

Index to: The International Herald 1872-1873

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(published on Saturday)

1872-03-02: IH 001 The International Society - Its Origin and Aims. Introduction

... "The International is not a secret society except in those countries where the law compels secrecy (sic). The British Government is shrewder than those continental rulers, who would suppress steam by plugging the safety valve. The working man may say what he likes in England. He also gets flattered (?) and cajoled more than any other, but he works harder, has fewer comforts, fewer holidays, than any other, and has a far greater chance of getting into the most degrading position possible in this world, that of a Pauper. No one can comprehend the necessity for such an organisation as the International who has not studied political and social economy from a different stand-point to that afforded by what are called standard works. The producers never own, the consumers never lack any of the productions of labour. ... Such ideas as we have roughly put together caused some of the thinking portion of the working classes to study a remedy for the unnatural evils so long endured by them. History has proved that little if anything was ever gained by simply appealing to the monopolists of wealth and ruling power. What had to be done must be done by the Industrialists themselves, and for that purpose a union of workmen, irrespective of geographical or national boundaries was necessary." ...

1872-03-02: IH 004 Our Salute

... "Our object is to aid in the elevation of the people, to oppose injustice, to expose false teachings, and to assist the industrial classes in securing the right to govern themselves. The idlers have ruled the workers, and in order to perpetuate the power to rule, they have used the Press, the College, the church, and the Parliament, for the purpose of inculcating false and unnatural principles, and of instituting barbarous and injurious laws. It will be part of our duty to expose the rottenness of a system of civilization which permits idleness to tax and rule industry.

While we shall be glad to co-operate with the Liberals in all endeavours to obtain small instalments of justice, we shall not confine our efforts within the bounds of what so falsely has been termed moderation, as if there could be some covetable neutral ground between right and wrong, truth and falsehood. It is quite possible that the Conservative party may offer larger sprats than the Liberals; we shall advocate the acceptance of the largest sprats, but shall, at the same time, keep a watchful eye on the whale (SIC).

contempt for Times and its provincial imitators, like Leeds Mercury; praise for Reynolds's, Lloyd's, National Reformer and Beehive;

IH "comes into the field as a co-worker in the ranks of the social and political reformers. It will assist in obtaining a reduction of the hours of labour; in securing universal suffrage; in the abolition of class or hereditary rule; in the nationalization of land and currency; in the suppression of drunkenness, continued voluntary idleness, and other crimes; in the liquidation of the National Debt; the discontinuance of fees or money fines in courts of law; and will aid so far as lies in its power all measures for securing a more just code of laws, and form of government. ...

We shall endeavour to furnish reports of the proceedings of all the various reform

societies of Great Britain and Ireland, and to make this the special organ of such societies as are not already specially represented by The Beehive or the National Reformer." ...

1872-03-02: IH 005 Co-operative Stores. History of Co-operative Stores in England.
to be continued

1872-03-02: IH 005/6 On the True Order And Science of Society. By Ambrose Caston Cudden
to be continued

1872-03-02: IH 006/7 (Letter to the Editor) Citizen Long: The Remedy for Pauperism
... "Our remedy will be found in the nationalization of the land, the establishment of national banks of credit, and an equitable system of commercial exchange by means of a sound national paper currency, together with universal suffrage. This would abolish pauperism and institute a new order of things by which the industrious would prosper, while the lazy or the vicious only would suffer."

1872-03-02: IH 007 International Working Men's Association: GC meeting report

1872-03-16: IH 001 William Harrison Riley: A Letter to the Four Estates
addressed to the Cabinet ministers, Members of both Houses of Parliament, editors of the press and all instructors of the people
"As an unofficial Member of the International Working Men's Association, I wish to make a plain statement of facts ... There are now certainly over one million Members of the International Association; are not these men worth reasoning with? ... We want to enable the wealth producers of the world to retain more of that wealth than they do at present. ... We also desire that those who create the wealth of a Nation, should directly participate in the Government of the Nation. ... We wish the government of the people to be committed only to the elected of the people, and that there shall be no National reward, except for services performed. We wish that leveling [sic] system abolished which makes men Peers and Rulers, irrespective of their fitness or unfitness. We assert that as nothing but the results of labour can justly be regarded as private property, therefore, the earth is not and cannot be private property. We claim that our Post Office system proves that National co-operation is beneficial and therefore, we desire a great extension of that system. ...
... that no human being should have any more social or political rights than another
...

1872-03-16: IH 001/2 The International Society - Its Origin and Aims.
starts with 1839/40 German Arbeiterbildungsverein in London, Fraternal Democrats, 1847 German Communist Conference in presence of Marx, Communist manifesto (quotes passage saying that Communists are no particular party in contradistinction from other working men's parties, etc., till overthrow of capitalists), 1859 lock out, Manhood Suffrage and Vote by Ballot Association with Odger as chairman and T. G. Facey as Secretary, Polish agitation

1872-03-16: IH 002/3 On the True Order And Science of Society. By Ambrose Caston Cudden

1872-03-16: IH 005 International Working Men's Association: report of GC by J. Hales

1872-03-16: IH 005 Ireland and the International
section established in Cork with John de Morgan as cor. sec.

1872-03-16: IH 005 Labour Representation League: anniversary festival; speakers:
Latham, Lloyd Jones, G. Potter, Magee Pratt, Mottershead, Boon, Ryland

- 1872-03-16: IH 005 Adolphe Smith (who had served as officer under Commune): lecture on 4.3. under auspices of Mile End Branch of the Land and Labour League at London Hospital Tavern, Whitechapel Road, in aid of Scholefield fund, vindication of Commune; Le Lubez sang Marseillaise; F. Reel Sec.
- 1872-03-16: IH 005/6 Croydon Political Club: address by Boon on 29.2. on "Land, Labour and Capital"; West in chair (rep. by George Young)
- 1872-03-16: IH 006 Bristol Radical Association: 5.3. meeting; J. Dorman Marshall on "Dowries, Annuities and the Pension List"; new banners with programme on them: 1. Representation of Labour, Manhood Suffrage, Vote By Ballot, Payment of Members, Annual Parliaments, Electoral Districts; 2. Taxation without representation is tyranny. The Whole fo the land, ought to and must become the property of the nation, as God has in his wisdom decided at the creation (rep. by Thos. Howe)
- 1872-03-16: IH 006 (Notes and Comments) on debate in Commons on emigration; positive: H. Verney; negative: S. Aytoun
- 1872-03-16: IH 006 (Notes and Comments) Labour Representation League: ineffectually solicited an interview "with our deputy Crown" Gladstone; hopes that LRL "will be supported by all industrialists, their object is noble and their difficulties will be great" [obviously, LRL is not yet widely known, not even among reformers)
- 1872-03-16: IH 007 Address of the British Federal Council of the International Working Men's Association. To the Working Men and Women of the British Islands
- 1872-03-16: IH 007 (Letters to the Editor) by J. Mitchell (10 Tyler Street, Regent Street, of West End Branch of IWMA at the Sir Robert Peel, James Street) and F. Reel (Sec. of Mile End Branch of the Land and Labour League) welcoming and supporting IH
- 1872-03-16: IH 008 "J. Weston begs to inform intending Pupils that his Class for the Study of Handrailing continues every Saturday" 1s per lesson; 80 Whitecross St., EC
- 1872-03-16: IH 008 Objects and Rules of the Newcastle and Gateshead Republican Club ... "3. That the word Republic shall be used by the members to signify a Commonwealth, a State or a unity of States in which public affairs shall be managed by persons appointed by the people; and in which the exercise of the sovereign power shall be placed in the representatives freely elected by the people." ... "9. That the objects of this Club shall only be promoted by intellectual, legal, and moral means"
- 1872-03-30: IH 001/2 Co-operative Stores. History of Co-operative Stores in England. to be continued
- 1872-03-30: IH 002/3 The International Society - Its Origin and Aims. after 1862 exhibition and 1863 visit, committee of Odger, Cremer, J. Eglington (carpenter), T. Grant Facey (painter), C. Goddard (bookbinder) draws up address which is translated into French by Beesly and sent to Paris; then formation of IWMA
- 1872-03-30: IH 004 (Commentary) The Latest Dilke Riot
- 1872-03-30: IH 005 International Working Men's Association: GC report
- 1872-03-30: IH 005 Universal Republican League: Sect. III, Black Swan, celebration of St. Patrick's Day by Irishmen, Englishmen, Scotchmen, Germans and Frenchmen; following week disc on IWMA (Odger, Richard, Weber); Sect. IV at Rose and Crown, Acorn Street, Citizen Edington in favour of republicanism, mobbed on way home

1872-03-30: IH 005 Anniversary fo the Communal Insurrection

public meeting was to have taken place last Monday in St. George's Hall, Langham-Place, Regent St. under auspices of the members of International, the Democrats of London, and the Refugees of the Commune for commemoration the "Social Revolution of Paris"; at last moment use of hall refused despite agreement reached with Wilkinson, the hall proprietor, to repay all damages caused by "roughs" which he thought would attend; "Powers that Be" thought to be reason for refusal; meeting adjourned to 31 Francis Street, Tottenham Court Road (the Committee rooms), where a spacious drawing room which is used for a Refugee's Club was transformed into a meeting room;

Citizen Jung in chair;

Chas. Murray: resolution against hall proprietor, says that "as much tyranny was experienced in England as on the Continent; had himself been proprietor of a public hall and knows upon the influence bearing upon them;

Rogers and Avrial support resolution;

Theisz (Postmaster-General of Commune): resolution praising commune, seconded by J. Johnson;

resolution by Milner: "That the incapacity and the crimes of the middle classes extended all over Europe by their hatred against the working classes, have doomed old society no matter under what form of government - Monarchical or Republican.' He said it was useless to attempt to conciliate the middle classes, they have tried it over and over again but had always failed, and it was therefore for the working classes to work out their salvation by their own intelligence and their own energy.

The working classes must henceforth occupy the first position and be the employers of the distributors."; Lissogaray seconded; Brodnick supported: "A new light had been thrown upon society, and the working classes, who had been in times past the tools of the upper classes, were now resolving to throw off the yoke that bound them down. They had had many men for 'leaders' in England who had led them astray, and they should not entrust leadership to any but men of their own order. The principles of the Commune if carried out would benefit the whole of society, war would be no longer necessary, and class hatred and strife would cease."

resolution by Camelinat (Director of the Mint): crusade of all government against International and terror of murderers of Versailles proves shallowness of their victories; Hales seconded, "stating that while the Versailles Government were shooting prisoners in cold blood day after day, the Commune did not make reprisals and the hostages were taken simply to deter the Rebels from pursuing in such bloodthirsty conduct. It was a mistake to shoot the hostages at the time they were shot."

Bordier "said it was necessary the idle classes should be suppressed before the working classes could do any good."

Barry "could never justify the taking of life under any circumstances, and he therefore protested against the execution of the hostages."

O'Brien had been prisoner at Versailles, thought it was much better to kill ten than that a thousand should be sacrificed, and "there were times when justice was not cruelty".

Avrial said "the working classes had been shot not only after the Commune, but the poor miners were shot down for asking for an increase in wages;

resolution then put and carried

1872-03-30: IH 006 Bristol Radical Association

special meeting of Executive Council at Temperance Hall, Bedminster, 20.3.72; C. K. Lewis in chair; resolution by Thos Howe, sec by Robert Hook: thanks to Dilke, A.

Herbert, Geo. Anderson and Sir Wilfrid Lawson for their conduct in Commons and alarm at "Rowdyism" in Commons

1872-03-30: IH 006 National Woman's Suffrage Association
lecture of Miss Matilda Blind postponed

1872-03-30: IH 006 Tynemouth Republican Club
meeting on Tuesday, Thomas Thompson presiding, resolution regretting death of Mazzini

1872-03-30: IH 006 (Letter to the Editor) John Roach, Cor. Sec. to the Federal Council, 7 Portland Villas, Boston Road, Stratford
meeting was held in Assembly Rooms, Martin Street, Stratford on 25.3, Dr. Sexton in chair; Hales, Young, Serrallier, Bowtell, Bradwick and other attended from Gen and Fed Council to explain objects of International; "The Dr. is an able advocate of the Rights of Labour, and will prove a great addition to the ranks of the 'International'."

1872-03-30: IH 006 (Letter to the Editor) J. Wood, Sec. of Lancaster Republican Club:
club is newly formed and pledges support to IH

1872-03-30: IH 006 (Letter to the Editor) Joseph Clayton, West Hartlepool: supports IH

1872-03-30: IH 006 (Letter to the Editor) A. B. Broughton, Padiham, 17.3.
... "I am glad to hear that the working men of London are insisting so manfully, that hateful piece of tyranny, the Parks Bill now in the hands of sham Liberals and renegade Radicals. I hope you will succeed in preventing them from trampling on the people's rights."

1872-03-30: IH 007 (Notes and Comments) "Mr. Gladstone, in his reply to Sir Charles Dilke, said 'not only with this Sovereign and the coming Sovereign, but with the Sovereign of any period or century to come.' This little piece of nonsense may serve to amuse the President of Great Britain ten years hence."

1872-03-30: IH 007 (Notes and Comments) "Alderman Carter, M.P., did not support Sir C. Dilke. Where was he? This is a question for hi to answer to the men of Leeds. There are others who must be called to a reckoning. Don't be misled by any paltry excuse!"

1872-03-30: IH 008 (List) Provincial Agents for the International Herald

1872-04-13: IH 001/2 William Harrison Riley, Taxpayer: To Mr. Gladstone
"Sir,- Are you aware that your conduct of late has made the People of England distrust you? ... You have wofully (sic) mistaken your way, Mr. Gladstone, you have wandered from the path of honour and justice, and from the way to the hearts of the People! Should you live five years longer you will bitterly repent the time when Judas like you betrayed your Master! You may live to feel how ignoble was that spirit which caused you to curry favour with the enemies of the People on the occasion when you sneered at and reviled their representatives - Sir Charles S. Dilke and the Honourable Auberon Herbert. The page of English history which perpetuates their names in honour will expose yours to infamy as a traitor to the People!" ...

1872-04-13: IH 002/3 Benjamin's Mess, and the Men of Manchester
on "D'Israeli"

1872-04-13: IH 003 London Patriotic Society
"This Society, which has for its objects the attainment of Manhood Suffrage and Home Colonisation, and the assisting in all practical measures tending to promote the well-being of the peofe (sic), was inaugurated by the Members of the Holborn Branch of the Reform League, immediately after the time when the League as a

distinct body ceased to exist. The members endeavoured to carry out their platform in a quiet and unostentatious manner, not seeking to obtain favour from or to give offence to any. But one morning they woke up and found themselves famous, some representatives of the Press having discovered the 'Hole in the Wall,' in Kirby-street, the meeting-place of the Society at the time, and published a wonderfully false description both of the men who met there, and of their political opinions. Soon the news was spread all over the world, that the fiercest body of Red Republican conspirators in England had their head-quarters at an obscure public-house, in an obscure street near Hatton-garden. Spies from Scotland-yard were in constant attendance, asking artful questions at the bar, endeavouring, as innocent strangers to London and London life, to obtain information as to the Society; some even going so far as to take part in the debates, and to propose themselves as candidates for membership. The result of all their toil was, that one detective-sergeant was prepared to swear that on a certain date, in the heat of a debate on the Parks Bill, he had heard some one say, that if the liberty of the Subject was much further interfered with, as the park railings had come down, so possibly might fall the Crown. Here, then, was a distinct case of high treason.

All this time a petition to Colonel Henderson, containing the grossest falsehoods, was being hawked about the neighbourhood, and its promoters after using their most strenuous endeavours, at last succeeded in obtaining nineteen signatures to it, three of that large number being householders in the street. The petition was presented, and referred by Colonel Henderson to the licensing justices. On licensing day the landlady applied for the renewal of her license, but was told to come again in a fortnight. The result was that no more meetings could be held at the 'Hole in the Wall.' The members and friends, therefore, held a meeting at a house in the neighbourhood, at which it was enthusiastically and unanimously resolved to found a Radical Club for the Holborn district, under the auspices of the society, where there should be a free platform for the discussion of every shade of political opinion - in the works of Mr. John Stuart Mill, 'independent of coerced tavern keepers and licensing magistrates.'

It was also resolved that membership of the Club should be obtained by taking up one or more œ1 shares, payable by weekly instalments or not less than sixpence a week each. Nearly one hundred shares have been already taken up, and a donation of œ20 sent by Mr. J. S. Mill, enclosed in a letter from which the above quotation is taken. Alderman Lusk, M.P., has promised to subscribe œ10 yearly; support has also been promised by the Hon. Lyulph Stanley, and other influential gentlemen. It is manifest that the Club cannot be brought into existence and successfully carried on without a considerable outlay, and the committee therefore appeal to all those who value liberty to assist them, either by taking up shares and inducing their friends to do so, or by donations or annual subscriptions.

The public meetings of the Society are now held at the 'Crown and Can,' 187, St John's-street, Clerkenwell, opposite Compton-street, every Sunday evening at Eight o'clock, where, or on application by letter to the Secretary, Mr. John Galbraith, 67, Northampton-road, Clerkenwell, E.C., shares, and any further information may be obtained. George Gee Taylor, Chairman."

1872-04-13: IH 003/4 Co-operative Stores. History of Co-operative Stores in England.
to be continued

1872-04-13: IH 005 (Correspondence) Citizen Whalley informs us that an Irish branch of the IWMA has been formed at Middlesboro, and new branch shortly to be started in Stockton; good activity of Sunderland branch

- 1872-04-13: IH 004 (Commentary) The Agricultural Strike
- 1872-04-13: IH 005 Songs for the People. By George Sexton, M.D.: No. 1: Freedom's Day is Dawning
- 1872-04-13: IH 005/6 (Letter to the Editor) W. R. H., Newcastle: English Republicanism points out how Republicans can (by registration, support for Radical candidates, supporting any suitable working man candidate, uniting with other democratic societies, founding one Central Democratic League in UK, petitions to parliament, letters to MPs, subcommittees for these purposes) affect the result of the general election which is expected to take place soon
- 1872-04-13: IH 006 International Working Men's Association: GC report
- 1872-04-13: IH 006/7 International Working Men's Association meeting of Nottingham Branch of this association: political programme of five points resolved, communicated by Thomas Smith, sec.
- 1872-04-13: IH 007 Croydon Political Club: M. J. Boon on "The Rationalisation (sic) of the Land"; McKenzie
- 1872-04-13: IH 007 Land and Labour League, Marylebone branch: resolution for Dilke, Herbert, Anderson, Lawson, against Gladstone (reported by W. Swain, Sec.)
- 1872-04-13: IH 007 (Publications) by Truelove on D'Israeli's works
- 1872-04-13: IH 007 International Working Men's Association: list of sections established or in formation, and names and addresses of secs.:
- Manchester (E. Jones)
 - Nottingham (Thos. Smith)
 - Sunderland (John Lemon)
 - Dundee (David Taylor)
 - Birkenhead (W. Farrell)
 - Newcastle-on-Tyne (Geo. Hardy)
 - Hinckley, Leicestershire (Arthur Taylor)
 - Loughboro, Leicestershire (R. Aymers)
 - Middlesboro (Thos. Whalley)
 - Buckfastleigh, Devon (Thos. Enterbrook)
 - Blackpool (W. Batho)
 - Leeds (W. Wilcox)
 - Glasgow (J. Talfour Blur [later eds: Blair])
 - Woolwich (H. Maddox)
 - London, West End Section (J. Mitchell)
 - Bethnal Green. D (F. Bradwick)
 - Stratford, D. (R. High)
- all corresp. in connection with British Sections to Cor. Sec. John Roach
- 1872-04-13: IH 007 (Notes and Comments) "Ayrton the Zany says that 'of course it cannot be expected that Republicans and Internationalists will hold themselves amenable to law.' We wonder if this official and officious mountebank ever heard of Switzerland or the United States, not to speak of the ancient Republics. ..."
- 1872-04-13: IH 008 Croydon Political Hall, Handcroft Road, Broad Green: announcement of monthly lectures by M. J. Boon from May till September
- 1872-04-13: IH 008 "Wanted By Martin J. Boon, Ironmonger, 36, Clerkenwell Green, London - Agents for the sale of Sewing Machine and Carpenters Oil Cans,

Portmanteau Buckles and Fittings, in Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, Nottingham, Derby, Sheffield, Birmingham, Leicester, Northampton and other Towns, Samples and Prices sent on application."

1872-04-27: IH 001/2 Very Foul Play

Vernon Harcourt has recently criticised the indiscriminate use of the term 'roughs' and wondered whether he was a 'rough'; by Dilke/Herbert, etc. conduct MPs have proven that they are not "gentlemen"

article's subject: Commons debate of 13.4.:

Baillie (Solomon?) Cochrane (MP Isle of Wight) on International Society;

Brewer MP wants to be silent about IWMA, otherwise it gets publicity and supporters;

"We come now to the speech of Mr. Fawcett, and at the outset will affirm that he deserves far less respect in this matter, than does Mr. Cochrane, who was at least sincere" ... ("who openly showed his full measure of hatred for the International").

Fawcett misrepresented positions of IWMA, esp. in loss of nation over land nationalisation; either F. willfully suppressed the most important features in programme of IWMA, or he was ignorant about them although he claimed to have studied them; long attack on Fawcett

"In our opponents' hands we cannot recognise the banner they call ours. We ask no favour, but we demand Fair Play."

1872-04-27: IH 002/3 The International Society - Its Origin and Aims.

founding and rules and address by Marx

1872-04-27: IH 003 R. V.: The Nationalization of the Land

1872-04-27: IH 004 address of William Harrison Riley: 7 Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, London

1872-04-27: IH 005 International Working Men's Association: GC report: on recent debate in Parliament

1872-04-27: IH 005 Dublin Branch of IWMA

McKeen in chair, Allen Hon. Sec.

