

## **First International: Appearances in English source material 1868-1875**

(mainly in the Bee-Hive newspaper)

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1868-01-04: BH 001 International Working Men's Association: minutes

1868-02-22: BH 001 International Working Men's Association: minutes of 18.2.68

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1868-02-29: BH 001 Meeting of French Democrats: "crowded public meeting of French republicans and democrats, convened by the French branch of the International Working Men's Association" for commemorating the French Revolution of 1848; "About 500 persons were present, [...] members of the Reform League and London Working Men's Association. Mr. H. Jung occupied the chair."

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1868-03-01: BH 001 International Working Men's Association

1868-03-21: BH 001 International Working Men's Association: minutes of 17.3.68

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1868-03-28: BH 002 Suppression of the Paris International Working Men's Association

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1868-03-28: BH 005 Strike of Building Trade in Geneva threatened: text of appeal by acting committee of International Workmen's Association

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1868-04-04: BH 001 The International Working Men's Association

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1868-04-11: BH 005 Birmingham Trades Council: Correspondence from International Working Men's Association, London Working Men's Association and Manchester and Salford Trades Council concerning Trades Union Congress

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1868-04-11: BH 005 Geneva Lock-Out and International Working Men's Association

<Kopie teilweise>

1868-04-18: BH 001 International Working Men's Association: minutes of 14.4.68

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1868-04-25: BH 005 International Working Men's Association: minutes

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1868-05-02: BH 005 International Working Men's Association: minutes of 28.4.68

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1868-05-16: BH 005 International Working Men's Association: minutes

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1868-05-24: NR 333 (Reports of Meetings) Committee has been formed among the French Democrats in London to appeal to Continental Democracy to support Bradlaugh and *National Reformer*;

French Branch of International Working Men's Association is to appoint a delegate to the Committee; the announcement is headed: "Appeal to defend the Liberty of the Press in England" (reported by Le Lubez)

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1868-06-27: BH 001 International Working Men's Association

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1868-07-18: BH 006 The French Workmen and the French Government (on trial of members of International Working Men's Association)

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1868-08-01: BH 001 International Working Men's Association

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1868-08-08: BH 005 Report of preparations for Congress in Brussels of International Working Men's Association

1868-08-22: BH 001 International Working Men's Association: minutes of 4.8.68

1868-08-22: BH 007 (Letter to the editor) A. A. Walton introduces programme of International Working Men's Association's Brussels Congress (1 1/2 columns)

1868-08-29: BH 005 comment on: Time in Labour Question (on General Council meeting of International Working Men's Association)

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1868-09-05: BH 007 (Letter to the editor) A. A. Walton: The Land Question (on Brussels Congress of International Working Men's Association)

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1868-09-12: BH 005/06 Brussels Congress of International Working Men's Association (almost whole page)

1868-09-19: BH 005 Brussels Congress of International Working Men's Association  
(almost a whole page)

1868-09-19: BH 007 (Letter to the editor) A. A. Walton on resolutions on Brussels  
Congress of International Working Men's Association

1868-10-03: BH 001 International Working Men's Association: Brussels Congress elected  
executive for following year: Applegarth, Bernard, Buckley, Cohn, Copeland, Dell,  
Dupont, Eccarius, Peter Fox, Hales, Jung, Jules, Johannard, Lafarque [sic!], Lucraft,  
Lessner, Limbourg, Marx, Milner, Maurice, Odger, Robert Shaw, Cowells Stepney,  
Wm. Weston, Alfred A. Walton, Zabicki

1868-10-10: BH 005 Meeting of "revolutionists of all nations" for Spanish Revolution: Le  
Lubez, Felix Pyat, Besson, M. Denempont, Vesimer.  
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1868-11-21: BH 001 International Working Men's Association: resolutions of first and  
third congress printed

1868-12-05: EP 003 The Reform League and the Late Elections

Festival of Holborn branch of Reform League on election; Johnson in chair, Galbraith,  
W. Osborne; Odger address: Reform Act "was the people's own victory. The Whigs, and  
by this appellation he did not mean the large party that was now going to Parliament  
pledged to support Mr. Gladstone, but the 'old party' - those went to the Commons  
pledged to support Reform, and then did nothing." ... "What the Liberals had done to Mr.  
Beales he regarded as a black crime, speaking politically, and such acts, he said, would  
drive the working classes to act independently of both parties. He announced that the  
Trades' Unionists intended to form an Electoral Union ..." As many lights have been lost  
to the legislature, "such a House would still be indisposed to listen to the claims of the  
people at large, but that the people had every thing to hope from the honesty of the  
statesman who would soon be called upon to guide the helm of State - Mr. Gladstone, a  
statesman without guile, and one in whom the people could put faith." ...

