all that con-

cerns us here is to trace the coxirse of the World Revolution

throughout the movement and to controvert the purblind

declarations of certain leading politicians in this cotmtry,"

who persisted in regarding the Russian upheaval as some-

thing quite new in the history of the world. Thus in the

House of Lords on February 10, 1920, Lord Curzon

observed :

When we look at Russia, who can regard that spectacle with-

out consternation and dismay? — a country at this moment

prey to a revolution of a character unprecedented in history.

Because, although every one is always drawing analogies with

what happened in France 140 or 150 (sici) years ago there is

no analogy whatever. Everybody knows that the circumstances

of what is happening in Russia at the present time are wholly

without parallel in the history of the world, and you can imagine

how in what are called the inner circles of statecraft at every

moment we are confronted with this appalling spectacle outside

our door, upsetting us, perplexing our resolution, and con-

founding our calculations at every turn.

What wonder that otir foreign policy is frequently at

fault and that otir statesmen find themselves perplexed

and confounded at every turn if this is the extent <rf their

historical knowledge? Not only is there an exact analogy

between the revolutions of Prance and Russia, but as

every one who has studied the latter movement knows, the

Russian Revolution from November 1917 onwards was a

direct continuation of Ike French. This was admitted by the

Bolsheviks themselves, who repeatedly declared that the

first French Revolution must be copied in every detail, and

who from the outset took Marat and Robespierre as their

models.\*

\* RSftexions sur la violence^ p. 89.

' Sir Paul Dukes informed me that at a meeting of the Bolsheviks

he 'attended in Russia at the beginning of the Revolution, Marat was held

up as the great example to be followed. In June 1919 an article in the

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It has been objected that in two important points the

Russian Revolution differs from the French, firstly, that

whilst the French Revolution was National, the Russian

was International; secondly, that the French Revolution

was directed against the aristocracy, but the Russian

Revolution aimed particularly at the destruction of the

bourgeoisie. Both these statements are inaccurate. The

French Revolution, like the Russian Revolution, con-

tained both National and International elements. In its

declaration " all men are brothers " the French Constitu-

ent Assembly gave expression to the purest International-

ism, and Clootz, the apostle of this doctrine, received as

we have seen, the loudest acclamations from the Conven-

tion. It was only when the Jacobins\* declaration of world

anarchy met with opposition from foreign cotmtries and

also ran counter to the innate patriotism of the French

people that the Convention found itself forced into an

attitude of Nationalism it had never intended to assiune,

and under the domination of Robespierre, the greatest

opponent of Internationalism, Clootz and the " parti de

r6tranger " were condemned to death. In Russia, on the

other hand, the Revolution did not bear at the outset an

entirely International character: amongst the Social

Revolutionaries who brought about the rising of March

1917 were several national groups; the Mensheviks like-

wise comprised a national party, led by Plechanov. It was

not until the Bolsheviks seized the reins of power that the

Revolution became frankly International, and this was

facilitated by the fact that the Russian people were less

patriotic than the French, and also that whilst the Jacobins

of France could cotmt on no support from abroad the

Bolsheviks depended almost entirely on foreign co-opera-

tion and fotinded all their hopes on the prospect of a world

revolution.

Daily Herald described the dosing down by the Bolshevik authorities'of

a play entitled The Death of Danton, for fear it might be ofiEensive to the

memory of Robespierre. A Russian who had been imprisoned under the

Bolsheviks wrote to me after reading my French ReooltUiani "Your

book . . . seems to be the diary of our own revolution, so thoroughly

well have our apes learnt their roles . . . everybody in Russia Imew by

heart that bloody era, though many of the actors hardly knew how to sign

their namesi "

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In the matter of the class war the Bolsheviks of Russia

pursued precisely the same course as the revolutionaries of

France. In both countries the monarchy and aristocracy

were the first to suflfer; in both the turn of the bourgeoisie

came next. In the summer of 1793, as we have seen, war

on the bourgeoisie was declared by the Convention, and the

battle-cries of that period have been adopted verbatim by

the Bolsheviks. Let us follow the same process, as carried

out by Lenin, in his own words:

What is the first stage? It is the transfer of power to the

capitalist class (bourgeoisie). Up to the Mardi revolution of

1917 power in Russia was in the hands of one ancient class,

namely the feudalist-aristocratic-landowning class headed by

Nicholas Romanov. After that revolution power has been in

the hands of a different, a new class, namely the capitalist class

(the bourgeoisie). The shifting of power from one dass to

another is the first, the main, fundamental symptom of a revolu-

tion, both in the strictly scientific and the practical political

sense of the word. To 1^ extent, the capitalist or bourgeois-

democratic revolution in Russia is at an end. ^

In Russia as in France war on the bourgeoisie was only

the second stage of the movement, and in both the com-

plete subjection of the people formed the next point on the

programme.

The Bolshevik revolution was, from the very beginning,

avowedly anti-democratic and in no sense the outcome of

the Russian revolutionary movement. Until the end of the

last century the subversive forces in Russia had been

mainly anarchic, resulting from the doctrines of Bakunin

and Kropotkine; but with the formation of the Russan

Social Democratic Party a definite Marxian school was

inaugurated and found further support in the Jewish Bund

of Social Democrats. It was at a congress of the Russian

Social Democratic Party in London in 1907 that the split

took place, resulting in division into the two groups of

Bolsheviks under Lenin and Mensheviks tmder MartoflE,

the former signifying the majority, the latter the minority,

but since then the terms have come to denote the extreme

and the less extreme party.

At the outbreak of the March revolution of 1917 the

& The Soviets at Work, p. 8.

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Bolsheviks were, however, completely in the minority

amongst the various revolutionary groups — a fact frankly

admitted by the Bolsheviks themselves \* — and it was only

by a course of systematic deception, and finally by force of

arms, that the party which might be described in Bakunin's

words, " the German- Jew Company," the \*\* red bureau-

cracy," succeeded in establishing its domination. Such

popularity as it had achieved had been won by the old

method of the conspiracy — promising one thing and

doing precisely the opposite. Thus according to the word

of command of the Secret Societies — \*\* Constitution " —

the Bolsheviks had clamoured for a Constituent Assembly,

and their first act was to dissolve the assembly elected by

universal suffrage; exploiting the war-weariness of the

troops they had promised the people immediate peace, and

having by these means created disaffection first in the

navy, then in the First army, and finally throughout all the

troops, they inaugurated a rfegime that cotild only exist on

warfare and of which the whole policy is aggressive mili-

tarism; they had promised the peasants the land they

coveted, and then denied them the right to own the crops

they grew on it.

From the outset, however, the Bolsheviks had never

succeeded in obtaining a following amongst the peasants, of

which the revolutionary elements looked to the Social

Revolutionaries for salvation, and it was on the workmen

of the towns that they counted for support. But here

again their promises proved delusive, and the workers who

imagined that they were to run the industries in which they

were engaged fotand themselves bitterly disillusioned.

Great efforts have been made by the Bolsheviks to i)er-

suade Syndicalists that their plans are identical, as we see

in the overture made by Zinovieff in the name of the Third

Internationale to the I. W. W. of America (date of January

1920), where soothing assurances are given on the subject

^ " At the begiimmg of the Revolution, the Socialist Revolutionary

Party became by far the strongest in the whole political field. The peas-

ants, soldiers, and even the masses of the workers voted for the Socialist

Revolutionaries " (Trotzky, The History of the Russian Revolution to Brest-

Litovsk (Allen and Unwin), p. 62). A report in the White Paper on Bolshev-

ism asserts that 90 per cent of the population were in favour of the mon-

archy (date of October 14, 1918).

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of the State. '' Our aim is the same as yours — a common-

wealth without State, without Govermnent, without

classes, in which the workers shall administer the means of

production and distribution for the common benefit of all."

But the appeal goes on to explain that this cannot be done

all at once, and the old process of the " withering away of

the State," originating with Louis Blanc, is to take place.

In the face of Lenin's views on control by the workers the

hypocrisy of this protestation is, however, apparent.

" Socialism," Lenin wrote in May 1918, " can only be

reached by the development of State Capitalism, the careful

organization of finance, control, and discipline amongst the

workers. Without this there is no Socialism. ... To every

deputation of workers which has come to me complaining that a

factory was stopping work, I have said: \* If you desire the con-

fiscation of your factory, the decree forms are ready, and I can

sign a decree at once. But tell me: can you take over the man-

agement of the concern? Have you calculated what you can

produce ? Do you know the relations of your works with Russian

and foreign markets? " Then it has appeared that they are in-

experienced in these matters; that there is nothing about them

in the Bolshevik literature, nor in the Menshevik either. The

workers who base their activities on State Socialism are the most

successfuL" \*

Bolshevism then is not Syndicalism, it is State Social-

ism, it is Marxism, it is Communism, in a word it is

Babouvistne.

It is therefore no figure of speech to describe it as the

most reactionary school of thought now in existence, for it

does not even carry on the traditions of 1848 or 1871, but

goes right back to the centtuy before last — the Bolshevik

revolution of 1917 began where the French Revolution left

oflf in 1797. Is it possible to conceive anything more retro-

gressive?

Let us now follow the programme of Bolshevism as set

forth by its own advocates in order to realize its exact

resemblance to that of Babeuf . We shall find it most

clearly propounded in the pamphlet of Bucharin, the right

hand of Lenin, from which the following passages are

taken:

» The Chief Task of our Times, by Vladimir Oulianoff (Lenin), pCiblished

by the Workers' Socialist Federation, p. 12.

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We already know that the root of the evil of all plundering

wars, of oppression of the working-classes and of all the atrocities

of capitalism, is that the wealth of the world has been enslaved

by a few State-organized capitalist bands, who own all the

wealth of the earth as their private property, ... To deprive

the rich of their power by depriving them of their wealth by

force, that is the paramount duty of the working-class, of the

Labour Party, the party of Communists. ... In a Communist

order all the wealth belongs not to individuals or classes, but to

society as a whole; no one man is master over it. All are equal

comrades. . . . The work is carried out jointly, according to a

pre-arranged labour plan. A central bureau of statistics calcu-

lates how much it is required to manufacture in a year: such

and such a number of boots, trousers, sausages, blacking, wheat,

cloth, and so on. It will also calctdate that for this purpose such

and such a number of men must work on the fields and in the

sausage work respectively, and such and such a number in the

large communal tailoring workshops, etc., and working-hands

will be distributed accordingly. The whole of production is

conducted on a strictly calculated and adjtisted plan, on the

basis of an exact estimate of all the machines, apparatus, all

raw material, and all the labour power in the community.^

Compare this with Babeuf : " A simple affair of numbering

things and people, a simple operation of calculations and

combinations." \*

All this, Bucharin goes on to inform us, " can be

attained only by working to a single plan and by organizing

the whole commimity into one vast labour commune.'\* •

This process, which is to begin with the bourgeoisie^ is

to be carried out

by means of introducing labour record books and labour service.

Every one of the above-named class should receive a special

book in which an account is kept of his work, that is to say of

his compulsory service. Fixed entries in his book entitle >^itn

to buy or to receive certain food products, bread in the first

place. ... If such an individual refuses to work there is no

corresponding entry in his book. He goes to the store but is

told, " There is nothing for you. Please to show an entry con-

firming your work." \*

This may be very pleasing to the proletarian who sees

in imagination the \*' idle rich " being forced to shoulder

^ N. Bucharin, Th€ Programme of the World Revolution (Socialist

Labour Press, Glasgow, 1020), pp. 16, 17.