1872-04-27: IH 005 West End Branch of IWMA

13.4.; Pitt in chair; Paul (delegate to fed. council) stated that a member of that Council had been dismissed from his situation for belonging to the International; petty tyranny at repression condemned; G. B. Clark, visitor from Scotland, member of idle classes but had worked hard for Eight-Hour movement in Scotland, did not approve of their holding meetings in taverns; Doward, Shean

1872-04-27: IH 005 Manchester Branch of International

Dr. George Sexton in chair; 9.4., Temperance Hall, Grosvenor Street; chairman (who is a member of federal council) explains objects; addresses by N. J. Ridgway and E. S. Jones; resolution by W. Tarr of support for principles of IWMA, sec by C. Heys; carried

1872-04-27: IH 005 Middlesborough Branch of the IWMA

Scott in chair; Whalley, Quigley, Scott, Finegan, Matthews address meeting; rapid growth of branch; reported by R. Matthews, Cor Sec

1872-04-27: IH 005 St. Luke's Branch of the International

15.4., 27 President Street, McKenzie presided, W. H. Riley (journalist) elected representative to Fed Council; Kuhn (reported by R. Foster)

- 1872-04-27: IH 005 Land and Labour League, Marylebone branch
13.4. Davidson presiding; resolution against parks bill: ... "that should such clause become law it may possibly result in inaugurating Civil War in this Country" (reported by W. Swain, Hon Sec)
- 1872-04-27: IH 005 Leicester and Leicestershire Republican Association
general committee meeting, 13.4.: resolutions, copies to various MPs and Government:
1. against Parks bill
2. Ballot bill should include election expenses payment from rates
3. redistribution of seats
4. regrets action of Government in resisting Dilke's motion to enquire into civil list and condemns conduct of members who stifled free discussion on the subject
5. repeal of Criminal Law Amendment Act of last session
6. people should get right of cultivating soil, unrestrained by large landholders and aristocracy
resolution sent to Dilke and his three supporters thanking them and regretting absence of P. A. Taylor due to illness who would have supported them
- 1872-04-27: IH 005 Bolton Republican Club
Thomas Warburton (Pres) in chair; resolution by Joseph Eccles and James Stephenson for Dilke and his supporters; paper by Charles Taylor jun. on 'War and its Results'
- 1872-04-27: IH 005 Leeds District Republican Club
recently formed (reported by James Hall, Sec.)
- 1872-04-27: IH 005/6 Hull Republican Club
19.4. Pres. N. B. Bellamy delivers lecture on "D'Israeli's" Manchester speech; resolution by G. Leaper for agricultural labourers in Warwickshire, sec by James Avery; collection in aid of funds for Warwickshire Labourers' Union
- 1872-04-27: IH 006 (Letter to the Editor) John de Morgan
has with friends founded Branch of International in Cork, which was supposed to act secretly until stern unflinching members; but as soon as the Examiner (property of J. F. Maguire MP) heard of its existence, there were denouncing articles; Rev. Canon Maguire (Catholic Clergyman and brother of the MP) denounced it from the altar and called meeting against it, at which de Morgan was refused to move resolution and dragged along platform; riot, meeting prevented by the IWMA branch members; but now all connected to IWMA are ruined: "I have been engaged as teacher of Elocution and advanced English for the last three years but I have lost all." several members have lost job
- 1872-04-27: IH 006 (Letter to the Editor) John de Morgan: reprint of letter published by the Irish Daily Telegraph which de Morgan had written to Canon Maguire but received no reply:
Cork, 22 Patrick Street, 2.4.72
de Morgan would never join any ass against religion; "I believe in God, and, therefore, cannot be called atheistic." promises "to withdraw from the ass if it can be proved clearly to be opposed to a belief in God, or to have for its objects 'the shooting of bishops and priests, &c.'"
- 1872-04-27: IH 006 (Letter to the Editor) T. Garbutt, Pres. of Sheffield Rep Club:
weekly meeting of 18th
IH's letter to Gladstone read and gave satisfaction; club decides to subscribe to IH;

also spirit for International made some members give money for posters for IH all over town;

"A resolution was also proposed to the meeting that we should join the International Society in a body"; every member in favour, but decision deferred so every member can vote; "Thanks to the House of Commons is has roused the People up to a sense of their duty."

1872-04-27: IH 008 IWMA sections:
additional: Liverpool (G. Gilroy)
Grimsby (W. Billett)

1872-04-27: IH 008 The Platform of the International Herald
general reduction of hours of labour,
suppression of the sale of adulterated articles of food,
abolition of hereditary national rank and titles;
establishment of national banks and nat currency, and abolition of all private banks;
nationalization of the land, railways, mines, canals, docks and harbours;
abolition of all fees and money fines in courts of justice. no feed lawyers to be permitted to interfere in such courts;
abolition of fees in securing patent rights;
liquidation of national debt;
abolition of standing armies;
national encouragement to all useful occupations, trades, arts and sciences, in preference to the present system of encouraging and aiding only the professions of war, law and theology;
IH will do justice to all

1872-04-27: IH 007 (Notes and Comments) "Sir J. Lubbock M.P. is, we believe a banker." on 19. in House of Commons he hoped metallic currency would not be endangered; "We can easily account for the class of persons he belongs to, fighting to retain as currency a metall which is so scarce that it may be controlled and almost monopolised by speculators who live by charging for the loan of such a scarce commodity. ... We must have National Land, National Money, none but National Law makers and dealers. We must not allow our means of existence and exchange to be private property to be doled out at usury."

1872-05-11: IH 001 Who are the Working Men?
def. of Gen. Carey: all engaged in productive industry, in good faith obeying the Divine decree by eating bread in sweat of their faces, not those only who cultivate farms, build cities, construct railroads, toil in workshops, but also intellectual labourers; in short, every human being who "contributes to the substantial good of the nation, and aids in making the 'wilderness and solitary places blossom as the rose"

1872-05-11: IH 001/2 The Lord of the Soil
"God made the country, man made the town, but the landlord owns both." land to be given to the "real representatives of the people"

1872-05-11: IH 002 A Lecture on Reform
arguments for Republicanism from Bible

1872-05-11: IH 003 A Working Man's Dream of the Future (Continued)

1872-05-11: IH 005 (Notes and Comments) Nottingham: "Working Men's International Labour Protection League" has been founded; sec. is Samuel T. Parker; meetings

are held at Black's Head, Boar Marsh; IH hopes they will affiliate to International soon

- 1872-05-11: IH 005 (Notes and Comments) "Female suffrage to be deserving of support by true reformers, should not be confined to women of property. If the present agitation only means a further representation of property we are against it. The People need representation now. ... Suffrage, like free trade, should be universal, for if it is made partial it is ten to one that 'property' will get all the benefits. ..." [support for true free trade, which would mean also labourers can trade freely in their labour and combine in unions? or internationally?]
- 1872-05-11: IH 005 (Letter to the Editor) H. J. Canham: letter arrived too late; refers to a society called the Agricultural Labourers' London Central Aid Committee; address: 64 Hanover Street, Pimlico
- 1872-05-11: IH 007 (Reports of Meetings) Liverpool Branch of IWMA
5.5.; Cit. Harvie in chair; subscriptions asked for James Peacock of Birkenhead, "who had worked many years in the cause of humanity", and is ill now (reported by G. Gilroy, Sec.)
- 1872-05-11: IH 007 (Reports of Meetings) Sunderland Branch of IWMA
27. ult: weekly meeting, delegate of Glassmakers' Union attended on causes of dispute in the trade (reported by John Lennon, Sec.)
- 1872-05-11: IH 007 (Reports of Meetings) Manchester Section of IWMA
24.4., 17 new members, Walker on "Land Currency and Credit"; 28.4. (Sunday) open air meeting, addressed by Bellcliffe, Cooper and Lancashire, 400-500 people, enthusiastic reception of rules of IWMA (reported by E. Jones)
- 1872-05-11: IH 007 (Reports of Meetings) British Federal Council of IWMA
- 1872-05-11: IH 007 (Reports of Meetings) Middlesborough Branch of IWMA
Shrimpton in chair; Scott criticizes speech of Cochrane in House of Commons (reported by R. Matthews, cor. sec.)
- 1872-05-11: IH 007 (Reports of Meetings) Glasgow Republican Club
"One of the greatest obstacles the Club has had to contend with hitherto is the extreme unwillingness of proprietors to allow Republican meetings to be held in their halls. In many cases, I believe, this unwillingness proceeds from the dead of Orange Rowdyism, and intolerant loyalty, which would gladly seize the chance, as an excuse for smashing lamps, breaking windows, and raising a popular (?) [sic!] riot." but club is success
- 1872-05-11: IH 007 (Reports of Meetings) Halifax Republican Club
thanks to Dilke and his supporters on 19.3.
- 1872-05-11: IH 007 (Reports of Meetings) West End Section of IWMA
4.5., Doward in chair; Davis; (reported by J. Mitchell, sec.)
- 1872-05-11: IH 008 additional sections of IWMA:
St. Lukes (R. Foster, 30 Shaftesbury Street)
- 1872-05-18: IH 002 [ironical tone:] support for Mrs. Fawcett, "a rather formidable lady", who had said about Vernon Harcourt that he supported female suffrage out of reason, but his feelings were against it
- 1872-05-18: IH 003 A Lecture on Reform
reform programme explained

- 1872-05-18: IH 003 Lee Hayes: How Ought We to be Governed? (13.5.72)
- 1872-05-18: IH 004 Our Precious Lords [on Alabama case]
- 1872-05-18: IH 004 Address of Mr. Louis Blanc (of 3.4.1848) on organisation of labour to delegates of workmen at the Luxembourg (to be continued)
- 1872-05-18: IH 005 The International Society - Its Origin and Aims. on 1865 London Conference and War Bismarck- Napoleon
- 1872-05-18: IH 006 (Letter to the Editor) A. B. Broughton, Hall Hill, Padiham: On Woman Suffrage (strongly in favour)
- 1872-05-18: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Manchester Section of IWMA
 general meeting 8.5.; 50 new members; Cit. Dupont on land nationalisation; deputation of Shoemakers: their no. 1 branch joins en masse (150 members); Harriett Law in chair; open air meeting at Sunday at New Cross had seen at least 700 people present (re- by e. Jones)
- 1872-05-18: IH 007 (Reports of Meetings) Middlesborough Branch of IWMA
 Harrison in chair; let by MacDonnel, sec for Ireland: de Morgan out of employment, subscription, liberal donation; W. Rally, Bailie (reported by Cor. Sec. Robert Matthews)
- 1872-05-18: IH 007 (Reports of Meetings) West End Section of IWMA
 Pitt in chair on 11.5.; Paul, Clarke, Harris (late member of GC) announced on Machinery
- 1872-05-18: IH 007 (Reports of Meetings) Dundee Rep Club
- 1872-05-18: IH 007 (Reports of Meetings) Marylebone Rep Club (Tarlington Hall, Old Church Street, Edgware Road)
 subcommittee formed on 7.5. to aid Agricultural Labourers London Central Committee (c. Durrant, Sec.)
- 1872-05-18: IH 007 (Reports of Meetings) Mile End Branch of the Land and Labour League
 23.4. concerts in aid of agricultural labourers started; proceeds of œ1 1s forwarded to Auberon Herbert MP; Lowe on events of month and on "the illiberality of the Gladstone 'liberal' government"; Coleman in chair (reported by f. Reel, sec.)
- 1872-05-18: IH 007 (Reports of Meetings) Working Men's Cooperative Colony, Kansas, USA
 W. W. Jones in chair; Jung on political and soc institutions in Switzerland; W. J. F. Manning announced to lecture next Sunday (reported by Alf. Days)
- 1872-05-18: IH 007 (Notes and Comments) "'Free Trade,' and 'supply and demand,' are the stock nostrums of the political quacks who prescribe for the people what they will not swallow themselves. There is no 'free trade' in government; it might be let out on contract to great advantage. ... We are called 'dreamers,' and are told that we do not understand political and social economy, but we answer by pointing to the actual existence of extensive communistic institutions. Why not leave the formation and maintenance of armies and navies to 'individual enterprise,' or 'supply and demand.' But no! Those nostrums are for us, not for the quacks who prescribe them."
- 1872-05-25: IH 002 Address of Mr. Louis Blanc (to be continued)

- 1872-05-25: IH 002/3 A Warning to Emigrants
letter by James M'Pherson (Christchurch, Canterbury, New Zealand) to the International Council
- 1872-05-25: IH 004 Who Shall be Taxed?
Lowe wanted to tax all equally; but he can only tax the ones that work; so he cannot tax landlord, moneylord, labour lord, who do not work but become ever richer; "He must have known he was trading on the ignorance of the masses ..."
- 1872-05-25: IH 007 (Reports of Meetings) West End Section of IWMA
Doward in chair; M. J. Boon of GC on working men in Parliament: "He maintained that men should not sit in the House of Commons as mere party men, but that they should be not only independent, but should be able to advocate sound social reform."
- 1872-05-25: IH 007 (Reports of Meetings) Middlesborough Branch of IWMA
Scott in chair; on necessity of Irish Branches [like this one?]; Whalley, Ferguson, Kenley
- 1872-05-25: IH 007 (Reports of Meetings) Mile End Branch of the Land and Labour League (see NR 26.5.72, p. 334)
- 1872-05-25: IH 007 (Reports of Meetings) Working Men's Co-operative Colony, Kansas (see NR 26.5.72, 334)
- 1872-05-18: IH 007 (Reports of Meetings) Agricultural Labourers London Central Aid Committee
A. Smith presiding at meeting
- 1872-06-01: IH 005 Address of Louis Blanc (concluded)
- 1872-06-01: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) GC of IWMA
all names of council members (u. a. Applegarth, Mottershead, G. Sexton, G. Milner, Cowell Stepney, A. Taylor, W. Townshend, J. Weston, F. J. Yarrow) and cor secs
- 1872-06-01: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) West End Section of IWMA
25.5. (see NR 2.6.72, 350)
- 1872-06-01: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Universal Republican League, Section 3: Black Swan, Ryder's Court, Leicester Square: two working men from Westminster attended to urge them to push on Republican movement in their districts, where great sympathies already existed; measures will be taken at special meeting on 2.6., where Cit. Elliott will give report of his experiences of Republicans in and about Birmingham (reported by A. Smith)
- 1872-06-01: IH 007 (Letter to the Editor) N. N. (County Tipperary, Ireland): Ireland and the International
- 1872-06-01: IH 007 "Communism means economy of labour, the greatest possible amount of leisure for instruction and recreation fairly distributed amongst the people. It means order, in place of disorder. It means comfort for the many instead of luxury for the few and lack of necessities for the many. It means love instead of hatred! Peace instead of war! Health instead of famine, vice, and dirtbred disease! It means true, instead of false religion! It means the improvement of the mental and physical condition of the human race, instead of deterioration! It means concord instead of discord! It means the abolition of caste, serfdom, slavery, inhumanity, swindling, and nearly all crime!"

1872-06-08: IH 002/3 Martin J. Boon: Work for English Internationalists. The Commons and Waste Lands of England

"... The most earnest opponent to the nationalisation of the land, held as private property, cannot object to the nationalisation of the commons and waste lands. The commons and waste lands are, in a sense, nobody's land, just because they are, in a sense, everybody's land. ... The right of the State to take possession of the commons cannot be for a moment disputed, when it is remembered that it is by the State alone that any common or waste lands can be converted into private property. Therefore, we maintain, that if the State is able to give the commons and waste lands to lords and others, it is no less able to take the commons and waste lands to itself, to be used for national purposes and advantages, instead of for private use and emolument. ... The question for all Englishmen, is, what may now be saved by repealing the Enclosure Act, and at the same time passing an Act to appropriate the commons and waste lands for national purposes. ... If the commoners' rights were at once compensated for, and the Land let out to the farm labourers, it would be a great boon to the labourers who receive their Ten and Twelve Shillings a week, they would then realise that their future prosperity depended upon their individual industry ... By adopting a just and rational policy of the nature proposed we should secure an income of over Sixty Millions of National Land Rents to cover the paternal expenses of good government ... Here then English Internationalists, Radicals, Republicans, and Reformers, is a splendid opportunity of restoring to the nation its commons and waste lands on easy terms (without the need of one single farthing of our present limited supply of money) of a very large portion of the soil of England for the benefit of the nation at large; as these lands are lying waste there can be no possible objection to making them the best test of small farm operations, and when desired, of co-operative efforts. ... Those who like Mr. Mill, Mr. Dilke, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Fawcett, and their private land longing follower's [sic!], who resist the nationalization of the present cultivated lands can surely most readily accept an experiment on the commons and waste lands. [sic]"

compensation to the present holders (Not owners!) of commons and waste lands would be affordable to State, as they do not get much real value from these lands; so state would not have to apply to Rothschilds for a loan, "notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary by Sir John Lubbock, Professor Fawcett, and their followers through their not possessing that information that would enable them to speak with authority, as guides and teachers of the people, not that we blame them, for they are but creatures of circumstances, but their want of knowing how to achieve this advantage without a gold purchase must not be the misfortune of Englishmen, all that need to be done is for a future working men's representative to move in the House of Commons, for an act stipulating that on and after say the first day on January, 1874, that all commons and waste lands in the Kingdom become national property, and that compensation for such notes to be paid in national notes, such notes to be made for the purpose, the notes to be legal tender for all purposes, and when it is remembered that the lands would be the security for the notes so made and issued, and that the rents for such lands would form the fund to redeem the notes at 5 per cent per annum, no cry could be raised that such notes would not represent positive value. ... For the last two years the enclosures have been practically stopped, thanks to the efforts of the Land and Labour League and other kindred associations throughout the country. If the land and labour league and all land nationalizers and reformers in the country would be up and doing they could effectually at once and for all time stop any further enclosures by the land and money House of Commons. [sic] There are many members in the present house

who hunger after a nice bit of common and waste lands, and who will do their utmost in and out of Parliament to prevent the nation from possessing its won once more. Watch such men, and all who in sheeps clothing use the name of 'liberals' to assist them. A little active out door agitation would save such members from danger, and prepare the way for a speedy nationalization. If all land and other reformers, would at once give all their earnest attention to the purchase of the commons and waste lands by means of national money, they would not fail to achieve as great a triumph as did the corn law league. ... Moreover, the commons is a platform on which all parties could zealously unite, the nationalists and the anti-nationalists ... Upon this great undertaking all the scattered units of the reformers throughout the country can be united in the most beneficial manner ..." [same programme and same hope of unity of reformers as A. A. Walton]

1872-06-08: IH 003 W. H. R. [Riley?]: Malthusianism

there is land enough to feed everybody; "What is the use of quoting Malthus and ignoring bread and butter? Malthus and Cumming should be studied by those who have nothing else to do. Land, Labour, and Currency are questions for to-day. The best we can do is to set our own house in order before speculating about the economies of the 25th century."

1872-06-08: IH 004/5 J. George Eccarius: Revolt of the English Rustics

"... The material effect, whether unionism be preserved or not, will be a general rise of wages throughout the country, the amount of which will for the moment very much depend upon the front shown by the laborers and the prospects of a successful strike. ... Had the farmers been wise in time they would have raised the wages of their laborers before they had recourse to combination, but they missed their opportunity until it was too late. ... The ultimate effect of rural unionism will be the practical solution of the land question. Hitherto the town laborers, whenever they talked about the nationalization of the lands and the cultivation of waste lands, were twitted with the clever sophism that it was only Whitechapel sweaters and Spitalfields weavers who demanded such things. In future the rural unions will give the town agitation on the land question a practical turn, whatever Professor Fawcett may say to the contrary at Cambridge. ..." [support for agricultural labourers because they a new backbone of town agitation; accepts that demand for nationalisation has been rather a theoretical than a practical issue]

1872-06-08: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) St. Lukes Section of the IWMA

their branch at 27 President Street, King Square; Robinson presided; Kuhn reads paper on land question: in discussion "it was shown that the poverty and wretchedness which abound, are owing to the landless condition of the people, whose apathy is being dispelled by the International, and they will soon be able to resume possession of the land which has been alienated from them by the 'aristocracy'."

1872-06-08: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Universal Republican League, Section 3 (see NR 9.6.72, 366/67)

1872-06-08: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Labour Representation League

special council meeting of 31.5.; Oldham vacancy; Boon and Baker move: Parliamentary Committee of seven members to select constituencies in which cause of labour should be advocated and where operations of League should take place to return working men to next House of Commons; supported by Latham and Savage and carried unanimously; Committee: Baker, Brightly, Boon, Longee, Stainsby,

Paterson and Galbraith (reported by Mottershead, Sec.)
(see Beehive 7.6.72, p. 5)

1872-06-08: IH 007 Leicester and Leicestershire Republican Association

Objects:

1. repeal of laws of primogeniture and entail, forcible sale of all uncultivated lands, repeal of game laws
2. equal electoral districts, universal suffrage, ballot, payment of members, triennial parliaments
3. substitution of direct for indirect taxation, national poor rate
4. disestablishment and disendow of all State churches
5. abolition of all Royal grants and sinecure pensions, and the House of Lords
6. "establishment of a Republican Government by means of our representative system"

1872-06-08: IH 008 Marylebone Republican club

will in future meet not in Tarlington Hall any more, but in Alhambra Hall, Carlisle Street; "Club is undergoing reconstruction"

1872-06-08: IH 008 John de Morgan wishes to pay flying lecture visit to England and asks Republican clubs and International sections to send for list of lectures

1872-06-08: IH 008 (Address) Borough of Hackney Working Men's Representative Committee": To the Working Men and Others of the Borough of Hackney calls on working men "to assist us to Select, Return, and Support, when in Parliament, a man of our own class, as our Representative, to Watch over our Interests, to Guard our Rights, and be the vehicle of our wishes to the Legislature of the Nation." ...

"Brothers, we are not so anxious that this or that working man should be our Representative as that he should be a working man, and a free and fair choice from amongst our body, for which reason we think it advisable to defer the selection until the Borough shall have had time to organise, and then to select that one whose expressed views shall be most in accord with the majority." ... signed by order of the Committee by R. Gale, Hon. Sec., 3 Margaret Street, Hackney Fields; Committee meet every Monday at Perseverance Hall, Goldsmith's Row, Hackney Road

1872-06-15: IH 001/2 John Hales: Organisation and Principles of the International
" ... The object of the Association is to unite in one fraternal bond, the workers of all countries, irrespective of all differences of nationality, language, colour, creed, or trade, and to that end would destroy all those antipathies of race, and all national prejudices which in the past have made the People the blind tools in the hands of tyrants and capitalists. It is diametrically opposed to the nationality doctrine, as that virtually separates mankind into antagonistic races with different interests. ... One who is only a Nationalist cannot by any possibility be an Internationalist - at the same time, the society recognising Federation as being the true basis of government, of necessity advocates the right of every locality to administer its own affairs. It aims at the total abolition of all class rule, and the social emancipation of the workers from the thralldom of capital. It would make the brotherhood of labour the basis of society, and would therefore so reconstruct it that labour of either brain or hand should alone give title to the right to live. It holds that the produce of labour ought to belong to the one who produces and would destroy all other classes but that which performs useful service to the community. ... The State simply meaning the people collectively. ..."

