
A German Marxist Internationalist and the British Socialist Movement

Clara Zetkin on class and gender

John S. Partington

Abstract

Clara Zetkin (1857–1933) founded the Socialist Women’s International and was a regular Social Democratic Party (SPD) delegate to the congresses of the Second International. In order to spread the messages of women’s empowerment and socialism, she formed a correspondence network throughout Europe and beyond, and in Britain, for the first half of her career, *Justice*, the weekly journal of the Social Democratic Federation (SDF), was her primary outlet. As relationships developed and influencers in Britain changed Zetkin’s media presence evolved – but her reputation in Britain was built on her articles and coverage in the pages of *Justice*. This essay tells the story of that relationship.

Key words: socialism, women’s movement, Second International, Clara Zetkin

Justice was founded in 1884 by H.M. Hyndman and, according to Deborah Mutch and Norman Kelvin, ‘can be regarded as England’s first socialist periodical’.¹ It was the weekly journal of the Social Democratic Federation (SDF), though its reach went far beyond the SDF’s membership. *Justice*’s mission, to ‘stir up’ the workers and to educate the middle classes in socialism, drew an impressive range of contributors such as Eleanor Marx, Edward Aveling, John Burns, Annie Besant, George Bernard Shaw and Walter Crane. As well as first-rate domestic contributors, *Justice* was a vehicle by which Continental socialists could influence the British movement. Not only were the likes of J.B. Askew, Clara Hendin, Dora Montefiore and Eleanor Marx active correspondents at European events, notably international socialist congresses and German Social Democratic

Parteilage, leading German socialists such as Wilhelm Liebknecht, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring and Clara Zetkin also wrote for the newspaper or were reported in it. A similar roster of international socialist heavyweights could be cited for other European countries, Russia, Finland, France, Belgium and the Netherlands among them.

Ostensibly guided by the SDF manifesto, demanding better housing for industrial and agricultural workers, free compulsory education for all children, an eight-hour day and land nationalisation, *Justice* also championed contemporary political issues. In leaders, *Justice* called for demonstrations in support of the 1884 Franchise Bill and, in November 1887, backed the Trafalgar Square demonstration against unemployment and in demand of free speech that resulted in the violence of 'Bloody Sunday'. However, *Justice* also reflected dissension among members of the SDF with conflicts over many issues, chief among them being the split over parliamentarism. Hyndman believed socialists should further their agenda by standing for parliament, while others, notably William Morris, argued that socialists in parliament would soon adopt middle-class values and attitudes.²

Such dissention took on an international perspective in the writings and reportage of Clara Zetkin. For instance, Zetkin committed firmly to parliamentary suffrage as a socialist strategy, advocating full adult suffrage as a rebuttal to the suffragettes' limited 'ladies' franchise'. She also promoted the equal role of women in the socialist movement, shoulder to shoulder with their men folk, provoking controversy in the pages of *Justice* between the misogynist, E. Belfort Bax, and Eleanor Marx.

Although C.L. Fitzgerald was *Justice's* first editor, he was removed from his post within a few weeks, being replaced by Hyndman himself, before Harry Quelch was appointed in 1889. With Quelch's death in 1913, H.W. Lee became *Justice's* last editor, overseeing the journal during the politically fractious period of the Great War and until its reorganisation as a monthly in 1925 under the title *Social Democrat*. *Social Democrat* itself limped on until 1933 when it was finally dissolved.

The SDF was created in 1884 out of the Democratic Federation as Britain's first avowedly Marxist political party. The SDF changed its name in 1908 to the Social Democratic Party (SDP) before merging with extreme left elements of the Independent Labour Party (ILP), some Clarion circles and a few other minor socialist groups to form the British Socialist Party (BSP) in 1911. With the Great War the BSP fractured, Hyndman's pro-war faction leaving and taking *Justice* with it to form the National Socialist Party (NSP) in 1916 – a rump party which affiliated to

the Labour Party in 1918 and again became the SDF a year later before being wound up in 1939. Following this split, the BSP pursued extreme anti-militarism and class war ideology, being the largest group in the series of amalgamations which produced the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) in 1920. From February 1916 to July 1920, it published *The Call*, a weekly edited by Edwin C. Fairchild (1916–19) and Fred Willis (1919–20).

Born in 1857, Clara Zetkin (née Eißner) became active in German social-democratic politics just as Otto von Bismarck's anti-socialist laws were being enforced from 1878. Rather than choose political neutralisation, Zetkin followed many other German activists into exile, moving to Zürich in 1882 and subsequently to Paris where she remained until 1890.

It was during her Parisian exile that Zetkin entered the world of international socialism, writing many dozens of articles about the French and German socialist movements and actively engaging with the émigré community of the city. In 1886 she visited London for the first time, making two discrete journeys that year to meet Wilhelm Liebknecht and making the acquaintance of Eleanor Marx – an acquaintanceship which developed into a personal and political friendship lasting until the latter's death in 1898.

Zetkin first came to the attention of the British public in 1889 when she assisted in the organisation of the First Congress of the Second International which was held in Paris from 14 to 20 July. But although Zetkin gave an important speech on the position of women in the socialist movement, she was only noted in *Reynolds's Newspaper* for delivering a special message from the Lessing Social Democratic Club of Berlin and for acting as translator for the French language, though the unnamed journalist did refer to her as 'the frank, impulsive German woman, whose writings from Paris go far and wide'.³

Zetkin re-emerged in the British press with the Third Congress of the Second International, held in Zürich from 6 to 13 August 1893. Her first mention came in the conservative morning newspaper, *The Standard*, which refers to her as 'the well-known Clara Zetkin of Stuttgart'.⁴ She then received her first citation in *Justice* on 19 August 1893,⁵ initiating a relationship with that journal which would last until 1914.

Although during her long career as a social democrat and later a communist Zetkin received wide and varied coverage in the British press, *Justice* is important for her reception in British politics for its early coverage of her activities and for the volume of its coverage over a long period of time. Such attention was important for Zetkin's international reach and Zetkin, as a leading German socialist, was also important for *Justice*.

Before 1914, the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) was internationally heralded as a model for socialist organisation – its activities, due to its long period of suppression, were so all-encompassing within German society that the party has been called a ‘State Within the State’ by Gary Steenson or, as Peter Beilharz prefers, ‘a society within a society’.⁶ Moreover, its success as an electoral machine was irreproachable: in federal elections it was attracting more votes than any other party in Germany by 1890 and in 1912 it became the largest party in the Reichstag. Not insignificantly, the SPD also carried the prestige of being the oldest socialist party in the world, having its origins in the General German Workers’ Association of 1863. Building a relationship with such a heavyweight in international socialist renown could only benefit the SDF’s standing, legitimising its pretence to be *the* British socialist party despite its continual internal divisions and its numerical subordination to the ILP in terms of party membership.

Zetkin’s early reception

If Zetkin’s position within the SPD would come to be of propaganda value for the SDF, it was not apparent in *Justice*’s early coverage. Not only did the journal’s first piece spell her name wrong – referring to her as ‘Klara Zitkin’ – but it covered a marginal episode in the 1893 Zürich Congress in which Zetkin complained of something Ferdinand Gilles, a German émigré member of the SDF, said about her. Although the comment is not reported, *Justice* does state that ‘a considerable time had been wasted over it’,⁷ that it was referred to the Congress Bureau and eventually withdrawn!

With the Fourth Congress of the Second International being held in London from 27 July to 1 August 1896 and Zetkin playing a leading role, her coverage in *Justice* became fulsome. At the London congress, Zetkin sat on the Education and Physical Development Commission and received detailed coverage in *Justice*.