Further meeting of delegates from Reform League, International and other associations  
at 8 Adelphi Terrace for considering entertainment for American Minister Reverdy  
Johnson; Cooper, Coningsby, Lloyd Jones, Jung, Coles; Odger calls attention to a letter  
by Isaac Ironsides of Foreign Affairs Committee of Sheffield against Reverdy Johnson  
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1868-12-12: BH 006 International Working Men's Association on Peace Congress at Berne  
<Kopie teilweise>

1869-01-03: NR 015 record of "death of Mrs. Lessner, wife of Mr. Lessner, member of the council of the Workmen's International Society", who (= she) always "took the greatest interest in all Freethought matters"

1869-01-16: BH 007 (Letter to the editor) Henry Lang, Secretary pro. tem., on International Working Men's Association

1869-02-06: BH 001 Holborn Branch Reform League:

Wade: late policy of executive premature;

Deputation of French Branch of International Working Men's Association requests loan of flags for demonstration on 24.2.69 to commemorate revolution of 1848, which is granted;

petition to Gladstone on political prisoners, who is expected to act on numerous signatures;

meeting scheduled for Thursday to prepare a demonstration to commemorate Ernest Jones

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1869-03-28: NR 199 International Working Men's Association: Deputation to the American Minister

Sat., 6.3.69: deputation of Besson, Weber, Jourdain, Debord, Chatelin to American minister with address to President Grant

"This address was, on February 24th, 1869, read by Citizen F. Pyat, in a public meeting called by the French Branch (Federal Section) of the International Working Men's Association, for the purpose of commemorating the proclamation of the French Republic in 1848. The address was unanimously and enthusiastically voted by a numerous attendance, composed of Republicans, Democrats, and Socialists of all nations. Besson, President. Hulek, Secretary"

Full text given (2 columns): Grant is called upon to help Garibaldi to free Rome from Napoleon III. [partly quoted in Biagini, Liberty, Retrenchment and Reform, 225/226]

1869-03-28: NR 205 (Reports of meetings) West End of London Boot Closers' Society:

special meeting on 15.3.69, Charles Murray presided: Correspondence from IWMA and Congress resolutions of 1866 and 1868 read: "The sections relating to trades' unions and strikes; to national credit for the working classes; the nationalisation of land, mines, railways, telegraphs, and canals; the question of education, and of the abolition of war and of standing armies, received the warmest approval of the meeting". James Ross and Edward Bedford were appointed delegates to the IWMA (reported by Charles Murray, Chairman)

1869-04-04: NR 221/222 (Reports of meetings) Eclectic Hall: address by Charles Murray on "Land and Money" (ausführlicher Bericht); zuvor: Murray liest IWMA address an US-Präs. Grant (reported by G. E. H.)

1869-05-29: BH 006 Obituary for Peter Fox (André), died on 8.5.69 in Vienna, aged 38, being correspondent to New York Herald. Wrote for Beehive, Illustrated London News, National Reformer, Victoria Magazine (his membership of International Working Men's Association is not mentioned)

1869-06-26: BH 006 International Working Men's Association: Programme for Basle Congress printed (small, right hand down corner)

1869-08-01: NR 076 (Reports of Meetings) International Working Men's Association, 256 High Holborn: programme of fourth annual congress  
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1869-09-11: EP 002 The International Labour Congress  
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1869-09-18: BH 004 Commentary: on Labour Question in Europe (among others Basle Congress of International Working Men's Association)

1869-09-18: BH 006 Report of Basle congress of International Working Men's Association

1869-10-02: BH 004 Commentary: on Basle Congress of International Working Men's Association

1869-10-03: NR 220 (Reports of meetings) International Working Men's Association: minutes of meeting of 21.9.69 (reported by G. E. H.)  
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1869-10-03: NR 221 (Reports of meetings) Mile End Branch of the Working Men's National Reform League:

21.9.69: Riddle lectures on land question, from a religious point of view

26.9.69: address on "our programme"

26.9.69: discussion on influx of foreign labour; Mr. Caunt expects help from International Working Men's Association (reported by F. Reel, Cor. Sec.)

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1869-10-10: NR 236 (Reports of Meetings) Mile End Branch of the Working Men's National Reform League, London Hospital Tavern, Whitechapel Road: 28.9.69 Bradlaugh on "Agricultural Labourer"; Drake (old friend of Bradlaugh) in chair; Bradlaugh will always be welcome in East End; man who was supposed to disturb lecture applauded more than others;

3.10.69 Hales lectures on "Necessity and Value of Organisation to the People": trades' unions have taught working men benefits of combination; for direct taxation, a Ministry of Industry, Court of Arbitration of Nations, abolition of Standing Armies, Cooperation, and programme of International Working Men's Association; discussion on free Trade and foreign competition; Riddle says in past organisation was against us, in future will be for us;

10.10.69 Weston will lecture on "nationalisation of the land" (reported by F. Reel, Cor. Sec.)

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1869-10-16: BH 005 International Working Men's Association

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1869-10-17: NR 252 International Working Men's Association: minutes of 5.10.69 (reported by G.)

1869-11-21: NR 333 (Reports of meetings) Mile End Branch of the Working Men's National Reform League: 9.11.69 Le Lubez on freemasonry

14.11.69: Hales on socialism;

[significant cross-references to International Democratic Association and International Working Men's Association] (reported by F. Reel, sec.)

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1870-01-08: BH 004/05 Commentary: Mr. Odger and his Rivals

on Southwark Election: Odger is "the first working-man candidate that has presented himself under circumstances affording a fair prospect of success"; contrary to his Liberal rivals he need not care whether party vote is split or not; although many Liberals claim they want to see workers in parliament, "the moral uncertainty" justifies Odger's reserve for courting Liberal wire-pullers and "managing men of the Reform Club" (they might still put party interests first). Odger should rather prefer defeat "to success not manifestly won by their own unaided efforts".