1872-06-15: IH 002/3 The Nationalization fo the Land. A Paper read at the Manchester Section of the International Working Men's Association

[Text von Marx! Vgl. Andreas/Grandjonc/Pelger: Unbekanntes von Marx und Engels, S. 173]

1872-06-15: IH 003 Propositions on Labour and Wages. By Dr. Dick

12 propositions [vgl. Dick, Robert, in: Bib2-1.txt; is this the same? proposition 12 refers back to one and eleven]

1872-06-15: IH 003 New Laws for Great Britain and Ireland

lecture delivered by Thomas Mooney on Sunday at Boar's Head Tavern, Long Acre; proposes fourteen new laws:

1. "lands of GB and Ire to be appropriated by the Nation and be managed by commissioners"
 2. compensation for present land owners
 3. commissioners to sell lands to occupiers in farms not over 20 acres
 4. rents for dwellings to be abolished
 6. all individual property at death shall fall to state, will to bequeath only to wife
 7. national book of laws
 8. compulsory education, paid for by state, "and all schools to be Industrial as well as Literary"
 9. mutual manufacturing corporations to be encouraged and regulated by state; all employers to be deemed partners under classification
 10. building societies to be aided extensively by state, and all rents for dwellings to be abolished
 11. vote for all men and women above 20
 12. every men over 20 till 45 to be enrolled in national army
 13. Railroads and tramways Companies' on obtaining charters to be obliged to carry working people for 10 miles free of charge between 5 and 8 mornings and evenings
 14. all titles of Nobility etc. to be abolished, also all signs of serfdom, like liveries, cockades, caps or other "insignia of servitude"
- George Potter was in chair; also speaking: Chatterton, M'Sweeney, Calliet;
"Resolution passed authorising chairman to summon a Republican Conference."
(reported by P. M'Sweeney)

1872-06-15: IH 003 Sheffield Republicans

arranged for Odger to deliver address in Hall of Science, Rockingham St., on 18th inst.; following day: Odger on Paradise Square on "Labour Capital and Trades' unions"; "... the conduct of the Temperance Committee and the Master Cutler in refusing the use of the Temperance and Cutlers' Hall should be held up to public contempt."

1872-06-15: IH 004/5 A Lecture on Reform (continued)

equal electoral rights with payment of members
nat., sec., gratuitous, compulsory education
Nat. currency and Banks
Direct and Progressive Property Tax
Nationalization of land

1872-06-15: IH 005 Our Boasted Freedom

[copy of a large poster sent to IH from Sheffield]

Odger to come for lecture, Temperance Hall rented, Odger ill at last moment, when well again Hall suddenly refused; "It was also refused for the Rev. J. K. Applebee. The Halls in Barnsley were also refused. It will hardly be credited that such intolerance should be practised in the nineteenth century in this boasted land of freedom, and coming too from a party who profess to be the friends of the working

classes. ..."

bill concludes with a large advertisement for IH

1872-06-15: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Working Men's Co-operative Colony, Kansas
(see NR 16.6.72, 381)

1872-06-15: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Stratford Section of the IWMA
Assembly Rooms, Martin Street; Roach in chair; election of officers and committee to draw up the rules of the branch: High Sec., Buckland treas., Hurry and Wyatt delegates to Fed. Counc. (reported by Richd High, Cor. Sec.)

1872-06-15: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) West End Section of IWMA
u.a. communication from F. Riddle, Sec. to the Game Laws Committee, asking to send delegates to meeting to be held at Sussex Hotel, Bouverie Street, Fleet street, on 17.6.; Mitchell and Hills appointed as delegates

1872-06-15: IH 00 (Reports of Meetings) Labour Representation League
8.6.72; "the present aspect of political parties was discussed, in relation to their atio as it affects the labouring population. Great dissatisfaction was expressed by those present at the meagre progress made in Parliament with measures deeply concerning the interests of thousands of our countrymen and women, wo form their prostrate condition are unable to assist themselves"; mines regulation, truck, Criminal Law Amendment Act, defeats of expenses clause and Harcourt's bill for registering voters prove "a great amount of indifference on the part of a majority of the House to the interests of labour."

resolution: before deputation to parliament, candidates should be presented to constituencies, to be "citizens who understand, and can represent, the opinion of their order. Especially is this mode requisite, as the defeat at Oldham of a friend to labour, (although coming from a grade above it,) renders it imperative upon the masses, if they must meet defeat to accept it in themselves, upon their own platform and upon their own issues. supported by Balser, Savage, Brighty, Campin, carried unanimously

order of debates at Century Club, Pall Mall:

1. on charitable endowments (on 14.6., Thomas Hare will give paper, Walter Morrison MP in chair)
2. Hours of Labour
3. Land and its Tenure
4. Purchases of Railways by State
5. Disestablishment of English Church
6. Personal Representation

1872-06-15: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) British Federal Council of IWMA
office: 7 Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, H. Mayo in chair

1872-06-22: IH 001 John Hales: The Reconstruction of Society

1872-06-22: IH 001 J. H. [Hales?]: The Representation of Labour
committee formed in Hackney to return working man; "The committee is composed of some of the leading labour reformers in the borough, the International being largely represented on it." must be successful if done energetically, because Hackney is largest borough in England, and "is essentially a working class constituency" as it includes Bethnal Green and Shoreditch; working men all over England should immediately start selection "candidates belonging to their own class and work to secure their election"

- 1872-06-22: IH 002 W. H. R. (Riley?): A Lecture on Reform (concluded)
 The liquidation of the national debt
 The abolition of the Standing Army
- 1872-06-22: IH 003 Wm. Harrison Riley: Trades Unions! What are the Leaders doing?
 TU leaders talk of wages, but they do not understand that the war is against all wages
- 1872-06-22: IH 004 official notice of British Federal Council of IWMA of invitation to Nottingham Congress on 21.7.
- 1872-06-22: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Mile End Branch of the Land and Labour League (see NR 23.6.72, 398)
- 1872-06-22: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) British Federal Council of IWMA
 Robert Foster, sec. to the Council
- 1872-06-22: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) West End of London Boot Closers Society
 special meeting on state of trade at Golden Lion, Wardour Street, Soho, on 10.6.,
 Pres. Thomas Warren in chair; special Committee to solicit advance of wages from employers: John Sunderland, Charles Murray, Frederick Cross, Frederick Burth, Robert Walters (sec.)
- 1872-06-22: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Labour Representation League
 first of a series of conferences of members of Parliament, working men and others at Century Club, Pall Mall, on Friday, under auspices of LRL; Walter Morrison MP presided and Thos. Hare read a paper on charitable endowments, advocating that charitable bequests, particularly when consisting of landed property, should be administered by the State, by means of popularly elected overseers, as suggested by Dilke and others, on the Lands and Commons Preservation Bill now before Parliament, and not by vestries or private trustees; by such a plan the principle of co-operation in the cultivation of the soil might be applied advantageously; opposes views of Sir C. Trevelyan for converting these public benefactions into private property;
 discussion: Howell, Mottershead, Campin, Boon, Ryan, Stainsby, Lucraft (of School Board);
 announced: for June 28th: Eccarius on hours of labour, in chair: T. Bass MP
- 1872-06-22: IH 007 (Letter to the Editor) Thomas Mooney (270 Fulham Road, London):
 Nationalization fo the Land
- 1872-06-22: IH 008 Agricultural Labourers London Central Aid Committee: aufruf for subscriptions
- 1872-06-29: IH 002/3 William Harrison Riley: Self Help. Plain Truths for Trades' Unionists
 ... "EMPLOYERS and WAGES! They mean SLAVERY! Trades unions will do little good until both rank and file comprehend that those who produce a thing have the right to own it or its full equivalent as measured by the labour of some other person."
 ... suggests central council of trade unions to organise that trade unions produce for and deal among themselves: "Buy from yourselves! Sell from yourselves! Make the 'profit' for yourselves!" ... (p. 3) "The Trades Unions of this country have now the power of governing the country. Will they use it? I hope not yet! Not until they have got wiser men for chiefs!
 The Unions should long ago have agreed upon a united policy but they have acted as if they only were combined as an army is - to strike! There must be a policy! There are hundreds of men fit to occupy a leading position. ... There must be a change of

leaders, for those who have led have done nothing but talk." ... [article might be read again]

1872-06-29: IH 004 John de Morgan: The "International" - the Grand Idea of the 19th Century

1872-06-29: IH 007 (Reports of Meetings) Manchester Central Section of IWMA
19.6.: Jones elected delegate to Nottingham Congress;
"We also discussed the advisability of starting a 'Club' and at once took action by electing Citizen Blake as organising Secretary." (reported by E. Jones)

1872-06-29: IH 007 (Reports of Meetings) St. Lukes Section of the IWMA
H. Poulton elected Sec. in place of R. Foster; Vickery chairman

1872-06-29: IH 007 (Reports of Meetings) Glasgow Section of the IWMA
meeting of those favourable to open a branch in Democratic Hall, Nelson Street, on 21.6.; interim Committee formed, also subcommittee for rules (reported by J. T. Blair)

1872-06-29: IH 007 (Reports of Meetings) Middlesborough Section of IWMA
Harrison in chair, on working men to Parliament;
Murphy/Roberts move: deputation to Malleable Ironworkers Soc;
Mathews sent resignation, Whalley appointed Cor. Sec.;
letter from Kane, Sec. of Malleable Ironworkers, "sympathising with the good cause, he will do all in his power to assist us in regard to the Iron Workers" (reported by Thos Whalley, Cor. Sec.)

1872-06-29: IH 007 (Reports of Meetings) Western Democratic Club
weekly meeting in Alhambra Hall, Carlisle Street, Edgware Road; T. Mooney lectures on republics of America and Switzerland (has lived in both countries for some time) (reported by G. Keir, Sec.)

1872-07-06: IH 001/2 M. N.: On a Fair Day's Work and Wage

1872-07-06: IH 002 W. H. R.: The "Bee Hive" and Arbitration
leader in Beehive had called arbitration as "the right way of settling the disputes of working men and their employers";
... "I impute no sinister intention to the writer of the selected paragraph, but I will endeavour to prove that he is unqualified to instruct working men."
employer is purchaser of labour; "If the non-labourers refuse to pay the price, they should be compelled to earn their own living or to starve." Unionist should rather employ themselves than arbitrate with employers who do not want to pay the demanded price of labour; TU leaders are "half a dozen namby pamby arbitrators"; but trade unionists need leaders who think; unions are so powerful that they can refuse wage settlements of employers and employ themselves

1872-07-06: IH 003 R. G.: How I would nationalise the land

1872-07-06: IH 003 Nine Hours' Celebration at Crystal Palace, by Engineers and other workers in iron; Hughes MP speaks about success in iron trade, but "appeared to be surprised when Mr. Guile expressed a lack of interest in the success of that trade except inasmuch as the success affected the workmen employed. ... Doubtless Mr. Hughes, M.P. and few others of the genteel patrons of the workmen think that their flatulent platitudes about 'the trade' are as nuggets of fine gold. ..."

1872-07-06: IH 004/5 The International Society - Its Origin and Aims. (concluded)

- 1872-07-06: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Nottingham Labour League joins IWMA; had 102 plaster workers and farm labourers on 22.6. (reported by Samuel S. Parker, Sec.)
- 1872-07-06: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Middlesborough Section of IWMA 30.6. Magnay in chair, general meeting communication from Gilbert (Sec. to Normanby Rep Club) to arrange for engagement of de Morgan for lectures, as "Our ... poor brother has suffered in the cause" and lost employment and must now leave his country; W. Ernest of London enrolled member of branch (reported by Thos. Whalley, Cor. Sec.)
- 1872-07-06: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Universal Republican League, sect. 3 Noonan in chair; Canham on events of week, "alluding to the determination of the women in the north to get the price of provisions lowered. He described it as one of the best movements of the day; against arbitration because "arbitration meant getting only half what was asked for"; Fagin defended arbitration "saying the men ought not to be to had on the masters"; Bailey also defended; Canham replied "that the more determination was used the more would be gained by the men" (reported by J. Clark)
- 1872-07-06: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Barnsley Rep club holds weekly meetings (newly established ???)
- 1872-07-06: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Western Democratic Club Lillis lectured on Game Laws; discussion: Moody, Turkington (reported by G. Keir, sec.)
- 1872-07-06: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Middlesborough Republican Club 26.6.: decides to send deputations to the various trade societies "to press upon them the expediency of a united action upon their part, for the purpose of returning a working man representative, at the next general election for the Borough of Middlesborough" (reported by W. G. Harrison, 88 Church Street, sec.)
- 1872-07-06: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Democratic Meeting in Greenwich Advanced Liberal Association of Greenwich: meeting at Three Tuns Tavern on 29.6.72, Cook in chair; J. H. Longmaid (sec.) reads petition to parliament "denouncing the proposed vote of œ400 to governor Eyre the merciless butcher of Jamaica"; Thomas Mooney gives on invitation lecture on Swiss and American Republics
- 1872-07-06: IH 007 (Letter to the Editor) Thomas Mooney: The American Republic and the English Monarchy.- A Challenge to the Right Hon. B. Disraeli disputes statements in Disraeli's Manchester speech that American Govt was as costly as British and did not give greater liberties or comforts to the people
- 1872-07-06: IH 007 Christopher Cherrybum's Lectures. No. 12.- On the International Herald and the Bee Hive, and so on
- 1872-07-06: IH 007 (Letter to the Editor) Geo. E. Harris: Declarations of Rights "... it is absolutely necessary that the popular errors of so called Political Economists and of men claiming to be statesmen, be met, viz. - that 'demand and supply should regulate price,' and that 'money should be the measure of value.' There, it must be shown, are not only totally irreconcilable with the sacred principle of EQUITY, and equally at variance with the maxim 'do unto others as you would have others do unto you,' but are monstrous falsities, as the subjugated and impoverished condition of

the producers of wealth everywhere testifies. The law of demand and supply should have no more to do with regulating price than it has with regulating the tides or the weather. 'Demand' should regulate 'supply' but not price." gives 7 "self-evident" principles;

his address: 3 Camilla Street, Wandsworth Road

1872-07-13: IH 003 Lee Hayes: Bill of Rights. Constitutional Government
18 rules brought forward

1872-07-13: IH 003 Thos. Easterbrook: Condition of the Working Classes in and near
Buckfastleigh

1872-07-13: IH 004/5 Martin J. Boon: Nationalization of Railways

1872-07-13: IH 005 W. H. R.: Arbitration and Strikes

... "We need MEN not FLUNKEYS for leaders!" [Riley seems to take over position of radical unionism which had been ascribed by research to Potter as leader of small radical unions more willing to strike now that potter has become ally of junta]

1872-07-13: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) West End section at Sir Robert Peel
Paul elected delegate to Congress at Nottingham
etc (reported by J. Mitchell, sec.) (see: NR 14.7.72, 030)

1872-07-13: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Western Democratic Club, Alhambra Hall
lecture by Odger on present political situation: trades union question, "which he described as thoroughly Republican in the manner in which they conducted their business, and strikes, and he then described the present political situation." on ballot bill and conduct of House of Lords; "He then argued the necessity of a third party, that the liberal party had so forfeited the confidence of working men as to be no longer worthy of their support, and that working men had only to look to themselves and their own members for any real reform that will benefit them." [all speakers always give this talk about just look at yourself]
Magee Pratt announced for lecturer next Monday evening (reported by G. Keir, sec.)

1872-07-13: IH 007 (Letter to the Editor) J. W. Adams (6 Blackburn Street, Adelphi,
Salford): Co-operation

1872-07-13: IH 007 (Letter to the Editor) Democrat (Liverpool): Democracy
anti-semitic statements, wants Jews ("mere parasites") to be sent back to Holy Land
(on Thiers, Rothschild, Bismarck)

1872-07-20: IH 001/2 We demand Justice!
programme of Nottingham Congress of British Section of IWMA
(38 items)

1872-07-20: IH 004/5 Wm Harrison Riley: The Nine Hours Movement
(to be continued)

1872-07-20: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Mile End Branch of the Land and Labour
League (see NR 21.7.72, 045)

1872-07-20: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Working Men's Co-operative Colony, Kansas
(see NR 21.7.72, 045/46)

1872-07-20: IH 008 W. H. R.: No More "Masters"

"When I hear a labour reformer use the word "master" as representing an employer I feel grieved and surprised if no one volunteers to correct him. The word "master" is a term that was used to distinguish a slave owner from an employer of free labour. We must not tolerate such an abuse of the word now when labour is asserting itself as

being honourable and when the labourer is demanding that industry shall rank before idleness. ..."

1872-07-27: IH WHOLE ISSUE IN PHOTOCOPY

1872-07-27: IH 001/2 W. H. Riley: The Nine Hours Movement (Concluded)

1872-07-20: IH 006/7 (Correspondence) Attention Republicans!

Leicester Republicans recommend that a Republican conference be held in the autumn of this year. Will Sheffield, Bolton, Newcastle, Halifax, Leeds, and other towns aid in this desirable undertaking. address of sec. is Joseph Hill, 6 Liverpool Street, Leicester

1872-07-27: IH 004/5 International Congress in Nottingham. From the Nottingham Daily Papers

congress hold at room of Nottingham Republican club

list of delegates:

Thomas Smith, Stratford, London;

Fred Lessner, German Branch, London;

Fred Morley, Loughborough;

S. Tyler, Nottingham;

Richard Lee, Woolwich;

James Booth, Operative Bricklayer, Manchester;

Eugene Dupont, ditto;

E. Jones, Manchester;

Charles Heys, ditto;

W. Fairclugh, W. Riley, S. S. Parker, and Edward Knott, Nottingham;

John Roach, John Hales, H. Mayo, G. B. Clark, and G. Bennett, Federal Council;

Alexander Clark, Liverpool;

S. Good, Hinckley;

W. E. Harcourt, Democratic Association, Victoria, Australia;

Sec. to Congress: E. Jones, Manchester

first public sitting on sunday, T. Smith of Gamble-street, Nottingham, in chair

E. Jones gives report of association in Manchester: 150 members and 600 affiliated;

Tyler, Nottingham: branch not strong in numbers, but enthusiastic;

Roach gives report of Federal Council (FC);

adoption of rules of the society;

Heys of Manchester moves that place of FC for next twelve months be Manchester.

"He pointed out that Manchester was the great centre of the Provincial Trades Unions."

Jones seconds, said "every great political movement of late years emanated from the provinces. Manchester was the centre of trades unionism. They had the opportunity of affiliating five (p. 5) or six thousand men. ..."

Clarke of London proposes London: "He mentioned the fact that 15,000 trades unionists in London who could not affiliate themselves owing to their constitution had individually bound themselves to assist the International. He remarked that London was in reality the centre of thought and action. Birmingham was the head of the Radical educational movement, but Lancashire seemed to be going round to Conservatism, and even Manchester had sent a Tory member to the HoC.

(Question.) He contende that London having the greatest amount of population, and being the centre of the country, was the most advantageous place."

Bennett seconds.

Parker, Nottingham, "said the greatest political movements had emanated from the north of England, and it had been the founder of trades unionism, whilst London,

according to the experience of the last twelve months, had somewhat broken from them. The nine hours' system, for instance, emanated from the North."

Riley, Nottingham, "said if there was a reaction in Lancashire they ought to rebut it, and by holding the FC there they might cause it to go the other way."

Hales "said their duty was to make the propagation of the society as active as possible. London was the life and soul of English thought, and they might as well propose to remove Imperial Parliament. The means of information were greater in London than elsewhere, and the London press was the best supplied in the world."

Tyler for London and advised his Manchester friends to wait a little longer.

"A Delegate said the Chartist movement sprang out of Lancashire, and it was the place where the working classes collected a million of money to purchase one of the finest estates in England, but were done out of it by the rascality of the Government."

Clarke of Liverpool and the chairman supported London.

Heys "said with regard to Lancashire being Tory, the people were tired of sham Liberalism - (cheers) - but they did not like to vote and kept from the poll. They desired the formation of a third party, a working man's party. The Lancashire people were staunch trades unionists and would not desert their brethren like the London masons did."

Vote taken: London decided by 14 against 7.

Next congress to be held in Manchester.

Federal Council for ensuing year: Lessner, Hales, Roach, Mayo, Riley, Clarke.

Political Action:

Jones: "The time had arrived when they should have a separate and distinct political party in this country, apart from any existing party and based on the claims of labour - based on the preamble of the International - that the emancipation of the working classes must be carried out by the working classes themselves. Therefore he moved that in the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived for the formation of a third party in this country based on the claims of labour."

Heys, Manchester, seconded.

Clarke, London, supported, "saying that the time had arrived when they should have a distinct labour party. Too long they had been a mere tool in the hands of two parties - the Whigs and the Tories. He did not want to be blasphemous, but he could not help remarking that they had been in the position of being crucified between two thieves. (Laughter.) What they had got they had got by fear and not from any goodwill or feeling of justice. (Hear, hear.) Thanks to one thing or another, however, and specially to Mr. Disraeli, a small portion of political power had been placed in the hands of the working-classes, and he thought it was time they began to legislate for them. For the last seven hundred years there had been class legislation in this country, and the HoL, the relic of a former age, had legislated as they wished." HoL does not want money, but military honour and fame, and therefore dragged country into wars; 1832 power went into hands of middle class, which has become only richer since; "It was not time that the working men asserted the power which belonged to them. They did not want war, neither wealth, in the way the middle classes did (as a means of pandering in their vanity), but what the working classes wanted was a good fair share of their labour." Suggested "that they should run their candidates at the elections, and he believed the ballot box would settle a great number of political and social subjects. (Cheers.)"

Tyler, Nottingham, who had given much of his attention over last 12 or 18 months to this question: "He should like to ask any member of that congress or any enthusiastic member outside when they had a HoC elected in the household suffrage principle whether it was fair that they should have one of the most aristocratic Governments

they had ever had in this country. As proof of its aristocratic character, he mentioned the Criminal Law Amendment Act which they had passed, and which he ventured to say was a disgrace to any Government. Such was a good reason for asking for a third party in the State, consequently he had great pleasure in seconding the motion."

Riley, Nottingham, on bad working of the Criminal Law Amendment Act; "He expressed his belief that if they did not step out and made a special feature of the labour question in the state the upper classes would be upon them again and crush them with the iron hand as they had done formerly."