The Education Commission, chaired by the Fabian Sidney Webb, proposed a number of resolutions, including the principle of universal access, full-time education (and prohibition from work) to the age of sixteen, compulsory continuation classes for youths between sixteen and eighteen, the prohibition of dangerous or unhealthy work for those under eighteen, the internationalisation of factory legislation in regard to children, and the application of factory legislation to home working.⁸ When it came to addressing the issue of access to university education, however, the Commission caused controversy. In presenting the Education Report,

Webb discounted universal access to university education on the grounds of cost, jesting that ‘the students would be reduced to eating their books’ and arguing that, ‘if the entire population, up to the age of 21 or 22, is to be maintained, it means that a large sum will have to be handed over to the middle class – a present of two millions annually in England, and of 100 millions annually in Europe’.⁹

Following Webb’s presentation, both the ILP and SDF opposed the Education Report’s principles in regard to university education, calling instead for ‘the complete maintenance for all up to the age of 21 or 22’.¹⁰ In tabling a joint amendment, Keir Hardie of the ILP objected to Webb’s concerns over cost, asserting that ‘if the rich, and clever, and well-cared for were to have these advantages, the children of the workers should have them also’ but he also reacted to the intellectually selective nature of the Education Report, asking ‘should clever children have the advantage over others less favoured?’¹¹ Hardie preferred a university education which would teach working people ‘to lead a natural, human life, and thus give the great mass of the people a chance of becoming masters of their own fate, and their own life’.¹²

Zetkin replied to Hardie, agreeing with him on state funding, asserting that ‘all education should be perfectly free’ and being ‘absolutely opposed to the word “scholarship”’; it implied charity, and she claimed maintenance as a right’.¹³ But she rejected Hardie’s notion that everyone should have access to university regardless of aptitude. Rather, if university was open “‘to every capable scholar”, it would meet all requirements’.¹⁴ As *Justice* reported, ‘She was not in favour of *all* going through a university course; she had not so high an opinion of universities for one thing, and for another, everyone had not the same gifts’.¹⁵ Herbert Burrows of the SDF spoke for the joint amendment, objecting to Zetkin’s notion of the ‘capable’ scholar and stating that ‘he had no wish to force any person into the university, but the children of the working classes should have the same advantages of those of the middle and upper classes’.¹⁶

The joint SDF/ILP amendment was voted on by nationalities and carried fourteen votes to six. On the basis of this amendment and a couple of linguistic changes to improve clarity across all official languages of the Congress, the Education Report was adopted.¹⁷ Despite their defeat over the university education amendment, the value of Webb and Zetkin’s work on education was acknowledged by the fact that the Congress voted to maintain the Commission on Education and Physical Development in perpetuity as an international network promoting educational reform. Headquartered in Brussels, Webb headed up the British delegation and

Zetkin the German.¹⁸ Zetkin received further plaudits when, along with Eleanor Marx and Adolphe Smith, she received especial praise for her skills as a translator from Wilhelm Liebknecht in his report of the London Congress, printed in *Justice* on 15 August.¹⁹

With her role in the London Congress, Zetkin's international prominence was greatly enhanced and her presence in *Justice* correspondingly increased. On 28 August 1896, the journal reported that Zetkin's Stuttgart branch of the SPD 'have organised a series of scientific lectures every fortnight', with Zetkin listed alongside Karl Kautsky, Wilhelm Bloß and Jakob Stern as prospective speakers.²⁰ Then in November, Eleanor Marx wrote in *Justice* on Zetkin's presence at the SPD congress in Gotha.²¹ Indeed, this report led to a two-month-long controversy in the pages of the journal which highlighted Zetkin's name still further.

The emergence of a women's movement

Marx begins her article by observing, with regards the Gotha congress,

The debate on 'Frauenagitation' (*i.e.* propaganda amongst women) [...] was interesting for many reasons. To begin with, the theoretical sides of this very contentious 'woman' question, as well as its merely practical issues, were more thoroughly and adequately dealt with by Clara Zetkin than have ever been dealt with at any former Socialist Congress – whether national or international.²²

Zetkin, reports Marx, demonstrated the loss of productive independence by women with the introduction of machine production. Before the onset of the industrial revolution, when domestic production was the norm, 'we find women as the pivot of social, artistic, and political life' and yet 'there is not the trace of a woman movement'.²³ Domestic production ensured the economic value of women and therefore, within the family or outside of a broken family, women maintained their autonomy.

Then machinery, the modern methods of production, undermined domestic production, and not a few thousand, but millions, of women found themselves face to face with the question how they could find a living, economically, socially, mentally ... and from the home they had to seek this economic and mental food, the modern woman-movement began.²⁴

However, Zetkin recognised the existence of two women's movements, split along class lines. Regarding the aristocratic woman, Zetkin believed no gender struggle existed at all – ‘The woman of the upper ten thousand, thanks to her property, can develop her own individuality’²⁵ – but women of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat were roused to organise within capitalist society.

Regarding bourgeois women,

Here comes the true struggle *against* man. Here the educated woman [...] is the antagonist of man. The women of this class are sick of their moral and intellectual subjugation. They are Noras rebelling against their doll's homes. They want to live their own lives, ‘and economically and intellectually the demands of the middle-class women are fully justified’.²⁶

With regards the proletarian woman, however, gender relations are quite different. In industrial society,

She is drawn into the vortex of capitalist production because she is cheap to buy [...] Machinery replaced muscle, and women became co-operative with men ... ‘And so the proletarian woman has gained independence. But truly she paid the price! ... If the man had – I refer you to the Bavarian law – the right to “occasionally chastise a woman with a whip” – assuredly capitalism has flayed her with scorpions’.²⁷

Zetkin's argument is that the proletarian woman's class struggle separates her from the bourgeois woman, and unites her in struggle with the proletarian man. While the bourgeois woman's objective is ‘to break down the barriers that shut her out from free competition’, ‘With the proletarian women, on the contrary, it is a struggle of the woman *with* the man of her own class against the capitalist class [...] Her end and aim are not the right of free competition with men, but to obtain the political power of the proletariat’.²⁸ Zetkin does not deny that the achievement of the bourgeois women's demands would benefit the proletarian woman, ‘But only as means to the end that she may be fully armed for entering into the working-class struggle along with the man of her class’.²⁹

Marx ends her report by quoting Zetkin's vision of the socialist utopia:

When the family as an economic unit shall disappear to make way for the family as a social unit woman will become the equal of man,

producing, striving side by side with him; will become his comrade, both living their lives as human beings; and then, too, she will be set free to fulfil her highest duties as wife and as mother.³⁰

Bax versus Marx (and Zetkin and Engels ...)