Carpenters and Joiners of Barnet have remarked on Odgers connection with International Working Men's Association: they "see that cosmopolitan spirit so much needed in the national Legislature;" they are against "mere class candidates", but support election of intelligent man of wage-receiving class

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1870-02-06: NR 091 L. L.: "Meeting of the Democracy of London at Cleveland Hall" (26.1.70)

Besson, Le Lubez, Jourdain, International Democratic Association, German Democratic

Association, French Branch of the International Working Men's Association  
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1870-02-12: BH 007 (Letter to the editor) Ballot Box, Westminster: Progress of Societies for the Advancement of the People:

"we democrats" need a paper which reports our meetings; hopes that "Penny Beehive" will employ special reporter to do so and ask societies to send reports of their corresponding secretaries; couple of columns should be devoted to: Working Men's National Reform League, Holborn Branch Reform League, Land and Labour League, Industrial Employment Association, International Working Men's Association, International Democratic League, Odger's local committees.

"if you will chronicle these important movements, and thus steer in advance of the daily lickspittle press, or anti-industrial press, you will ensure the increased confidence of the masses, and I am persuaded that you will gain a large accession of strength. Your paper will be in all respects 'the People's Paper' and you will thus prevent the possibility of your journal being outstripped by any future journals which might report these useful societies, to the progress of which I can confidently assure you all true democrats look with great eagerness. I would add that many are unable to attend meetings, and are therefore all the more desirous of knowing what takes place".

1870-05-14: BH 205 (Letter to the editor) Mottershead (Chairman), Weston (treasurer) and Eccarius (Gen. Sec.) by order of the Council of the International Working Men's Association: declaration, that "the so-called Federal French Branch ceased, two years ago, to form part of *the* 'International'".

1870-07-10: NR 028 (Reports of meetings) International Working Men's Association: Citizen Max (sic!): moving of General Council to Brussels for 1870/71

1870-07-16: BH 343 Prosecution of International Working Men's Association in Paris

1870-07-30: BH 376 International Working Men's Association: Address respecting the war: refusal of working classes to vote on Plebiscite was work of Society; German working classes must not let degenerate war against Napoleon into one against the French people

1871-03-26: NR 207 (Guide to the Lecture Room)

United Secularists' Propagandist Society, New Hall of Science Branch: Library of 200 vols.;

List of branches of Land and Labour League;

Islington Branch of the International, Political, and Social Discussion Society (Copenhagen Tavern);

Marylebone Branch of the International Association, Quebec Club (T. M. Webb);

Eleusis Club, Chelsea, 180 King's Road: musical selections by the choir

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1871-05-20: BH 012 To the International Working Men's Association in London and Paris

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1871-05-28: Mill an John Hales (CW 17, Nr. 1667, S. 1821/22)

Mill received Hales' note too late for attending the Committee or sending an answer. Mill would do anything he could to mitigate horrors of Paris, but has no hope of such a blessed result. At least the atrocities are seen with abhorrence in England. – Hales had written that Cttee had been formed to see whether something could be done "to stay the brutalities of the Versailles Government". On 31.5.71 a meeting of representatives of republican and democratic societies in London, convened by GC of IWMA, was held at 256 High Holborn, to consider steps to prevent English Governments extradition of Communard refugees who might come to England. This letter by Mill was read at the meeting. See Times 1.6.1871, S. 6, und Daily News 1.6.1871, S. 3.

1871-06-03: BH 005 Meeting of International Working Men's Association on refugees

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1871-06-03: BH 012/13 Universal Republican League: meeting on Tuesday, Dahlman in chair, has doubts on suggested demonstration to express grief at fall of Commune, Irish might disturb it;

Mills doubts that demo would be success because only socialists support Commune; all other English workers horrified at massacres;

Wynn: demo for refugees;

/13/ J. Johnson is for demo; "they (the meeting) must do what they thought was right as to the demonstration, even at the sacrifice of their lives - they should do what they could to save such great men as Blanqui, Félix Pyat, and others, who yet might escape to this country. Better, he contended, to blow up all Paris, than stand and be butchered, in cold blood, by the men of Versailles". He proposes: demo on Sunday, "unless the International Working Men's Association resolve upon holding one, instead of going as a deputation to the Government, and that in case they do hold one, that we shall coalesce with them; that the object of the demonstration be to prevent the extradition of any Communal refugees who may arrive in England, and to protest against the atrocities committed and about to be committed by the Versailles Government."

Mills seconds;

Wynn: "if the Irish ever attempted another Garibaldi riot there would be bloodshed by the English trades union element; in fact there would be a general massacre".



Resolution carried.

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1871-06-10: BH 005 meeting of Democratic and Republican organisations at rooms of International Working Men's Association on deputation to Gladstone respecting French refugees

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1871-06-17: BH 005 Extracts from International Working Men's Association-address on Commune, which was signed by Lucraft, Odger, W. Mottershead, Cowell, Stepney, Murray; Hermann Jung (chairman), John Weston (treasurer), George Harris (financial secretary), John Hales (gen. sec.)