Hales proposed resolution "as being more comprehensive than that of Citizen Jones: - 'That it is the opinion of this congress that while we recognise the fact that the social emancipation of the working classes is the great end to which all our efforts should be directed, we also recognise the fact that it is necessary to take political action to work out that social emancipation, and we hereby pledge ourselves to establish a district [sic!] labour party based on the principles of the International, and to create an agitation to carry out the same. ... He thought that there never had been a better opportunity to build up a real labour party in the State than the present. Not a sham party which should be under the patronage of philanthropy-mongers, but one to be managed by the working classes themselves. (Hear, hear.) He believed that if the people only had the truth spoken to them, and were shown how much it would be to their interest to have this third party, they would throw themselves into it heart and soul. The people were tired of the sham legislation to which they had been subjected; they had been used as shuttlecocks. After all, there were only two classes - those who produced, and those who consumed - and as a man could only live by labour, he had no right to live without labour. Those who would not work had no right to eat, and they (the Congress) ought to have no consideration for the feelings of those who had no consideration for themselves. What they produced was fairly theirs, and all they required was to take that which belongs to them, and when they saw and knew the principle which underlay their association they would indeed be cowards if they did not strive to carry it out. (Hear, hear.) It was useless for them to speechify [sic!] if they did not carry anything out, and in the present case he believed that what was proposed was the only way of welding the working classes into one compact organisation."

Dupont agreed on the resolution.

Clarke, Liverpool, supports.

reso carried.

Mayo proposed "that the Congress should pledge itself to support no candidates at the next Parliamentary election except bona fide working men."

Hales seconded.

Clarke proposed "that a committee be appointed to draw up a programme to be adopted by the labour party, and that the committee be made up as follows:- Citizens Clarke (London), Hales and Tyler."

Motion carried.

Ireland: reso in favour of Irish people, suggesting federal governments with local parliaments for all parts of the so-called British Empire

Education: reso "in favour of equality in education, and of a thorough system of national, obligatory, and industrial education was adopted."

Congress resumed at half past ten on Monday morning:

Riley, Nottingham, moves: rumors of intention of British members to withdraw from association utterly false;

For the committee to provide a 'platform' for political action, Hales moves: "That this

Congress adopts the principle of political equality, based upon adult suffrage, with proportional representation.";

"That every person shall be eligible to fill any office in the State."; Hales, seconded by Jones (Manchester): "The nationalisation of the land, and all the instruments of production.";

Dupont, London, said "the land could only be made to produce all that it was capable of by a scientific cultivation, with the aid of machinery, when placed in the hands of the nation collectively, not divided among private individuals. He went on to indicate a plan for nationalising the branches of industry. Citizen Hales said that was going too far for the present condition of knowledge [same argument as Walton!] among the English people." Clarke, Dundee, "opposed Citizen Dupont's view as to centralization. He believed in local authority. He moved, as an amendment, that the land be nationalized, omitting the other part of the proposition." lively discussion, Jones withdraws his seconding of original resolution; ultimately Clarke's amendment unanimously carried; amendment by Clarke, seconded by Hassard: "The nationalization of all branches of industry." not carried.

next planks of platform: "The abolition of all hereditary titles and privileges."; "The abolition of the office of justice of the peace."; "Religious equality and the disestablishment of all State Churches."; addition by Hales/Lessner: "That no sums be voted by the State for any religious purposes whatever." Roach/Clarke: "The establishment of a National Bank of Issue in lieu of all other banks." yesterday's resolutions on education and federated government to be included in platform; Hales/Lessner: "That an Executive Committee be appointed to inaugurate and carry out this programme, to have its seat in Manchester." nomination of committee left to Manchester federal section;

Resolutions "recommending workmen to form Trades Unions, and to affiliate themselves with the International Association, in order to oppose the international combination of capital; recommending Trades' Unions to use their influence to do away with the systematic overtime, considering the detrimental effect it has upon the condition of the producer; pledging the Conference to carry out, as far as possible, the resolutions of the Geneva Conference, with a view to limit the working day to eight hours; expressing surprise that any Trades' Unions should refuse to take part in politics, urging upon the necessity of taking immediate action by joining the new Labour Party, and that misery, vice, and crime are not accidental nor pre-ordained in the wise economy of natural laws, but are the necessary results of poverty enforced by the present social system, which consists of antagonistic classes, and that as the human race has created industries, arts, and sciences whereby to secure health and abundance, so it is destined to discover the law of social order and a mechanism of society wherein individual interests cannot conflict with the public welfare."

1872-07-27: IH 005 "At an educational meeting in Birmingham, recently the Earl of Shaftesbury moved a resolution in favour of Bible teaching in State-aided schools, and said he should advocate rebellion if parents were compelled to send their children to infidel schools; and, if needful, he would go to gaol in resisting such law."

1872-07-27: IH 006 Mile End Branch of the Land and Labour League (see NR 28.7.72, 62)

1872-07-27: IH 006 The People's Platform. A lecture by John de Morgan delivered at Middlesborough (2 columns)

1872-08-03: IH 001 W. Harrison Riley: The Peoples' Heritage on "accusation" of being Levellers; "Instead of infringing upon the rights of property I

affirm that every man, rich or poor, should have his property defended by the laws made by the community. But if any man has in his possession property of which he has no right of ownership, can he be expected to retain it against the demand of its true owner? How much of the wealth of the earth really belongs to the present holders?" ... "How shall the People recover their heritage? In the interest of peace I advocate its gradual purchase by the State." ... [same argument as Walton!] (to be continued)

1872-08-03: IH 001/2 Phillipson: Democracy is Sympathy

"... Now it seems to me that Democracy is nothing more than Sympathy applied to politics. The love of liberty means desire to see the (2) people free, and hatred of oppression is indignant sympathy with the oppressed. ... Saint Just [no perfect commonwealth as long as one man in State is destitute]... The truest democrat is the man who cares most and who sympathises most. Democracy is the generous and unselfish creed. ..."

1872-08-03: IH 002 (Poem) Cromwell at Marston Moor. By William Kennedy

1872-08-03: IH 003 Mutual Help
extracts from works by Dr. Bowkett

1872-08-03: IH 005 The Daily Telegraph and the International

1872-08-03: IH 005 L. H.: Bill of Rights. Treatment of the Poor

1872-08-03: IH 006 Liverpool Section of IWMA: G. Gilroy (founder and sec. of section) resigned, R. McNeill elected secretary

1872-08-03: IH 006 Universal Republican League, 3rd Section, Ryder's court; Bailey in chair; Canham "on high price of provisions and recommended a large demonstration. Citizen G. Smith recommended a thorough organisation of the working classes. ... Canham submitted an address to the working classes on the subject of high prices. The address was adopted." (reported by J. Clarke, sec.)

1872-08-03: IH 008 List of sections of IWMA and names of Secretaries [selection]:

Aberdeen, W. Stephen;
Birkenhead, W. Farrell;
Blackpool, W. Batho;
Buckfastleigh, Thos. Easterbrook;
Dundee, David Taylor;
Glasgow, J. Talfour Blair;
Hull, C. Kenmure;
Leeds, W. Wilcox;
London, FC, R. Foster;
Bethnal Green, D., F. Bradnick
Stratford, D., R. High;
St. Lukes, H. Poulton;
German Section, Arbeiterbildungsverein, "Blue Post, 83 Newman Street, Oxford Street;
Loughboro, Leicestershire, H. Lockwood;
Manchester, E. Jones, 107 Saunderson St., Miles Platting;
Nottingham, Thos. Smith, 34 Gamble Street;
Ryde, Isle of Wight, F. N. Broderick;
Sunderland, John Lennon;
Woolwich, H. Maddox, 4 Warwick Street

1872-08-10: IH 003 "The Prosecution of the Dilke rioters has been withdrawn. The peaceable British workmen are only played with by the Government. If the Republicans had killed a tory there would have been half a dozen counsel engaged by Government at our expense to prosecute the rioters. If one of Odger's processions had resulted in the crushing to death of a few spectators there would have been a wave of howling in pulpits, press, and Parliament. But when the Prince of Wales is the subject of a procession, and common men are killed, there is only a yell of satisfaction from every royal flunkey throat. We must not stand these distinctions quietly much longer. If we do then we are slaves and fools indeed."

1872-08-10: IH 003 on Spurgeon

1872-08-10: IH 003 Proposed State Purchase of Railways meeting at Westminster Palace Hotel on 26th ult. advocating purchase by govt of railroads in the kingdom; discussion mainly on the debate in House of Commons on 17 inst. upon motion by Sir Rowland Blennerhassett that govt should acquire the Irish lines; suggested that this should lead the way for England and Wales as well

1872-08-10: IH 002/3 Mark Twain: The Story of the Little Boy who did not prosper

1872-08-10: IH 004 W. Harrison Riley: The Peoples' Heritage (concluded)

1872-08-10: IH 005 W. H. R.: The 'Law' of Supply and Demand on offence of Middlesborough News against de Morgan, who is denounced as "an ignorant or unscrupulous agent of the International"; [...]
"I hope none of my readers are so easily led astray as to believe that there is in existence an undersood and acknowledged 'law of supply and demand.'" Many people want better houses, so there is demand. "Then so long as this demand remains unsatisfied, the 'law' of supply is inoperative. The people require or demand the means of comfortable or endurable existence, but the supply only goes to the conjurers [sic] who have money in their pockets or parchment in their banks. [...]
There is a just demand in this country for more than ten times the present amount of the medium of exchange, but so long as the law making class makes profit by the scarcity of money they will not permit the supply. The quack economists prate about the law of supply, and demand while our British law prohibit any supply that is untaxed by the law making class. They make laws to keep the supply with themselves and the demand with the hard working, long suffering, robbed and swindled People!"

1872-08-10: IH 005 Wendell Phillips. Extracts from a speech on the Ballot and Strikes

1872-08-10: IH 006 South Lambeth Section of IWMA
Jno. Wylding, 36 Courland Grove, Wandsworth Road, S. W., is secretary

1872-08-10: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Mile End Branch of the Land and Labour League: 29.6.72 annual trip to the Rye House; "We enlivened our homeward ride with Democratic songs, our red flag, with our inscription on it, gaily flying to let the natives know who we were."

1872-08-10: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) St. Luke's Section of the IWMA usual meeting at 27 President Street;
a programme and circular had been received by a body of so-called "Advanced Liberals" meeting at the Arundel Hotel, requesting a delegate from section with full information as to number, organisation, etc.
Section replies with counter-request: "We, being a Section of the International Working Men's Association, a society tolerably well known throughout Europe",

request credentials of this small number of people "apparently self-elected for a very small purpose"; "... we furthermore resolve that the platform of the International, including, as it does, the petty points of the Arundel programme in a broader and grander scheme, quite suffices for us, and is the only platform entitled to the true working man's confidence and support" (rep by Robert Foster)

1872-08-10: IH 008 List of Lectures given by John de Morgan

41 titles (Moore, Byron, Napoleon I., Home Sweet Home, Ireland, Co-operation, Napoleon III., Federalism, Education Republic vs. Monarchy, Internationale, The Eloquence of the Modern Bar, etc.), but furthermore special list available "on Biography, Literature, Temperance, Medical Reform, Anti-Vaccination, &c."

1872-08-17: IH 002 How to Kill Usury

From Bowkett's The Bane and the Antidote

1872-08-17: IH 003 (Obituary notice) William Schofield, of Smith Street, Little Bolton, who died 7.12.1871, aged 56 years, by a stone thrown during a Tory riot on 30.11.1871, during which a murderous and unprovoked attack was made on the Temperance Hall, in order to prevent freedom of speech, on the occasion of an address on Registration and Representation by sir C. W. Dilke

1872-08-17: IH 003 (Poem) The Cry of the People. By Charles Mackay

1872-08-17: IH 003 John de Morgan

his lectures in Middlesborough and district cause reactions: inserted is a letter of 5.8.1872 to one of the Middlesborough papers by Joseph Beetel of Normanby, who after de Morgan's lectures decided to found a Conservative Association of Normanby and appeals to Conservatives of Eston and Normanby to join, to counteract the influence of "a plague spot and eyesore in our midst", namely the Republican Club at Normanby

1872-08-17: IH 004 W. Arnold: On Land

1872-08-17: IH 004 (Official Notice)

John Roach: requests each branch, section or affiliated soc. to appoint delegate to new Federal Council, one for every 100 members or portion thereof; "Members of the Association residing in London may be appointed to act as delegates from provincial Branches." ...

1872-08-17: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Federal Council of IWMA

weekly meeting on 8.8.72, at offices 7 Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, Hales in chair; Edmund Hills elected Sec. in place of R. Foster, whose term expired;

"A circular and programme, which had been received from the promoters of the new political party having Mr. Samuel Morley for their chief [sic!] and the Arundel Hotel for their head quarters, was then read and after some discussion it was unanimously decided that the Council should take no action in the matter."

Cit. Mooney offered to give lecture and provide hall himself free of expense for Council;

Roach gives notice of intention to resign office as Cor. sec.

1872-08-17: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) South Lambeth Section of IWMA

discussion on means of propagandism: the following resolved to be used: "The press, individual advocacy - each member considering himself as a missionary to the cause, distribution of tracts, lectures, the education of the young, and co-operation"; sec. instructed to apply for shares in the International Herald Company

- 1872-08-17: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) West End Section
 Comfort presided, Hill on business of FC; "In reporting the loss of employment by Citizen Jones of Manchester, he expressed surprise at the injustice and presumption of the employer who would discharge a workman and threaten that the workman should be prevented from obtaining employment elsewhere. Citizen Hill thought that such persecution would rather strengthen than injure our cause and that it would help to cement us in an impregnable bond of solidarity."
- 1872-08-17: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Universal Republican League, Section 3
 11.8.72, Chaddock in chair;
 "Sullivan ... denounced the new platform of Samuel Morley, M.P., as being too moderate and unworthy of the support of Republicans." T. Hayes supports Sullivan's views. Bailey, Clarke and Funnell spoke in favour of the articles of the new platform as having a tendency towards to one great end of Republicanism." (rep by J. Clarke, Sec.)
- 1872-08-17: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Mile End Branch of the Land and Labour League (see NR 18.8.72, 109)
- 1872-08-17: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Working Men's Co-operative Colony, Kansas (see NR 18.8.72, 109)
- 1872-08-17: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Celebration Committee of the Centenary Anniversary of the Partition of Poland. Correct Copy of the Resolutions on August 5th
 signed by Louis Oborski Colonel, Chairman, and K. Dombrowski, Secretar
- 1872-08-17: IH 007 (Correspondence) T. Garbutt: Sheffield, "At It Again!"
 "Dear Riley.- Mr Mundella addressed his constituents in Paradise square last night, and we took the opportunity to distribute 650 Heralds at the close of the meeting. The correspondent, who wrote from Sheffield last week, is right as regards the apathy of the great body of working men, but there are a few honest determined men here who are willing to help on the good work." they provided money for advertising the IH
- 1872-08-17: IH 007 (Correspondence) W. B.: Disestablishment
 urges support for Miall
- 1872-08-17: IH 008 (Advert) "The 'Medium'.- The Weekly Organ of Spiritualism. ... J. Burns, 15, Southampton Row, W. C.
- 1872-08-17: IH 008 Working Men's Co-operative Colony
 "An Art Distribution in aid of the above colony was held held at the Eclectic Hall, Denmark-street, Soho, on Thursday evening, August 18th, when a number of valuable and useful articles, made and presented by the members and friends, were distributed. The following are the winning numbers:- [follows list of 88 prizes with winning numbers] (reported by C. Pierce, Hon. Sec.)
- 1872-08-24: IH 001/2 Henry Dunn, the Disinherited: John Bright
 after announcing communism "in another Freethought weekly journal in 1869", writer had got reply from "John Bright's newspaper, The Evening Star ...- 'Communism will never do for England.'
 John Bright wants the condition of the English working people to be bettered, and the present system of private property, and great fortune making - by using up the many - the people - to go on together. This is the great contradiction which will not much longer do for England, nor for any other country; nor will John Bright - or the John

Brights - much longer do for England, if they continue to support the contradiction. ... Mr Bright thinks, now that a wider suffrage has been obtained, that it will not be necessary for members of the working classes themselves to enter parliament. And so do I. And I think, moreover, the neither the House of Commons itself, nor the John Brights themselves, will be up to the mark - or the water-mark of the rising tide - much longer. ...

A momentum proceeding from, and sustained by, the political spirit of total Europe, will in the next act of the Drama of Humanity, change the character of the falsely-called House of Commons, and change the class of the capitalists - English and Foreign.

... whether conscious of it or not, he has been appraised for some years, by all Reformers who are honest men, at the value of a Lord John Russell. We have two 'John Finalities' now; one noble, and the other a right honourable."

Lord Shaftesbury: "This 'nobleman' ... is an especial advocate of petrified or fashionable superstition, and of improved dwellings for the poor. And the important Echo has within the last week or two echoed his lordship's sentiments ... [follows passage from Echo, 12.8.72] ... It is time indeed - that this question [housing for the poor] should be taken up! - in a serious and practical spirit. But the reason Lord Shaftesbury effects nothing, and the Echo and the Press generally effect nothing for the dwellings of the people is that the improvement of those dwellings is only part of a larger question. That larger question the Press will not mention, and dare not discuss ... The larger question is this:- Should the property of every nonentity and sloth, whose father possessed property, be permitted to increase greatly in money value every ten years by mere pressure of increasing population, whilst the value of the labour of the industrious many themselves is actually reduced by the same circumstances? ...

(2) Lord Shaftesbury is also good enough to tell us, that power having passed into the hands of the masses, their progress will be retarded if they 'drink.' But in England, my Lord Shaftesbury, 'drink' is an effect of misery; not (so much) the cause of it. The intelligent artizans are aware that their present purpose in life is merely making the fortunes of other people, namely, the idle; for themselves, with the coming of any misfortune, comes also starvation, or the workhouse, or suicide. In England, the working men take the drink which maddens because they are miserable, and portionless (after their best efforts), and destitute - because they have No Hope in the world. ..."

1872-08-24: IH 003 L. H.: Bill of Rights
to be continued

1872-08-24: IH 003 What becomes of the People's Taxes?
From a paper read before the National Reform Union, at Manchester, by Mr. Stokes

1872-08-24: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Federal Council of IWMA, 7 Red Lion Court, Fleet Street
15.8., Wyatt in chair; Wheeler and Bennett accepted as representatives of German Section and Halifax Section respectively; Roach will stay Cor. Sec. for a while (rep by Edmund Hills, Sec.)

1872-08-24: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Halifax Section of IWMA
first meeting on 6.8., J. Walmsley in chair; forms itself into branch of IWMA; Fleming will read paper on "Poverty and Crime, or, Who is to Blame"; "The Herald is doing well here, but we are not without opposition, both from Tories and Liberals." (rep by Matthew Fleming, Sec.)

1872-08-24: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) West End Section of IWMA

(see NR 25.8.72, 126) call on members to attend; out of 70 members only 12 present, not fair that only a few should carry burden: "If working men seek their redemption, they must work out their emancipation themselves. As we seek to destroy the influence of capital, we cannot expect the help of the capitalist. We must buckle to by use of hard work, and our pence, swearing allegiance to our cause, come weal, come woe. This is the duty of each member. In joining, each citizen becomes part and parcel of the Association. Mr. Gladstone once said, to the electors he was addressing, there was a class living upon the production of the people so powerful that no minister dare to attack them without being supported by a strong and determined people. To me action is logic; we want no display, but truth. Work for honour, principles, probity; this is the only road to bring about a universal felicity." Comport elected Sec. to the Section, Mitchell cor. Sec. (rep by J. Mitchell, Cor. Sec.)

1872-08-24: IH 007 (Correspondence) W. Wilcox, Leeds: A Voice from Leeds, on the Meat Supply

".. The price ranges from 9d to 1s 2d per lb., and at such prices you may guess how much finds its way to the poor man's table. At the various meetings it has been stated that it is not the fault of the butchers, and that they actually suffer from the high prices. [no "moral economy" of the lower classes any more, but increased insight into working of market forces] England, to a great extent, is depending upon other countries for their meat supply. We are losing ground as a producing country and are depending upon countries that each year consume more meat, and consequently have less to spare for us. It is only the extravagant price now paid here which induces them to export the meat they could even now consume at home. Fodder never was more plentiful in England, but in place of being a blessing it is a curse. In former times the farmers brought dead meat to the market, but now the graziers limit the supply and only kill just as they can to make the most profit, and more plentiful the fodder the longer they can keep back the supply. The remedy lies in the Ballot Box. We must choose men to represent us in Parliament and not send men chosen by the middle class profit makers or lords. Although this may be called a social question it needs political action to solve it. We must study the returns showing the number of uncultivated acres in Great Britain and Ireland. The Game Laws must be abolished. There are five hundred thousand acres of land reserved for game and hunting, or shooting purposes. We must take the bull by the horns! I am ready, as an Englishman, to clasp hands with all those who are willing to fight for the land for the People! I consider this to be a religious duty, quite as much as prayer and preaching, which also I believe to be good, but until the land is again the heritage of the whole People all our preaching will be of no avail, and we shall not see righteousness cover the earth as the waters over the mighty deep." [makes connection of meat supply and land question!]

1872-08-31: IH 001/2 Thomas Smith (Nottingham): The Land

"... the strike amongst the agricultural labourers, and the spread of unionism, seem likely to bring up the whole question of the land ..."; gives outline of changes in land question in England, France and Germany/Prussia over last 100 years; (p. 2) in France and Germany, tendency has been "to promote the ownership of land by the mass of the people" since French Revolution, except in England; "To accomplish this reversal will require the active co-operation of the classes directly interested in the land, for however much the people of the towns may be in favour of such a course, they will need the aid of the rural population to carry it out, and the present movement among the agricultural labourers is a hopeful sign, for it is amongst them

that the ideas will have to spread, the farmers being no more to be relied on than the middle class in the towns to carry any real democratic movement."

1872-08-31: IH 002 J. G., Miner (Normanby): What is Reform?

"A few years since Mr Gladstone was talked of as a reformer, and his government was called 'liberal.' [term liberalism only becomes discredited because of conduct of Liberal Government and party, before all could unite in front of liberals, then advanced liberals] Well, they were liberal enough to grant salaries to those who did no work; and when sinecure offices were abolished, the aristocrats who were supposed to fill those offices were rewarded with enormous pensions for having done nothing. But Mr Gladstone had pledged himself to economy, and of course he must do something in that line, so he discharged numbers of dockyard labourers, men who had nothing but their labour to depend on for support. And did he grant them life pensions as compensation? No, they were only government working men and what could they expect? ... But Mr Gladstone's economy is a very peculiar sort, for during his administration the national expenditure has considerably increased. This is reform with a vengeance.