While Zetkin's class analysis aroused no opposition in *Justice*, her use of Friedrich Engels's expression, 'in the family the man is the bourgeois, the woman represents the proletariat'³¹ was attacked by the noted British socialist theoretician and ardent anti-feminist, Ernest Belfort Bax. Bax begins his letter to the editor by stating that 'I am interested to know exactly what constitutes the proletarianness of her domestic relations'.³² After cataloguing areas of English law which Bax believed gave women unequal protection over men within the home, he concludes as follows:

I can only imagine that in referring to her as the 'proletarian in the home', Mrs Zetkin had in mind the cruel lot which condemns the poor down-trodden creature perchance not merely to wash her children if she had any, but actually to prepare the supper for the brute of a husband who has (may be) come home from the task of what the law and public opinion requires of him – slaving to maintain her. That she should not rather be waited on, as befits her womanly dignity, by the miserable male wretch, is indeed a thought that should bring a blush to the cheek of every man.³³

A week after the appearance of Bax's letter, Marx responded, pointing out that 'it is not the woman, Clara Zetkin, whom Bax is controverting, but the man, Frederick Engels [whom] Bax has recently referred in *Justice* to [...] as an authority'.³⁴ In a defence of Engels, Marx concludes her response by stating: 'It is as well, therefore, that readers of *Justice* should know Engels by no means agreed with Bax's morbid views about women. As to Bax himself, he surely does not need to be reminded of what Engels thought of his womanphobia'.³⁵

Marx's introduction of Engels's views to the discussion provoked Bax to submit a further letter on the subject. After disregarding Marx's point that the words 'proletarian in the home' originated with Engels on the basis that Zetkin 'appears to have fully accepted them',³⁶ Bax goes on to discuss Engels's views on the woman question, an important issue given the high esteem with which Engels's book, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (1884), was held by many socialists. Bax

asserted that Engels, like others, erroneously analogised gender struggle and class struggle and formed his views on the woman question on the basis of his socialist theories rather than on actual gender relations. Thus, according to Bax,

Discussion on this subject was indeed very difficult with Engels, owing to his complete ignorance of the modern English law of husband and wife, or other legislation affecting sex relations, or of the uniform bias of the courts in the present day in cases between men and women. He viewed everything in the light of the fixed idea he had imbibed at a time when it had never been called in serious question – that women are the oppressed of men.³⁷

In attacking Engels's ideologically blinkered approach to the woman question, Bax (seemingly unknowingly) suggests an affinity with Zetkin's own position. For, while Zetkin argued that the proletariat as a whole (without gender distinction) was exploited by the capitalist class and therefore had to fight as one in overthrowing the capitalist system, Bax asserts that 'I altogether deny the parallel between sexes and classes to obtain' and he concludes with a point rather complementary to Zetkin's argument regarding the different struggles of bourgeois and proletarian women: 'The working man suffers [...] infinitely more from the unjust English matrimonial laws than the middle-class man'.³⁸

Despite this apparent affinity of logic between Bax's and Zetkin's analyses of proletarian class struggle, two further letters appeared in *Justice* attacking Bax's anti-feminism. The first, simply signed 'International Notes', presented an extremely eloquent critique of Bax's views on the woman question. As Bax criticised Engels for his ignorance of English law, so the anonymous correspondent criticises Bax for his ignorance of the realities of female proletarian life. The writer states that he 'does not know whether Belfort Bax has ever had the opportunity of observing the daily life of the working classes on the spot, of studying *à posteriori* the relations between the sexes prevailing among them, but he (the writer of these lines) has had that opportunity'.³⁹ The writer goes on to catalogue the many abuses suffered by working class women at the hands of their husbands and against which there is no law to defend them: beatings, drunkenness, the withholding of housekeeping money, the husband's attendance at meetings, clubs and pubs while their wives stay at home; 'he has known working-women who, after having worked for eleven hours at a stretch in the mills, on coming home do housekeeping, cooking, and

sewing for their husbands and children, after which they sit up till late at night at some needlework intended for sale; the wages in the factories are so small and the mouths of the little children so large!⁴⁰ Of specific concern to the socialist movement, the author points out ‘that there are many, many workwomen who would also go to meetings, would also join unions and Socialist societies, but for the egotism of their husbands, who are reluctant to stay one evening at home to take care of the children’.⁴¹ In a strong concluding statement, the author asserts, ‘Yes, Comrade Belfort Bax, Clara Zetkin had a full right to say, with Engels, that the woman is a “proletarian in the home”. She ought to have rather said that the woman, under our capitalist *regime*, is a double proletarian – she has two kinds of work to do, the work of a producer in a factory and the work of a house-keeper, wife, and mother in the home’.⁴²

The final letter responding to Bax was penned by Arthur Keep, an American correspondent. Like the unnamed correspondent, Keep appealed to Bax to experience proletarian life in order to see the double burden borne by women. Perhaps most incisively, Keep recognised the cultural change required of men before gender equality could be achieved, observing that ‘the very way in which the proletarian man addresses the women of his household is simply an unconscious copying of the way his “boss” addresses him’.⁴³ Thus, in word as in deed, woman is revealed to be the ‘proletarian in the home’.

With Marx’s report of Zetkin’s speech at Gotha, Zetkin’s interest in the ‘woman question’ within the socialist movement received its first British airing. To be sure, Zetkin had raised this issue before, notably in her speeches to the 1889 and 1893 congresses of the Second International, but they had not received due publicity in Britain. As the British socialist press seemed uninterested in reporting Zetkin’s polemics on the subject, she required an ally in the British movement to act as conduit for her ideas. But just as Marx might have been emerging to fill that role, she disappeared – taken by suicide in March 1898. For Zetkin, alliance-building would need to continue and in this regard the SDF remained her most fertile ground.

Zetkin’s rising status within the SPD became clear in 1899 when she succeeded Wilhelm Liebknecht as the author of the party’s annual May Day greeting to British socialists. This appeared in *Justice* on 1 May and presented a classic Marxist analysis of class struggle and revolution which, Zetkin argued, is what ‘the workers’ international festival’ reaffirms.⁴⁴ Although she acknowledged the importance of fighting for ‘the eight hours’ day, and the protective legislation of labour in general’, she asserted that ‘the reforms claimed are not the final aims of the labour movement,

but only means to serve these aims [...]. For reforms ameliorate the situation of the working class, they lighten the weight of the chains labour is burdened with by capitalism, but they are not sufficient to crush capitalism and to emancipate the workers from their tyranny'.⁴⁵ Furthermore, Zetkin emphasised the international nature of class struggle, asserting that 'Across the frontiers and seas the workers of all nations reach out to each other the hands for a brotherly union; against the international reactionary power of capitalism rises the international revolutionary power of the working class' and she notes that the workers' movement exists 'without difference of trade, sex, religion, and nationality'.⁴⁶

Zetkin penned the May Day greeting again the following year though this time she focussed on the contribution made by British socialists in particular. Mentioning the SDF by name, she gushed: 'Its manly attitude during this deplorable war against the Boers, brought about by the sordid and unscrupulous greed of a small number of gold-hunters, stock jobbers and adventurers, will be one of the purest glories in the history of Socialism'.⁴⁷ Zetkin praises the SDF's 'War against war'⁴⁸ – an expression which would become her catchphrase during her later oppositions to the Great War and the rise of Nazism.

In September 1900 the Second International again gathered in Paris. As Zetkin was not a speaker or organiser at the congress, her media coverage was scant, though *Justice* did welcome the return of 'the ever-ready, ever-cheery, able and accomplished translator' and reported that, following Zetkin's translation of Luxemburg's speech on opposing militarism, she was presented with flowers by three French women.⁴⁹ In accepting the flowers, Zetkin 'proposed a resolution condemning with indignation the savage policy adopted by the Russian despotism towards the Finns and the Poles, "the atrocities of the English Government towards the Boers of South Africa", and the cruelties and massacres committed by the Turks in Armenia'.⁵⁰

In 1904, *Justice* reported two events involving Zetkin: the Amsterdam Congress of the Second International and the SPD Women's Conference in Bremen. At the Congress, Zetkin played a leading role, translating throughout. In his summing up of events, the SPD leader, August Bebel, held Zetkin up for special praise, calling her 'a living manifestation of the right of women to play a part in public life'.⁵¹ A reporter known only as A.S.J.B. preferred to focus on Zetkin's style, noting that 'She was frequently more vehement than the speaker she translated, and, relying more upon her memory than upon her notes, would proceed to address her audience with all the eloquence and rhetoric of a powerful personality'.⁵²