> P. 63 of this book.

> Programme of the World Reeoluium, p. 17. « Ibid. p. 65.

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spade or pickaxe in order to secure a meal, but the prole-

tarian smile fades away as the end of the page is reached

and these ominous words appear: " Of course labour

service for the rich should only be a transitory stage

towards general labotir service."

If we turn to The Russian Code of Labour Laws (pub-

lished by the People's Russian Information Bureau in

1920) we shall find that " all citizens of the Russian Social-

ist Federal Soviet Republic over 16 and under 50 years of

age '\* — with certain exemptions in case of illness — \*' are

subject to comptilsory labour " of eight hours a day.^

In fact a great part of Lenin's writings are devoted to

the problem of enforcing this system, to \*\* the higher dis-

cipline of the toilers," \* \*' iron discipline during work with

absolute submission to the will of one person," \* for which

purpose " a merciless dictatorship\* must be exercised."

Moreover, we find that after all '\* wage-slavery " still

exists, for a whole section of the Russian Code relates to

the " transfer and discharge of wage-earners." But in

time the wages though not the slavery are to disappear, for

Bucharin explains that sale and purchase will by degrees

give way to barter:

An \*\* exchange " of goods must then begin between town and

country, without the agency of money; municipal industrial

organizations send out textile, iron, and other goods into the

country, while the village district organizations send bread to

the towns in exchange . . . when pioduction and distribution

are thoroughly organized money will play no part whatever,

and as a matter of course no kind of money dues will be de-

manded from any one. Money will have generally become

unnecessary. Finance will become extinct.\*

In order to attain this ideal condition of things the

working-class must engage in a " bloody, painful, heroic

struggle."

We have only to turn back to the earlier pages of this

book to see that this is identically and in every detail the

plan of the Babouvistes; the Third International in its

" New Commtmist Manifesto " in fact admits its direct

& pp. 6 and 16. ' The Soviets at Work, p. 26,

• Ibid, p. 35. • Ilnd. p. 40.

• Programme of the World Revolution, p. 69.

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descent from Babeuf . How are we to explain the continu-

ity of idea? Simply by the fact that both systems are

fotmded on the same doctrines — those of lUuminism, and

that the plan now at work in Russia has been handed down

through the secret societies to the present day.

The Bolshevik revolution has in fact followed out the

code of Weishaupt in every point — the abolition of mon-

archy, abolition of patriotism, abolition of private prop-

erty and of inheritance, abolition of marriage and morality,

and abolition of all religion.

On the last two points queries will be raised. Has the

Bolshevik Government officially abolished marriage? No;

simply because it has not dared to do so, but its intentions

in this respect are made quite clear in the pamphlet of

Madame Kolontay, the friend of Lenin, Communism and

the Family\^ in which it is explained that the old form of

\*\* indissoluble marriage " is to give place to '\* the free and

honest union of men and women who are lovers and com-

rades " — that is to say simply to " free love." Does this

imply then \*' the community of women " ? Much discus-

sion has been devoted to this question, heated controver\*

sies have taken place as to whether the mandate of

Ekaterinodar ordering the \*' socialization " of women was

a part of the Bolshevik programme or merely the act of an

individual commissar. Yet all the time the answer is quite

simple. Bolshevism is avowedly Marxism; to follow the

precepts of Marx in every detail is the supreme aim of the

leaders. And the '\* official and open community of women "

is laid down in Marx's Communist Manifesto^ If, there-

fore, the Bolshevists have not established it in Russia it is

because public opinion was evidently too strong for thenu

The mandate of Ekaterinodar, never intended for publi-

cation in Western Europe, gave away the plan and pre-

vented its execution. But Madame Kolontay's pamphlet

leaves no doubt as to the ultimate design. For " free love "

must inevitably lead to the same conclusion — the removal

of all protection from women. The hypocritical pretension

» Published by " The Workers' Socialist Federation," 152 Fleet Street.

\* Manifesto of the Communist Party published in pamphlet form by

the Socialist Labour Party, p. 19.

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put forward by Marx and the Bolsheviks of wishing to

abolish prostitution can deceive no one — Communism

would simply replace voluntary prostitution by forcible

rape.

In this matter the Bolsheviks go much further than

Babeuf, who does not touch on the commimity of women,

although he is no less insistent on the necessity for the

break-up of the family by taking away the children from

their parents ; and his further stipulation that they should

not be allowed to bear their father's name " unless he had

distinguished himself by great virtues," certainly seems to

indicate abolition of the present marriage system. But in

their plan of the communal education of children the

Bolsheviks have followed Babeuf to the letter. The

English Commtmist, Mr. Bertrand Russell, has described

the idea formulated by Madame Kolontay more or less

vaguely — so as not to alarm Western mothers — as he

saw it in operation during his stay in Russia, and it is

curious to notice that Babeuf 's plan of teaching the chil-

dren dancing has been carefully followed — an irony which

even Mr. Russell could not fail to perceive, since the edu-

cation of these " Eurythmlc " dancers contrasted pathetic-

ally with \*\* the long hours of painful toil " to which they

were " soon to be subject in the workshop or factory." ^

The exact resemblance between the Bolshevik system with

that of Babeuf is iurthen shown by this passage from Mr.

' ,, .-...' .. ./•

It is necessary first to admit that children should be delivered

up almost entirely to the State. Nominally, the mother still

comes to see her child in these schools, but in actual fact, the

drafting of children to the country must intervene, and the

whole temper of the authorities seemed to be directed towards

breaking the link between mother and child}

In the matter of religion the Bolsheviks seem to have

been unable to carry out their programme entirely, for,

although churches have been desecrated and destroyed,

ikons torn down and spat upon, and countless priests

murdered, religious worship has not been officially pro-

."''\* Bertrand Russell, The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism (Allen

aiid Unwin), 1920, p. 69.

,. \* Ibid, p. 66. Cf. with p.- 59 of; this book..

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hibited as under the French Terror. But the intentions of

the Soviet Government on this question admit of no mis-

understanding. Turning again to Bucharin we find the

following principles laid down :

One of the agencies in achieving this object (dulUng the

minds of the people) was the belief in God and the Devil. A

great number of people have grown accustomed to believe in all

this, whilst if we analyse these ideas and try to tinderstand the

origin of religion and why it is so strongly supported by the

bourgeoisie, it will become dear that the real significance of

religion is that it is a poison which is still being instilled into the

people. It will also become dear why the party of the Com-

munists is a strong antagonist of religion. ^

Adopting the aphorism of Marx that " religion is opium

to the people," Bucharin goes on to show the mental

degeneracy that results from any religious beliefs, and

emphasizes his condusions with these words in large black

lettering: \*\* Religion must be fought, if not by violence, at all

events by argument.'' •

All religions, moreover, fall under the ban, for after

describing the follies of fasting and penance, Bucharin

adds:

Eqxially foolish things are done by the religious Jew, the

Moslem Turk, the Buddhist Chinese, in a word, by every one

who believes in God. . . . Religion . . . not only leaves people

in a state of barbarism, but helps to leave them in a state of

slavery.\*

In these words we seem to hear again the voice of

Anarcharsis Clootz, \*\* the personal enemy of Jesus Christ,"

uttering his declamations on " the nullity of all religions."

What is all this indeed but lUuminism, of which the

anti-religious fury had blazed out successively in Weis-

haupt, Clootz, the chiefs of the Alta Vendita, in Proudhon,

and in Bakunin? Indeed the final aim of the lUuminati,

the destruction of Christian dvilization, has been frankly

admitted by the Bolsheviks of Russia. " Wherever I went

in Russia," the Rev. Courtier Forster said on his rettun

from that unhappy country, \*\* the Bolsheviks assxired me

that \* dvilization was all wrong ' and must be done away

with. An important follower of Lenin observed : \* We have

^ Programme of ih\* World Reuolutian, p. 73.

« Ibid. p. 77. » Ibid. p. 76.

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now been at work for two years and you see what we have

already done, but it will take us twelve years to destroy

the civilization of the world.' " And Mr. Lansbtiry, that

obedient pupil of Lenin's, after his visit to Russia echoed

the same sentiment in the columns of the Daily Herald:

" We believe that man has been on the wrong road ever

since the dawn of that thing we call civilization." ^ The

very words employed by Robert Owen tmder the influence

of lUuminism nearly 100 years earlier!

Yet another witness to the persistence of this theory is

Mr. H. G. Wells, whose visions of the future expounded in

the concluding chapters of his Outlines of History and

articles on Russia are simply a compotmd of Rousseau,

Weishaupt, Clootz, and Babeuf. Thus at the end of the

former work we find Mr. Wells anticipating a partial

return to the " nomadic life " — the identical expression

employed by Barruel in describing Weishaupt's theory, —

whilst the same writer's views on Internationalism are

pure Clootz. What else is the \*\* World State " now being

advocated by Mr. Wells in the Sunday Times but Clootz's

" Universal Republic," or his idea of union between all

peoples regardless of nationality but Clootz's " solidarity

of the human race " ? The following genealogy of an

ectraordinary remark by Mr. Wells on the subject of cities

will show how curiously he has been impregnated with

" illuminated " thought, and incidentally illustrates the

method by which one can acquire the reputation of being

an \*\* advanced thinker " today:

Bamiel explained that the plan of Weishaupt had been^

to do away with fixed abodes so that man should return

to the nomadic life,^ and that this had been the influence

at work behind the French Jacobins when they set out to

destroy the manufacturing towns of France.\* \*\* Be free and

equal," he quotes from the original writings of Weishaupt,

\*\* and you will be Cosmopolitans and citizens of the world.

Klnow how to appreciate equality and liberty and you will

not fear to see Rome, Vienna, Paris, London, Constanti-

' DaUy Herald for June 30. 1920.

Mhnoires sur le Jacohinisme, iii. 127, 130, and 198, quoting Original\*

scJiriften, Part II., letter No. 10 to Cato.

» Ibid. pp. 141. 142, 17a

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nople btiming. ..." \* This plan, as we have seen, was

put into execution during the Commune of 1871, and still

forms an important part of the programme of World

Revolution.

In 1796 Babeuf , lUimiinatus, expressed the hope that in

time all the large towns of France would disappear, as it

was in towns that wage slavery flourished and that Capi-

talists were able to surround themselves with luxury and

display.\*

Seventy years later the Nihilists imder the influence of

German lUuminism declared: \*\* We must bum down the

towns. . . . What is the good of these towns ? They only

serve to engender servitude ! " •

And in 1920 Mr. H. G. Wells excuses the ruin of the

towns of Russia tmder Bolshevism by saying : "It was not

Commimism which built up these great impossible cities,

^ut Capitalism." \*

Now this is an argixment too silly to have been invented

by any one of Mr. Wells's intelligence, and we can only

conclude that in putting it forward he is simply repeating

a phrase that he has heard from his Russian friends, to

whom the idea of the necessity for doing away with towns

has descended direct from Weishaupt through the Secret

Societies.

It is obvious that ideas such as these in no way corre-

spond to the desires of the " people " in any country. Even

the peasants of Russia do not want a return to savagery,

whilst to the proletariats of Western Europe nothing would

be more abhorrent than the destruction of cities. They

love the busy life of towns and all the amenities of civiliza-

tion ; they adc for better homes, a higher standard of living,

for modem conveniences that will lighten the burden of

the working- woman, for the devices of science, for cinemas

and music to beguile their hoiu-s of leistare. They do not

wish to solve the housing question by becoming nomads.