Our newspapers tell us that these things are all right - that extra expenses are legitimately incurred and must be paid." but what about Alabama claims or war against the great republic and King Theodore? People did not want these expenses, but aristocracy wished. "And some of the very men who countenanced such proceedings call themselves reformers.

But we want greater reforms than such men are likely to offer us; and when we declare our principles and objects, the consumers of wealth, who of course are quite contented with the world as it is, are astounded at our temerity and our impudence. ... Real reform is something vastly different to that talked of as such by our legislators. ... They make an abundant use of words in order to mystify and to mislead. Let us follow such leaders as will lay down the principles of true reform in good plain English; men who, to use an old phrase, will 'call a spade a spade.' There is too much hankering after 'respectability.' Let us boldly express our views, and never mind whether they are orthodox or not. We want reform, and by reform we mean the abolition of thrones, the House of Lords, titles of rank, State churches, standing armies, the system of landowning, and many other abuses, with their attendant evils. We mean the elevation of the working classes to their proper level in society, the extinction of pauperism, that there shall be 'no rights without duties, no duties without rights' - in plain words that every able-bodied man shall work for his living. ..."

1872-08-31: IH 002/3 W. H. R.: Rent

1872-08-31: IH 004 X. X., London: Labour Arbitration. A Monstrous Farce

"... A more cruel, idiotic, and absurd idea, that arbitration is the right way of settling disputes between the buyers and sellers of labour, never before entered the head of man. ... Labour must sell the only property it has, namely, its bones or sinews or - starve! On the contrary the money owner, the capitalist has no 'must' in the case." quotes approvingly Adam Smith's admission in his Chapter on wages, where he says that the producers shall have the produce of their own labour

1872-08-31: IH 005 (Reports of Meetings) West End Section of IWMA

24.8. Harris in chair, C. Murray on Kansas Co-op. Colony (rep by J. Mitchell, Cor. Sec.)

1872-08-31: IH 005 (Reports of Meetings) Stratford Section of the IWMA

23.8., Wyatt in chair; rules completed for section; a man identified as friend to the

cause in last report has pointed out that he only offered rooms for the section, but not being identified with cause, as he did not know enough of it's principles, thought they only wanted self-improve (rep by r. High, Sec.)

1872-08-31: IH 005/6 (Reports of Meetings) Working Men's Co-operative Colony, Kansas J. F. Murray in chair, last Sunday, G. F. Eccarius lectures on "The March of Civilization" (rep by Alf Days)

1872-08-31: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Hull Republican Club: first annual meeting on 21.8.; N. B. Billany president, G. Leaper Sec, Joseph Avery Vice-Pres., J. W. Stansfield Treasurer; committee: Doyle, Raper, Robinson, Carver, Rogers, Bailey, James Avery and J. Leaper (rep by Geo. Leaper, Sec.)

1872-08-31: IH 006/7 (Correspondence) W. G. Harrison, Middlesborough: Political Vampires

"The working classes should make the best use of the political power they now possess, in order that they may obtain more, and should never rest until every man and woman has a vote. They must dispense with the services of aristocratic and 'middle class' politicians, such as Derby, Gladstone, and Miall, who enter their camp in the disguise of friends, and work them up into a high pitch of enthusiasm by high-flown and specious sentiments, in order to gain their ends. The legislation of such men has resulted in increased taxation, the income from which their particular friends contrive to pocket, as the Army Bill and the Irish Church Bill sufficiently testify. This is the natural result of a small class legislating for a whole nation. ..."

1872-08-31: IH 007 (Correspondence) J. H., Liverpool: John Bright

"I am glad to see you have drawn attention to this man, who has never been properly exposed. My charge against him is":

1. calls landlord "bloated aristocrats", but is himself a moneylord
2. instead of agitating for reform in land tenure, he advocated importation of corn from America and other countries
3. being in the Cabinet, he said as President of the Board of Trade he had no power and could do nothing
4. he is an investment seeker, who scoured Wales to find something good in slate mines
5. could never understand the money question, because he never would; paper money had been repeatedly laid before him but he and members of Reform Club "- a board of money monopolists, who are not a bit better than the Carlton -" never open their mouth in parliament on money or land question

1872-08-31: IH 007 (Correspondence) J. E., Liverpool ("once a Tory, now a member of the International"): Supply and Demand

on Lord Derby: "... Does his Lordship not naturally see that increased wages will directly or indirectly enhance the price of bread, and the price of land, and in a short time his estate will be worth double its present value. ..." [oh je!]

1872-09-07: IH 001/2 William Harrison Riley: Reply to "Lord" Derby. On the Labour Question

1872-09-07: IH 002/3 What is Communism?

translation from a French document published about a year ago

1872-09-07: IH 004/5 John de Morgan (19 Vaughan Street, Middlesborough): Practical Work for Reformers

- 1872-09-07: IH 005 (Reports of Meetings) Federal Council of IWMA, 7 Red Lion Court, Fleet Street
Wyatt in chair, 29.8.
"Our Leeds correspondent ... informed us that the greatest enemies they have to contend with are the so-called Liberal party, who are content to patronise the working class electors, and mete out to them infinitesimal doses of political reform, but when the wealth producers propose to take their fate into their own hands, and work out their social emancipation from the shackles of capital and land-lordism, then the mask falls from the faces of these conventional politicians, and they stand revealed before the world as obstructives in the path of true political and social progress ..."
Wylding accepted as representative of South Lambeth section;
Sexton, Roach, Weiller subcommittee on rules (rep by Edmund Hills, Sec.)
- 1872-09-07: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) St. Lukes Section of the IWMA
30.8. G. Bennett in chair; Kuhn; Poulton, Foster, Harcourt; Poulton sec.
- 1872-09-07: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Halifax Section of IWMA
Fleming resigns office as he is about to leave Halifax
- 1872-09-07: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Barnsley Republican Club
E. Rymer of Sharlston Colliery lectures on cost of the crowned heads of Europe;
Chairman A. E. Tibbett (rep by Thos. Kelly, Sec.)
- 1872-09-07: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) West End Democratic Club
weekly meeting at the "Pump", Paul St., Edgware Road; C. Murray lectures on "Revolutions, and how they failed to benefit labour": since Reformation, Revolutions have been carried out by middle classes, they have used the working classes to do "the bloody work, while they either became land owners or voted themselves into some lucrative situation." (rep by G. Keir, Sec.)
- 1872-09-07: IH 007 (Correspondence) Cremer and Archer
Sir, will you insert the following letter. It refers to a correspondence respecting the Rotary Machine hands, Nottingham:
"To R. W. Cremer
Sir, I am desired by the Council of the Bristol Radical Association to acknowledge the receipt of correspondence between 'Archer' and yourself, and to express their disgust at the abortive attempt of professor of democracy to screen their employer, to the injury of their fellow working men. To Mr. Archer they have no comment to make; his cringing, servile letter speaks for itself, and, apart from that circumstance, the fact of his having resigned the secretaryship eight months prior leaves grave doubts as to his being able to give a more correct version than the present secretary. The political object of the letter, too, is very palpable to the most casual observer. I am further desired to say that it is possible (they believe) for a man of Mr. M----'s purse to obtain twenty such letters written if he deemed it necessary and advantageous, and men sufficiently unscrupulous to back them. On behalf of the Council, ... Thos. Howse, Cor. Sec."
- 1872-09-14: IH 001 K. Dombrowski: Republican or Cossack?
on Sep. 1872 partition of Poland
- 1872-09-14: IH 003 (Book Review) R. McRobert, Gateshead, 27 Edith Street: Republican Principles and Organisation
- 1872-09-14: IH 004/5 J. McN., Liverpool: Working-Class Apathy
"How the toilers of this country can contentedly pursue their various avocations without making an effort to free themselves from the myriad evils which they are

enduring, is well calculated to make us wonder. ... They make little effort to better that condition or alter their future prospects. ..."

1872-09-14: IH 005 The Labourers' Movement

By the Rev. W. Bartlett, Vicar of Pershore (from the "Persore Parish Magazine" July)

comment of editor IH after extract: "You are on the right track, but are not yet prepared to acknowledge that the landlord is an intruder between the soil and the cultivator."

1872-09-14: IH 005 Edmund Hills: Progress
on progress of IWMA in England

1872-09-14: IH 006 (Correspondence) J. T. Haines, 212 Mile End Road: "Honest" John Bright

"... The phrase 'Honest John Bright' was a household word a few years ago, happily, it has now almost disappeared, why it came into use I cannot conceive. As your correspondent says, it is quite time he was fully exposed; his whole political life has been a cheat. ..." contrasts extracts of Bright-speeches from 1850s with his political conduct

1872-09-14: IH 007 (Reports of Meetings) Salford Section of IWMA
preliminary meeting on Friday at 34 West St., Lower Broughton, Adams in chair;
rules adopted (rep by W. H. Sharrocks, Sec., 9 Islington Grove, Islington St., Salford)

1872-09-14: IH 007 (Reports of Meetings) St. Lukes Section of the IWMA
upon motion of Ridsdill it was resolved "that the conduct of Citizen Marx and his supporters is highly censurable for retaining Maltman Barry on the council, and furnishing him with a 'credential from Chicago,' notwithstanding the withdrawal of Citizen Barry's mandate, and his expulsion from the British Federal Council. In speaking to the resolution Citizen Bennett eloquently supported the platform of the International, but denounced its General Council, which he considered had deviated from those great principles in the spirit of which the association was founded."

1872-09-21: IH 001/2 William Harrison Riley: Who are the Victims?
on South Staffordshire miners, etc.

... "But it is said that the ruling 'gentle'men have given us free trade. So say the quack economists. How much free trade have they condescended to grant us? Have they freed our land - our heritage? ... Is the course clear for working men to enter parliament? ... Does free trade apply to Queenscraft, Princecraft, the Army, Navy, Church, and Bar? ..."

1872-09-21: IH 002 Labour: Its Wrongs and their Remedies
(Portion of a speech delivered by S. E. at Doncaster)

1872-09-21: IH 003 The Hague Congress
(reported by Cit. R. Wilmart)

1872-09-21: IH 005 James Harvey, Liverpool: High Prices

"It will be my business to show working men, that is, producers (and I include masters at the head of establishments, superintendents, foremen, &c., under the head of workmen) that high prices are good for them and bad for the non-workmen or idlers, for annuitants, for the monied class generally, and this in opposition to the fallacies of those deceivers, the penny newspapers, which, being the organs of the propertied class, laboriously and incessantly try to throw dust in your eyes." quotes from Pamphlet "The Bank Charter Act" by Jonathan Duncan, p. 67, who argues that

high prices indeed mean that working man pays more as consumer, but he gets more as producer; "It needs no proof that a workingman always produces more than he consumes, or else there would be no rent for the landlord, or interest for the monied man"; so Duncan concludes workers would be better off with higher prices

1872-09-21: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Liverpool Section of IWMA

"At our meeting last Sunday, a protest against Citizen Marx's conduct relative to Maltman Barry's retention on the General Council in opposition to the decision of the Federal Council was proposed and carried. It is to be hoped that for the future our delegates will understand that irresponsibility forms no part of the International programme." (rep by R. McNeill, Sec.)

1872-09-28: IH 001/2 N.: True Christianity and Communism versus Commerce, Crime and Hypocrisy

1872-09-28: IH 003 S. E.: The Conservative Reformer

on speech by Holker in Preston promising social reforms from a Conservative Government

1872-09-28: IH 004 W. Adamson, Greenock: Who owns the Land? (third article)

1872-09-28: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Hulme and C. upon M. Section of IWMA inaugural meeting on 20.9. in Temperance Hall, Grosvenor Street; election of officers postponed till 27.9., as on 24.9. Odger will lecture in the neighbourhood and they hope for a good incentive for many people to join after that (rep by J. S. Murchie, Sec. pro tem [is also Sec. of Manchester District Council])

1872-09-28: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Leeds Section of IWMA inaugural meeting on Friday, W. Wilcox elected Sec.

1872-09-28: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) John de Morgan in Sheffield

speech on "people's platform" (rep by Thomas Garbutt, 158 Arundel Street, Sheffield)

1872-10-05: IH 002 Lincoln: Working Men's "Economic Disadvantages"

1872-10-05: IH 003 R. R. (Manchester, 25.9.72): Mr. Odger in Manchester

O. lectured last week in Carpenter's Hall "On Capital and Labour, with special reference to Trades Unions" to a large audience of working men; meeting under auspices of Manchester Federation of International, A. Clark of Liverpool, a member of the Association, presided;

long lecture, among others: "... If the workmen pushed wages upwards, and money remained cheap and wages good, they would succeed in taking some of the money away from the rich. ..."

after question from the audience, Odger said that IWMA "had been most unjustly dealt with by the Press in this country ... although he had one fault to name - which he thought was a great mistake, viz., the publication of the 'Address of the General Council on the Civil War in France.' He denied in toto that the International took any part in the proceedings of the Paris Commune, and stated that not more than three or four of the leaders of the Commune were members of the Association. He expressed the opinion that the International had rendered material assistance to the English capitalist by causing the wages question to be agitated on the continent, thereby equalising competition."

1872-10-05: IH 003 Republicanism in Barnsley (by A. O. Tibbett, 4 Quarry St., Barnsley)

1872-10-05: IH 004/5 The Slaughter of Paris (to be continued)

- 1872-10-05: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Hackney
preliminary meeting to form Section of IWMA (Co-operative Store, 3 Margaret St.,
near the Cat and Mutton bridge) (rep by G. J. Owen, Sec. pro tem.)
- 1872-10-05: IH 007 Lowe the Fossil
short article on Robert Lowe
- 1872-10-12: IH 005 R. McNeill: The Slaughter in Paris (to be continued)
- 1872-10-12: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Hoxton Section of IWMA
discussion on 2.10. on centralization or federalization as most effective principle "to
firmly weld the Association"; Bennett against cent., Foster (visitor) too, Dunn for
limited power of a central body; committee to invite de Morgan for lecture
(rep by W. W. Dunn, Sec.)
- 1872-10-12: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Manchester Federation. Hulme and C. upon M.
Section
4.10., Entwistle in chair; Mottershead elected representative of this section in British
Federal Council, Rawson, Cooper and Murchie on District Council; Carrol elected
Sec. (rep by J. S. Murchie, Sec.)
District Council: on Hales
- 1872-10-12: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Normanby Section of IWMA
6.10., W. Gilbert in chair; indignation expressed at Postmaster-general withdrawing
right of transmission from National Reformer (rep by Nicholas Andrew, sec.)
- 1872-10-12: IH 006 Barnsley Republican Club
A. O Tibbett proposed that this Committee "visit the neighbouring villages for the
purpose of establishing new clubs and getting agents for the Herald. We mean
business in black Barnsley ..."
- 1872-10-12: IH 006 Hackney Section of IWMA
adjourned meeting at Co-operative Store, 3 Margaret Street on 6.10. for considering
steps for establishing section of IWMA in that locality
(reported by G. J. Owen, Sec. pro tem.)
- 1872-10-12: IH 006 Leeds Section of IWMA
Bancroft in chair
R. Gale elected delegate upon Federal Council;
reported "that one of our most active Citizens had received notice to quit his house,
which belongs to the vicar of the parish, for posting the contents bill of the
International Herald on his shutter. This infringement of individual liberty was
severely criticised, and the opinion expressed was, that like all acts of tyranny it
would only stimulate the members to renewed exertions."
(reported by W. Wilcox, Sec.)
- 1872-10-12: IH 006 Liverpool Section of IWMA
lecture by Jones on Liberty of the Press: expression was a "misnomer as the right to
speak the truth openly and freely was denied the Press in this or any other country",
"scathing denunciation" of Thiers, "which elicited expressions of approbation from the
many strangers present";
de Morgan announced on International
(reported by R. McNeill, Sec.)
- 1872-10-12: IH 006 Stratford Section of the IWMA
4.10.: Doolan moves that de Morgan be invited for lecture
(reported by R. High, Hon. Sec.)

1872-10-12: IH 006 West Bromwich Republican Club
D. A. Beckett pres., H. V. Squire Sec.

1872-10-12: IH 006 West Central Democratic Club, Long Acre
6.10., W. H. Pottle presiding;
resolution: That the conduct of Mr. Knox, the magistrate at Marlborough-street, towards Mr. Merriman, solicitor, betrays a political animus towards that gentleman, which time has not obliterated; and we consider that a gentleman of such vicious temperament is not fitted for the post he now holds. We have no doubt that Mr. Merriman's defence of the Hyde-park rioters (?) has incurred Mr. Knox's displeasure (seeing that the rioters (?) had to appear before that gentleman). Mr Merriman has sent a letter tot he newspapers, explaining his motive in conducting the case in which he was concerned, but they have refused to insert it." [question-marks in original] (reported by Alfred V. Pearce)

1872-10-12: IH 006/7 Working Men's Hall, Chatham
last week Bradlaugh, Impeachment;
Wednesday last first Visit by de Morgan, Napoleon III.

1872-10-12: IH 007 (Correspondence) Thos. Ware, Battersea: Sir Charles Dilke at Glasgow
"Every true reformer and Republican should rally round and support our citizen Dilke, for his manly courage in lecturing at Glasgow on the abuses of class legislation. Certainly in Parliament awarding the expenses of the notorious Jamaica butcher, showed the greatest weakness and most truckling spirit of our famous Gladstone Government." Against state pensions, present for m of income tax, no religious interference in education. "As regards our game and land laws, tenant-right, &c. These are all subordinate to our first and most important political move - that of manhood suffrage - which should be constantly in the minds of the whole body of the people, and should be as strongly advocated on every platform. As political education progresses, and all our class are united, both in our counsels and on the platform, success is certain. I hope the followers of our citizen Sir C. Dilke will increase in numbers, and show a bold front at our public meeting, which will soon come on."

1872-10-12: IH 007 Citizen John de Morgan in London. Proposed Grand Demonstration Committee composed of "English, Irish, French, Germans, &c." formed to give hearty reception to de Morgan in one of the largest public halls in London. "We invite the co-operation of all good men, and request the International Sections, Republican Clubs, Trades' Unions, &c., to send delegates to our committee." first general meeting to be next Monday at The Old Ship Tavern, Chichester-rents, Chancery Lane (reported by J. P. McDonnell)

1872-10-12: IH 008 (Advertisements)
E. Truelove, 256 High Holborn:
A British Republic. Why the Crown ought to be abolished.
Letters on the Commune; or The Law of the Revolution. To be had of T. Smith, 16, Hounds-gate, Nottingham.
The Coming Revolution. By Henry Travis, M.D. just published.

Bishop Berkeley on Money ... By James Harvey.

How to Cook Australian Meat and other Preserved Provisions. Published by George Howe, 7 Lion Court, Fleet Street.

Publications to be had at the IH office, 7 Red Lion Court, Fleet Street:
The Evils, Impolicy, and Anomaly of Individuals being Landlords and Nations
Tenants. By Dr. Dick.
Labour; its unequal Distribution and Unnecessary Excess. By Dr. Dick.
Yankee Letters to British Workmen.
Strikes - their cause and remedy.
Bowkett Societies Explained. By Dr. Bowkett.
The Bane and the Antidote. By Dr. Bowkett.
Burden for Burden.

1872-10-12: IH 008 International Working Men's Association

list of sections and Branches with secs. and addresses (partly only in state of
formation):

FC: 7 Red Lion Court Fleet Street

Aberdeen: W. Stephen

Birkenhead: W. Dodd

Birmingham: Jason Potter, 38 Bromsgrove Street

Blackpool: W. Batho

Buckfastleigh, Devon: Thos. Easterbrook

Dundee: Wm Cuthill

Glasgow: John Cameron

Grimsby: W. Billett

Halifax: M Fleming, 26 Gibson Street

Hull: C. Kenmure

Leeds: W. Wilcox, 30 Jack Lane, Meadow Road

Liverpool: R. McNeill, 2 Oakes Street, Anson Street

London: Bethnal Green Section: F. Bradnick, 51 Wellington Street

London: Columbia Section: J. Hales pro tem., 26 Baroness Road, Columbia Market,
E

London: German Section: Arbeiter Bildungs-Verein, Blue Post, 83 Newman Street,
Oxford Street

London: Hackney No. 1: G. J. Owen pro tem., 3 Margaret Street, Haggerston E

London: Hackney Road: Chas. Harrison, 2 Baroness Road, Columbia Market, E

London: Hoxton: Wn. Dunn, 18 Pearson St., Kingsland Rd., E

London: South Lambeth: J. Wylding, 36 Courland Grove, Wandsworth Road

London: St. Lukes: R. Foster, 27 President St., St. Lukes EC

London: Stratford: R. High, 1 Feltham Gardens, West Ham E

London: West End Section: J. Mitchell, 10 Tyler St., Regent Street

Leicester: W. Randle

Loughboro: H. Lockwood

Manchester: District Council: J. S. Murchie

Manchester: Central Section: E. Jones

Manchester: Foreign Section: F. Kupper

Manchester: Hulme and C. on M. Section: P. Carroll

Manchester: New Cross, No. 1: J. B. Booth

Manchester: Salford: J. W. Adams

Middlesbro: Thos. Whalley, 7 Model Buildings, Station Street

Newcastle-on-Tyne: Geo. Hardy, 99 Pine St.

Normanby: W. Gilbert

Nottingham Central: Thos. Smith, 34 Gamble st.

Nottingham: International Labour League: S. Parker, 1 Corporation Rd.

Ryde, Isle of Wight: F. N. Broderick
Sunderland: W. Holmes
Woolwich: H. Maddox, 4 Warwick St.

1872-10-12: IH 008 John de Morgan's Lecturing Engagements
(list for Oct and Nov 1872)

Special Lecturing Fund, to enable John de Morgan to open up new districts for the advocacy of Internationalism.

South Lambeth Section, J. W. M. A., 5s.

Societies in the neighbourhood are invited to fill up vacant dates. Terms just sufficient to pay expenses.

19, Vaughan Street, Middlesboro'

1872-10-12: IH 008 other papers about IH, u.a.:

Law Journal: "Most alarming sheet ever issued."

Chatham Observer: "We regret to say that it is not written by gentlemen for the working classes."

1872-10-19: IH 001/2 W. Arnold: Industrial Halls and Labour Notes

1872-10-19: IH 003 Report of GC to Hague Congress (concluded)

1872-10-19: IH 004/5 Henry Dunn: Shall Freedom Never Come

1872-10-19: IH 005 J. G. [Miner], Normanby: Causes of Social Evil

1872-10-19: IH 005 L. P. L.: Emigration

1872-10-19: IH 005 Lee Hayes, Nottingham (5.10.72): God save the People. (A Republican version of the "National Anthem"), dedicated to Charles Dilke

1872-10-19: IH 006 Aberdeen Section of IWMA

in course of formation; public meeting at Littlejohn Street, Calden in chair (reported by W. Stephen, Sec.)