1871-06-24: BH 010 Holyoake on International Working Men's Association-Address and signatures

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1871-07-01: BH 010 Commentary: The International Society:

on address on Paris Commune: reaction of Hales and Marx to Holyoake's letter (Lucraft, Odger, C. E. Maurice)

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1871-07-09: NR 030 (Reports of Meetings) Mile End Branch of the Land and Labour League: Weston lectures on waste ground on the "Address of the International": "one of the largest meetings" this season, despite unfavourable weather; McAra at London Hospital Tavern on land question

1871-07-09: NR The Commune and the International Society

masterful address by Karl Marx;

many fables and misrepresentations about International Society;

case of Commune weakened by introducing certain personalities into the address, like Jules Favre;

"That Jules Ferry was 'penniless' is surely an objection coming with illgrace from any writer on the popular side.";

Odger, in speech at Edinburgh, has declined to endorse Marx' address

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1871-07-16: NR 038 George Harris (3 Camillia Street, Wandsworth Road): The Commune and the International Society

letter of 10.7.71 by Harris, the Financial Secretary of the International, on comment on address by Marx in last *National Reformer*;

comment by editor on Harris' letter

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1871-09-02: BH 013 (Letter to the editor) M. N., Buckingham Street, W. C.: The International Working Men's Association: as a member, he asks what the Association has achieved since 1865, esp. on emancipation of Labour, but many questions

1871-09-30: BH 010 International Working Men's Association: beginning of London Conference reported

1871-10-07: BH 013 "The English Communists, who are in close alliance with the European International Society, says the *Record*, have in London as many as twenty assembly rooms where they disseminate their pernicious principles at large meetings throughout the week, besides seventy associate societies in the provinces. They publish, moreover, four newspapers, some of which have an enormous circulation, and a very large body of corrupt cheap literature."

1871-10-15: NR 254/255 (Republican Club Department) Bolton Republican Club  
4.10. meeting, Richardson in chair;  
Bramwell (Sec.) reads letter from John Hales, asking for affiliation to International Working Men's Association, which is dealing with political and social questions; affiliation declined by club;  
tea party announced to inaugurate club, G. Odger promised to attend;  
resolution to ask Council of Liberal Association to appoint delegates to Birmingham conference on reform of the House of Lords

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1871-10-21: BH 010 International Working Men's Association: minutes of last weekly meeting [seit langem wieder]

1871-10-21: BH 014 W. Riddle, South Lambeth: The International (poem, but International not mentioned in text)

1871-10-28: BH 013 "Meeting of the International.- A large meeting of the members of this secret society was held on Saturday night at their room, Holborn, for the purpose of considering the best means of promoting the objects of the association. Of late the society has not been supported by the working men of England, and since the publication of the late political pamphlet many of the subscribers have withdrawn their names and funds have been low. It was, therefore, resolved that a number of association branches should be formed throughout the country for the purpose of extending the movement and gaining subscriptions among the working classes to carry on the work. Owing to a resolution passed some months since that the foreign members of councils,

many of them Communist refugees in London, should have a place on the London Board, there has been a great preponderance of foreign and political influence, and those representin English opinions have been outvoted. Considerable dissatisfaction, therefore, exists among the English memebers, who maintain that the society was first instituted to internationally regulate trade matters among workmen, but that as it has been perverted now into a political association,it is not worthy of the support of the English working classes, who are now to be called upon to find the sinews of war for foreign agitations."

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1872-02-04: NR 076 (Reports of Meetings) Land and Labour League, Sir Robert Peel  
Branch: Sunday evening: Mitchell not arrived for debate on "International"; Freedom of Speech Demonstration Committee got much support, even from Rome (for Odgers, Dilkes, Bradlaugh);  
Reel of Mile End Branch of the Land and Labour League informs that council intends petition to Queen to be forwarded on Thanksgiving Day (20.2.72) to point out poverty; last Monday: Black Swan, Rider's Court: Odger presiding, Elliot gives plans and details of place and starting point for each division (reported by W. Swain, Sec.)

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1872-02-18: NR 109 (Reports of Meetings) "At the meeting of Thursday, February 8th, the French International Federalist Section of 1871, resolved to hold a meeting in commemoration of the Communalist Revolution of the 18th March, which will be presided over by Citizen Dupont, ex-member of the Commune of Paris.- A. D."

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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 secresy (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 holiday, 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 fo 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 007 International Working Men's Association: GC meeting report

1872-03-09: BH 013 (from the *Pall Mall Gazette*) The International: "From the reports of the general council, we gather that the International is as active as ever." New organ is to appear on 1.3.72, title *International*, office: 7 Red Lion Court; new branches formed at Dundee, Hinckley (Leicestershire), and in course of formation in Woolwich and Sunderland; Jung proposes meeting to celebrate revolution of 18. March; "The Irish section of the International met at the Grapes, Great Marlborough-street, on the 18th inst.", M'Donnell urging duty of temperance, J. Murphy on aims of International and its benefits for Ireland, forming of sections at Rotherhithe and Deptford proposed. "From these reports it will be seen that the International is rapidly adding to the number of its members both at home and abroad."

1872-03-10: NR 158 (Republican Club Department) London Republican Club: special meeting, Darwood in chair; balance-sheet of Freedom of Speech Demonstration Committee approved; Foote and Martin elected as representatives of club at future meetings of committee; Darwood and Holbrook move thanks to Foote for his Hyde Park-speech;

letter read from J. Hales as Sec. of a committee formed for purpose of organising meeting for the 18th to commemorate "social revolution in Paris last year", asking for support; as there is rival commemoration by another party with many members of Commune, London Republican Club decides to refrain from acting;

Martin on "The Policy of Bismarck" (reported by G. W. Foote, Sec.)