The cure for social evils — slums, sweating, tmemploy-

ment, exploitation — is not less civilization but more. The

\* Mhnoires sur le Jacohinistne, iii. 197.

' Buonarotti, Conspiration pour VigaliU dite de Babeuf ^ i. 221.

\* Fribourg, Association Internationale des Travailleurs, p. 184.

« Sunday Express for Oct 31, 1920.

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" people \*' understand this very well, and thus the pro-

gramme of the revolutionary leaders is still, as it has been

throughout, in direct opposition to the wishes of the peoplq.

If any doubt on this point stiU remains, if the history

of the World Revolution related in this book does not

prove that the revolutionary movement for the last 140

years has been the work of a conspiracy whose aims are

entirely tmconnected with the interests and demands of

the people, how are we to account for the following unde-

niable facts?

1 . That although the grievances of the people throujgh-

out this period have varied according to the changing

conditions of our civilization, the programme of the social

revolution has never varied. For if the succeeding out-

breaks had been made by the people each would have been

distinguished by different war-cries, different aims arising

from the exigencies of the moment; instead of this each

outbreak has been carried on to the same slogans, has

repeated the same catch-words, and each has been

directly copied from the earliest — and until 1917 the

most successful — attempt, the first French Revolution.

2. That the leaders of the movement have never, in a

single instance, been men of the people, but always mem-

bers of the upper or middle classes who could not by any

possibility be regarded as victims of oppression. And if

it is objected that these men were disinterested fanatics

fighting in a cause that was not their own, then —

y. That, with rare exceptions such as Louis Blanc,

they invariably displayed complete unconcern for the

sufferings of the people and a total disregard for human

life. No instance has ever been recorded of pity or sym-

pathy displayed by the Terrorists of France towards any

individual members of the working-classes; on the con-

trary, they turned a deaf ear to aU complaints. The

Marxists and Bakuninists mutually accused each other

of regarding the people as \*\* cannon fodder."

4. That each outbreak has occurred not when the

cause of the people was hopeless but on the eve of great

reforms.

5. That each has been followed not by reform but by

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a period of reaction. For twenty years after the first

French Revolution the very word " reform " cotdd hardly

be breathed even in England.

6. That in spite of the fact that each outbreak has

thus thrown back the cause of the people, each has been

represented to the people as a step forward and further

revolutions have been advocated.

The revolutionary movement of 1776 to the present

day is therefore the work of a continuous conspiracy work-

ing for its own ends and against the interests of the

people.

^ •••••••

But now we come to the further question — who are

the modem Illuminati, the authors of the plot? What is

their ultimate object in wishing to destroy civilization?

What do they hope to gain by it? It is this apparent

absence of motive, this seemingly aimless campaign- of

destruction carried on by the Bolsheviks of Russia, that

has led many people to believe in the theory of a Jewish

conspiracy to destroy Christianity. And indeed, if one

examines the present regime of Russia apart from the

revolutionary movement of the last 140 years, this pro-

vides a very conclusive solution to the problem. To the

tmprejudiced observer Bolshevism in Russia may well

appear to be a wholly Jewish movement.

For many years before the present revolution the Jews

had played a leading part in the forces of disruption in that

country. The correspondent of The Times at Odessa in

1906 described the riots that took place there at the end of

October when " excited Jewish factory girls donned red

blouses and ribbons and openly flaimted them in the faces

of the Cossacks." Out of a population of 430,000 inhabit-

ants over one-third were Jews, and about 15,000 took

part in the rioting. \*\* The main part of these demonstra-

tors were students and Jews; • . . excited Jews unblush-

ingly exhibited Republican emblems," red flags were

tmfurled, the Russian national flag was dishonoured by

having all colour except the strip of red torn from it, the

Emperor's portrait was mutilated. In the fight that ensued

over 400 Jews and 500 Christians were killed. The writer

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of this article further showed the demonstration to have

been organized at headquarters; " amongst other Social-

istic fraternities the Central Jewish organization located in

Switzerland sent emissaries from its branches in Warsaw

and Poland to Odessa." \*

Mr. Wickham Steed, in his book Th^ Hapsburg Mon-

archy, quotes a letter written in this same year of 1905 by

a semi- Jew on the question of the Jews in Himgary, in

which this remarkable passage occurs:

There is a Jewish question and this terrible race means not

only to master one of the grandest warrior nations in the world,

but it means, and is consciously striving, to enter the lists

against the other great race of the north (the Russians), the only

one that has hitherto stood between it and its goal of world-

power. Am I wrong? Tell me. For already England and France

are, if not actually dominated by Jews, very nearly so, while the

United States, by the hands of those whose grip they are igno-

rant of, are slowly but surely 3delding to that international and

insidious hegemony. Remember that I am half a Jew by blood,

but that in alll have power to be I am not.'

Twelve years later this prophecy was terribly fulfilled.

For, whatever the Jewish Press may say to the contrary,

the preponderance of Jews amongst the Bolsheviks of both

Hungary and Russia has been too evident to need further

proof. The Executive of the Communist Government

established in Htmgary in March 1919 consisted in a

Directorate of Five which included foxir Jews — Bela Kun,

Bela Vago, Sigmund Kimfi, and Joseph Pogany. The

Secretary was another Jew — Alpari. SzamueUy, also a

Jew, was the head of the Terrorist troops.' In Russia Jews

have again predominated. An article in The Times for

March 29, 1919, stated that:

. Of the twenty or thirty commissaries or leaders who provide

^ Thi Times for^ November 22, 1905, article entitled " The Reign of

Terror at Ddessa." The Chief Rabbi Gaster wrote in The Times of Novem-

ber 25 to contradict these statements, but brought forward no proofs to

the contrary.

« The Hapsburg Monarchy (1913), p. 169. " In Austria-Hungary," the

author observes on p. 155, " the spread of Socialism has been largely the

result of Jewish propagaxida. Dr. Victor Adler, the founder and leader

of the Austrian party, is a Jew, as are many of his followers. In Hungary

the party was also founded and inspired by the Jews."

\* See the pamphlet, In the Gnp of the Terror, by Lumen, printed by

Jordan Gaskefi. Agents, W. H. Smith & Son, 186 Strand\*

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the central machinery of the Bolshevist movement not less than

76 per cent are Jews. ... If Lenin is the brains of the move-

ment, the Jews provide the executive officers. Of the leading

commissaries, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kameneff, SteklofI, Svotiloff,

Uritsky, Joffe, Rakovsky, Raddc, Menjinsky, Larin, Bronski,

Zaalkind, Volodarsky, Petroff, Litvinoff,^ Smirdovitch, and

Vovrowsky are all of the Jewish race, while among the minor

Soviet officials the number is legion.\*

In fact the Jewish Press has on occasions admitted this

influence in Bolshevism. Thus in The Contmunisty a news-

paper published in Kharkoff (number for April 12, 1919),

we find Mr. M. Cohan boasting that,

... without exaggeration, it may be said that the great Russian

social revolution was indeed accomplished by the hands of the

Jews. ... It is true that there are no Jews in the ranks of the

Red Army as far as privates are concerned, but in the com-

mittees and in Soviet organizations, as Commissars, the Jews

are gallantly leading the masses of the Russian proletariat to

victory. . . . The symbol of Jewry, which for centuries has

struggled against capitalism, has become also the S3rmbol of the

Russian proletariat, which can be seen even in the face of the

adoption of the Red five-pointed star, which in former times, as

it is well known, was the sjrmbol of Zionism and Jewry.\*

Tfiis star from the beginning of the Bolshevik revolution

has decorated the caps of Lenin's guards.

Even in England the activities of Jews are clearly evi-

dent in the Bolshevik camp; the audiences at " red flag

meetings " have been observed to contain a very large

Jewish element, Jewish interrupters have been sent to

shout down speakers at patriotic meetings, Jewish agi-

tators have taken part in every riot and urged young

British hooligans to violence, and, according to the admis-

sion of the Daily Herald, a very large number of its

readers are Jews.\* The Jewish Chronicle has in fact frankly

declared that '\* there is much in the fact of Bolshevism

itself, in the fact that so many Jews are Bolsheviks, in the

^ A prominent member of the Jewish Bund in 1907 and Bolshevist

" ambassador " to England.

\* On this point see the remarkable pamphlet, Who rules Russia?

published by the Association Unity of Russia, 121 East 7th Street, Ne^

York (1920), where the exact names and number of Jews in the different

departments of the present Russian Government are given.

• Quoted in American edition of The Protocols, p. 88.

< Letter to the Morning Post from George P. Mudge, Aug. 31, 1920.

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fact that the ideals of Bolshevism at many points are con-

sonant with the finest ideals of Judaism." ^

In the face of all this overwhelming evidence on the

r61e of the Jews in the revolutionary movement, what

wonder that the amazing Protocols of the Elders of Zion,

first published in Russian by Sergye Nilus in 1902 \* and in

English under the title of The Jewish Peril in 1920, came

as a revelation and appeared to provide the clue to the

otherwise insoluble problem of Bolshevism? Here was the

whole explanation — a conspiracy of the Jewish race that

began perhaps at Golgotha, that hid itself behind the

ritual of Freemasonry, that provided the driving force

behind the succeeding revolutionary upheavals, that

inspired the sombre hatred of Marx, the malignant fury

of Trotzky, and all this with the fixed and unalterable

purpose of destroying that Christianity which is hateful

to it. Is this theory true? Possibly. But in the opinion

of the present writer it has not been proved — it does not

provide the whole key to the mystery.

The only way in which the truth can be reached is by

scientific investigation. And the first step in the process

of establishing the authenticity or non-authenticity of the

famous Protocols is to endeavour to trace their origin.

Now to any one familiar with the language of Secret

Societies the ideas set forth in the Protocols are not new;

on the contrary, many passages have a strange ring of

famiUarity. To the present writer the thought that

recurred at every page was : \*\* Where have I read that

., before ? " and by degrees the conviction grew : " But this is

simply Illuminism! " So striking, indeed, are certain

analogies not only between the code of Weishaupt and the

Protocols, but between the Protocols and later Secret

Societies, continuations of the Illuminati, that a continuity

of idea throughout the movement becomes apparent. The

following parallels may prove of interest as evidence of the

theory that the Protocols are founded on much earlier

models :

\* Article entitled " Peace, War, and Bolshevism," April 4, 1919.

' The copy in the British Museum is dated 1905, but there is said to

have been an earlier edition in 1902.

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WORLD REVOLUTION

Protocols

He who wants to rale most

have reooune to cttnniiig and

hypocrisy (p. 3).

We must not stop short before

bribery, deceit, and treachery, if

these are to serve the achieve\*

meat of our cause (p. 6.).

The end justifies the means.

In making our plans we must

pay attention not so much to

what is good and moral, as to

what is necessary and profitable

(p. 4).

With the Press we will deal

in the following manner. . . . We

will harness it and will guide it

with firm reins; we will also have

to gain control of all either pub-

lishing firms ... (p. 40).

All news is received by a few

agencies, in which it is centralized

from all parts of the world.

When we attain power these

agencies will belong to us entirely

and will only publish such news

as we allow ... (p. 40).

No one desirous of attacking

us with his pen would find a

publisher ... (p. 42).