1872-10-19: IH 006 Delegate Republican Meeting at Mexborough

on next Sunday, at G. Bland's Commercial Dining Rooms, Mexbro, on 20 inst, to organise the district; delegates expected from Barnsley, Doncaster, Rotherham, Masbro', Wombwell, Hoyland, Swinton etc. (reported by Thos. Garbutt)

1872-10-19: IH 006 Leeds Section of IWMA

Pearson in chair; money has been collected for Power Loom Weavers who are locked out at Barnsley (reported by W. Wilcox, Sec.)

1872-10-19: IH 006 Normanby Section of IWMA

3rd weekly meeting on 13.10., J. Gilbert in chair;

on local government: "it was resolved to take more decided action, and endeavour to awaken the working-men rate-payers to a sense of their importance."

on projected lock-out of miners and iron workers in Wales: on motion of W. Gilbert and S. Andrew, resolved to "use our best influence with the Cleveland Miners Association and, through our representative Mr. Joseph Shepperd, with other Miners Unions" to raise funds for Welsh brothers "who are about to be attacked by the common enemy" (reported by N. Andrew, Sec.)

1872-10-19: IH 006 West Central Democratic Club, Long Acre

W. H. Pottle in chair, "showed pretty clearly that the present high price of provisions was in a great measure due to the existence of the game laws".

Fitzpatrick on events of week (reported by Alfred Pearce, Sec.)

1872-10-19: IH 007 (Correspondence) A Democrat, Liverpool: House Rent

"Some time ago I proposed that house tenants should form themselves into associations, in order to enforce the passing of a law recognising payments of house rent as instalments towards its purchase; ... I thought to make this proposal public through the only 'Advanced Liberal' paper this town affords, but it smelt strong of fustian and democratic equality, and the Advanced Liberal's supporters are not of the needy kind, but dainty-fingered chafferers, crafty usurers, and politic time-servers. House-owners' associations exist in every large town; they manage to saddle their tenants ultimately with all public burthens. It is their policy that while the sore stroke comes from them, they also utter the wailing cry. A house is worth a limited sum to the owner, why should it not have a terminable value to the occupier? For the land on which a house is built is worth as much as it would produce in crop yearly, deducting the value of the labour. Land is national property, and not saleable. This ought to be one of our first steps in democracy, so house-tenantry everywhere are invited to put their right feet foremost, and march."

1872-10-19: IH 007 (Correspondence) A Tailor, London, 7.10.72: Wanted; Sober co-operators!

Inclined to become member of IWMA but does not want to meet in public houses, discussing questions like the Tichborne Claimant or censuring the rich and flattering the poor, and in adulterating the best thoughts with beer.

"What I wish to meet with is, a number of men who would prefer a coffee-room to a public house, who would meet regularly, and adopt as the business of such meetings that which is of the most immediate importance, namely, 'Our work,' and how it is to be accomplished, and would give their undivided attention to the business, from the commencement of meeting till its close."

[reminds of death of Mottershead - obviously these meetings were full of alcohol and might not always have ended orderly!]

1872-10-19: IH 007 (Correspondence) B.: Reform

Overthrow of monarchies will come soon: "The Brummagem Emperors, Bismarck, Gladstone and Co. cannot save them!" (uses allusions and quotes from destruction of Babylon, 3. and 5. chapters of Daniel). "Our people are starving, and the murder (or game session) is in full blast; 'that' is sufficient to overthrow all considerations of State and the selfishness of royalty. The Preston election is a crime chargeable to the working class, of which they must speedily cleanse themselves, unless they have made a secret compact with their lords and tyrants to betray and sell their fellow bread-winners. Do the working men of Preston intend to follow the example to the 'Bolton bullies,' and have they resolved that in their city reform shall be for ever 'numbered with the things that were,' and that Church and State, game laws, land piracy, dowries, and every other curse shall now, by virtue of the ballot, be strengthened? What is their objection to Mr. Odger, beyond that most grovelling of all vices, 'jealousy'? If the men of Preston desired reform and a brighter future for themselves and fellow-men, they should not have suffered Holker and German to enter their town as candidates for the People's Parliament. it would be as patriotic and wise to return the devil and his imps to the House of Commons as the candidates lately chosen by ballot power. ... It would be wise in our producers to take the advice of Mr. P. A. Taylor, M.P., and 'be satisfied with nothing short of the franchise, to cling together, to be true to each other, and to defy dukes, who seek to bind them hand and foot at the feet of their employers, and bishops who date to preach physical force.' The producers now intend to have their full share of the fruits of the earth, of the beasts of the field, of the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the

air, and, what is more than all, the ruling power of their country - Gladstone and his confederates - to the contrary notwithstanding. It would be wise in the present Government to resign, and yield peaceably to the producers what is theirs, and of which they have been so basely defrauded. ..."

[Antagonism in British society as perceived by "democrats" seems to lie in an antagonism between producers and non-producers, which has to be overcome. This might be the dividing line to the Liberal Radicals and popular Liberals as well, who rather accept orthodox political economy. This democratic tradition, however, meets with Marxian thought, although they did not need Marx for inspiration and for developing this approach. This closeness nevertheless explains the close connection between "Democrats" and Internationalists]

1872-10-19: IH 007 (Correspondence) S. S., Sheffield: God Save the Poor

Aristocracy are wanting in practical religion, because Bible says thou shalt earn bread by sweat of thy brow, but inheritors of large estates don't work "and by their idleness cause the industrious members of the community unnecessary toil". [...] "When Sir Charles Dilke raised a question closely affecting the welfare of the poorer classes, one would have thought that he would have been listened to with attention by the 'People's representatives.' What was the fact? He was called 'traitor,' &c., for speaking on the People's behalf. Such would not have been the case if the men composing the House of Commons had been really devoted to the People's interest! Why have poor men be excluded from Parliament? Because it is to the interest of rich men that they should not be admitted there."

[This writer also has antagonism of producers and non-producers; still, "Democrats" do not reject middle class Radicals like Dilke and Taylor, as long as they really act in their interest. However, conduct of majority of MPs shows that these men are exceptions and therefore work with m/c radicals not really the way for the future. Their experiences, however, give new argument for direct representation of labour, because it shows how questions affecting welfare of the people are neglected in Parliament.]

1872-10-19: IH 007 (Correspondence) Samuel Rothwell, Haslingden: The Czar v. French Republicanism

1872-10-19: IH 008 "Notice! To Republican Clubs!

John H. Johnson, of Delves Green, Wednesbury, Staffordshire, (Shorthand Writer), Begg respectfully to announce that he intends henceforth to dedicate his life to the service of Humanity instead of Capitalists, and in furtherance of this intention, he is about to engage in a Republican and Communistic Propaganda, and will be happy, at a fortnight's notice, to deliver lectures anywhere in England, Scotland, Ireland, or Wales, upon payment of his expenses, on any of the following subjects:-
Republicanism. Communism. Liberalism and Conservatism Examined. The Causes of Poverty. A Plea for the Poor. An Address to the Rich. A Night in the Workhouse. Death from Starvation. 'Our Glorious Constitution'. Phases of Life. Who profits by Machinery? Is this a Free Country? Is England Prosperous? Standing Armies. National Debts. Capital and Labour. Masters and Servants. The Land Question. The Money Question. Malthusianism. The Late French Revolution. Sham Republicanism. National Education. A Plea for a Reformed system of spelling. Writing by sound. Fictitious Republicans. Eating and Drinking. Matrimony. Justice's Justice. And also to oppose 'Liberals' and 'Conservatives' at public meetings, and reply to their speeches as soon as delivered.
Engagements: Sheffield (two lectures) Oct. 20th.
Societies in the neighbourhood are invited to fill up vacant dates.

Special lecturing fund.

To provide for Lectures where Societies are weak and where no Societies exist:-
F. W. (Walsall) 2/-"

[a shorter version had appeared a week before]

1872-10-26: IH 001 X. X.: Usury, the Murderer of Industry

1872-10-26: IH 002 R. McNeill: The Slaughter of Paris (to be continued)

1872-10-26: IH 003 Important Meeting of Delegates at Mexborough
meeting of delegates at Mexborough near Rotherham "for the purpose of
deliberating upon an harmonious and systematic unity of action"; no programme for
conference, has to be created while proceeding;
Edward Rymer voted to chair;
delegates: Thos. Kelly, A. O. Gibbett, T. Mayo for Barnsley; Jos. Sheldon for
Wombwell; Thomas Garbutt, Brown for Sheffield; Skelton for Masborough; Whitham
for Mexborough; further names: Robert Archer, Matthew Garbutt, Hyde;
formation of a central committee of nine, question of national conference at Sheffield
left in hands of Committee, propositions only to be confirmed in next meeting
(reported by A. O. Tibbett, Sec. of Committee)

1872-10-26: IH 003 Mr. Pease, M.P. [for South Durham], on Modern Wars (from Peace
Society's Papers)

1872-10-26: IH 003 Propaganda

resolution at Nottingham Branch of IWMA on 17.8.: "Whereas we believe that large
numbers of the wealthy and privileged classes oppose the full and complete
emancipation, political and social, of the working classes, from ignorance of the
natural laws which demand and are enforcing such emancipation, and which will, in
reality, promote the best interests of all classes. Therefore, resolved, that the
secretary is hereby requested to send the pamphlet published in the name of this
Branch of the I.W.M. Association, entitled 'The Law of the Revolution,' and the
programme of the principles of this Association, to the undermentioned individuals,
with this resolution, and is hereby directed to lay before the society all
correspondence on the subject." (reported by Thos. Smith, Sec.)

few of the answers:

W. T. Gurdon: Gladstone desires him to acknowledge receipt of letter of 29th ult.

Amberley: Thanks Nottingham Branch for courtesy in sending principles and a
pamphlet.

Auberon Herbert: "I am much obliged for the letter, which I hope to read carefully."

Henry Fawcett: "... The subjects dealt with in the letter raise issues far too wide to
discuss in an ordinary letter. I have no doubt I shall have occasion publicly to refer to
some part at least of the proposals advocated by your Branch of the International."

P. A. Taylor: "The programme of the Nottingham Branch of the International W. M.
A., which you were good enough to send me, I think unexceptionable as to statement
of principles, and, if I mistake not, it omits some very doubtful propositions, included
either by the Central Society or by some of its branches. The views embodied in the
pamphlet on what may be called the philosophy of modern French history, open too
large a question for casual criticism."

J. S. Mill to Thomas Smith, Avignon 4.10.1872:

approves of principles though they are so general that it is impossible for him to say
whether he would also approve of the practical measures to obtain them; questions
the use of the term "the Revolution", which is not English as it would mean only a
particular one and not refer to "principles of political and social Revolution", as

pamphlet says; in French "it seems to mean the political ideas of any person of Democratic opinions who happens to be using it", thinks this use of the word "proceeds from an infirmity of the French mind, which has been one main cause of the miscarriages of the French nation in its pursuit of liberty and progress, that of being led away by phrases, and treating abstractions as if they were realities which have a will, and exert active power"; "There are maxims which your Association, in my opinion rightly, considers to be essential to just government, and there is a tendency, increasing as mankind advances in intelligence and education, towards the adoption of the doctrines of just government. These are all the facts there are in the case; and the more clearly and unambiguously theses, and nothing but these, are stated, the better people will understand one another, and the more distinctly they will see what they are disputing about, and what they are avowed to prove. When, instead of this, men range themselves under banners as friends and enemies of 'the Revolution', the only important question, what is just and useful, is kept out of sight. ..." [letter published in: Mill, Collected Works XVII, 1910-12]
comment after Mill's letter: Mill obviously mistook pamphlet 'Letters on the Commune, or the Law of the Revolution' to be preamble or supplement to the enclosed rules

1872-10-26: IH 004 George Howe, 7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, is the publisher of this journal

1872-10-26: IH 004 The Claims of Labour, by Robert Rawson, Gorton, near Manchester, 8.10.

urges support for International in its aim "to accomplish the emancipation for the Working Classes, by instituting a universal federation for the workers of all civilised countries, thereby diverting the power of the modern hydra 'Capital', which continues to prey on the misguided votaries who nourish it."

1872-10-26: IH 005 The Anti-Slavery, or Justice to Labour Society
extract from Burden for Burden, by W. Arnold

1872-10-26: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Clifford, Yorkshire
de Morgan open air on 16.10 on Age of Shams, "roused up the people of this quiet village"; Paul Wood of Clifford in chair

1872-10-26: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Stockton-on-Tees
de Morgan in Temperance Lodge Room on Popular Ignorance and Superstition; S. Meir of Middlesborough in chair

1872-10-26: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) West Central Democratic Club, Long Acre
Pottle on expulsion of Napoleon from France;
Jenkins, "an old Reformer", on advantages of Unionism and Co-operation: "He said he had had forty years experience as a Unionist, and he was satisfied that nothing could be done without union, for 'union was strength,' and without the co-operation of political bodies and working men we should obtain nothing."
"There were a few 'conservative working men' present who caused a little commotion, but they declined to comment upon the above gentlemen's speeches. We had a good attendance of members." (reported by Alfred Pearce, Sec.)

1872-10-26: IH 006 Glasgow Section [of IWMA]
18.10., Freebairn in chair;
letters from Hales, McAra, Odger;
Odger declines to act as our delegate for lack of time;

McInnes/Cameron: credentials as delegate to be sent to D. McAra (reported by John Cameron, Sec.)

1872-10-26: IH 006 Halifax Section of IWMA

20.10., lecture by Ashworth postponed; project has been set on foot to start a Limited Liability Company "for the purpose of building a 'Free Hall' in which Republicans, Internationalists, and others can meet, and hold meetings without being in any way inconvenienced by others declining to let public halls for democratic meetings." Hold their meetings at 47 Winding Road, "a room kindly lent free of charge by citizen John Spencer" (reported by Jas. Walmsley, sec.)

1872-10-26: IH 006 Hull Republican Club

16.10.: Pres. N. B. Bellamy gave "an excellent address on 'The Paris Commune and Christianity,' completely refuting the charges of tyranny and cruelty which are made against the Communists by the enemies of liberty." (reported by G. Leaper, sec.)

1872-10-26: IH 006 Liverpool Section of IWMA

James Kelly (22 Palmerston Rd.) has formed Branch in Garston (reported by J. McNeill, Sec.)

1872-10-26: IH 006 Normanby Section of IWMA

S. Andrews in chair;

Taylor had taken 45 copies of IH to a miners' meeting at Brotton and all were sold; W. Gilbert read essay on "'What we want and how to obtain it,' in which he dealt with our system of parliamentary misrepresentation and sham educational facilities in a remarkably able manner."; chairman calls for working men establishing their own schools

1872-10-26: IH 006 South Branch Section of IWMA

first meeting; Whalley in chair; Committee appointed: J. Darley, J. Flynn, P. Callaghan, T. Whalley, J. McNamee (reported by J. McQuade, Sec., 10 Clarendon St.)

1872-10-26: IH 006 South Lambeth Section of IWMA

fund started for printing and distributing tracts on Internationalism and copies of IH; tract "Keep quiet" by late Ernest Jones read and discussed; resolution: as FC wastes so much time "in discussing the character and actions of individuals, of late and present members", delegates to FC from branch withdrawn, "until a more healthy and useful tone of operations be engendered"

1872-10-26: IH 007 (Correspondence) A Democrat, Liverpool: Labour and Emigration

Disgusted by term "state of labour market", what is difference to slave market? "To talk of a man going to the market to sell his labour is placing him on the list of commodities, for his labour is inseparable from the man himself. I would call labour a transforming-producing power, inherent in the man and subject to his will. It shows to what a pitch of civilisation we have come to when we can value every human being by so much money."

A commentator in the Times on Lord Derby's utterances says that a farmer has a right to buy labour at as low a rate as he can, and working man to sell his labour at the highest rate possible. "I say, despite the illustrious wisdoms embodied in a Free Press, that rights must not exceed justice. Whenever they do then they become wrongs, with pauperising, criminalizing, results, which most of us are familiar with,, which results may not be the worst awaiting us." Some "oily philanthropist" in same paper has recommended emigration. "But wages will fluctuate three as well as here if labour is a supply and demand article. ... The General Council of the Land and

Labour League is promoting emigration. Will emigration remove the injustice we complain of? Will it put an end to the abominable rule of capital? Will it secure to us the dignity of manhood, so that each man will feel that he is a man, and not an instrument? According to the council for the Land and Labour League the best way to contend with a robber is to run away from him, and leave him in secure possession of his plunder. ... It is worth notice that these farmers never go to the landlords to complain of rack-rents, but whenever their rent is racked then they rack the farm labourer. Illustrious orators denounce scheming agitators, who stir up dissensions, and set class against class. There should be no class but one - that is a working class, every other class is unnatural and unjust, and has no business in this world. Whenever they shall cease from their injustice the agitator's occupation will be gone. The agitation is but beginning."

[Democrats tried to oppose the idea that labour was subject to demand and supply laws, which the more famous working class leaders accepted. Their attempts at an alternative political economy merged with the Marxist thought and so were dispersed and disappeared, but for this time they constituted a sincere attempt to understand what was going on. They seem to be often silly both from the viewpoint of Marxism or of the nowadays victorious Liberal economic principles, but for their time they constituted the background-interpretation of the formation of political working class organisations on the "Democratic" side. These people were often striving hard to fight for these issues and took personal disadvantages to see them implemented. They do not deserve to be simply denounced as heretical loonies or unimportant thinkers.]

1872-10-26: IH 007 (Correspondence) J. C. (16.8.72): What we Should Demand

"If people were wise to see it, in order to improve our social condition, three things are required principally.

I. The due modification of the law of entail. [...]

II. The formation of companies, limited, for the purpose of undertaking the cultivation of land, and the carrying on of manufactures in combination with the cultivation of the land.

III. The discouragement (if not the prohibition by Act of Parliament) of all shops proposed to be opened by private persons (except where permission for a time might be given), it being considered right that, in future, 'distribution' should be carried on, universally, at the cost price of economical management for the benefit of society. The control of such management, in each town and in each district throughout the country, would be gradually undertaken by officials elected, for the purpose, by the inhabitants of each town and of each district, respectively."

[after the various mix of ideas on political economy in 1865-75, Marxism and Liberalism were the emerging movements where these ideas were allotted to. But in these years, it was an open and funny and often ridiculous discussion of ways and means to help the poor and establish a just system, with writers often not fully understanding the matter, but doing their best to criticize and find a new way. After all, they could not all be Marx, and people of his intellectual powers may easily blind us for the difficulties people might have had in those years to come to terms with the conflicting images of their society. In the end, even Marx had to give up on his task because it became too difficult ...]

1872-10-26: IH 007 (Correspondence) J. Mitchell: A Response

agrees with the Tailor who looked for men who wanted not to meet in pubs
Mitchell is sec. of West End Section of IWMA

- 1872-10-26: IH 007 (Correspondence) L. P. L.: Adam Smith's Political Economy
 "There is a false political economy and there is a true political economy. True political economy tells us that labour is the source of all wealth - that profit consists principally of interest of money and that rent is the legitimate fund for taxation. And there is a false political economy, of which the following is a specimen from Adam Smith, the great apostle of the Free Traders, &c.: the 'buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market men.'" Tear and fear of slave is at expense of his master, but of free servant is at his own expense. [...] "It appears accordingly from the experience of all ages and nations, I believe, that the work done by freemen comes cheaper in the end than that performed by slaves.
 Sentiments so heartless, continues Jonathan Duncan, commenting on this, merit unqualified reprobation, but Adam Smith does not accompany them with a single word of censure. he accepts them as expressing an inevitable condition of society. Journeymen and servants are permitted, in this system of political economy, to multiply a race of operatives sufficient to minister to the wants and luxuries of the rich, but that limit they must not overstep. In point of industrial reward the free labourer is worse off than the slave, for though he produces more, he receives less, so that his nominal liberty is a real delusion."
- 1872-10-26: IH 008 International Working Men's Association
 list of branches and secs (additions only):
 Hinckley, Leicestershire: Frederick Hill
 London: Columbia Section: David Moore, 21 Wimborne Street, New North Road
 London: Vauxhall Section: A Chaddock, 16 Brunel Street, Vauxhall Gardens
 Leicester: W. Randle
 Middlesboro': Central Section: Thos. Whalley
 Middlesboro': Normanby Section: Nicholas Andrew
 Middlesboro': South Bank Section: John McQuade
- 1872-11-02: IH 001 R. P. W.: The Germanization of England
- 1872-11-02: IH 001/2 President of a Trade Society: Communism v Competition
- 1872-11-02: IH 002/3 H. C.: The Social Science Congress. Exposure and confutation of one of their axioms in Social Science
 attacks axiom of demand and supply in the Labour market
- 1872-11-02: IH 003 J. S. B.: Maxims in Political Economy (to be continued)
 on term capital
- 1872-11-02: IH 003 John Hales: Programme of the Social Democratic Workmen's Party of Germany
 gives Eisenach programme, but no comments
- 1872-11-02: IH 004 William Harrison Riley: The Fenian Prisoners
 "There are yet more than forty Irish rebels in English dungeons. If these political prisoners had been in Polish, Hungarian, or Italian prisons, the sympathy of the whole 'Liberal' party would have been with them, and their jailers would be regarded as tyrants. But they are only Irish, and the jailers are English, and therefore the case is altered.
 England has not so much as the shadow of a right to govern Ireland, when nine-tenths of the Irish People are opposed to the alien rule. ...
 These Fenian prisoners are political prisoners. ... Multiply the forty prisoners by one thousand, and then apply Mr. Gladstone's impertinent sophistry. Does he really wish that the next insurrection be made by forty thousand rather than by forty? ... [...]"

While the leaders of the Home Rule movement confine their advocacy to its application to Ireland, they have no right to expect a full measure of co-operation from Englishmen, Scotchmen, Welshmen, or from the Republicans or Internationalists. We are all misruled and oppressed by the same consuming clique that has Ireland under its heel, and we must demand Home Rule for every People. We, the People, must make our own laws! Professional consumers and destroyers do not represent us. They represent the consuming, but not the producing classes. The producers must own and rule the property they make. The People must govern themselves.

The Fenian prisoners are not imprisoned by the People, but by a usurping class. ... A People have a right to resist by force of arms the imposition or execution of laws in the framing or endorsing of which they have not been allowed to participate.

Treason! Against what? ... No! We are only 'traitors' against tyranny! ...