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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 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 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 007 Address of the British Federal Council of the International Working Men's Association. To the Working Men and Women of the British Islands

1872-03-24: NR 188 (Reports of Meetings) Mile End Branch of the Land and Labour League: Mitchell on "International Working Men's Association", deprecates the introduction of personal ill-feeling, and urges those approving of the principles to join the association;

Resolution by Doward and McAra on Mazzini's death (reported by F. Reel, Sec.)

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1872-03-30: IH 002/3 The International Society - Its Origin and Aims.

after 1862 exhibition and 1863 visit, committee of Odger, Cremer, J. Eglinton (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 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 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 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'."

1872-03-31: NR 205/206 (Republican Club Department) Universal Republican League, Section III, Black Swan, Ryder's Court, Leicester Square: Richard on the "three great democratic meetings of the week": First, celebration of the Paris revolution of 18th March at New Hall of Science and "the abortive attempt made by the Council of the International to hold a similiar celebration at St. Georges Hall"; second, Captain Maxse; third, meeting at St. James Hall against Parks Bill;  
Weber "as an old revolutionist who had struggled for forty years" protests against the "aspersions thrown against several democrats" by *Times*, *Liberté de Bruxelles* and *Standard*;  
Odger gives account of his connection with International Working Men's Association: "He regretted bitterly the personal character of the disputes which had originated in that society" and the publicity of controversies; Weber and Richard, on suggestion of speaker, call on General Council of International to avoid public exposure of grievances  
<Kopie>

1872-04-07: NR 215 Marcus: The Political Struggle

on relations between classes holding power to those seeking it; Hole in the Wall; International; Gladstone; Parks Bill, etc.  
<Kopie>

1872-04-07: NR 220 (Reports of Meetings) Mile End Branch of the Land and Labour League: Cohn on events of Month (Alabama Case, Parks Bill, Dilke on Civil List, Ballot, Mines Regulation Bill, agricultural labourers' strike); Butler urging attention to land question; Le Lubez pleased with prominent trades' unionist Cohn, he and other International unionists would urge members on, is "sorry to find a kind of aristocracy amongst unionists" (reported by F. Reel, Sec.)  
<Kopie>

1872-04-13: BH 006 (Letter) John G. Waldren, Gen. Sec. of United Kingdom Society of Coachmakers, Liverpool:  
rejects appeal of International Society to support coachmakers of Cork, because funds of his society are well balanced  
<Kopie>

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 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 (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 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

1872-04-20: BH 009 (Commentary) Internationalism and Bailie Cochrane (against Bailie Cochrane, Conservative MP for Isle of Wight, who said that 180000 English Working Men supported International and their aim of striking at the "root of all morality, all civilisation, all rights of property, and all belief in God."

<Kopie>

1872-04-27: BH 013 International Working Men's Association: meeting of General Council on Saturday on Baillie Cochrane's statements

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 005 Dublin Branch of IWMA

McKeen in chair, Allen Hon. Sec.

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

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 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

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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) 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)

1872-05-05: NR 286 (Republican Club Department) International Working Men's Association, West End Section: at Sir Robert Peel, James Street, Oxford Street [same meeting place as Land and Labour League, Sir Robert Peel Branch!]: Clark, Pitt (reported by J. Mitchell, Sec.)

<Kopie>

1872-05-05: NR 286 (Republican Club Department) London Republican Club: after reading of circular of Polish Committee, resolution to take part in demonstration; Foote on "Republicanism and Socialism", "disclaiming any sympathy with the latter, as popularly understood, and as expounded by its French supporters, such as Louis Blanc"; all social evils to "be remedied by individual effort and the progress of opinion and science"; "government agency was totally unnecessary", even "lamentable results"; sympathy with objects of International Association, but compelled to hold aloof from it because political remedies for social disorders vicious; "A very animated discussion ensued, in which the Socialist views of Louis Blanc were vigorously maintained." (reported by G. W. Foote, Sec.)

<Kopie>

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 007 (Reports of Meetings) British Federal Council of IWMA

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) 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) 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) 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) 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)

1872-05-12: NR 295 (Book Review) Essays and Lectures, by Henry Fawcett MP and Millicent Garrett Fawcett (London, Macmillan & Co.), u.a. on International Working Men's Association

1872-05-12: NR 302 (Republican Club Department) International Working Men's

Association, West End Section, Sir Robert Peel, James Street, Oxford Street: Mitchell, Doward in chair, Harris (reported by J. Mitchell, Sec.)

<Kopie>

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 (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

1872-05-19: NR 319 (Republican Club Department) International Working Men's

Association, West End Section, Sir Robert Peel, James Street, Oxford Street: 11.5.72

Pitt in chair; Doward-lecture on Switzerland; Clarke, Paul;

programme for the International "to apply its power to the promotion of British interest";

Harris, late member of General Council, announced on "Machinery, and how

Monopolised" (reported by J. Mitchell, Sec.)

<Kopie>

1872-05-25: IH 002/3 A Warning to Emigrants

letter by James M'Pherson (Christchurch, Canterbury, Newsealand) to the International Council

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) 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."