Zetkin began organising biennial socialist women's conferences in Germany in 1900, held immediately before the SPD annual congresses. J.B. Askew advertised the Bremen conference, stating that Zetkin would be speaking on the subjects of the 'Ten-hour Day' and on popular education. His main focus, however, was on Zetkin's work-rate and the socialist movement's failure to spread workloads among a larger pool of activists. Writing of Zetkin's roles in both Amsterdam and Bremen, after complimenting the 'really brilliant translations [...] of our gifted and all too conscientious friend',⁵³ Askew wrote:

there is no reason to doubt that we allow our willing horses to work themselves to death. People of the character or ability of Clara Zetkin are not to be had every day, and it certainly seems a pity that she should be allowed to destroy her own health over work which others ought to be found to undertake, even perhaps not quite so well.⁵⁴

Establishing an international socialist women's movement

In August 1907 the Congress of the Second International was hosted by Zetkin's local SPD organisation in Stuttgart and she took the opportunity to expand her domestic socialist women's conferences onto the international stage, organising the first International Socialist Women's Conference ahead of the main congress. Kathleen Kough, an SDF delegate, reported on the conference, calling it a 'revelation and an inspiration' and declaring that 'One can now understand why the continental nations are so far ahead of us'.⁵⁵

The main subject for discussion at the conference was suffrage and it was agreed that 'The Socialist Women shall not carry on this struggle for complete equality of right of vote in alliance with the middle-class women Suffragists but in common with the Socialist Parties which insist upon Woman Suffrage as one of the fundamental and most important reforms for the full democratisation of political franchise in general'.⁵⁶ With a ring of pride, Kough noted that 'It heartened and cheered the Social Democrats who, in this country, have been accused of advocating Adult Suffrage as an excuse for shelving the question of "Votes for Women", to find that, with the exception of a few English delegates, the International movement was with them'.⁵⁷

In addition to the suffrage debate, the conference agreed to establish an International Women's Bureau, headquartered in Stuttgart, Zetkin as International Secretary and her journal, *Die Gleichheit*, as its organ.⁵⁸

Indeed, *Die Gleichheit* was becoming a mouthpiece of some force by 1907, both internationally and domestically. In September Askew reported in *Justice* on the 'German Working Women's Movement',⁵⁹ summarising Otilie Baader's report to the SPD annual congress in Essen. Zetkin's role as editor of *Die Gleichheit*, the SPD women's journal, was highlighted, with its subscriptions increasing from 46,000 to 70,000 in two years. This was largely aided by the decision of many trades unions in Hamburg, Frankfurt, Nuremberg and Bremen to make subscriptions by branches compulsory.⁶⁰

Regarding the decision to establish an International Women's Bureau, Dora Montefiore rose to prominence in the British socialist movement as the organiser of the British branch. As a member of the SDF and a writer for *Justice*, Montefiore became Zetkin's primary British contact and filled the void of personal contact left by the death of Marx nine years earlier. If Zetkin was gaining creeping prominence in the UK after 1893, from 1907, with Montefiore's support, she became the acknowledged leader of the international socialist women's movement.

The international secretary

On 9 November 1907, Montefiore published an article in *Justice* announcing the establishment of the British Socialist Women's Bureau following a meeting of representatives of the SDF Women's Circles, the Fabian Society and the Adult Suffrage Society (ASS). (The ILP had been invited to send delegates but its secretary declined the invitation.) Clara Hendin was appointed honorary secretary and Montefiore reporter, with the object of the organisation being 'The establishment of regular communications between the organised Socialist women of all countries'.⁶¹ *Die Gleichheit's* role as international journal was reiterated and 'it was decided that comrade Clara Zetkin, of Stuttgart, at whose suggestion the bureaus are being formed, should be written to, asking her for more definite information as to the basis of possible affiliation'.⁶²

In September 1908, Askew continued his coverage of SPD women's conferences, reporting on Zetkin and Louisa Zietz's organisation of the Nuremberg event. According to Askew, 'The most interesting point, however, was a really fine speech by Clara Zetkin on the question of the organisation of the youth'.⁶³ Using similar arguments about youth as had previously been made about women,

She showed how modern industry has destroyed the family and made of the proletarian youth, once a member of the family dependent in

every way on the father, an independent wage-earner and a member of the proletariat, whom the Labour movement must win for themselves if they are not to see their own efforts frustrated by blacklegging.⁶⁴

Crucially, as with the women's movement, Zetkin asserted that 'Youths, however, can only be organised if they are allowed a certain amount of independence'.⁶⁵

Following the women's conference, the SPD held its annual congress and Zetkin suffered misrepresentation in *The Times* over her thoughts on British-German international rivalry – misrepresentation which was combated by Askew in *Justice*. According to *The Times*, 'A female delegate inveighed against the "unscrupulous practices" of various unspecified sections of British capitalists in fostering a hostile spirit against Germany in England'.⁶⁶ Askew countered, pointing out that 'our comrade Clara Zetkin made a speech in which she protested against the efforts being made, in Germany and England from the capitalist press, to stir up war, and a resolution against these attempts was adopted unanimously' and he condemned *The Times* for making Zetkin's position appear to be 'marked by a certain patriotic sentiment, whereas the whole speech was directed against the capitalists on both sides'.⁶⁷ Askew concluded: 'that these lying methods are chosen to force on war between two peoples is nothing short of crime'.⁶⁸

Zetkin in London

During 1909, Montefiore attempted to cement her leadership of the British socialist women's movement by inviting Zetkin for a series of public engagements in London. The schedule began with an SDP reception for Zetkin on 25 April at Anderton's Hotel at which Montefiore presided. On 26 April, James Macpherson chaired Zetkin's address to the ASS in Holborn Town Hall. On 28 April she joined Alexandra Kollontai in addressing a meeting at Chandos Hall on the conditions of working women in Germany and Russia, respectively, organised by the Women's International Socialist Bureau and the Women's Educational Committee of the SDP. Finally, on 1 May, she spoke from the ASS platform during the May Day rally in Hyde Park. Montefiore accommodated Zetkin during her visit and ensured her activities got wide press coverage.

Indeed, Montefiore began promoting Zetkin's visit a month before she arrived, starting with an announcement of her prospective attendance at the ASS event in Holborn on 27 March.⁶⁹ A week later, Montefiore again

puffed the event, alerting readers of *Justice* that Zetkin was ‘obtaining declarations of fraternal sympathy with our cause from American, Russian, Dutch, Swiss, and other women’.⁷⁰ On 24 April, Montefiore announced that Zetkin would be bringing Kollontai with her to London and both would address the Holborn Town Hall and Chandos Hall events together.⁷¹

With Zetkin’s visit come and gone, the 1 May edition of *Justice* contained wide coverage. Tom Quelch reported the SDP reception for Zetkin at Anderton’s Hotel, a largely social affair at which Zetkin ‘appeared delighted with her welcome and greeted as many as she could with a pleasant word and charming smile’.⁷² It was an anonymous piece in the same edition of the journal which reflected Zetkin’s impact – capturing her views on suffrage reform but also revealing her no-nonsense approach to fellow socialists who strayed from the truth as she saw it.

The evening began with a resolution in favour of ‘a vote for every adult man and woman’, moved by Lady Warwick and seconded by the SDP leader, H.M. Hyndman. Of Hyndman, the reporter noted that,

Though he thought the first effect of Adult Suffrage would be reactionary, yet they must break the vicious circle in which they were moving at present – women were a reactionary force because they were not politically educated, and they could not become politically educated unless they had the vote.⁷³

Zetkin’s speech in favour of the resolution included a riposte to Hyndman concerning his generalisation about women’s political consciousness: ‘As for women being reactionary, it was not women who sent the reactionary members to Parliament now – it was the men’.⁷⁴ Zetkin asserted that ‘The vote given to every man and woman would be the means of making the workers class conscious. Adult Suffrage would unite the working class without respect to trade, profession or sex, the whole of the exploited to fight against the exploiters’.⁷⁵ She rejected ‘the Limited – plainly lady – Suffrage’, explaining that ‘It was not the first step towards the political emancipation of the sex, but the last stage of the political enfranchisement of property; and such vote would be used not against the male sex but against the working class’.⁷⁶ Following further speeches from W.H. Dickinson MP, Emma Boyce and Kollontai, the resolution was carried unanimously.