If O'Connor's advice had been systematically carried out, we should not have required 'demonstrations' at this day. He gave us the key to liberty, when he said 'Organize! Organize!! Organize!!!'

Organize, and stop the supplies! Organize, and form an Industrial Parliament! [...]"

1872-11-02: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) An International Club
at last firmly established at the West End; applications to R. Stephens, Central Co-operative Agency Society, Castle St., East Oxford St.

1872-11-02: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Choppington, Northumberland
lecture by de Morgan on People's Platform in the Unitarian Church, Choppington Station; William Avis of Choppington Colliery in chair; audience "not numerous, but it was intelligent and they gave vent to their feelings in repeated bursts of applause" (reported by R. Stephenson, Sec.)

1872-11-02: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Delegate Meeting at Mexbro'
adjourned meeting on 27.10. at house of Mr. Bland;
formation of district committee; executive formed entirely from men from Barnsley and Sheffield, and to sit first three months in Barnsley, next three in Sheffield;
national conference to be called in Sheffield in late November/early December 1872;
all Republican clubs invited to send delegates;
subscriptions to expenses to Thomas Garbutt, 158 Arundel St., Sheffield (reported by R. Bingham)

1872-11-02: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Federal Council of IWMA
Bennett (delegate for Halifax) in chair
branch in Aberdeen established
reports of progress in other provincial branches
Daniel McAra took his seat as delegate for Glasgow Section

1872-11-02: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Free Discussion Society
established on Friday at 73 Newman St., Oxford St., "to discuss questions of popular interest without restriction other than is recognized by the ordinary rules of debate";
first paper to be on 1.11. by F. Wilson on new proposal for settling land difficulty

1872-11-02: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) London Patriotic Society's Club and Institute
(see NR 3.11.1872, p. 284/285)

1872-11-02: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) many short reports from branches

1872-11-02: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Mile End Branch of the Land and Labour League (see NR 3.11.1872, p. 285)

1872-11-02: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) West Central Democratic Club, Long Acre Pottle on parks bill; A. Pearce, Jenkins; resolution: support for meeting to be held in Hyde Park next Sunday for release of Fenian prisoners and to assert right of meeting in public parks (reported by Alfred Pearce, Sec.)

1872-11-02: IH 007 (Correspondence) Edward Rymer, 57 Sharleston Colliery, West Yorkshire, 13.10.72: The Murder of Miners

1872-11-02: IH 007 (Correspondence) J. E., Liverpool, 22.10.72: Royal Sports

1872-11-02: IH 007 Stuart Mill's Letter

Mill's letter of last week was re-published without source in several papers, and Daily News, Telegraph, etc. had leaders on it, "gleefully" commenting on Mill's disapproval of use of term the Revolution by the International, but not admitting that Mill's criticism was based on a misapprehension

1872-11-02: IH 008 (Advertisement) To the Working Classes of London

"Monster Amnesty Meeting, Hyde Park. On Sunday, November 3, 1872, a Grand Demonstration similar to that which took place in October, 1869, will be held in Hyde Park to demand the unconditional Release of the Fenian Prisoners and to protest against their infamous treatment and the Algerine acts now in force in Ireland. Trusted representatives of the Proletarians of all countries will take part in the proceedings." ... demonstration committee composed of various nationalities meets at the Coach and Horses, Silver St., Golden Sq.; "all Trade, Republican and other societies" invited to cooperate; great delegate meetings on 28.10., 30.10. and 1.11. at Committee rooms;

"Proletarians of all countries. Mr Gladstone, the Bomba of Irland, has again refused to release the forty-two Irish political prisoners ... English working men arise from your apathy and show the world that you sympathise with your Irish brothers, and that they are detained in cruel confinement against your will. Speak out boldly now and at the next elections kick out the brutal gaolers who misrepresent you in the British House of Commons. ... By Order of the Committee, Clark, Lessner, O'Connor, Chaddock, Secretaries, Charles Murray, Treasurer."

1872-11-02: IH 008 appeal for agricultural labourers by London Central Aid Committee; H. J. Canham Hon. Sec., 62 Hanover St., Pimlico; orders payable to James Bailey, 16 Ryder's Court, at the Charing Cross P.O.

1872-11-02: IH 008 long Lists of IWMA branches, and provincial Republican clubs

1872-11-09: IH 001/2 W. H. R.: Gold and Its High Priests

[interesting outline of his view of how the monetary system works]

[...] "We shall never get our land nationalized until we have first defeated the banking, brokering, and discounting 'interest' - the wholesale and retail pawnbroking and mortgaging of labour." ...

"Mr. John Bright recommends patience, but he happens to be in 'the Ring.' The Gold Ring is much more injurious to the People than is the Land Ring. With untaxed importation of food the landlords could not even restrict the amount of our food. We might not cultivate an acre of corn and yet have bread in abundance. But the gold lords could starve the People even were the storehouses of England and every other country crammed to the roof with flour. What matters good grain harvests when the gold priests regulate our power of production and our amount of consumption by the gold harvest? ...

Industrialists all! Think for yourselves! So long as gold is our legal money, labour will be the slave of the gold owner. Our money should be as plentiful as our labour. The

result is just the same as if the users were the monopolists of all the tools and were allowed to limit the number and charge interest for their use. The effect is precisely the same, in either case."

1872-11-09: IH 002 Co-operative Federation

on a co-operative congress in Banbury last week for establishing a shoe-factory

1872-11-09: IH 002 F. Wilson: The Congress at Lugano

on assembly of the society for promoting peace in Europe

1872-11-09: IH 002/3 R. McNeill: The Slaughter of Paris (continued)

1872-11-09: IH 003 National Republican Conference

"To the Republican Clubs of England, Wales, and Scotland.

Citizen Brothers.- During the last few years, the people of these countries have turned their attention to the questions of Land-owning, co-operation, Currency, Suffrage, and the best form of government. To meet a want long felt by the people our Republican Clubs have been formed, which have acted as educational agencies for the propagating of the true principles of government. Up to the present, each Republican Club has been isolated and comparatively weak.

We believe the time has come when a Federation of clubs should be formed, laying down a platform broad enough for all true reformers to unite upon."

invites to conference in Sheffield on 1. December;

"It is time that we adopted a common platform of principles, which should include the various stages of education and Reform necessary to the accomplishment of our object, viz: the establishment of a government based upon the rights of man."

proposes establishment of a Central Council, "to watch events parliamentary, municipal and industrial, so as to be able to make our power known by concentrating our energy, through the Council, on any one subject.

We must, as reformers, separate ourselves from the present dominant political parties, and form a new one - a people's party.

In calling this conference, our sole object is a desire to benefit and strengthen the cause of true Republicanism."

invitation to send delegates to all clubs;

resolutions to be proposed to be sent to Hon Sec John de Morgan, 19 Vaughan St., Middlesbrough, before 21.11.;

signed by order of the Provisional Committee: Thomas Garbutt, A. O. Tibbott, Hon. Treasurers; John de Morgan, Hon. Sec.;

Provisional Committee:

Barnsley, Rotherham and Mexbro': T. Kelly, T. Mayo, A. O. Tibbott, T. Hyde, G. Firth
Sheffield: T. Garbutt, J. Brown

Newcastle and Gateshead: James Birkett, R. Bentley

North Shields: James Liddle, Joseph Garrick, Thos. Thompson

Hull: N. B. Billany, Joseph Avery, George Leaper

Chatham, Rochester, Strood: R. W. Ames

Eston and Normanby: Wm Gilbert

Wakefield: Edward Rymer

Consett: Daniel Harris

Leeds: James Hall

Middlesbrough: John de Morgan

1872-11-09: IH 003 Stuart Mill's Letter. To the Editor of the 'Daily News'.

By Thos. Smith, 15 Houndsgate, Sec. of the Nottingham Branch of the IWMA
[Daily News rejected the printing of this letter]

on publication of Mill's letter in Daily News on 28.10. and leader there on 29.10.72 Mill should have been aware that Revolution cannot only describe a single event, but also a series of events, "as the revolution in modern society, meaning the result of a series of changes in society. ... the sense in which it was used, namely the whole of those great changes that have taken place in European society, since and including the Reformation, and also of other changes which we believe it can be shown will logically follow from them.

The phrase, the Revolution, is also used to indicate those epochs such as 1572, 1789, 92, 3, 1848, which might more properly perhaps be called sub-revolutions, but the distinction between the two ways of using the word are so plain that he who runs may read.

The other assertion that there are no 'principles of the Revolution' is simply an assertion, from which I must differ, and as I have state those principles in the plainest manner, and given reasons why they are principles of the Social and Political Revolution, I must continue to do so ... Neither are they mere general statements that may mean a half dozen different things, but clear definite principles, so plain as to be almost incapable of being understood. As example the first is,- the rights of conscience, freedom of the mind, the unlimited rights of the individual to proclaim his or her convictions on all subjects. Is not that a clear statement of a principle, and a definition of what we mean by it? And all the others are as clear and simple; but perhaps Mr Mill and his backer do not like abstract principles, ad also do not believe that there was such a thing as the Reformation, or that there are any principle or principles of the Reformation, and perhaps they look with disdain on such an abstract idea as the law of gravitation.

The pamphlet, 'The Law of the Revolution,' is an attempt to show that the changes that have taken place, and that will take place, in the institutions of society, are obeying a law of growth, and to point out that law, and its logical source of development.

I think it is well established that there is no such a thing as chance, and that that world is solely used to denote that we do not know the cause of the thing we refer to. Believing so, it follows that we must believe that the development of human society is the result of the action of some natural law or laws, inherent in its constitution and consequently irresistible.

Impressed with that conviction I have endeavoured to demonstrate the law of its growth and the principles that have been and that will be established in the course of that growth." [...]

Only when this law is discovered, there can be "a real science of politics, or a social science", otherwise it is only a collection of facts. "Now this law or laws is like all natural laws, an abstract idea, known to us only through their results, and arrived at in fact by observing those results ... [...].

Such sir are the ideas which should be dealt with by those who deny that there is a 'Law of Revolution,' or of the logical development of human society, or that there are any Principles of the Political and Social Revolution, and either show that the usual methods of instigation [sic] are inapplicable to physical and social phenomena, or that any endeavour to apply them is based on erroneous methods. [...]

1872-11-09: IH 004 William Harrison Riley: Save Yourselves!

1872-11-09: IH 004/5 W. H. T.: The Approaching Money Panic. Shall Peel's Bill be Repealed? By the late John Taylor. Central Currency Committee Tracts, N. 2, 1857

- 1872-11-09: IH 005 Supply and Demand
on question of Gerard Sturt MP to Gladstone on political economy, which Gladstone is not deemed competent to answer
- 1872-11-09: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) The Hyde Park Demonstration
... "Notwithstanding Mr. Ayrton's regulations, the meeting last Sunday was a tremendous success. The lesson was taught to Dictator Ayrton, that the people were stronger than party governments." resolutions condemning retention of political prisoners; speakers: de Morgan, Chaddock, McDonnell, O'Leary, Canham, Mooney, Funnel, Clarke, Murray.
"The meeting dispersed with loud cheering for the English, Irish, and Universal Republic. The Government have applied for summonses against all the speakers for an infringement of the Parks Act. A defence fund has been commenced. Let the People speak out boldly, and demand the right of the People to meet on their own property, for the Royal parks are merely held by the Queen (as the head of the State) for the People." (reported by J. D.)
- 1872-11-09: IH 006/7 (Correspondence) M. D., Marylebone: Capital and Labour
... "Labour is the producer of wealth, the founder of all true greatness; it is the parent of Capital, yet Capital is respected, courted, and flattered. ... To inaugurate a new ear, when Labour shall be respected, and have its just rights as well as Capital, should be the aim of every working man and woman. Property, honestly acquired, should be well protected, but let the producer be, at least, equally cared for."
- 1872-11-09: IH 007 (Correspondence) James Chester, Truro: False Teaching
on Currency question
- 1872-11-09: IH 007 (Correspondence) T. Lawrence, Leeds: Trades Unionism
unions could have achieved ten times more but for "lack of wise and good leaders", who have been exclusive and avoided federation of councils to maintain their own position. "The aristocratic 'skilled workmen' have never tried to unite with such unskilled workmen as ploughmen, navvies, doctors, shopkeepers, merchants, dressmakers, or hod-carriers. The union of artizans was the easiest and quickest way of obtaining power in the state, but it is folly to stop at a point which should only be regarded as a first step. The leading men have proved woefully incompetent, and appear to be mere trimmers and twaddlers, whose highest ambition is to get on the same platform with a lord, or to get a chance of adding M.P. to their names. They do not perceive the vastness of the power which may be obtained by a well-ordered management of trades-unionism, but hey are remarkably fond of notoriety - of seeing their names in the papers. ..."
- 1872-11-09: IH 007 (Correspondence) T. W., Battersea: The Anti Game Law League
wants league to sent reporters to game shooting sessions
- 1872-11-09: IH 007 (Correspondence) X. X.: "The Beehive" and its Great Thinkers
Unions should keep wages up, but consent in measures to keep them low; they think just by striking to get through their demands; "Unfortunately for the Unionists, they find, after a few months 'strike,' their money power is all exhausted, and they are obliged to compromise with the money power, and get work again. The great thinkers of the Beehive should be allowed quietly to die, their day is gone! They are behind the age! ... They were but potterers at the best. ..."
- 1872-11-16: IH 002/3 Beresford Hope, MP, and Hart Dyke MP on Capital and Labour
- 1872-11-16: IH 003 (Book Review) Captain Maxse: The Causes of Social Revolt
"The price is low; the work is a good one; buy it."

1872-11-16: IH 003 (Book Review) J. George Eccarius: The Hours of Labour

1872-11-16: IH 004 Vaccination question (see also p. 3)

1872-11-16: IH 005 Gordius: On the Right of Property and Its Moral Relations

1872-11-16: IH 007 (Correspondence) A Democrat: Land Rent

1872-11-16: IH 007 (Correspondence) F. Riddle, 80 Whitecross St., EC, 5.11.1872, Sec. of Land and Labour League: A Correction

in issue of 26.10. it said that LLL was promoting emigration; "... we always have been and still are utterly opposed to emigration as a means of ameliorating the social condition of the working classes.

We utterly deny that population has anything to do with the poverty of the working classes, which we maintain is solely due to the defective and unjust arrangements of society, which give the produce of industry to idlers."

1872-11-16: IH 007 John Hales: The British Federation, I. W. A.

Resolutions adopted at the first Congress

9 points on political action and 5 on social action

Political Action

Resolved "That while the British Federation of the I. W. A. recognises the fact, that the social emancipation of the working class is the great end to which its efforts should be directed, it declares that it is necessary to take political action to work out that emancipation, and it is hereby pledged to establish a distinct labour party in the State, based upon the principles of the Association as embodied in the following points:-

1. Political equality, based upon adult suffrage with proportional representation.

2. Every person to be eligible to fill any office in the State.

3. The abolition of all hereditary titles and privileges.

4. Nationalisation of the land.

5. Equality of education for all, education to be national, obligatory, gratuitous, industrial and secular.

6. Perfect religious equality - disestablishment and disendowment of all State churches. No money to be voted by the State for any religious purpose whatever.

7. The abolition of the present system of levying taxes upon industry. The substitution of a direct tax based upon property in lieu of all other taxes, such tax to be progressive, the greater the property the higher the percentage.

8. Abolition of the Standing Army.

9. The establishment of a National Bank of issue; all other banks to be suppressed." special resolution on Ireland:

same rights as for England and Scotland by promoting federative Government based upon local parliaments for all parts of the British Empire

"Social Action.

Declaration,- That while this Federation recognises strikes as weapons to be used in the struggle against capital; it looks upon them only as expedients. The true end of all social reform being the total abolition of the present system of wages paid slavery, and the substitution of associative effort in lieu thereof."

recommends formation of trade unions and their affiliation to IWMA;

limitation of working hours to eight hours a day as resolved at Geneva Congress; against overtime;

establishment of a universal strike fund;

regrets that any working men abstain from politics, "seeing from experience that their very existence it threatened thereby", and urges necessity of taking political action

- 1872-11-23: IH 001 Wm Harrison Riley: Rebellion on treatment of the Hyde Park speakers not even a statute law to forbid or limit right of public meetings in parks; "Rebellion! Did not Shaftesbury recently announce publicly that he should rebel against any law that would exclude the bible from public schools?"
- 1872-11-23: IH 001/2 H. D.: The Small Pox Question
- 1872-11-23: IH 002 William Adamson: To the Radical Reformers of Greenock invokes Covenanters as Vorbild for the action which is demanded from Greenock reformers; asks them to organise and support the two-year old Greenock Industrial Society (co-operative one); besides social organisation for improvement of material wants he also calls for political organisation for acquisition of rights and liberties; calls upon Greenock Republicans and Internationalist to give their suggestions how to form political organisation in IH
- 1872-11-23: IH 003 Formation of a Labourers' Union in Manchester
- 1872-11-23: IH 003 Lieut.-Colonel J. H. MacDonald, U. S. Club: The Approaching Monetary Panic. To the Producing Classes of Great Britain
- 1872-11-23: IH 003 Obituary: W. F. Cowell Stepney Esq., died on 7.11.72, aged 52, eldest son of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Cowell Stepney, Bart., MP for Carmarthen, at Upper Norwood; Herman Jung, although not invited, had always visited him during his long illness and "had been for many years on most intimate terms with deceased"; Cowell Stepney had been member of IWMA since 1864, since 1866 member of its General Council, had been its treasurer; attended congresses at Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869); one of the "best and truest friends" of the working classes
- 1872-11-23: IH 004 (Texts and Comments) Mr. Morley, M.P., on the Land "He believed that the common land belonged to the People, but he was not an advocate for the confiscation of the property of others.- From Speech at Bristol. But all the land was once 'common,' before it was confiscated by royal thieves. Perhaps Mr. Morley only referred to this confiscation! he should not call the recovery of stolen property 'confiscation.' Mr. Morley is very kind indeed, and does not allow his modesty to interfere with the publication of his benefactions, as an example to others." Ayer the pillmaker of America, is philanthropist and wanted to provide a church bell, provided it carried his name and profession. "Surely a man who had made millions by vending drugs should be permitted to erect monuments to himself - even though such monuments do serve him as advertisements! Ayer spent over 50 per cent. of his entire income in advertising. But what has all this got to do with Mr. Morley? That's what the unsophisticated want to know. They are quite welcome to regard it as a conundrum."
- 1872-11-23: IH 004 (Texts and Comments) Republican Legislators Hull Republican Club decided to bring forward a Republican candidate at the next election
- 1872-11-23: IH 005 Address of the General Council (of the IWMA) signed by F. A. Sorge, Gen. sec., New York, 20.10.1872
- 1872-11-23: IH 005 L. P. L.: John Bright one of the Monied Aristocracy

- 1872-11-23: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) (Reports of Meetings) Federal Council of IWMA, 7 Red Lion Court, Fleet Street
 Wieler (German branch) called attention to paragraph in last weeks report that David and Ward refused to sit on GC; he thought that should not have been published;
 Hales: facts ought not to be kept from members, "he was in favour of an open, not a secret policy";
 Lessner (German branch): "a man was not fit to be secretary who did not ask himself not whether things were true, but whether they were dangerous. The truth ought to be suppressed if it was dangerous."
 Vickery/Wheeler: sec. should lay all correspondence before Council for collective consideration and drafting of replies; Vickery thought "it was too much power in one man's hands to let him send what letters he liked ..."; resolution failed, only 5 in favour (reported by John Hales, Gen. Sec.)
- 1872-11-23: IH 007 (Correspondence) A. O. Tibbott: A Republican Festival at Barnsley tea party, 100 attended, provisions by J. Wright of "The Spotted Leopard", himself a Republican; Deakin of Borough Green urged all, "especially ladies, to inscribe their names on the great list of Republicans. Mr. Deakin said that women could do more good even than men, and illustrated his subject very well." ...
- 1872-11-23: IH 007 (Correspondence) G. J. Owen, 3 Margaret St., Hackney Fields: Save Yourselves
 six men in Hackney have decided that there is too much talking and to do something. "The reason that our numbers are so few is, that experience has taught us that out of every twenty talkers you very seldom find more than one worker, therefore our action will be somewhat limited for a time, until we can show by practical illustration what really can be done by true co-operation." want to obtain a dwelling house and social club combined, to attach a co-operative and distributive store, and enter into manufacture as soon as possible; social club to be financed by shares
- 1872-11-23: IH 007 (Correspondence) Omega: A Warning
- 1872-11-23: IH 007 subscriptions on behalf of Defence fund for Hyde Park speakers received by Elliott (treasurer) and Mooney (Sec.) at Patriotic Club, Clerkenwell Green
- 1872-11-30: IH 001 The Police Revolt
 on 21.11.72, meeting was held at Rifle Tavern, Kennington Park, of policemen who had been suspended for insubordination, u. a. Goodchild; no report was allowed to appear in daily papers, although 3 journalists were present
- 1872-11-30: IH 003 J. Mitchell: Robespierre
 "We desire an order of things in which all the mean and cruel passions shall be chained down; all the beneficent and generous passions awakened by the laws; in which ambition shall consist in the desire of meriting glory and serving our country; in which distinctions shall spring but from equality itself; in which the citizen shall be subject to the magistrate, the magistrate to the people; and the people to justice; in which the country shall ensure the prosperity of every individual, and in which such individual shall enjoy, with pride, the prosperity and glory of his country; in which every soul shall be aggrandised by the continual intercommunication of republican sentiments, and by the wish to merit the esteem of a great people; in which the arts shall flourish as the decoration of the liberty that ennobles them; and in which commerce will be a tower of public riches, and not of monstrous opulence to a few great houses only.
 "We desire to substitute in our country morality for egotism, probity for honour, principles for usages, duties for conventionalities, the empire of reason for the

tyranny of fashion, contempt of vice for contempt of misfortune, manly pride for insolence, greatness of soul for vanity, love of glory for love of money, honesty for respectability, good people for good society, merit for intrigue, genius for wit, truth for display, the charm of happiness for the ennui of pleasure, the greatness of man for the littleness of the great, a people magnanimous, powerful, and happy, for a people amiable, frivolous, and miserable. In a word, we desire to substitute all the virtues and all the miracles of the Republic for all the vices and all the ridiculous fopperies of the monarchy; we desire, in short, to fulfil the vows of nature, to accomplish the destinies of humanity, to absolve providence from the long reign of crime and tyranny, that (England) France, heretofore illustrious amongst enslaved countries, may, by eclipsing all the free states that ever existed, become a model for nations, the terror of oppressors the consolation of the oppressed, the ornament of the world, and that in sealing our work with our (life) blood, we may at least witness the breaking down of universal felicity."