Our programme will induce a

third part of the populace to

watch the remainder from a pure

sense of duty and from the prin-

ciple of voluntary government

service. Then it will not be con-

sidered dishonourable to be a spy;

on the contrary, it will be regarded

as praiseworthy (p. G5).

We will transform the univer-

sities and reconstruct them ac-

cording to our own plans. The

iLLummsic

(Weishaupt, 1776-1786)

Apply yourselves to the art of

counterfeit, to hiding and mask-

ing yourselves in observing others

(Barrud, iii. 27, Oripn&lsckriften^

p. 40).

The end sanctifies the means.

The goodiHof the Order justifies

calumnies, poisonings, murders,

perjuries, treasons, rebellions;

briefly, all that the prejudices

of men call crimes (Barruel, iv.

182, 189, quoting evidence of

Cossandey, Utzshcneider, and

Grunberger).

We must take care that our

writers be well puffed and that

the reviewers do not depreciate

them; therefore we must endeavour

by every means to gain over the

reviewers and journalists; and we

must also try to gain the book-

sellers, who in time will see it is

their interest to side with us

(Robison, p. 191).

If a writer publishes anything

that attracts notice, and is in

itself just, but does not aococd

with our plan, we must endeavour

to win him over oc decry him

(Robison, p. 194).

Every person shall be made a

spy on another and on all around

him (Spartacus to Cato; Robisoiu

p. 139\*

We must acquire the direction

of education — of church manage-

ment — of the professorial chair

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Protocols

heads' of the universities and

their professozB will be specially

prepared by means of elaborate

secret programmes of action. • • •

They will be very carefully nom-

inated, etc (p. 60).

We intend to appear as though

we were the liberators of the

labouring man. • . . We shall sug-

gest to him to join the ranks

of our armies of Socialists, Anar-

chists, and Communists. The

latter we always patronize, pre-

tending to help them out of fra\*

temal principle and the general

interest of humanity evoked by

our socialistic masonry (p. 12).

In the so-considered leading

countries we have circulated an

insane, dirty, and disgusting liter-

ature (p. 49).

iLLUMimsir

and of the pulpit . . . (Robison,

p. 191).

Our Sovereign must be irre\*

proachable (p. 86).

In the place of existing govern-

ments we will place a monster,

which will be called the Adminis-

tration of the Super-government.

Its hands will be outstretched

like far-reaching pincers, and it

will have such an organization

at its disposal that it will not

possibly be able to fail in sub-

duing all countries (p. 22).

Our International Super-govern-

ment (p. 28).

^ We must preach the warmest

concern for humanity and make

people indifferent to all other

relations (Robison, p. 191).

We must win the common

people in every comer (Robison

p. 194).

We must try to obtain an

influence ... in the printing-

houses, booksellers' shops. . . .

Painting and engraving are highly

worth our care (Robison, p. 196.

Note adds: "They were strongly

suspected of having published

some scandalous caricatures and

some very immoral prints. They

scrupled at no means, however

base, for corrupting the nation.")

An lUtmiinated Regent shall be

one of the most perfect of men.

He shall be prudent, foreseeing,

astute, irreproachable (Instruction

B. for the grade of Regent).

It is necessary to establish a

universal regime of domination,

a form of government that will

spread out over the whole world

. . • (Barruel, iiL 97).

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WORLD REVOLUTION

Protocols

We will destroy the fainily

life of the Gentiles . . . (p. 31).

We will also distract them by

various kinds of amusement, games,

pastimes, passions, public houses,

etc (p. 47).

The people of the Christians,

bewildered by alcohol, their youths

turned crazy by classics and early

debauchery, to which they have

been instigated by our agents, . . .

by our women in places of amuse-

ment — to the latter I add the so-

called " society women " — their

voluntary followers in corruption

and luxury (p. Sja

The masonic lodge throughout

the world unconsciously acts as

a mask for our purpose (p. 16).

Most people who enter secret

societies are adventurers, who

want somehow to make their

way in life, and who are not

seriously minded. With such

people it will be easy for us to

pursue our object, and we will

make them set our machinery in

motion (p. 52).

We employ in our

people of all opinions and all

parties; men desiring to re-

Hautx Vbnts Romainb

(1822-1849

The essential thing is to isolate

a man from his family, to make

him lose his morals. . . . He

loves the long conversations of

the caf^ and the idleness of

shows. . . • After having shown

him how painful are his duties

you will excite in him the idea

of another existence (Piccok>

Tigre to the Vente Pienxmtaiae;

Cr^tineau-Joly, ii, 120).

Let us . . . never cease to cor-

rupt . . . but let us popularize

vice amongst the multitude.

Let us cause them to draw it in

by their five senses, to drink it

in, to be saturated with it. . . . It

is corruption en masse that we

have undertaken . . . (Vindex to

Nubius; Cr6tineau-Joly, iL 147).

It is upon the lodges that we

cotmt to double our ranks. They

form, without knowing it, our

preparatory novitiate (Piccolo

Tigre to the Vente Supreme;

Cr<H:ineau-Joly, iL 120).

This vanity of the citizen or ot

the bourgeois for being enrolled

in Freemasonry is something so

banal and so universal that I am

always full of admiration for

human stupidity. . . . (The lodges)

launch amidst their feastings

thundering anathemas against in-

tolerance and persecution. This is

positively more than we require

to make adepts (Piccolo Tigre to

Nubius).

Princes of a sovereign house

and those who have not the

legitimate hope of being kings

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PSOTOCOLS

establish monarchies, Socialists,

etc. (p. 28).

We have taken great care to

discredit the clergy of the Gen-

tiles in the eyes of the people, and

thus have succeeded in injuring

their mission, which could have

been very much in our way.

The influence of the clergy on the

people is diminishing daily. To-

day freedom of religion prevails

everywhere, but the time is only

a few years off when Christianity

will faXL to pieces altogether

(p. 64).

We must extract the 'very

conception of God from the

minds of the Christians • • •

(p. 17).

We must destroy all professions

of faith (p. 48).

PSOTOOOLS

We persuaded the Gentiles

that Liberalism would bring

them to a kingdom of reason

(p. 14).

We injected the poison of Liber-

alism into the organism of the

State ... (p. 33).

We preach Liberalism to the

Gentiles ... (p. 55).

Haute Vente Romainb

by the grace of God, all wish to be

kings by the grace of a Revolu-

tion. The Duke of Orleans is a

Freemason. A prince who has

not a kingdom to expect is a good

fortune for us (Piccolo Tigre to

Nubius).

There is a certain portion of

the clergy that nibbles at the

bait of our doctrines with a

marvellous vivacity . . . (Nubius

to Volpe; Cr^tineau - Joly, iL

130).

It is corruption en tnasse that

we have undertaken: the cor-

ruption of the people by the

clergy and the corruption of the

clergy by themselves, the cor-

ruption that ought to enable us

one day to put the Church in her

tomb (Vindex to Nubius; Cr6-

tineau-Joly, ii, 147).

Our final end is . . • the de-

struction for ever of Catholicism

and even of the Christian idea

(Dillon, The War of Antichrist.

etc., p. 64).

In order to kill the old world

surely we have held that we must

stifle the Catholic and Christian

germ (Piccolo Tigre to Nubius;

Cr^tineau-Joly, iL 387).

Alliance Socialb

DtMOOtATIQUB

(Baktmin's Secret Society,

1864r-1869)

The fourth category of people

to be employed thus described by

Bakunin: " Various ambitious

men in the service of the State

and Liberals of different shades.

With them one can conspire

according to their own pro-

gramme, pretending to follow

them blindly."

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WORLD REVOLUTION

Protocols

We wiU entrnst these impor-

tant posts (government posts) to

people whose record and char-

acters are so bad as to form a

gulf between the nation and them-

selves, and to such people who,

in case they disobey our orders,

may expect judgment and im-

prisonment. And an this is with

the object that they should defend

our interests until the last breath

has passed out of their bodies

Aluamcb Soculb

'■^\* «

, ,»r99» r"

(p. 26)..

We will pre-arrange for the

election of . . . presidents whose

past record is marked with some

" Panama Scandal \*\* or other shady

hidden transaction (p. 34).

The third category of Balntnin

thus described: "A great nmn-

ber of highly placed animals who

can be exploited in all possible

ways. We must circumvent

them, outwit them, and by get-

ting hold of their dirty secrets

make of them our slaves. By

this means their power, their

connections, theff mflueooe, and

their riches wiU beco me an inex\*

haustible treasure and a pfeckms

help in various enterprises. • •

In the same way with the

fourth category: '\* We must take

them in our hands, get hold of

thetr secrets, compromise them

completely in such a way that

retreat wiU be imnnwsihle to

Out of governments we made

arenas on which party wars are

fought out. . . • Insuppressible

babblers transformed parliament-

ary and administrative meetings

into debating meetings. Auda-

cious journalists and impudent

pamphleteers are continually at-

tacking the administrative powers

(p. 11).

We will create^ a\*" universal

economical crisis. . . } Simulta-

neotisly we will throw on to the

streets huge crowds of workmen

throughout Europe. These masses

will then gladly throw them-

selves upon and shed the blood

of those of whom, in their

ignorance, they have been jealous

^ The fifth category of Bakunin

consists of: " Doctrinaires, con-

spirators, revolutionaries, all those

who babble at meetings and on

paper. We must push them and

draw them on unceasingly into

practical and perilous mani-

festations which will have the

result of twaiftwg the majority of

them disappear whilst twairi^g i^

few amongst them real revolu-

^tionaries.

>t

R^The Association will employ all

its means and all its power to

increase and augment evils and

misfortunes which must at last

wear out the patience of the

people and ezdte them to an

insurrection en masu.

^ Marx was evidently in this secret. In Reflexions snr la vichnem

(P. 183) Georges Sorel says: '\* Marx thought the great catastrotflie would

be preceded by an enormous economic crisis."

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Alliance Socials

DtuocnxriQxm

In the first place must be de-

stroyed the men who are most

pernicious to revolutionary organ-

ization and whose violence and

sudden death may most frighten

the government.

IProtocols

Som childhood, and whose belong-

ings they will then be able to

plunder (p. 14)\*

We will make merciless use of

executions with regard to all

who may take up arms against

the establishment of our power

(p. 60).

We must take no account of

the numerous victims who will

have to be sacrificed in order to

obtain future prosperity (p. 51).

The masonic lodge throughout My friends, abandon that

the world unconsciously acts as absurd idea that I have been

a mask ^os ouf purpose (p. 16). won over to Freemasonry. But

perhaps Freemasonry would serve

as a mask or as a passport . . .

(Letter to Herzen and Ogareff,

Correspondence de Bakounine,

209).

^.Through all these parallels the plan of World Revolu-

tion nins like a '\* camplot suivi" and when we further

compare them with the utterances of the modem Bol-

sheviks we see the plan carried right up to the present

moment. 'Let us now consider how the Protocols of the

Elders of Zion tally with the Bolshevist programme:

Protocols Bolshevism

■It is expedient for the welfare

of the cotmtry that the govern-

ment of the same should be in

the hands of one responsible per-

son (p. 5).

The system of government must

be the work of one head.

The despotism of capital which

is entirely in our hands wiH hold

out to it (the State) a straw, to

which the State will be unavoid-

ably compelled to cling . • •

(p. 2.).