Rounding off the coverage of her visit to London was a letter from Zetkin to Harry Quelch, editor of *Justice*, in which she states: ‘I value highly the work *Justice* and the SDP in general have done in England to

make the ideas of revolutionary international Socialism a power in the country'.⁷⁷ Regarding the purpose of her visit, Zetkin writes:

I hope in supporting Adult Suffrage I have done a little for the benefit of our great common cause. Adult Suffrage realised, and the possibility, nay the necessity of one united Socialist movement will greatly increase, and of outspoken, consequent, uncompromising labour politics in Parliament, too. And Adult Suffrage could be realised in England, if – what a pity there is an 'if' still! – if all the Socialist and trade unionist forces would unite their efforts and action to bring about this reform.⁷⁸

A week after Zetkin's departure from London, Montefiore reported the May Day event. The ASS organised its own platform, using a Clarion Van, with E.M. Vance in the chair. As well as Zetkin and Montefiore, the speakers included Kollontai of Russia, Aino Malmberg of Finland and five other British speakers. 'The usual Adult Suffrage resolution was put to a huge crowd [...] and enthusiastically carried'.⁷⁹

On 15 May 1909, Montefiore reflected on having hosted Zetkin in her own home in Hammersmith. She was impressed by Zetkin's work rate and her dedication to the *Die Gleichheit*. 'When not occupied preparing her speeches for the evening, she was writing and sending off matter for the pages of *Gleichheit*, of which she is the able Editor'.⁸⁰ Available in Germany, Austria, Scandinavia, Russia, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Britain, 'it has such a circulation that it pays its Editor a salary, it pays several of its contributors from other lands, and it hands over every year a very handsome profit to the funds of the party'.⁸¹

On 9 October 1909, *Justice* published a major report by Zetkin on the socialist women's movement in Germany. In 1908, women across Germany had gained the freedom to join political organisations – a right only granted in some federal states before that time, and often illiberally interpreted by the authorities. This new freedom meant the SPD's female membership rose from 29,458 to 62,257 in the course of a year and 257 SPD branches elected women onto their executives. Furthermore, 150 lecture and study circles for women were established across the country. Established in 1892, *Die Gleichheit*, the SPD women's journal under Zetkin's editorship, had a circulation of 73,000 copies. The SPD women's committee campaigned for working women to seek election to the administrative bodies of the state sickness insurance – the only public office open to women in Germany. In 1908, female trade union membership stood at 138,443 and 'The work of our trade unions to enlighten, train

and organise wage-earning women is not smaller nor less important than what the SDP has done to induce women to join in political struggles of the working class'.⁸² Although promoting a socialist women's movement, Zetkin was clear about its inseparableness from the general socialist movement and its distinctness from the feminist movement:

The most prominent feature of the Socialist women's movement in Germany is its clearness and revolutionary spirit as to Socialist theories and principles. The women who head it are fully conscious that the social fate of their sex is indissolubly connected with the general evolution of society, the most powerful moving force of which is the evolution of labour, of economic life. The integral human emancipation of all women depends in consequence on the social emancipation of labour; that can only be realised by the class-war of the exploited majority [...] the working-class women will never win their full emancipation in a struggle of all women without difference of class against the social monopolies of the male sex, but only in the class war of all the exploited, without difference of sex, against all who exploit, without difference of sex.⁸³

On 20 November 1909, Montefiore and Hendin presented the first biennial report of the British Socialist Women's Bureau in which they record that 'Our comrade Clara Zetkin has kept the Bureau well supplied with most interesting and helpful information from the women Socialists in the various countries of Europe'.⁸⁴

The second international socialist women's conference

Through the network of international socialist women, Zetkin was better able to coordinate the organisation of the second conference of the Socialist Women's International, held in Copenhagen on 26 and 27 August 1910. On 29 January Montefiore announced that Zetkin had written to her 'as Recorder for the British Section of the Socialist Women's International Bureau, which represents all British Socialist organisations, with the exception of the women of the Independent Labour Party' in preparation for the international gathering.⁸⁵ Zetkin's communication promoted German successes as examples to sisters abroad: 'She tells how the German women comrades have, through their organised agitation, forced forward legislation protecting children employed under capitalism, and have obtained protection through State insurance of mothers, widows, and orphans;

and she writes of the fight that is approaching in the Socialist demand for universal suffrage'.⁸⁶ Montefiore concludes her piece by stating that 'I shall be glad to hear from Socialist women in England what subjects they consider of most vital importance, either from an economic, social, or political point of view, for us to discuss at Copenhagen from an international standpoint'.⁸⁷

1910 proved to be the height of Montefiore's leadership of British socialist women, with Zetkin continuing to favour her fellow social democrat. Indeed, when the SPD leader, August Bebel, turned seventy in February 1910, Montefiore reported that 'our comrade Clara Zetkin did me the honour of asking me to write in the name of English Socialist women an article for the "Bebel" number of *Gleichheit* voicing our greetings, our thanks to him for his special work in the cause of Socialist women, and our hopes that he may yet be spared to us for many years and may have health and strength to continue his great life work'.⁸⁸

On 30 July, Zetkin sent out the formal invitation to Copenhagen and also a draft agenda. In addition to bureaucratic points, the socialist women's conference agenda included the following discussion topics: 'Practical work in favour of universal woman suffrage, viz., adult suffrage' and 'Social protection and provision for motherhood and infants'.⁸⁹ Alongside the call for attendance, Zetkin published a long article on the developing organisation of the socialist women's movement in Germany. While primarily treating the period before 1908 when women's political participation in Germany was largely illegal, the article does point out that SPD party executives must include a female member and women's educational circles were to be retained as distinct organs within the SPD, though otherwise women were encouraged to play active roles in all parts of the SPD alongside their men folk.⁹⁰

On 3 October 1910 *Justice* published a report of the Copenhagen women's conference. Presided over by Zetkin and attended by 'about 130' delegates,⁹¹ the SDP, Fabian Society and the Women's Labour League (WLL) represented Britain. As with the 1907 Stuttgart conference and Zetkin's own position during her 1909 visit to London, adult suffrage was promoted, though on this occasion it received a clearer, more forceful endorsement by the conference, which 'was hotly resented by the English limited Suffragists, who used their usual threadbare arguments'.⁹² The suffrage resolution included the clause: 'The Socialist Women's movement of all countries repudiates the limited Woman's Suffrage as a falsification of and insult to the principle of the political equality of the female sex'.⁹³ By containing such a turn of phrase, the resolution debarred an evolutionary

approach to universal suffrage and prevented – as the WLL and Fabian women requested – tactics to be adopted as appropriate in each country. The limited suffragists, led by Margaret MacDonald, whilst endorsing full and equal universal suffrage as an ultimate objective, believed the strategy of gradual democratisation to be more realistic and likely of success in the British context. Montefiore and Herbert Burrows of the SDP, however, remained staunchly behind Zetkin's uncompromising position and the adult suffragist resolution was passed, resulting in the Fabian and WLL delegates walking out of the conference hall. The suffrage resolution and one affirming that 'it is the duty of the community to maintain the child-bearing women, also infants, and children attending school' were forwarded for debate in the International Socialist Congress which followed immediately after the women's conference.⁹⁴ The continuation of the international Socialist Women's Bureau was also reaffirmed and 'formally constituted, with Clara Zetkin as secretary'.⁹⁵