1872-05-26: NR 327 (Republican Club Department) International Working Men's

Association, West End Section, Sir Robert Peel, James Street, Oxford Street: 16.5.72

Doward in chair; discussion on "Return of Working Men to Parliament": Boon, member

of the General Council, on usefulness of cooperation, "if men went into the House of

Commons they must not be party men, but thoroughly independent advocates of sound

social reform" [aversion against parties], land and currency laws;

resolution calling for petition to Federal Council;

18.5.72 usual weekly meeting, Doward in chair, Harris on "What is Social Science?"

(reported by J. Mitchell, Sec.)

<Kopie>

1872-05-26: NR 327 Fund for Peacock: subscriptions received: J. K. Harris, London;

Members of Liverpool International Working Men's Association: McNeal, J. Ward

(reported by R. Roberts, 2 Oakes Street, Anson Place, London Road, Liverpool)

<Kopie>

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 007 (Letter to the Editor) N. N. (County Tipperary, Ireland): Ireland and the International

1872-06-02: NR 349 (Reports of Meetings) Working Men's Co-operative Colony, Kansas: C. Murray in chair; Hales, Sec. of International Working Men's Association, on International Working Men's Association

1872-06-02: NR 350 (Reports of Meetings) International Working Men's Association, West End Section, Sir Robert Peel, James Street, Oxford Street: Doward presiding; Townshend, member of the General Council, on "Origin of Money"; Hales, Murray (reported by J. Mitchell, Sec.)

<Kopie>

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 fo 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 fo 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 stops 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 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 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

1872-06-09: NR 365 (Reports of Meetings) International Working Men's Association, West End Section, Sir Robert Peel, James Street, Oxford Street: Pitt presiding; eight people join after hearing Hales' lecture on International Working Men's Association at Eclectic Hall;

Mitchell on "co-operation": co-operative production rather than co-operative stores, sound financial laws, recommends pamphlet "The Currency as Illustrated by the Postage Stamp"; Pitt, Doward (reported by J. M. Sec.)

<Kopie>

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



1872-06-15: IH 006 (Reports of Meetings) British Federal Council of IWMA

office: 7 Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, H. Mayo in chair

1872-06-15: 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

1872-06-16: NR 381 (Reports of Meetings) International Working Men's Association, West

End Section: 8.6.72 Doward in chair; Pitt, delegate to Federal Council, reports progress (delegates had been appointed to carpenters' meeting at Boar's Head);

Paul asks Secretary to appoint delegates to [Nottingham] by a full meeting of all members;

communication read from Riddle, secretary to Game Laws Committee, asking for delegates to meeting at Sussex Hall, Bouverie Street, Fleet Street on 17.6.72; Mitchell and Hills appointed (reported by J. M. Sec.)

<Kopie>

1872-06-16: NR 383 (Republican Club Department) London Republican Club: Foote

announced on "International Working Men's Association";

Brisck on "Free Trade and Protection": Brisck seems to lean to reciprocity, but most other members don't;

many members have not yet paid their subscriptions for year which began in April (reported by G. W. Foote, Sec.)

<Kopie>

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 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) British Federal Council of IWMA

Robert Foster, sec. to the Council

1872-06-23: RN 002 (Letter to the Editor) George Gilroy: International Working Men's Association (Liverpool Branch)

directs attention to existence of this branch in Liverpool; is disappointed that given the great number of working men with advanced views in Liverpool and "disgusted with the way in which we are misgoverned" do not join this branch in large numbers, so that membership, despite good roll of members' names, is still behind smaller towns in numbers and organisation. Does not know whether to attribute this to fear or to apathy. Invites them to action. "Every man has rights; but those rights entail upon the possessor certain duties, and by the first principle of the International the man who fails to perform his duties ceases to possess rights - 'no rights without duties, no duties without rights.'" [apathy and political abstention makes workmen lose the rights they could have, they forfeit their claim]

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) 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) 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) 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) St. Lukes Section of the IWMA

H. Poulton elected Sec. in place of R. Foster; Vickery chairman

1872-06-30: RN 008 The International Association

Jung will lecture at Eclectic Hall on 30.6. on Switzerland

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

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) 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 007 Christopher Cherrybum's Lectures. No. 12.- On the International

Herald and the Bee Hive, and so on

1872-07-14: NR 029 (Reports of Meetings) Saxel's Hotel, Minorities: Meeting of German

Society Bund Deutscher Manner to celebrate German victory over France; German Social Democrats amendment for anti-war celebration; "Strange to say, not one of the so-called Internationalists of High Holborn was present to do battle against these Imperialist manifestations." (reported by A. Schneider)

<Kopie>

1872-07-14: NR 030 (Reports of Meetings) International Working Men's Association, West

End Section, Sir Robert Peel, James Street, Oxford Street: 6.7.72 first half year of existence; Doward in chair; Paul elected delegate to Nottingham Congress; a member on imprisonment of soldier complaining about meat (reported by M.)

<Kopie>

1872-07-20: BH 011 International Working Men's Association:

first annual Congress of British section at West End Club announced

<Kopie>

1872-07-20: IH 001/2 We demand Justice!

programme of Nottingham Congress of British Section of IWMA

(38 items)

1872-07-21: NR 046 (Reports of Meetings) International Working Men's Association, West

End Section, Sir Robert Peel, James Street, Oxford Street: 6.7.72, Paul presiding;

question of instructions for our delegate at Nottingham Congress: Hills for hiring lecturers to promulgate doctrines of International instead only advocating them in

branch meetings or papers; C. Murray supports International; Townshend announced for reading (reported by J. Mitchell, Sec.)