On the ruins of natural and

hereditary ' aristocracy we built

^ How can\*we secure strict unity

of will? By subjecting the wQl

of thousands to the will of one

(Lenin, TU Soviets at Work^

P..36).

What is the first stage? It is

the transfer of power to the

capitalist class. Up to the March

Revolution of 1917 power in

Russia was in the hands of one

ancient class, the feudalist-

aristocratic - landowning class,

headed by Nicholas Romanov

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WORLD REVOLUTION

Protocols

an aristocracy of our own on a

plutocratic basis. We established

this new aristocracy on wealth,

of which we had control • • •

(p. 8).

Soon we will start organizing

great monopolies — reservoirs of

colossal wealth . • . (p. 22).

Our government is in so exceed-

ingly strong a position in the

sight of the law that we may

almost describe it by the power-

ful expression of dictatorship

(p. 27).

When we accomplish our coup

d'Elai, we will say to the people:

\*\* Everything has been going

very badly; all of you have

suffered; now we are destroying

the cause of your sufferings — that

is to say, nationalities, frontiers,

and national currencies. Cer-

tainly you will be free to con-

demn us, but can your judgment

be fair if you pronounce it before

you have had experience of what

we can do for your good 7 J\*

(p. 31).

Our laws win be short, dear,

and concise, requiring no inter-

pretation, so that everybody will

be able to know them inside out.

The main feature in them will be

the obedience required towards

authority, and this respect for

authority will be carried to a

very high pitch.

Then all kinds of abuse will

cease, because everybody will

BOLSHBVISIC

After that revolution, power has

been in the hands of a different,

a new class, namely, the capitalist

class (the bourgeoisie) (Lenin,

Towards Soviets, p. 8).

We must improve and regulate

the State monopolies . . . which

we have already established, and

thereby prepare for State monop-

olization of the foreign trade

(Lenin, The Soviets at Work,

p. 20).

We advocate a merciless dicta-

torship (Lenin, The Soviets at

Work, p. 40).

We must study the peculiari-

ties of the highly difficult and

new road to Socialism without

concealing our mistakes and

weaknesses. We must try to

overcome our deficiencies in time

(The Soviets at Work, p. IQ.

What we have already decreed

it yet far from adequate realiza-

tion, and the main problem of

today consists precisely in con-

centrating all efforts upon the

actual, practical realization of

the reforms which have already

become the law, but have not

yet become a reality (tbid. p. 20).

Economic improvement depends

on higher discipline of the toilers.

. . . To learn how to work — this

problem the Soviet authority should

present to the people in all its com-

prehensiveness (The Soviets at Work,

p. 26).

The revolution . . . demands

the absolute submission of the

THE REVOLUTION OP 1917

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Protocols

be responsible before the one

supreme power, namely, that of

the sovereign (p. 56).

We win make it clear to every

one that freedom does not con-

sist in dissoluteness or in the

right of doing whatever people

please. . . . We will teach the

world that true freedom consists

only in the inviolability of a

man's person and of his property,

who honestly adheres to all the

laws of social life (p. 83).

In order to demonstrate our

enslavement of the Gentile gov-

ernments in Europe we will show

our power to one of them by

means of crimes of violence, that

is to say, by a reign of terror

(p. 26).

We mtist destroy all profes-

sions of faith (p. 48).

When the time comes for us

to take special police measures

by putting the present Russian

system of the Okhrana in force

. . • (p 67).

BOLSHEVISIC

masses to the single will of those

who direct the labour process

{The Soviets at Work, p. 35).

It mustt take some time before

the ordinary representative of

the masses will not only see . . .

but come to feel that he must not

just simply seize, grab, snatch —

and that leads to greater dis-

organization {The Soviets at Work^

p. 36).

We will turn our hearts into

steel, which we will temper in the

fire of suffering and the blood of

the fighters for freedom. We wiU

make our hearts cruel, hard, and

immovable, so that no mercy will

enter into them, and so that they

will not quiver at the sight of a

sea of enemy blood, etc. (Krc^snaya

Gazette, the official organ of the

Petrograd Soviet of Workers, Red

Army, and peasants' deputies,

presided over by Zinovieff, alias

Apfelbaum, a Jew. Date of August

81, 1918).!.

Religion must be fought, if not

by violence, at all events by argu-

ment (Bucharin, Programme of the

World Revolution, p. 77).

A highly organized intelligence

department, or rather the renewed

Okhrana of the old autocracy,

is a necessary part of . . . this

regime. Lenin was perfectly right

to emphasize this before the last

Soviet conference in Moscow

(Dec, 1919) (Miliukov in The New

Russia for February 12, 1920).

\* Quoted in American edition of the Protocols, p. 89. Nine years

earlier M. Copin Albancelli, in his Conjuration juive contrc le monde chrStien

(p. 452), had written: "France has known — and she has forgotten! —

the regime of the Masonic Terror. She will know, and the world will know

with her, the regime of the Jewish Terror."

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The foregoing parallels prove, therefore, a dear con-

nection between the Protocols and former Secret Societies

working for World Revolution, and s^Jso between the Pro-

tocols and Bolshevism. But they do not necessarily

establish their authenticity. One possibility immediately

suggests itself. Might they not be a forgery compounded

by some one versed in the lore of Secret Societies? Sup-

posing Nilus to have been a student of this subject and

also, as he was known to be, a pronounced anti-Semite, it

would not have been difficult for him to reconstruct the

programme of World Revolution from earlier models,

weaving into them at the same time the idea of a Jewish

conspiracy. Why, then, was this very obvious explanation

not put forward by the Jews? Why, on the contrary, when

it was suggested by the present writer in a newspaper

article, did it meet merely with resentment? Here was a

loophole indeed! But instead of using it the advocates of

Jewry contented themselves with angry expostulations, or

fell back on absurd explanations, as that the Protocols

were invented by the Russian police or by the " Tzarist

reactionaries " in London, or that they were copied from a

notorious forgery by Goedsche — why choose a forgery

when such admirable authentic models were at hand? — or

again, the attempt was made to draw a red herring across

the track by dwelling on Nilus's personality and his own

literary work, which had no bearing whatever on the

question. The point was to prove whether the document

which he ptirported to have discovered was genuine or not.

The truth is, then, that the Protocols have never been

refuted, and the futility of the so-called refutations pub-

lished, as also the fact of their temporary suppression,

have done more to convince the public of their authen-

ticity than all the anti-Semite writings on the subject put

together.

The only line of defence, namely, that this document

was the work of illuminized Freemasonry, and not of a

purely Jewish association, has been rejected by the advo-

cates of the Jews themselves, and the only conclusion that

we can draw is either that the Protocols are genuine and

what they pretend to be, or that these advocates put

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forward by the Jews nave some interest in concealing the

activities of Secret Societies in the past.

The question then arises : Were the Jews concerned in

the organization of lUuminism and its subsequent develop\*

ments? At present this is not clearly proved. It is true

that Cagliostro was probably a Jew, that Kolmer who

partly indoctrinated Weishaupt may have been a Jew, that

a certain Simonini wrote to the Abb6 Barruel in 1806

declaring that \*\* the freemasons and the illumines were

foimded by two Jews " — whose names the author has

forgotten \* — that the Jewish financiers of Frankfurt may

have contributed to the funds of the Illuminati or of the

Due d'0rl6ans, but all this rests so far on no contemporary

doctmientary evidence. The \*\* illuminis " referred to by

Simonini may well have been the Martinistes founded, as

it is known, by the Jew Paschalis and frequently referred to

tmder this name. We should require more than such vague

assertions to refute the evidence of men who, like Barruel

and Robison, devoted exhaustive study to the subject and

attributed the whole plan of the Illuminati and its fulfil-

ment in the French Revolution to German brains. Neither

Weishaupt, Knigge, nor any of the ostensible founders of

Illuminism were Jews; moreover, as we have seen, Jews

were excluded from the association except by special

permission.' None of the leading revolutionaries of France

were Jews, nor were the members of the conspiracy of

Babeuf.

The claim of the \*\* Elders of Zion \*' to have inspired all

revolutionary outbreaks since 1789 is not therefore at

present substantiated by history, and it is not until the

Alta Vendita from 1820 onwards that they can be proved

to have taken an active part in the movement. Yet

Monsignor Dillon, who clearly recognizes their importance

as agents of this secret society, nevertheless attributes its

efficient organization to " Italian genius.'\* From this date

^ Descfaaxnps, Les SocUUs secrHes, iii. 659.

' Since these words were written, and at the moment of this book

going to press, a number of La VeilU France has appeared (date of March

dl-April 6, 1921) in which it is stated that five Jews were concerned in the

organization and inspiration of the Illuminati — Wessely, Moses Mendels-

sohn, and the bankers Itzig, Friedlander, and Meyer. But the contem-

porary authority for this statement is not given.

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onward their r61e is, however, more apparent. In Germany

before 1848 Disraeli himself declared them to be taking the

lead in the revolutionary movement, and with the First

Internationale they come forward into a blaze of light.

Henceforth along the line of State Socialism their influence

is no longer doubtful.

But whilst the question of Jewish organization from the

beginning of the World Revolution remains obscure, the

workings of illuminized Freemasonry are clearly visible. It

is strange that in the controversy that has raged over the

Protocols so little attention has been paid to the fact that

the so-called " Elders of Zion " were admittedly masons of

the 33rd degree of the Grand Orient. Considered from this

point of view, all their statements regarding the past his-

tory of the Revolution are substantiated by facts. For if

by " we " is meant \*\* illuminized Freemasons," then the

assertion that \*\* it is we who were the first to cry out to the

people \* Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity ' " is clearly

accurate. Nothing can be truer than that since the French

Revolution \*\* the nations have been led from one disap-

pointment to another," and that \*\* the secrets of its pre-

paratory organization were the work of our hands " — the

hands of the Freemasons and Illxmiinati. If, then, the

Protocols are genuine, they are the revised programme of

illuminized Freemasonry formulated by a Jewish lodge of

the Order.

But whilst the influence of the Jews cannot be proved

throughout the early history of the society, German inspi-

ration and organization is apparent from the very begin-

ning. It was the German Weishaupt who founded the

Illtuninati with the aid of his German colleagues, it was the

German Knigge who effected its alliance with French

Freemasonry, German emissaries who introduced it to the

lodges of the Grand Orient ; it was this German Illtmiinism

that inspired the campaign of universal corruption waged

by the Alta Vendita and the anarchic fury of Bakunin; and

again it was pan-Germanism, working by the methods of

the lUuminati, that assured the success of Marx and

Engels and secured control of all Socialist organizations up

to the present day.

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This revolutionary machine that threatens the peace of

the world today, though manipttlated in the past by men

of all nationalities — French, Italian, Jewish, Russian, and

in a few instances English — is primarily the work of

German hands and is stiU mainly controlled by Germans

with the aid of their Jewish allies. The German military

authorities sent Lenin and the Jew Radek m a spedal train

to Russia, German officers organized the Bolshevik armies,

and German poison gas contributed to the final defeat of

WrangeL

It was also Germany who fanned the flames of civil war

now raging in Ireland. Sinn Fein, which in its origins was

largely a national and religious movement, is now beiiig

exploited by the International Atheist movement, whose

" dark directory," as in 1884, " laughs at Ireland and her

wrongs." For the plan of the conspiracy has always been

to adopt a proUgi and enlist its aid as an ally. Hitherto the

two proUg6s invariably selected have been Ireland and

Poland. But now that Poland has dared to assert its

independence Poland has been thrown to the wolves, and

when the day comes, as it must come if the World Revo-

lution triumphs, for Ireland to resist the tide of Bolshev-

ism, then Ireland with aU her national and religious

aspirations will be thrown to the wolves likewise. The

organization of the revolutionary movement is even now

less in the hands of Sinn Fein than of the Irish Republican

Brotherhood, modelled like its predecessors, the Fenians

and the United Irishmen, on the Illuminati of Weishaupt.\*

The same organization is at work in India, and both are

directed, not by Moscow, but by the invisible coimcil which

holds in its hands the threads of the whole conspiracy.