With the 1910 International Socialist Women's Conference, Montefiore and the British Social Democrats were supreme as British representatives on the international stage – but their victory was pyrrhic. So outraged were the ILP women, represented internationally through the WLL, with the SDP's dominant position at Copenhagen and Stuttgart that they transformed their approach. Whereas in 1907 the ILP women refused cooperation with Montefiore's British Socialist Women's Bureau, in 1910 they decided to re-found the Bureau along democratic lines and – with the ILP's numbers and the WLL's organisational strength – Montefiore's organisation was sidelined and a new British bureau established through the offices of the *League Leaflet* and *Labour Woman* (the journals of the WLL). In due course the BSP (as the SDP became in 1910) affiliated to the new Bureau but the ILP remained the dominant group within it until its demise in 1919. Indeed, when the final International Socialist Women's Conference of the Second International was organised – in Berne in 1915 – there was no BSP delegate present.

War against war!

Despite the SDP/BSP marginalisation from 1910, *Justice* continued to cover Zetkin's activities sporadically for a few years longer, primarily in her role as antiwar advocate. As early as 1900 Zetkin had praised the SDF in its anti-imperialist 'War against War' during the Second Boer War. In 1912, with the outbreak of the First Balkan War, Zetkin raised the call again – 'War against War'⁹⁶ – and played an active role in organising

attendance at the Extraordinary International Socialist Peace Congress in Basel from 24 to 25 November. Although the Basel congress was arranged at too short notice for a women's conference to precede it, Zetkin appealed to socialists in Britain to ensure women were well represented in their delegations. Stressing the need for women and men to act together through a united socialist movement, she wrote: 'Socialist women, be strong and united in thought and action with the Socialist Party in all countries ...'⁹⁷

Following the congress, *Justice* published a report of the women's involvement, citing Montefiore as a BSP delegate and quoting the following declaration, made by Zetkin in the name of all socialist women: 'The women, the mothers, of the labouring masses are prepared for the most untiring and dangerous war against war, and are ready to give their whole strength for freedom and for Socialism'.⁹⁸

In addition to this joint declaration, Zetkin also made a speech at the congress, during which she expressed women's special concern and special sacrifice in the event of war.

All that is within us as the personal expression of general human development, general ideas of culture, is revolted at the thought of the threatening wholesale destruction of human life in modern warfare [...] We have gone through the hard school of life under capitalism, and have become fighters. And we will not hesitate to see our loved ones fight and fall if it be for the cause of freedom. In that struggle we will be filled with the spirit of those mothers of old who handed the shield to their sons with the words: 'Return either with it or upon it'.⁹⁹

In the absence of a women's international conference Ida Schmidt of the Basel Women Workers' Association chaired a women's event 'from which hundreds had to be turned away' and at which Montefiore and Zetkin spoke.¹⁰⁰

Zetkin's last appearances in *Justice* occurred in late 1914 following the outbreak of the Great War. On 12 November a letter from the Zürich *Volksrecht*, signed by Karl Liebknecht, Luxemburg, Mehring and Zetkin, was printed in translation. Although martial law in Germany prevented the authors making explicit their attitudes to the war, they wished to express that they did not adhere to the majority SPD position of supporting a rapid German victory now that the war had begun.¹⁰¹

A week later, *Justice* published an important article by Zetkin entitled 'The Duty of Working Women in War-time' in which she continued her maternalist sentiments of 1912 and also offered a fig leaf to the bourgeois

women's movement in terms of cooperative activities – a position hitherto anathema to Zetkin, especially when one considers her opposition to suffragism during the debates of 1907 to 1910.¹⁰² In order to deal with 'Unemployment, [...] anxiety, hunger, sickness, child-mortality', Zetkin announces that 'Socialist women are working peacefully alongside of the bourgeois nationalist "Women's Service", and also with its representatives on communal bodies'.¹⁰³ Zetkin saw the role of women, beyond the practical one of caring for the home-front victims and returning war-wounded, as being cultural.

We Socialist women hear the voices which in this time of blood and iron still speak softly, painfully, and yet consolingly of the future. Let us be their interpreters to our children. Let us preserve them from the harsh brazen sound of the ideas which fill the streets to-day, in which cheap pride-of-race stifles humanity. In our children must grow up the security that this most frightful of all wars shall be the last.¹⁰⁴

Margaretta Hicks of the BSP's National Women's Council commented that 'The letter from our comrade Clara Zetkin emphasises the same line we have taken in England'; 'It is good to have knitting clubs, &c., and to have centres for serving out good meals'.¹⁰⁵

The 17 December 1914 issue of *Justice* contained Zetkin's swansong; a report of the suppression of *Die Gleichheit* by the Württemberg state authorities. As a few copies of Zetkin's journal were smuggled into Switzerland, the report summarises Zetkin's article entitled 'An Appeal to the Socialist Women of All Countries' in which 'She makes a passionate appeal to Socialist women to preserve the old social-democratic ideal and not to permit themselves to be carried away by the prevailing chauvinism. She writes: "If men must kill, it is we women who must fight for life. If men remain silent, it is our duty to speak out"'.¹⁰⁶

Zetkin's gradual fading from the pages of *Justice* can be accounted for in a number of ways. Following the 1910 socialist women's conference in Copenhagen, the ILP, through the offices of the WLL, were determined to wrest leadership of the British socialist women's movement from the SDP. The ILP was numerically much larger but was consistently under-represented at international socialist women's conferences. Thus following the Copenhagen event, the WLL established and dominated the Women's International Council of Socialist and Labour Organisations to replace Montefiore's British Socialist Women's Bureau. Although Zetkin had formed a strong personal bond with Montefiore, the ILP became

her natural ally in Britain as war clouds gathered over Europe. The ILP were largely pacifist and – although Zetkin praised the SDF for its anti-Boer War stance – by 1912 the BSP was ambivalent in its stance on war. The WLL's journals – the *League Leaflet* and *Labour Woman* – became Zetkin's natural home from 1911 and had the added benefit of being socialist women's journals in contrast to *Justice*, a socialist journal merely containing a women's section. But the deathblow to Zetkin's relationship with *Justice* came with the outbreak of the Great War and the BSP's division over support or opposition for the British war effort. An indication of the BSP's marginalisation within international women's socialism at this time came with Zetkin's 1915 International Socialist Women's Peace Conference in Berne, at which the four British delegates (Marion Phillips, Margaret Bondfield, Ada Salter and Mary Longman) represented the WLL, ILP and Women's Trade Union League. In 1916 the conflict within the BSP was resolved when Hyndman's jingoists seceded to form the NSP, taking *Justice* with them. The surviving, anti-militarist BSP established *The Call* as its journal in February 1916 – and indeed Zetkin did contribute a number of articles to it – before following Zetkin's own trajectory and merging into the Communist Party.

Zetkin's post-NSP reportage

With *Justice*'s patriotic turn, the BSP founded *The Call* in February 1916, a journal which lasted until the creation of its Bolshevik successor, *The Communist*, in July 1920. Although Zetkin received significant coverage in *The Call*, the picture of her activities loses consistency. Following the Berne conference, Zetkin's freedom of action was heavily curtailed by the German authorities, including several stints in custody, so it became more difficult for her to transmit propaganda, especially into enemy countries. Combined with events in revolutionary Russia and growing opposition to the Great War in Britain, both of which took up increasing column inches in the British press, Zetkin's primary position in *Justice* before 1916 could not be replicated in *The Call* in the turbulent times following February of that year. Nonetheless some reportage did surface in *The Call* during the remainder of the Great War.