<Kopie>

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

Congress held 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. Fairclough, 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 contended 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 make 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 cttee 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."

1872-07-28: NR 062 (Reports of Meetings) International Working Men's Association, West End Section, Sir Robert Peel, James Street, Oxford Street: Hills in chair gives report from Federal Council; Townshend's lecture postponed (reported by J. Mitchell, Sec.)  
<Kopie>

1872-07-28: RN 004 (Commentary) The British International Congress  
on Nottingham Congress of British Federation of IWMA  
orderly conduct positively compared to conduct in House of Commons against Dilke



and Auberon Herbert

remarks by Clarke especially praised, calling for industrial orders to form backbone of nation

"A revolution is inevitable, but one, we believe, that will be effected by purely constitutional means. In 1872 political power had passed into the hand of the people. Nothing can resist their influence, if they exert the same with intelligence and skill. The masses will have themselves heard, represented, and their grievances redressed. In proportion as they become well instructed, temperate, and self-reliant, will the grand issue they desire be theirs. If union be strength, the power of the people is irresistible."

1872-07-28: RN 006 Congress of the English Branch of the International Society  
[report of 2 columns]

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

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 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

1872-08-04: NR 078 (Reports of Meetings) International Working Men's Association, West End Section, Sir Robert Peel, James Street, Oxford Street: Hills presiding; Paul reports

from commencement of Nottingham Congress ("truly a working congress"), but cannot stay till the end of Congress because he then would lose his employ (reported by J. Mitchell, Sec.)

<Kopie>

1872-08-04: NR 078 (Reports of Meetings) Working Men's Co-operative Colony, Kansas:

J. Piercy in chair; A. Maynard on "Cost the Limit of Price": against present distribution which favours the middleman;

J. Mitchell, Sec. of the Sir Robert Peel Branch of the International, gives address against present social and political arrangements of society; against present system of wages, "stigmatised our boasted liberty and freedom as a myth", urging organisation (reported by A. Days)

<Kopie>

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 enduring 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 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 006 South Lambeth Section of IWMA

Jno. Wylding, 36 Courland Grove, Wandsworth Road, S. W., is secretary

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 cheif [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

1872-08-18: NR 109 (Reports of Meetings) International Working Men's Association, West

End Section: 10.8.72, Comfort presiding, Hills reports on doings of Federal Council;

Jones of Manchester has been made unemployed because of being a member of the International Society;

Murray absent, his lecture on Kansas Co-operative Company postponed;

Mitchell-motion to appoint two delegates to German Section to consider action for co-operative store, and reading and lecturing rooms, is postponed;

Doward, Shean, Jefferson, Comfort, Hills (reported by J. Mitchell, sec.)

<Kopie>

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.)

1872-08-25: NR 126 (Reports of Meetings) International Working Men's Association, West End Section, Sir Robert Peel: Townshend in chair; Mitchell and Jefferson appointed to wait on German section on co-operative store, with reading and lecturing rooms "- in fact, a social club";

Comport elected Secretary to the section, Mitchell Cor. Sec. (reported by J. Mitchell)  
<Kopie>

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 its principles, thought they only wanted self-improve (rep by r. High, Sec.)

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 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. ..."

1872-09-07: BH 011 The Congress of the International

beginning of Hague Congress

<Kopie>

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) Halifax Section of IWMA

Fleming resigns office as he is about to leave Halifax

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.

1872-09-14: BH 010 The International

on end of Hague Congress

<Kopie>

1872-09-14: IH 005 Edmund Hills: Progress

on progress of IWMA in England

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."

1872-09-15: NR 173 (Reports of Meetings) London Patriotic Society's Club and Institute:  
last Sunday morning: preliminary meeting on Clerkenwell Green for Trafalgar Square demonstration, P. Johnson in chair, addresses by Weston, Osborne, etc.;  
Sunday evening: Osborne on events of week: "was of opinion that the International Society and its Congresses were matters of little moment to the working classes of England. He had authority for saying that that society did not number 200 paying members in this country."; Geneva arbitration welcomed as preventing war; sympathy with bakers to better their condition, "though for thirty years he had never known a baker to take any active part in politics"; high price of provisions will direct attention to unjust Land and Game Laws; Upshall, Smith, Galbraith, Brighty, Richardson;  
Tuesday evening: Foote on "The Sphere and Duties of Government"; Poor Law, sanitary supervision and National Education vicious in principle; state should care for negative welfare only, not positive; "The law of equal freedom was the true principle of morality; and consequently of social arrangements." (reported by G. G. T.)  
<Kopie>

1872-09-21: BH 006 The International in London  
meeting and Congress of British Federal Council  
[many names]  
<Kopie>

1872-09-21: BH 008/9 (Commentary) The International  
<Kopie>

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

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.)