Bolshevist propaganda all over the world has been

carried out by German organization and financed by Ger-

man as well as by Jewish gold. \*\* I affirm," wrote Bourt-

zeflE, the Russian refugee, " that since August 1914, and in

a relatively short lapse of time, the Germans handed over

personally to Lenin more than 70,000,000 marks for the

organization of Bolshevist agitation in the AUied Coim-

i For this reason Sinn Fein will not be found marked in the chart

accompanying this book. It is not a part of the World Revolution. '.^ '-

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tries." Bernstein, a member of the German Social Demo-

cratic Party, has declared in the official organ of the party,

Vorwarts, that he knew as far back as December 1917 that

Lenin was in the pay of Germany. More recently, Bern-

stein has learnt from \*\* a responsible person " that the sum

given to Lenin was more than 50,000,000 gold marks, or

£2,500,000.1 The Jewish Bolshevik emissaries to the

recent Tours Congress, Abramovitch and Clara Zetkin,

were discovered by the French authorities to have received

money from Germany for the expenses of propaganda in

France. The Jewish agitator is the tsetse fly carrying the

poison germ of Bolshevism from the breeding-ground of

Germany.

As long as England retains any belief in Carlyle's

theory of '\* noble, patient, deep, pious, and solid Ger-

many," the true cause of the evils now afflicting Europe

will never be understood. Doubtless there are noble and

pious elements in Germany, but let it not be forgotten that

Germany holds within her a poison centre which has

become a source of moral infection for the whole world.

The campaign of militant atheism and moral corruption

that is now being carried out systematically in our own

coimtry, in France, and in America, is of German devising.

Weishaupt in his apology for lUtuninism said that "Deism,

Inndelity, and Atheism were more prevalent in Bavaria

than in any country he was acquainted with." \* Seventy

years later, in 1846, Lord Shaftesbury, travelling in Ger-

many, remarked: \*\* Here is a peculiarity among the Ger-

man literati', professorial chairs are held and public lectures

given by men of open, acknowledged, and boastful

Atheism '\* ; and if we are reminded that Disraeli had

declared most of these professorial chairs at this date to be

monopolized by Jews, let us note that Lord Shaftesbury

goes on to say: " Nor does opinion frown them down. We

have bad people in England, but few dare to parade their

make-beliefs with ostentation and joy." • German Athe-

^ Article by Mr. Adolphe Smith, "ILenin: Russian fTraitor and German

Agent," in the National Review for April 1921. The whole of this important

article, ^m which the above quotations are taken, should be reaid care\*

fully.

' Robison's Proofs of a Conspiracy, p. 102.

• Edwin Hodder, lAje of Lord Shaftesbury, p. 362.

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ism and Jewish antagonism to Christianity have combined

to f onn the great anti-religious force that is making itself

felt in the world today.

; . Again, Internationalism, the policy of national suicide

advocated by the modem revolutionaries, has been fre-

quently attributed to the Jews, and it is obvious that a

race without a country of its own must see in the propaga-

tion of Internationalism much to commend it; but the

originator of Internationalist doctrines as they are

preached today was not a Jew but a German — Anacharsis

Clootz. The so-called \*' International Jew \*' is not in

reality International at aJl; he is first a Jew and then a

German — sometimes indeed he is a German first.\* Inter-

nationalism, then, is simply another word for pan-German-

ism, and it will always be noticed that advocates of Inter-

nationalism in this cotintry betray a peculiar iendresse for

Germany. As Mr. Adolphe Smith has well expressed it:

" The Socialist and revolutionary doctrines . . . taught

under the mantle of Marxism spread the idea that a

Socialist has no country unless, of course, he has the good

fortune to be a German." And again: \*\* The doctrines of

the older Socialists, the Socialists at whom Bismarck

aimed by his anti-Socialist law, were now reserved for

foreign exportation . . . abroad they were just what was

wanted to disintegrate communities, to weaken the sense

of nationality, and lessen the desire for strong armies of

defence. ... In all fields of action the German cts an

Internationalist needs to be studied with far greater care

than as yet has been bestowed on him." ' The Interna-

tional doctrines of Weishaupt and of his disciple Clootz

have served the cause of Germany well..

It will be urged, " But why shotild Germany encourage

lUtmiinism, since she herself is now a victim of World

Revolution? " True, the Spartadsts of Germany today

are tmdoubtedly the direct descendants of Spartacus

[^ 1 On March 29. 1913, an influential German- Jewish Association, the

" Central Society of German Citizens of Jewish Faith/' in a strongly anti-

Zionist resolution, declared: " On the soil of the German Fatherlsuid we

wish, as Germans, to co-operate in German civilization and to remain

true to a partnership that has been hallowed by religion and history '\*

(Wickham Steed, Tke Hapsburg Monarchy, p. 177).

\* Adolphe Smith, The Pan-German International^ pp. 4, 9, 12.

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Weishaupt from whom they take their name; \* Liebknecht

and Rosa Ltixembourg were both leading members of the

Order. Inevitably those who handle poison gas are liable

at moments to inhale its fimies. But Germany has Spar-

ticism well under control — meanwhile it can be used as a

bogey to prevent her disarmament by the Allies. Between

Berlin and Moscow the imderstanding is complete. Nicho-

las Lenin is not the controlling brain of the gigantic con-

spiracy. Great pains have been taken to represent the

present dictator of Russia as a " Superman " of vast con-

ceptions. Lenin's own writings refute this theory. Where

in all his numerous pamphlets do we find a hint of genius

or even of original thought ? The writings of Robespierre

bear at least the stamp of his personality. Babeuf , lUum-

inatus though he was, brought some native inspiration to

bear on his diatribes, but from the days of Marx onwards

revolutionary Socialism has always borne the same

" machine-made \*' character and Lenin's pamphlets

resemble nothing so much as the instructions of a bogus

company promoter directing other would-be bogus com-

pany promoters how to \*\* do the trick." Mr. Wdls has

hastened to assure us that Lenin's writings are not repre-

sentative of himself, that the great man must be seen to

be appreciated; yet how is it that the many ardent pil-

grims to the shrine of the deity at Moscow have never been

able to bring back a single phrase uttered by the oracle

that gives evidence of the slightest gleam of inspiration

or of concern for the people of Russia? The one point

that appears to occupy him is how to make the system

work in spite of the opposition of the people.

Lenin, then, is neither a demagogue nor a superman,

but the agent of the great German- Jewish company that

hopes to rule the world.

How do the Germans and the Jews come to be allied in

this design? Are not their aims mutually antagonistic.

If we regard the Jewish plan as a racial conspiracy — yes.

But there is no evidence to show that the whole Jewish

race is concerned in it; on the contrary, many Jews in our

1 On this point see WeUfreimaurerei, WtUrevolMHcn. WtUrepMik^ by

Dr. Wichtl (Munich, 1921), p. 262.

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own country, as in Prance, have shown themselves fearless

opponents both of Germany and Bolshevism. Nor does

religious fanaticism appear to enter into the question. The

insistence on the idea of a Jewish Messiah is the least

convincing part of the Protocols. It is not religious Jews,

even Talmudic Jews, but apostate Jews who have thrown

themselves into the revolutionary movement. In the

diatribe of Bucharin against religion quoted above, the

Jewish faith is derided equally with that of the Christian

or the Buddhist. Yet if we examine the plan of Bolshev-

ism we shall see the motive for a certain section of the Jews

to take part in it. Now the avowed plan of the Bolshevists

is to do away with the right of private property and

establish universal Communism. But the ruse of the con-

spiracy has always been to use words with a double

meaning, and not only this, but with meanings diametri-

cally opposed to each other. Thus when they proclaim the

" dictatorship of the proletariat " their real intention is to

bring about the complete enslavement of the proletariat;

when they talk of the " equality of sexes " what they really

mean is to reduce women to a position lower than the rank .

of squaws. The word " constitution," as we have seen, has

been employed throughout as the signal for crushing an

attempt to introduce constitutional government or for

overthrowing it when it has been established. In the same

way the word '\* Commtuiism " has a double meaning.

To the simple proletarian Communism conveys a very

aUxiring idea, namely, that of " having everjrthing in

common." Of the real theory of Communism he has no

conception, but the propagandist who tries to win him

ovCT to Communism knows very well. He knows, more-

over, that Communism is a system which has been tried

and in every instance found wanting, and that, on the lines

which he advocates, can never succeed.

Por the only form of Communism which it has ever

been possible to carry out successfully is that practised by

religious communities. Monasteries and nunneries are, of

course, Communist, but the fact which makes this possible

is that they are composed of people who have renounced

all interest in earthly things and centre all their thoughts

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and desires on the Kingdom of Heaven. Secular Com-

munism, by its insistence on materialism, eliminates the

only factor that makes the system feasible — belief in God

and the Hereafter. It is inconceivable that leading Com-

mtmists should be unaware of this fundamental error in

their teaching, or of the failure that has attended every

attempt to put it into practice in the past — above all, of

its colossal failure in Russia.

If, then. Communism or State Socialism has been

proved impracticable, if, moreover, it is a system that no

one who understands it can possibly want, who is to profit

by establishing it ? Sorel answered the question long ago

— "A few professors who imagine they invented Social-

ism and a few Drejrfusard financiers." In other words, the

Intellectuals who cherish the hope of being given official

posts in the Socialist State which will give them an

advantage over their fellow-men, and a few Jewish finan-

ciers. Werner Sombart, summing up the system of the

latter, says: " Their aim was to seize upon all commerce

and all production; they had an overpowering desire to

expand in every direction." The system of free trade was

all part of this plan and can be traced back as far as

Anacharsis Qootz, who was doubtless considering the

interests of his friends the Jews when in his Universal

Republic he advocated " all the peoples forming one nation,

all the trades forming only one trade, all interests forming

only one interest." It is easy to see that State Socialism

may be merely the prelude to this scheme, and here M.

Sorel and M. Copin AlbancelU are curiously in accord.

" One formula," the latter wrote in 1909, " sums up the

whole CoUectivist propaganda: All for the State. All for the

State! The people imagine that this means: All for All! and

they march forward, intoxicated with hope, towards the con-

quest of this fallacious idea, not dreaming that the State being

henceforth in the hands of the Jews \* all for the State ' . . . will

be \* all for the Jews I ' . . . The dictatorship imposed by

the Jewish race will be a financial, industrial, and commercial

dictatorship." \*

What could better describe the government of Rtissia

1 La Conjuration juwe contre Ic monde chriHen, pp. 448, 450.

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today? The plan of wresting all capital out of private

hands and placing it in the hands of the State, as under

Communism, or in the hands of industrial syndicates as

under Syndicalism, may well be the prelude to State

Capitalism or to gigantic trusts controlled by international

financiers. In this case the so-called war on capitalism is

simply a war in favour of capitalism, of ruining all small

holders of wealth or property in order to enrich a ring of

multi-millionaries. A passage in Mr. Wells's articles on

Russia lends colour to this theory:

Big business is by no means antipathetic to Communism.