In the January 1916 edition of *Labour Woman*, the arrest of several socialists in Karlsruhe and Stuttgart for high treason is announced and 'We fear Klara Zetkin may be amongst them'.¹⁰⁷ This news had already been reported in the *New York Times* for 31 December 1915, with the reason for the arrests given as 'engaging in peace propaganda'.¹⁰⁸ This was

Zetkin's re-arrest for the offences publicised in 1915 as in *The Call* on 9 March 1916 it is reported that the trial was to take place of Luxemburg, Zetkin, Mehring and Hans Pfeiffer on 22 March for 'preaching the class war, disobedience to law and attempts to influence soldiers to disobey'¹⁰⁹ in their journal, *Internationale*. Only one issue of this journal appeared before its suppression and Zetkin's arrest for her role in its publication had been cited in the *New York Times* as early as 22 July 1915.¹¹⁰ On 26 October 1916, *The Call* provides an update of Zetkin's fate at the hands of the Imperial Court. Her trial for high treason for 'spreading the manifesto of the Berne Peace Conference' was now to be held on 2 November along with 'other Wurttemberg comrades'.¹¹¹

After a three month gap in publicity, Zetkin reappeared in *The Call* for 8 March 1917. Relying on a piece from the Menshevik journal, *Nachalo*, it reports the efforts being made by the SPD executive to purge the antiwar minority from its ranks, both in terms of party positions and membership. After revealing Paul Lensch's manoeuvres to oust Karl Kautsky from the editorship of *Die Neue Zeit*, the paper comments that 'A move is also being made to dismiss Clara Zetkin from the editorship of the *Gleichheit*'.¹¹² The success of the SPD leadership's manoeuvring was confirmed in July 1917: 'the worst piece of news we have received for some time' was printed in the *Labour Woman*, 'namely, that the Party Executive has removed Comrade Zetkin from her position as editor' of *Die Gleichheit* which 'has long been violently attacked for its firm refusal to follow the Majority Socialists in their support of the powers that be [...] Consequently the women Socialists of Germany who have remained true to their old ideals are now deprived of their paper'.¹¹³ Zetkin was quick to reassure the international socialist women's movement however, writing to the *Berner Tagwacht* a letter which was reprinted in *The Call*. In it Zetkin asserts that her dismissal from *Die Gleichheit* was due to 'the adhesion to principles of this organ' and states that 'A purged *Gleichheit* could not have remained the organ of the Women's International'.¹¹⁴ Reaffirming her leadership position, Zetkin concludes by stating that 'The comrades of all countries can continue to address their correspondence to me. I remain the secretary of the Women's International' and by promising that 'A publication which will take the place of the old *Gleichheit* will appear shortly'.¹¹⁵

In the May 1918 number of *Labour Woman*, Zetkin's greetings for women's day are reprinted from the February edition of her new paper, the *Frauen-Beilage*, the women's supplement of the Independent Social Democratic Party (USPD) journal, the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*. Although

Zetkin states that 'I may take it as a matter of course that our Women's Day will be celebrated by the socialist women of all countries',¹¹⁶ there is no evidence that British women made any such effort. Celebrations are, however, reported in Austria, France, Finland, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Germany. Zetkin records advances made by women in recent months, including suffrage reform in Britain, Canada, the Netherlands and some American states as well as 'a mighty revolution in Russia, securing for women equal rights in administrative, legislative and governmental bodies'.¹¹⁷ Although a simultaneous women's day was deemed impossible, Zetkin asserts that 'Where we must be unconditionally united is as concerns unity of sentiment, conviction, and will, for this is the essential characteristic of the international solidarity of the socialist and labour women of the world'.¹¹⁸ Zetkin's women's day greeting was also reported in *The Call*, again relying on the *Leipziger Volkszeitung* for its information. As a counterweight to the 'limitless barbarity of the war', Zetkin holds women's day up as 'the symbol of a better humanity for all, without distinction of race, nationality, or sex'.¹¹⁹ It is clear, given the paucity of international solidarity detected by Zetkin during the war that she saw the international socialist women's movement as bridging the gap between the failed Second International and a new international yet to come.

In an article in *The Call*, Dora Montefiore identifies the international socialist persons and parties which most closely resemble her own position, citing V.I. Lenin, Leon Trotsky, Karl Liebknecht, Zetkin, the BSP, the Australian Socialist Party and the International Socialist Party of South Africa.¹²⁰ W.A.M.M., in his critique of Kautsky's antiwar stance, having supported the SPD leadership until his expulsion from the party, writes 'As against this, think of Liebknecht, Rosa Luxembourg, Franz Mehring, Klara Zetkin and the whole Stuttgart organisation which at once broke away from the Scheidemannites'.¹²¹ Later in the same journal, the author notes with approval Zetkin's analysis of the USPD, about which she wrote that it 'is still connected by the "naval-string" with the opportunist Socialism of the pre-war period',¹²² suggesting that her membership of that party was contingent on its move towards more radical politics. T. Lambert responds to W.A.M.M.'s use of Zetkin's words to critique the USPD by arguing that Zetkin has ulterior motives in writing what she does: 'Franz Mehring and Klara Zetkin are both quite rightly trying to bring the German Socialists round to their way of thinking. That their criticism of those who are, in their opinion, standing in the way takes a somewhat drastic form is only natural'.¹²³ For British socialist

internationalists, the role to be played is that which is impossible for Zetkin and others involved in the immediate battle for hearts and minds: 'It is impossible to be fighting for an idea and at the same time the cool impartial judge. But it is the latter part that the comrades in other countries are called upon to play as far as they can in regard to inter-party disputes in other lands'.¹²⁴

As the Great War came to an end, Zetkin embraced parliamentary democracy, first as an USPD representative in the Wurttemberg State Assembly in 1919 and then a Communist deputy in the German Reichstag. She continued to receive wide coverage in Britain, though from 1920 to 1933 that coverage tended to be limited to the large output of the factional communist press.

Notes

1. Deborah Mutch and Norman Kelvin, 'Justice (1884–1925)', in Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (eds), *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism In Great Britain and Ireland*, Ghent and London, 2009, p328.
2. *Ibid.*, p328.
3. 'The International Congresses', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 21 July 1889.
4. 'The Socialist Congress', *The Standard*, 3 August 1893, p5.
5. Delegate, 'International Congress Notes', *Justice*, 19 August 1893, p6.
6. Gary P. Steenson, 'Not One Man! Not One Penny!' *German Social Democracy, 1863–1914* Pittsburgh, 1981, p111; Peter Beilharz, *Socialism and Modernity*, Minneapolis, 2009, p30.
7. Delegate, 'International Congress Notes', p6.
8. 'Resolutions of the Congress', *Justice*, 1 August 1896, p3.
9. 'Report of Congress', *Justice*, 1 August 1896, p3.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. 'Commission on Education and Physical Development', *Justice*, 8 August 1896, p8.
19. Wilhelm Liebknecht, 'Our Recent Congress', *Justice*, 15 August 1896, p4.
20. 'International Notes', *Justice*, 28 August 1896, p6.
21. Eleanor Marx-Aveling, 'The Gotha Congress', *Justice*, 7 November 1896, p8.