1872-11-30: IH 003 James Harvey, Liverpool: Free Trade. The Incarnation of Selfishness

1872-11-30: IH 003 Mr. John de Morgan at Nottingham

lecture on The Grand Idea of the Nineteenth Century; Tylor, President of the Nottingham Branch of I.W.M.A. in chair; grand idea is the brotherhood of man; long on importance of International (reported by Lee Hayes) [one column report of de Morgan's speech]

1872-11-30: IH 003 National Republican Conference, Sheffield, December 1st and 2nd, 1872

Resolutions: (societies which could not be present to send their approval or disapproval to De Morgan, 157 Arundel Street, Sheffield)

formation of Assoc called National Republican Brotherhood to be governed by an Executive Council of five, treasurer and Sec to be elected every six months, but no president or vice-president;

adoption of Republican Brotherhood Flag necessary: tricolour of Green (fertility), White (purity), Blue (Sky), "representing that under the sky all men are equal, so long as they are guided by purity of action and thought";

"That our platform shall be Adult Suffrage, a Pure Ballot, Equal Electoral Districts, no State Church, Free Secular Education, Nationalization of the Land, Shorter Parliaments, Payment of Members, and the establishment by legal means of a Republican form of Government."

repeal of 1870 Education Act for "a system of pure unsectarian teaching, free and compulsory";

any nation free to choose its government;

Registration Committees to be formed in boroughs to get all entitled to the franchise on the rolls; Republican candidates where possible, who if elected refuse to take oath of allegiance to the Queen;

"That we make use of political action as the means to the establishment of a pure, social, and political Republic, based on the rights of man."

(reported by John de Morgan, Hon. Sec.)

1872-11-30: IH 004 Henry Dunn: The Echo and the Peers
on defence of House of Lords in Echo

1872-11-30: IH 004/5 Ernest Davies: The Impotence of Militaryism in the Cause of Liberty

1872-11-30: IH 005 The Working Men's Voice on the Normal Working Day.

To the Employer

From "Kapital" by Karl Marx

- 1872-11-30: IH 006 (Correspondence) Halifax Branch of IWMA
 24.11.: J. Walmsley reads Cattell's speech on 'House of Commons' given before Birmingham Rep Club;
 Walmsley resigns as Sec., J. C. Crowther sec. pro tem
- 1872-11-30: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) (Reports of Meetings) Federal Council of IWMA, 7 Red Lion Court, Fleet Street
 Sec. announces receipt of journals from Sapon, Belgium, Switzerland, Portugal
 address from GC in New York (see last issue of IH) read
 Vickery (Birkenhead Branch): moves resolution acknowledging receipt and hailing communication from GC in New York; said it was necessary "that the Council should declare its obedience to the authority of the General Council. The Federal Council had been coquetting with secession by exchanging organs with Federations that did not recognise the authority of the General Council, and that was dangerous ground considering the powers of the General Council." Weiler (German branch) seconded.
 amendment Hales: no resolution till after results of Hague Congress are in hands of all the sections; delegates did not have "the right to vote away the liberties of the Sections without their consent"; Sections had been formed under old rules, but these have been utterly altered by Hague Congress; political action been made obligatory under control and direction not of the country itself, but a council 3000 miles away.
 Foster (Liverpool) seconded.
 Jung (Middlesborough section) moves that sec. acknowledges letter, and "that he send the address of the Council". Riley seconded.
 Vickery: sees it as test communication. "It was necessary to have some one to direct a policy ... Dictatorship was an evil, but a necessary evil. ... Federalism meant having a number of petty dictators, while Centralisation meant having one dictator; he was in favour of the one."
 Jung's amendment carried by 11 to 3, with 3 abstentions; Vickery and Hales lost
- 1872-11-30: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Birkenhead Branch of IWMA
 approves of their delegates Vickery's conduct at FC
- 1872-11-30: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) Dialectical Society, 1 Adam St., Adelphi
 Miss Dowling on Proudhon; Mill brought into discussion
- 1872-11-30: IH 007 (Correspondence) Freelight, Hull, 15.11.72: Meeting of the Internationalists. Hull District
 their first meeting; principles and objects as defined by Hales read and well received
- 1872-11-30: IH 007 (Correspondence) Matt. Mather, Sec.: Save Yourselves on Riley's article;
 also want to see something being done, "if it was only pulling down of Hyde Park Railings", although he would rather build up than pull down it's still useful to pull down barriers;
 account of Nottingham: "... after the troubles consequent on the alteration of the time of the working day from ten to nine hours per day, the managers of the League resolved to divide the work that lay before them, one portion remained with the League under the name of the International labour Protection League.
 The other proceeded to establish a co-operative Machine Building Society ..."
- 1872-12-07: IH 001 Wm Harrison Riley: Postmen v. Tyranny
- 1872-12-07: IH 002 John Rhodes, Heywood, Lancashire: Royalty and Aristocracy
- 1872-12-07: IH 007 (Correspondence) Fred. Lessner, 12 Fitzroy St.: Correction
 did not say at FC of IWMA that dangerous things should be suppressed, but that as

there was no official information on David and Ward it would be a matter of policy to refrain from publishing it

- 1872-12-07: IH 007 (Correspondence) John de Morgan: A Correction
on his Nottingham Lecture: has not said that B. Cochrane in Times estimated members [of IWMA] to be 17,000,000;
visit to Nottingham was successful; was elected hon. member of Home Rule Association, gift by Secular Society, etc.
- 1872-12-07: IH 007 W. H. R.: Rejected Resolutions
resolutions at last meeting of FC of IWMA "to limit the power, and define the duties, of all officers of the Council"; submits these resolutions to branches now
- 1872-12-07: IH 008 (Constitution and Programme) Doncaster Political Union
Samuel Tweddell, Chairman
John Luke Hobson, Sec.
- 1872-12-07: IH copies of pp. 3-6
- 1872-12-14: IH 001 Mr. Vernon Harcourt
in a speech in Commons urging reduction in expenditure, chiefly military and naval, said that wealth might be greater, but so was pauperism as well; gives figures
- 1872-12-14: IH 001 Wm Harrison Riley: National Extortion
on taxes
- 1872-12-14: IH 002/3 Republican Conference. Official Report
number of isolated clubs existed, "and it was felt that some steps should be taken to form some central organisation, laying down a new 'People's Charter.'"
2.4.72: R. McRoberts reads paper before Newcastle and Gateshead Republican Club, urging organisation.
Early October: meeting of delegates from various South Yorkshire Republican Clubs at Mexbro to form district organisation; letter was laid before them on question of a national conference, and nucleus of committee appointed to carry out this idea; de Morgan appointed Hon. Sec. of Conference Committee; members of 14 clubs joined committee: Sheffield, Barnsley, Mexbro, Rotherham, Doncaster, Bristol, Hull, Newcastle, Chatham, Normanby, Wakefield, Consett, Middlesbro, North Shields.
6.11.72: circular issued to convene conference of Republican Clubs in Sheffield on 1.12.
Official report of "the first Republican Parliament ever held in England" at hall of Science, Rockingham St., Sheffield
delegates:
James Hall, Leeds;
Thomas Garbutt, Sheffield;
Thomas Kelly, Barnsley;
Walter Knight, Portmahon;
John Deakin, Barugh Green;
W. Gilbert, Eston and Normanby;
C. C. Cattell, Birmingham and West Bromwich;
John de Morgan, Reading;
Jno. Bramwell and J. Warburton, Bolton.
clubs voting by proxy: Kidderminster, North Shields, Cardiff, Bristol, Dundee, Leicester;
adherence to Conference resolutions: Hull, Chatham, Coventry, Edinburgh, Doncaster, West Central Republican Club London, United Reform League London

Newcastle and Nottingham.

invitations had been sent to P. A. Taylor, Mill, Gladstone, Disraeli etc.

Auberon Herbert (29.11.72): cannot attend; hopes "that the action of your Conference will be guarded and self restrained, so that we may succeed in extinguishing the present unreasoning terror with which so many people look on Republicanism, and also succeed in establishing it as one amongst the many other recognised opinions of strong Liberals.

It is, in my opinion, of importance to keep it separate from all other questions, which must be discussed in their own time and on their own merits, and also that we should openly express our desire to effect no change during the life of the present Queen, to whom, I for one, have strong feelings of gratitude."

time is on our side, refrain from any violence

Henry Fawcett (26.11.72): cannot attend

G. W. M. Reynolds (25.11.72): cannot attend; wishes all possible success

W. Lawson (25.11.1872): has no intention of attending

Dilke unable to attend, being by the sea

J. Arch (25.11.1872): cannot attend, as he has engagement that day

G. W. Foote, London Rep Club (26.11.72): London Republican Club agrees on

"advisability, nay the necessity of the speedy formation of a national association of advanced politicians"; would co-operate in any scheme with fair prospect of being "a veritable representation of British democracy"; but don't think this conference will be; proper mode of convening would have been to consult all Republican Clubs on time and place, and ask advice of men as Beesly, F. Harrison, Bradlaugh, Cattell, Dilke, Auberon Herbert, P. A. Taylor, Fawcett etc., "not indeed as men without whom no work can be done, but as men whose public services and outspoken attachment to democratic principles entitle them to an indubitable right to share in the deliberations." Conference has no legitimate claim to be considered national; suggests that conference should be held only as preliminary one to another of more extended scope "and assured certainty of harmonious unison"

W. Harrison Riley: long letter to be read at conference, "one of the most important events of the age"

Cattell/Garbutt: Sec. to write letter to Foote in explanation

Cattell thinks brotherhood too sacred and moves name League to be continued next week

1872-12-14: IH 003 Spartacus: The Emigrationists are Enemies to Old England

1872-12-14: IH 004 Gordius, Wandsworth Road, SW: On the Right of Property

1872-12-14: IH 004/5 International Working Men's Association
resolutions of Hague Congress

1872-12-14: IH 005 Edward Cardwell: There is no Peace
on Rev. Canon Kingsley on War

1872-12-21: IH 002 Republican Conference. Official Report. Concluded

Cattell/de Morgan: "That our platform shall be adult suffrage, a pure ballot, equal electoral districts, no state church, free secular education, nationalization of the land, repeal of game-laws, reform of the currency, shorter parliaments, payment of members, and the establishment by legal means of a Republican form of government."

names of officers suggested, voting papers to be sent to IH (Riley) who has to publish results

nomin. treasurer: Thomas Smith, Nott.; James Brown, Sheff.; G. H. Reddalls, sen.,

Nott.; A. O. Tibbott, Barnsley;
nominated as Sec: John de Morgan; John Nudge, Nott.
Cattell, Charles Watts, Rymer, Duncan Cameron (Glasgow), Riley, de Morgan,
Thomas Warburton, G. H. Reddalls jun. (Birmingham), Bradlaugh, Thomas Smith
among men nominated for Committee of Gen Council
resolution on education to be forwarded to George Dixon MP

1872-12-21: IH 007 (From Citizen de Morgan)

De Morgan offer resignation from NRB if division of movement can be avoided by
such a move: "we want union and not division".
has advocated Republicanism in Belfast in 1868.
through his principles "several times reduced to the very verge of starvation"

1872-12-14: IH 006 (Various Meetings) Tower Hamlets Radical Electoral Committee

"one of the most democratic societies in the world";
"junction of all the various political societies in the Tower Hamlets";
prevented unjustified registration of Tory voters;
plans to run democratic or republican candidate at next election;
public dinner with Bradlaugh planned on 7.1.73, Bradlaugh to be in chair;
applications for tickets:
Haines, bookseller, 212 Mile End Road
Caunt, 114 Whitehare (?) St., Stepney
Ogden, Sydney Arms, Sydney Arms St., Mile End
Upton, Whip-maker, Mile End
V. Hirschbeal, 13 Duke St., Mile End, New Town
Philip Walters, Hon. Sec., 95 Oxford St., Mile End

1873-03-01: IH copies?

1873-07-26: IH 004/5 Faust, London: Short Letters to M.P.'s. I. To P. A. Taylor, Esq., M.P.
criticised for diverting his attention too often to tertiary issues, etc.

1873-07-26: IH 005 Primogeniture
extract from speech of Thorold Rogers at the LTRA

1873-08-09: IH 004/5 John Ruskin
extract from Fors Clavigera

1873-08-09: IH 006 (Correspondence) I. Clarke: In Defence
has a few weeks ago delivered resolution to meeting of "advanced republicans" at
Eclectic hall, Denmark St., declaring confidence in de Morgan and condemnation of
Bradlaugh; motion was seconded and supported; B. had been invited that night to
tax de Morgan with the crimes laid to his charge, but "the autocrat of Old Street" did
not appear; after consideration of charges against de Morgan in NR at various times,
meeting (of at least 350 people) passed resolution unanimously (see Herald 19.6.);
in NR of 26.7.73, B. would not believe motion; when confirmed, B. appears and
demands of de M. to defend himself; this de M. "very foolishly consented, in spite of
the opposition of the meeting to his doing so"; B. made "rambling set of charges", is
only listened to because de M. and Chairman C. Murray entreat people to do so;
charges then were answered "to the entire satisfaction of the meeting", some
complaining about waste of time; the friends B. claims in that hall are the sort who
crawl up to him when he is present, but abuse him in his absence

1873-08-09: IH 007 (Side Glances) "There is no 'Conservative reaction,' but there is a
growing contempt for the 'Liberals' - the Hypocritical Party. The whole course of the
so-called Liberals has been one of trickery and deceit. They are the worst enemies of

the Workers, and their reforms have all been in the interest of the usurers. There is no 'free trade' except just to such an extent as will add to the wealth of the usurers. Ireland is under brutal martial law - a whole nation under alien bondage. Corrupt practices by sham royalty are aided with infamous impudence and haste. Treacherous laws are enacted against the Workers only, and no regard is paid to Natural Laws, Natural Rights, Natural Justice! The study has been how to deceive and steal, not how to deal righteously between man and man. Welcome insurrection rather than a continuance of such infamous misgovernment as we have been cursed with during the last hundred years."

1873-09-20: IH 006 (Correspondence) John Rogers, Late Sec. of the National Reform League: An Explanation

in a report of a meeting of the NRL in IH (No. 76) it was stated that Rogers had used name of the League without its consent or knowledge; but he states that he had only added Sec. of NRL when he signed a public statement, as is quite common to do; "That report does not state that I, in consequence of what took place at the meeting of the League, on Monday August the 11th, resigned the secretaryship by letter to the Chairman. I resigned, through the intolerance of three individuals, authors of the report - who assumed to exercise a despotic power without the sanction of the other members of the League, in refusing admission to membership of two young men, known democrats, who were desirous of joining the League, being themselves advocates of Social rights. Their admission was refused because they held opinions adverse to the said three individuals on 'personal matters' which have nothing whatever to do with the League. ... I should not have resigned the secretaryship if a larger number of the members attended the monthly meetings. By their absence the management of the N.R.L. is regulated by a clique. I was one of the founders of the League with the late J. B. O'Brien, and several years a member before the authors of the report were connected with it ..."

1873-10-04: IH copies of pp. 3 and 6

1873-10-11: IH 004 W. H. R.: The Social, Democratic, and Federal Republic

... "A good and true Republic must be a Social, Democratic, and Federal Republic. It must be Social for it must care for the social position of each person and all persons. It must be Democratic, for it must defend the sovereign rights of each person. It must be Federal, for it must be a co-operation of many societies. [...]

A man must be intelligent enough to understand, brave enough to maintain, and good enough to concede the Rights of Man before he can be a good and true Republican. [...]

A Democratic Republic, in this country, would defend the political or national rights of each of the thirty-two millions of persons, as individuals.

A Social Republic would work for the public good by adopting the best communism to be found in the six millions of families and extending its operations to the whole, as one political family. Each one of the six millions of family communities would have its natural rights respected far more than at present. [...]

The Federal Republic would recognise the good and justice of permitting tribes, local communities, villages, towns, or counties, to adopt special regulations of their own ... [...]

All who earn their own living by labour that is useful to the community must have political rights equal to those of any other persons. ... There are 'no rights without duties, no duties without rights.' [...]

A Subject is but a Slave ...

A Subject cannot be a Republican."

1873-03-08: IH 001/2 John Sketchley, Birmingham: Republicanism

"Republicanism is the assertion, the recognition, of the unmutable and eternal principle of universal justice between man and man (including women, of course) in all the relations of life, and through the ramifications of society, and between nation and nation, in all their international relations, and is expressed in the formular, Equality, Liberty, Fraternity, Association.

The term Republicanism, in its modern or European sense, embraces the social as well as the political emancipation of the People. A mere political revolution, leaving the great social questions unsolved, leaves the great mass of the People in social degradation, still victims of social tyranny and oppression.ÿ...

A mere political revolution can settle nothing, unless it is based on the direct sovereignty of the whole adult population, which, as a principle, is alone politically justÿ- is alone politically moral.ÿ...

The revolution will be social, as well as political, or it will, of necessity, perish."

Three questions at foundation of social problem:

nationalisation of the land "with all monies, railways, &c.", nationalisation of credit, "organization of education, on a truly national and rational basis"

1873-03-08: IH 001 W. H. Riley: Letter to Charles Dilke

Dilke is "neither flesh, fish, nor good red herring";

"You have not yet in any way proved yourself to be with the people in their struggle for Justice."

Dilke has indeed "very cleverly" attacked Civil list and electoral inequalities, but is "silent as regards greater wrongs"; Dilke has not condemned usury ("jew usurers" made barons), does not demand adult suffrage (including women), land reform;

"The People's leaders must be men who oppose every wrong and who will accept no settlement short of the surrender of everything a People may justly demand as a right."

Riley will support "any man, rich or poor, whom I believe to be qualified and willing to lead the People in the Right through good or through evil report." Dilke has not proved himself to be such a man yet.

1873-03-08: IH 003 Woman as a Political Element of Republicanism, by Gordius, Wandsworth Road

1873-03-08: IH 007 The National Republican Brotherhood

statement by Sheffield Republican Club:

Bradlaugh's claim, that he was cheered during speech in Sheffield when he talked about the Republican conference in Birmingham in May is not true; only very few people applauded; Sheffield will stick to the NRB

1873-03-08: IH 007 Obituary: James Freebairn (aged 61)

oldest Socialist in Glasgow, freethinker, Secularist, IWMA-branch member,

"participator in every advanced movement of either a political or religious nature"

1873-03-08: IH 007 John Mills, Philadelphia: Our Commune

Letter to "Dear Citizen Riley": article from last IH was discussed at their branch;

"... Therefore, be firm, united, true to each other, and determined to carry the work through, and you will, by your labours, raise one more monument to humanity..."

1873-03-08: IH 00??? W. H. R.: Our Commune (zit. in: Harrison: English Defence of the Commune, S. 283-286)

see bioriley!

- 1873-03-15: IH 007 (Correspondence) T. S. (Nottingham) [Thomas Smith?]
IH versichert Smith, daß IH nicht Arch's Verdienste schm., lern will und nichts gegen ihn gesagt hat
- 1873-03-15: IH 007 (Leserbrief) M. A. Orr, Kingston-on-Thames: Republicanism in Great Britain
thinks "that the Herald is the only reliable and firm exponent of the workmens' [sic] cause in Great Britain. It carries not only the flesh and bones but the marrow of sound advice to the firesides of the working men of England".
he gave Bright, Cobden and the "People's William" a trial, but was disappointed. Now he is Republican, regrets signs of division in the movement; he thinks Odger and Bradlaugh deserve support, does not know de Morgan, but principal attitude: "It is too soon to quarrel; we have only as yet applied the match, and the enemy is watching, and united when opposing us".
... "Republican party, I should like to see them better united".
- 1873-03-15: IH 006 International Working Men's Association: British Federal Council
"unseemly squabbles" at Federal Council deplored by Liverpool branch
- 1873-03-15: IH 006 The Land and Labour League
Officers for 1873/74:
President: Weston
Vice-Pres.: Boon
Council: Bradlaugh, Brown, Chatterton, Hirschbeal, Lord, McAra, Matthews, Odger, Shaw, Shipton, Swaine, Walter
Secs.: Halloway and Riddle
Treasurer: Le Lubez
- 1873-03-15: IH 006 (Correspondence)
Response to a reader who had criticised article on Dilke: Dilke is not yet a Republican, "It was because many English Republicans were looking to him as their leader that the caution was given".
Odger is praised as "in the front rank as an English Republican, and may yet live to become a senator in the People's Parliament".
Dilke and Arch, despite their merits, "are not yet ready to be Republican leaders".
- 1873-03-15: IH 003 The Equal Distribution of Wealth
Success of co-operative operations has shown that distribution of wealth is generally possible.
"The Parisian Communists, although right in theory, were led by men too ignorant to comprehend that the objects fought for should be preceded by general education, by conceding justice to women, and that they can only be accomplished by peaceful and wise legislation."
- 1873-03-15: IH 006 National Republican Brotherhood
sys majority of clubs had been represented at their conference, therefore goes on with agitation
- 1873-03-15: IH 007 The Executive Council N.R.B.
vacancies of four resignations have been filled by: Christie, Garbutt, Rymer and Judge
- 1873-03-29: IH leading article by Riley, quoted in Carpenter: Sketches from Life, S. 209-211.
209 Workers could enjoy life under such a government as Ruskin would approve.
"Nowadays, under the laws made by the most injurious classes of the people, the

workers are degraded, and there is no light, no peace, no purity, no real wealth, in the land.ÿ...

The Land and the People are bartered."

210 Church, Prostitution, Town Councils, Parliament commercialised. "Ruskin calls himself a Tory, and I am a Communist. But such Tories would at any rate take as much care of the workers as the slave-owners of old did of their slaves, while the 'Liberals' would treat them as they do orangesÿ- squeeze them dry, and throw the remains on a dunghill. The old Tories were consistent enough to treat their serfs as well as they did their dogs and horses. The Liberals don't treat them so well as the machinery they have got by the practice of usury. [Vermischung der Ebenen: politischer Liberalismus/Toryismus mit Capitalist/landlord. Damit werden politische und soziale Unterdröcker gleichgesetzt, obwohl beispielsweise viele Liberale keine Kapitalisten waren] Such men as Ruskin may be regarded as relics of the chivalric age. The present is a bastard age, an age of commercialism, in which everything earthly is measured by a gold standard. Society worships the great trinity, œ s. d. The coming era is one of Communism, and the People will only become sovereign over the grave of Commercialism.