The larger big business grows the more it approximates to

Collectivism. It is the upper road of the few instead of the

lower road of the masses to Collectivism.^

Conversely, then, may not Commtmism be the lower

road which the masses are being invited to follow leading

to " big business," that is to say, to super-Capitalism?

Once embarked on this road there can be no timiing back.

The jjresent Capitalist system — that is to say, the system

that aims at the distribution of capital amongst as large a

number of hands as possible — having been destroyed by

the workers' own folly in favoiu\* of concentration of

capital in the hands of the State, they will be obliged to

work or stai^e. Their new masters will have them com-

pletely at their mercy.

It will be urged : " But the workers will never stand

this; they will rise against their tyrants and overthrow

them! What government of this kind could maintain

itself in power? '\*

But this is where the r61e of the German armies comes

in. It is quite true that a group of international financiers

could not of its own strength maintain itself in power

against an enraged industrial proletariat, but if we

imagine this financial power backed by a superb military

system, if, in a word, we picture an alliance between

Prussian militarism and international finance, the plan no

longer appears impracticable.

It is this alliance that today menaces civilization, and

it is an alliance of long standing, as we have seen in the

1 Sunday Express for November 28, 1920.

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earlier chapters of this book. The present campaign of

anti-Semitism raging in Germany is largely a strategic

manoeuvre with the object of reinstating Germany in the

eyes of the world and throwing all the blame for both the

war and the revolution on the Jews. Germany will not

relinquish her Jews as long as they can help her towards

the attainment of her dream of world-power. Nor will the

International Jew forsake Germany as long as by her

military strength she remains the horse to back.

Yet, formidable as this coalition may be, does it pro-

vide the whole force of Bolshevism? The organization —

yes ; but the force — no. In following the history of World

Revolution one other factor, an immense factor, must

be taken into consideration — the power of anarchy. All

Bolshevists are not Jews or Germans; all are not inspired

by Jews or Germans. The importance of the constitutional

destructionist cannot be over-estimated. It is essential to

recognize that there are men and women in the world who

will throw themselves into any subversive movement for

sheer love of violence — it is idle to seek with them a

motive. This has been so all through the revolutionary

movement. For although down the line of State Socialism

the influence of the Germans and the Jews is clearly evi-

dent, down the line of Anarchy, except for the original

inspiration of Weishaupt and the agitations of Most and

Hartmann, it is hardly to be fotmd at all. Bakunin was

the author of a poUmique against the Jews; Sorel was an

ardent anti-Dreyf usard ; Lev Chomy, the Russian Anar-

chist, at the beginning of the present revolution warned

the Russian people against the Jewish leaders of Bolshev-

ism. If modem Communism, that is to say, Marxian

Socialism, is German and Jewish, Syndicalism and

Anarchy are peculiar to the Latin and Slavonic races. It

was this fearfttl element that contributed largely to the

ferocity of Bolshevism, and, exploiting the native ten-

dency of the Russian people towards violence, could in-

augurate an orgy of blood and terror.

Bolshevism uses Syndicalism, like Anarchy, to estab-

lish its power, it encoxirages the General Strike, which

enters in no way into its own programme, but the spirit of

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Syndicalism exists apart from Bolshevism and is as much to

be feared. If revolution breaks out in this country it will

be a Ssmdicalist revolution — the General Strike with its

fearful progranune of sabotage and violence, its carnival of

rioting and destruction. But it is not Syndicalism that

will win the day. The lessons of history prorve that

anarchy, ephemeral in its essence, must always give way

before organization. And if this organization is not sup-

plied by the forces of law and order, it will be the iron

bureaucracy of the German armies and the international

finanders which will establish its domination over a

ruined coimtry and a helpless people.

CONCLUSION

Bolshevism in England— Our Illuminati — Danger now threatening

civilization — Methods of defence.

•

In the course of this book I have endeavoured to trace the

workings of the great conspiracy throughout the history

of the last hundred and forty years; a few concluding

words are now necessary in order to indicate the manner

in which it is being carried on in our country at the present

moment and the means by which it may be defeated.

It is extraordinary how in the light of lUuminism many

things that are happening today which appear at first

inexplicable become clear as daylight ; for not only do the

six points of Weishaupt form the exact programme of the

revolutionary party in England, but it would hardly be an

exaggeration to say that every device now employed by it

can be traced back to the code of the. Illuminati.

Now it will be remembered that the precept most

emphasized by Weishaupt was that the Illuminati should

not be known as such, and after, their suppression in

Bavaria every effort was made by the conspirators to per-

suade the world that their Order had ceased to exist. As

the instructions for the degree of Regent expressed it:

\*\* The great strength of our Order lies in its conceal-

ment ; let it never appear in any place in its own name,

but always covered by another name, and another

occupation." \*

This device has alway been exactly carried out; Free-

masonry, Carbonarism, Socialism, the Internationale,

have all in turn served as covers to the designs of the con-

spiracy, and the same method is being followed today.

Every effort is made to persuade the public that no con-

^ Robison's Froojs of a Conspiracy, p. 195,

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spiracy exists, for once its existence is generally recognized

its defeat is certain. Its whole success depends on secrecy.

This much, however, is known.

The Order of the Illuminati exists in England; its

statutes are those of the head lodge in Germany, reorgan-

ized in 1880. At the same time an association called

Co-masonry, which has its headquarters in Paris and

derives from the Grand Orient, is also active. By way of

winning the confidence of the women it is hoped to enlist,

they are frequently told that the Order has the approval of

the Grand Lodge of England. This is absolutely untrue.

British Masonry has repudiated the Grand Orient and

recognizes no form of masonry that admits women as mem-

bers.

But, according to the plan of Weishaupt, the principal

activities of the conspiracy are conducted \*' tmder other

names and other occupations." The instructions to the

Regents go on to explain the different guises tmder which

one may work. Next to Freemasonry " the form of a

learned or literary society is best suited to our purpose,

and had Freemasonry not existed, this cover would have

been employed; and it may be much more than a cover,

it may be a powerful engine in our hands. By establishing

reading societies, and subscription libraries, and taking

these tmder our direction, and supplying them through our

labours, we may turn the public mind which way we will."

The way in whdch the necessary literature is to be forced

on the attention of the public is described in the passage

already quoted in the parallels to the Protocols:

We must take care our writers be well puffed and that the

reviewers do not depreciate them; therefore we must endeavour

by every means to gain over the reviewers and journalists; and

we must also try to gain the booksellers, who in time will see that

it is their interest to side with us.

This is exactly what we see happening today. Not

only have the modem Illtuninati succeeded in organizing

such avowedly subversive \*\* literary societies " as the

Fabian Society, and other minor associations, but also in

gaining control over ordinary circulating libraries and

bookshops, by placing at their head men or women who

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are definitely working for the propagation of revolutionary

doctrines. At the same time journalists, even in the employ

of the so-called " Capitalist Press/' devote long and

important notices to every book that is calculated to serve

the cause — works ranging from heavy treatises on intel\*

lectual Socialism to the lowest form of demoralizing fiction.

No book subversive of order or morality ever passes

unnoticed in the press.

Of course the greater part of this organization is carried

out by the power of gold — not necessarily by bribery but

simply by making agitation a " paying job," or by oflEering

the most lucrative posts to adepts or at least agents of the

conspiracy. But apart from these material advantages

subtler methods are employed. Of these the two which

prove the most effectual were thus laid down by Weis-

haupt:

1. Exploiting grievances, — Amongst the people to

enrol are " above all those who have experienced mis-

fortime, not by mere accidents, but through some kind of

injustice, that is to say, those that one can most certainly

count amongst malcontents: those are the men that we

must call into the bosom of Illuminism as into their

asylum." \*

2. But by far the most potent inducement offered was

the promise of power. \*\* The pupils are convinced that the

Order will rule the world. Every member therefore

becomes a ruler." Robison quoting this passage adds:

\*\* We all think otirselves qualified to rule. The diflScult

task is to obey with propriety; but we are honestly gen-

erous in our prospects of future command. It is therefore

an alluring thought, both to good and bad men. By this

lure the Order will spread.'\* \*

How truly has Robison's prophecy been fulfilled!

Nothing indeed could better describe the mentality of the

converts to what is now called \*\* Bolshevism " than these

two passages. Nearly all the promoters of disorder today

will be found to be either people suffering from some real

or imaginary injustice or those with an inordinate desire to

rule over their fellow-men. They are convinced that if only

1 Bamiel, iiL 35. \* Robison's Proofs, p. 213.

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the reins of power were once confided to their hands the

whole social system would be miraculously transformed;

they are further convinced that this day must come, for all

have been taught to believe that \*\* their Order will one day

rule the world." It is this that gives them their immense

confidence, for yotmg Oxford Intellectual and Trade Union

Leader alike has been assured of the important post he is to

occupy under the coming r6gime. Neither, of course, has

been admitted into the real plan of the conspiracy ; neither

probably suspects that any such conspiracy exists, for,

according to the pyramidical scale of Weishaupt, each is

acquainted only with the directors immediately above him

and knows nothing of the higher adepts who are really

controlling the movement.

Another motive that undoubtedly drives many people

into the revolutionary camp is fear. They think that if a

revolution is to take place in this country they will ensure

their safety by throwing in their lot with the subversive

party. Mirabeau, Illuminatus, voiced precisely this policy

when he said to his followers: " You have nothing to fear

from the aristocrats; those people do not pillage, they do

not bum, they do not assassinate — what harm can they

do you?" On the policy, therefore, of propitiating a malig-

nant deity, numbers of timorous people become apologists

for Bolshevism, imagining that all such utterances will be

counted to them for righteousness when the " day of con-

flagration " arrives. Revolutionary violence has been care-

fully designed to produce this effect, for the method of the

conspiracy is the same today as it was a hundred and forty

years ago — \*' calumny, corruption, and terror.'\*

But a little knowledge of the history of World Revolu-

tion would dispel the illusions of those who hope to save

their heads by cowardly compromise ; it would teach them

that in times of revolution no one's life is safe, that men

have never yet been spared on the score of past professions

of S3rmpathy with subversive doctrines, that on the con-

trary it has invariably been the less extreme revolution-

aries who have fared the worst. Demagogues once in

power need the co-operation of bold and despotic men. and

these are not to be f otmd amongst the timorous and time-

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servers but amongst the agents of reaction. The French

Revolution employed the Marquis de Sade but killed off

the Girondins, and in Russia Social Revolutionaries and

Mensheviks have perished by the score whilst Tzarist

officials and members of the Okhrana have occupied

official posts tmder the Soviet Government.

There is nothing, then, to be gained by cowardice, and

there is much to be lost. A man who dies for his convic-

tions can motmt the scaffold with serenity, but what must

be the bitter remorse of those who have sold their souls and

profited nothing?

This form of \*' terrorism," of frightening people into

siding with one, is peculiarly German. \*\* Sabre-rattling '\*

imdoubtedly proved a highly effectual method of over-

coming opposition amongst neutrals during the recent war.