22. Ibid.
23. Zetkin quoted in *ibid.*
24. Zetkin quoted in *ibid.*
25. Ibid. Zetkin does not deny a separation of roles between men and women within the aristocratic family, but considers the separation socially acceptable to women of that class as part of the compromise for their privilege: 'Truly, as a wife she is still dependent upon the man ... What capital has joined together sentimental morals shall not part asunder. So that marriage-morality may be summed up as two prostitutions equal to one virtue'.
26. Ibid. The expression 'Noras rebelling against their doll's homes' refers to the Henrik Ibsen play, *A Doll's House* (1879), in which Nora Helmer behaves like a frivolous, scatter-brained wife for the benefit of her husband, Torvald, even while she has been secretly using her intelligence and independence to earn money and pay off medical debts which she incurred while her husband was dangerously ill. The play, first performed in Britain on 7 June 1889, is often cited as the first feminist play.
27. Ibid., p8.
28. Zetkin quoted in *ibid.*, p8.
29. Zetkin quoted in *ibid.*
30. Zetkin quoted in *ibid.*
31. Engels quoted in *ibid.*, and E. Belfort Bax, 'Proletarian in the Home', *Justice*, 14 November 1896, p5.
32. Bax, 'Proletarian in the Home', p5.
33. Ibid., p5.
34. Eleanor Marx-Aveling, 'The Proletarian in the Home', *Justice*, 21 November 1896, p6.
35. Ibid.
36. E. Belfort Bax, 'The Late Friedrich Engels and the Woman Question', *Justice*, 28 November 1896, p2.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid., p3.
39. International Notes, 'Proletarian of the Home', *Justice*, 28 November 1896, p3.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Arthur Keep, 'The Proletarian in the Home', *Justice*, 9 January 1897, p3.
44. Clara Zetkin, 'The Workers' International Festival', *Justice*, 1 May 1899, p15.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. Zetkin, 'May Greetings from Stuttgart', *Justice*, 12 May 1900, p6.
48. Ibid.
49. 'The International Congress', *Justice*, 6 October 1900, p2.
50. Ibid.

51. 'Our Congress', *Justice*, 27 August 1904, p7.
52. A.S.J.B., 'Impressions of the Amsterdam Conference', *Justice*, 3 September 1904, p4.
53. J.B. Askew, 'Germany', *Justice*, 27 August 1904, p2.
54. Ibid.
55. Kathleen B. Kough, 'International Conference of Women Socialists', *Justice*, 7 September 1907, p5.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. J.B. Askew, 'German Working Women's Movement', *Justice*, 21 September 1907, p3.
60. Ibid.
61. Dora B. Montefiore, 'Socialist Women's Bureau', *Justice*, 9 November 1907, p3.
62. Ibid.
63. J.B. Askew, 'Women's Conference', *Justice*, 19 September 1908, p9.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.
66. 'The German Socialist Congress', *The Times*, 21 September 1908, p5.
67. J.B. Askew, 'Germany. A *Times* Misrepresentation', *Justice*, 3 October 1908, p8.
68. Ibid.
69. Montefiore, 'Special Items of Interest for Working Women', *Justice*, 27 March 1909, p5.
70. Montefiore, 'Items of Interest to Women', *Justice*, 3 April 1909, p5.
71. Ibid.
72. Tom Quelch, 'The Reception of Clara Zetkin', *Justice*, 1 May 1909, p2.
73. 'Clara Zetkin on Adult Suffrage', *Justice*, 1 May 1909, p2.
74. Ibid.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid.
77. Zetkin, 'For Adult Suffrage', *Justice*, 1 May 1909, p10.
78. Ibid.
79. Montefiore, 'May-Day Demonstration in Hyde Park', *Justice*, 8 May 1909, p7. See also Montefiore, 'Socialist Women's International Bureau', *Justice*, 15 May 1909, p7, for a reference to Zetkin's and Kollontai's presentations on conditions of working women in Germany and Russia, respectively, as jointly organised by the Socialist Women's International Bureau and the SDP's Women's Educational Committee.
80. Montefiore, '*Gleichheit* and the Socialist Women Movement in Germany', *Justice*, 15 May 1909, p7.
81. Ibid.

82. Zetkin, 'The Socialist Women's Movement in Germany', *Justice*, 9 October 1909, p5.
83. Ibid.
84. Clara S. Hendin and Dora B. Montefiore, 'Report of the Socialist Women's Bureau (British), from November, 1907, to November, 1909', *Justice*, 29 November 1909, p5.
85. Montefiore, 'The International Women's Conference', *Justice*, 29 January 1910, p5.
86. Ibid.
87. Ibid.
88. Montefiore, 'Bebel's Seventieth Birthday', *Justice*, 26 February 1910, p12.
89. Zetkin, 'Second International Conference of Socialist Women', *Justice*, 30 July 1910, p5.
90. Zetkin, 'Germany', *Justice*, 30 July 1910, p5.
91. 'Women's International Conference', *Justice*, 3 October 1910, p12.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.
96. 'War against War – International Congress', *Justice*, 23 November 1912, p6.
97. Ibid.
98. 'Socialist Women and the International Demonstration at Basel', *Justice*, 14 December 1912, p6.
99. Ibid.
100. Ibid.
101. Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring and Clara Zetkin, 'The German SDP and the War', *Justice*, 12 November 1914, p1.
102. Zetkin, 'The Duty of Working Women in War-Time', *Justice*, 19 November 1914, p2.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.
105. Margaretta Hicks, 'National Women's Council BSP', *Justice*, 3 December 1914, p7.
106. 'The *Gleichheit* Suppressed', *Justice*, 17 December 1914, p1.
107. Mary Longman, 'Our Sisters Abroad', *Labour Woman*, 3, 9, January 1916, p346.
108. 'German Socialists Arrested for Treason. Ten of Them, Including a Woman, Charged with Engaging in Peace Propaganda', *New York Times*, 31 December 1915.
109. 'German Internationalists Prosecuted', *The Call*, No. 2, 9 March 1916, p3.
110. 'Two Socialist Women Prosecuted by Kaiser. Clara Zetkin and Rosa Luxemburg Among Four to Answer for Peace Propaganda', *New York Times*, 22 July 1915.

111. 'In Germany', *The Call*, No. 29, 26 October 1916, p3.
112. 'The German Split', *The Call*, No. 48, 8 March 1917, p3. On 25 October 1917, Kautsky's ultimate fate is reported in *The Call* when 'The Executive came down one fine morning upon Kautsky, and his capable assistant Wurm, when they were preparing the next number (that of 1 October) and told them to go instantly. Before the two could realise the situation, Heinrich Cunow was already in occupation of the editorial chair'. See 'The "Neue Zeit"', *The Call*, No. 81, 25 October 1917, p3. For a report of Kautsky's response to his dismissal in the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, see 'Curb Socialist Protests. Scheidemann Accused of Deception Regarding Stockholm', *The New York Times*, 4 November 1917.
113. 'Our Sisters Abroad', *Labour Woman*, 5, 3, July 1917, p176. The SPD split and Zetkin's dismissal from *Die Gleichheit* were also reported in the *New York Times*, where Zetkin's replacements were named as Marie Juchnez and Heinrich Schulz.
114. Zetkin, 'New Women's Socialist Paper', *The Call*, No. 68, 26 July 1917, p3.
115. Ibid.
116. 'Our Sisters Abroad', *Labour Woman*, 6, 1, May 1918, p4.
117. Ibid.
118. Ibid.
119. Zetkin, 'Women's Day in Germany', *The Call*, No. 108, 2 May 1918, p3.
120. Montefiore, 'The Churches and Socialism', *The Call*, No. 110, 16 May 1918, p2.
121. W.A.M.M., 'The German Socialist Minority: Rejoinder', *The Call*, No. 111, 23 May 1918, p3.
122. Ibid.
123. T. Lambert, 'The German Socialist Minority', *The Call*, No. 120, 25 July 1918, p3.
124. Ibid.