And the German psychology in the so-called Labour move-

ment is everywhere apparent today. It is ctuious to notice

the organization of illuminized Freemasonry during indus-

trial crises. \*\* All modem revolutions,\*\* wrote Eckert in

1857, " prove that the Order is divided into two distinct

parties: one pacific, the other warlike," or, as Monsignor

Dillon describes them, " the party of direction \*\* and \*\* the

party of action." At moments of tumult the war party

descends into the arena whilst the peace party retires into

the back-ground. \*\* The Pacific lodges hasten by every

means to protect the brothers of the belligerent division by

representing them as over-ardent patriots who have

allowed themselves to be drawn on by the current beyond

the limits of order and prudence."

j^ This process is repeated every time a revolutionary

strike is now threatened, and the so-called moderate

Labour leaders, whilst dissociating themselves from the

actual preparation of revolution, give it all the support in

their power by representing the Extremists as \*\* hot-

headed " enthusiasts whom it is impossible to restrain but

whose cause nevertheless is just. The public, always

deceived by this manoeuvre, falls on the necks of the

\*' moderates," trusting to them to save the situation and

bring the hot-heads to reason, the truth being that the very

moderation of the former immensely aids the work of revo-

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lution by reconciling those who would be alienated by the^

violence of the Extremists.

Trade Unionism, in its origins a wholly pacific system

for the protection of the workers, has thus been captured

by the conspirators, and the industrial disputes which form

the ostensible purpose of each succeeding crisis are merely

pretexts covering the real design of World Revolution.

Revolution by the General Strike is not the only danger

to be feared ; State Socialism by the ballot-box will ruin us

more slowly but none the less surely. For State Socialism,

with its crushing of all individual enterprise, must inevi-

tably destroy our commerce, bring about vast tmemploy-

ment and finally bankruptcy and starvation, whilst the

pro-German sympathies of its leaders will lead to the rup-

ttire of our alliance with France, on which the security of

both cotmtries depends. At the same time, all measures of

military and naval defence will be abandoned, national

traditions will be swept away, Socialist teachers will inctd-

cate anti-patriotism and materialism into the minds of the

rising generation, and Germany will be able to take over

the British Empire without an effort.

The manner in which the women of this country have

been enlisted in the service of the conspiracy can also be

traced to illtmiinized Freemasonry. Just as in the first

French Revolution the advocates of " Women's Rights "

were persuaded to throw themselves into the movement,

so the conspiracy today has succeeded in capturing a large

proportion of the " Feminist " movement for its purpose

of general demoralization. The female missionaries who

recently visited England for the purpose of preaching

\*\* The Right to Motherhood " — a theory which was of

course given wide publicity in the Press — were not soli-

tary enthusiasts who had evolved this theory out of their

own inner consciousness, but mouthpieces repeating

a phrase that has long been current in the language of

illtmiinized Freemasonry and forms a part of the plan for

the break up of family life. \*

\* M. Copin Albancelli, writing in 1910, described the campaign being

carried out by " the Occult Power " for the demoralization of French

women and children: " All facilities of corruption . . . are offered to

mothers of families — the family, they go so far as to say, must be destroyed

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Nothing is more extraordinary than the way apparently

intelligent women have allowed themselves to be drawn

into a plot of which they will be the chief victims. Women

have obviously far more to lose than men by the destruc-

tion or even by a decrease of civilization, whilst the

Suffragist has everything to lose by the abolition of the

Parliamentary system which accords her the vote she has

so long demanded, but the modem lUuminati, following

Weishaupt's precepts by " flattering their vanity " and

giving them \*' hints of emancipation," have succeeded in

X)ersuading numbers of women to assist in digging their

own graves. These words of warning written 123 years ago

might well be laid to heart by the women of our coimtry

and of America today:

There is nothing in the whole constitution of the Illiiminati

that strikes me with more horror than the proposals of Hercules

and Minos to enlist the women in this shocking warfare with all

that " is good and pure, and lovely, and of good report." They

could not have fallen on any expedient that will be more effectual

and fatal. If any of my countrywomen shall honour these

pages with a reading, I would call on them, in the most earnest

mamier, to consider this as an affair of the utmost importance

to themselves. I would conjure them, by the regard they have

for their own dignity and for their rank in society, to join against

these enemies of human nature and profligate degraders of their

sex; and I would assure them that the present state of things

almost puts it in their power to be the saviours of the world.

But if they are remiss, and yield to the seduction, they will fall

from that high state to which they have arisen in Christian

Europe and again sink into that insignificancy or slavery in

whidi the sex is found in all ages and countries out of the hearing

of Christianity.

For as Robison truly adds:

Woman is indebted to Christianity alone for the high rank

she holds in society. ... It is tmdoubtedly Christianity that

has set woman on her throne. . . .

If not only Christianity but all religion is to be

destroyed, then indeed women will sink to a condition

which Robison describes as lower than a \*' Mahomedan

paradise."

. . . prostitution is honoured . . . conferences are held in its temples

(of the Grand Orient) on free maternity {la litre matemiti) " (£,« Potwoir

occulte corUre la France, pp. 417, 418).

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But even more horrible than the degradation of women

is the systematic demoralization of children which is

now being carried out by the conspiracy. The plan of

Weishaupt for obtaining influence in the schools has been

followed by the establishment of Socialist Sunday Schools,

attended, it is said, by no less than 10,000 children in the

United Kingdom, where the i>oison of class-hatred, of

greed, and of materialism is sedulously instilled into the

child-mind.

At the same time, still following faithfully in the foot-

steps of Weishaupt, our lUuminati are careful to win the

sympathy of " those who have a hankering for religion,"

by telling oflE a few of their number to profess the doctrines

of Christian Socialism. Thus Mr. Lansbury, returning

from the land whose Government has adopted as its

motto, \*\* Religion is opium to the people," where the

churches have been desecrated and Christians crucified

for their faith, proclaims in the same breath his allegiance

to Christ and Lenin. Bebel, the German Socialist, was

more honest when he declared: \*\* Christianity and Social-

ism stand towards each other as fire and water." Yet in

the face of such declarations we find a dignitary of the

Church of England proclaiming that \*\* if Christ came to

earth today He would be a Bolshevik." Can we not hear

again the exulting tones of Weishaupt saying, \*\* The most

admirable thing of all is that great Protestant and reformed

theologians who belong to our Order really believe they

see in it the true and genuine mind of the Christian religion.

Oh! man, what cannot you be brought to believe! "

Not amongst the Protestant clergy alone is this strange

delusion to be found; Catholics likewise have allowed

themselves to be blinded to the real forces at work behind

the troubles in Ireland. Have they forgotten the warnings

of their eloquent predecessor the Abb6 Barruel? Do they

forget the prophecy of Cardinal Manning, now so terribly

fulfilled: " On the day when all the armies of Europe will

be engaged in an immense conflict, then, that day, the

revolution which until now has been working secretly

underground will have found the favourable moment to

show itself in the light of day " ?

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Cardinal Maiming repeatedly warned his generation of

the danger of Secret Societies; Monsignor Dillon still more

clearly indicated the nature of the formidable sect that

was to bring about this consummation, and also the occult

force behind it :

" We only want a knowledge of the evil to avoid it . . .

all secret societies aiming at bad and irreligious ends are

no other than deadly illuminated Freemasonry. Let them

be called by whatever name, they are a part of the system

of revolutionary fraud, invented and cast upon earth by

Satan to compass the ruin of souls and the destruction of

the reign of Jesus Christ." The final end is \*\* to form, and

that before very many years, the vast kingdom of anti-

Christ, which already spreads its ramifications over the

whole earth." Only by a realization of this truth can the

true meaning of the World Revolution be understood.

Neither greed of gold nor power, neither political nor social

theories, however subversive, could alone have produced

the xmspeakable horrors, the moral perversion, the far

more than bestial cruelties that have marked its course.

The description of \*\* bloody baboonery " applied to Bol-

shevist atrocities is unjust to apes. Beasts may wound and

kill — they do not torture, do not gloat over tiie sufferings

of their victims; savages may do these things, but even

they content themselves with torturing the body, they do

not set out to destroy the soul. The spirit of evil that finds

expression in the defilement and desecration of sacred

things, in the systematic destruction of all nobility, all

decency of thought and life, above all, in the poisoning of

the child-mind, can be explained by no natxiral laws or

mere human passions.

Let us not forget that the cult of Satan which flourished

in Bavaria at the same time as lUuminism, and was in

all probability connected with it, is practised today in

our own cotmtry. The powers exercised by the modem

lUuminati are occult powers and range from hypnotism to

black magic, which, since the days of the magician Cagli-

ostro, have always formed part of the stock-in-trade of the

sect. It is therefore no fantastic theory but the literal

truth to say that the present world crisis is a conflict

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between the powers of good and evil. Christianity is a

beleaguered citadel surrounded by the dark forces which

have mustered for the supreme onslaught. Only in one

way can it be withstood. The words of Joseph de Maistre,

who, like Barruel, regarded the French Revolution merely

as the first stage in the campaign, must be taken as the

battle-cry of the White Army today: " The French Revo-

lution is Satanic in its principle and can be only really

killed, exterminated, and finished by the contrary prin-

ciple." (" La Revolution frangaise est satanique dans son

principe et ne peut 6tre vraiment tu6e, extermin6e, finie

que par le principe contraire.") The Christian principle —

that is the force that must be opposed to the Satanic

power of the World Revolution.

It is because England, with all her shortcomings, in

spite of the recent betrayal of her traditions in the compact

entered into with the Bolsheviks by her politicians, in

spite of the attempts to poison the life-blood of her people

with alien germs of corruption, yet remains the stronghold

of Christian civilization, that the conspiracy has made her

the principal point of attack. If England goes the whole

world goes with her. Marx knew this when he said:

\*' Every revolution that does not spread to England is a

storm in a tea-cup." And it was also Marx who uttered the

cry of despair: " England is the rock on which revolution-

ary waves are broken! " Is that rock at last to be over-

whelmed? Not if we hold fast to the same principle that

has saved us in the past. It is recorded that the Comte

de Provence when in England during the French Revolu-

tion " said to one of the gentlemen about him, that \* if

this cotmtry was to escape the general wreck of nations,

it would owe its preservation to religion.' " After the

revolution of 1848 a Frenchman observed to Lord Shaftes-

bury: '\* You have been saved by the religion of your

people." And today Lenin has declared the greatest

obstacle to the success of Bolshevism in England to be

the fact that the English working-man foimds his ideas

upon the Bible.

If the people of our cotmtry will but realize the

diabolical nature of the conspiracy at work amongst them.

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the powers of Hell cannot prevail against us. In \* igno-

rance and indifference lie our principal danger. Every

outbreak of the World Revolution that has so far occurred

has been rendered possible by the apathy of the nation in

general. Let the words of Barruel, uttered in the face of

the same peril a hundred and twenty-five years ago, ring in

our ears today:

Cease to flatter yotirselves. The danger is certain, it is

continual, it is terrible, it threatens you all without exception.

Keep yourselves, however, from givtog way to that kind of

terror which is only cowardice and disooun^;ement; for, with all

the certainty of the danger, I say to you none the less: " WiU to

be saved and you will be saved. . . . One cannot triumph over a

nation that resolves to defend itself. Know how to will as they

do and you will have nothing more to fear from them."

Illuminism is mustering all its forces for a supreme

onslaught in our own cotmtry at the present moment. But

the nation at heart is sound and has resolved to d^end

itself. Is it possible that this little island of ours is finally

to stem the tide of World Revolution and save not only

herself but Christian civilization?

THB END