1872-09-22: NR 189 (Reports of Meetings) London Patriotic Society's Club and Institute:  
Provis in chair; Upshall on events of week: "disorganised state of the Liberal party"; in  
favour of Odger's conduct at Preston, as a step in right direction to get rid of Game  
Laws; Blanche Oswald; supports settlement of Alabama question; International  
Congress; meeting of Emperors; Bakers' agitation for less hours;  
Pratt, Wade, Chatterton, Osborne, Roberts (reported by C. Rendall)  
<Kopie>

1872-09-22: NR 189 (Reports of Meetings) Working Men's Co-operative Colony, Kansas:  
J. Rogers in chair; W. Arnold on "Equitable Commerce": scheme of exchanging labour  
for labour (cites Josiah Warren);  
announcement of West, delegate from No. 12 Section of the International at New York  
to Hague Congress on "Organisation" (reported by A. Days)  
<Kopie>

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.

1872-09-29: NR 205 (Reports of Meetings) Working Men's Co-operative Colony, Kansas:  
West (delegate from No. 12 section of International to Hague congress) on  
"organisation": plan for forming new political organisation for changing existing order  
of society (reported by A. Days)  
<Kopie>

1872-09-29: NR 206 (Reports of Meetings) Glasgow: McClusky on "Secularism,  
Eclecticism, and Internationalism, their Essential Differences";  
formation of a new society, list of officers  
<Kopie>

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 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.)

1872-10-06: NR 220/221 (Reports of Meetings) Working Men's Co-operative Colony,

Kansas: Charles Murray in chair; John De Morgan, lately of Cork, on "Aims and Objects of the International": evils of society can be remedied by adoption of principles of International Working Men's Association (nationalisation of the land, abolition of standing armies, equal rights for women); "... the Society was the most practical of the present day, and the practice of its principles would bring about a state of society wherein class rule would cease, and all men would be brothers";

J. Radford and Barry of International move thanks to lecturer (reported by A. Days)

<Kopie>

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) 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 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 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-roads, Chancery Lane (reported by J. P. McDonnell)

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 Bromsgrave 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'

1872-10-13: NR 236 (Reports of Meetings) International Working Men's Association, [West End Section], Sir Robert Peel, James Street, Oxford Street: 28.9.72 Doward in chair; John De Morgan of Cork on "The Age of Shams" (on Disraeli's and Gladstone's politics);  
30.9.72 Benjamin Franklin Hall, Castle Street, Oxford Market, C. Murray presiding, John De Morgan on "Aims and Objects of the International": "... proving the usefulness of the International Association to the producing classes of all countries, its sound policy in endeavouring to promote the solidarity of all peoples within the pale of civilisation, and foreshadowing the powerful proportions the Association was destined to assume in the British Isles";  
5.10.72 weekly meeting, Doward in chair; report by Branch delegate to Federal Council (reported by J. Comfort, Sec.)  
<Kopie>

1872-10-13: NR 237 (Reports of Meetings) Mile End Branch of the Land and Labour League: 6.10.72 F. Reel in chair, John Hales on "International Working Men's Association: their origins, doings and aims": "universal brotherhood", shorten hours of labour, nationalisation of land to bring home colonization, abolition of standing armies; Butler, F. Reel (reported by V. Hirschbeal, Ass. Sec.)  
<Kopie>

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

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 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 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]

1872-10-20: NR 253 (Reports of Meetings) Working Men's Co-operative Colony, Kansas: Sunday: C. Murray in chair; G. J. Owen on "Internationalism applied to the Government of the World";

Wednesday 9.10.72 sixth half-yearly meeting: C. Murry presiding; balance-sheet and re-election of chairman and outgoing officers; H. Cowing financial secretary, J. Rogers Cor. Sec.) [also in IH 19.10.72, p. 6]

<Kopie>

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 The Claims of Labour, by Robert Rawson, Gorton, near Manchester, 8.10.

urges support for International in its aim "to accomplish the emancipation fo 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 006 Glasgow Section [of IWMA]

18.10., Freebairn in chair;

letters from Hales, McAra, Odger;

Odger declines to act as our delegate fro 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 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) 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 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 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) 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 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 long Lists of IWMA branches, and provincial Republican clubs

1872-11-03: NR 285 (Reports of Meetings) International Working Men's Association, [West End Section], Sir Robert Peel, James Street, Oxford Street: 19.10.72 Pitt in chair; Townshend on "The Conspiracy of Capital against Labour"; 26.10.72 Doward in chair; Whieler of the German section (in absence of the ill branch delegate Hills) reports proceedings of Federal Council (reported by J. Comfort, Sec.)  
<Kopie>

1872-11-03: NR 285 (Reports of Meetings) Working Men's Hall, Chatam: G. W. Foote on "Oliver Cromwell"; John de Morgan announced for 6.11.72 on "International" (reported by R. W. A.)  
<Kopie>

1872-11-09: BH 009 (Commentary) John Stuart Mill and the International on Mill's letter to Sec. of Nottingham Branch of International Working Men's Association  
<Kopie>

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. [...]

1872-11-10: NR 299 (Reports of Meetings) London Patriotic Society's Club and Institute:  
Sunday: Brighty on events of week, describing his visit to the Midland counties:  
Leicester Republican Club numbering about 600 members; successful working of Ballot

Act in Godmanchester and Huntingdon, prevented drunkenness; St. Juan case; "Mr. Mill's allegation, in his recent letter to the Nottingham branch of the International, that the English people did not know what was meant by the term 'Principles of the Revoluion,' he considered to be a mistake, as the English well understood that equal political and social rights was what the phrase was intended to convey."; Latimer, Davis, Mottershead, Wasseimer, Lowe, Upshall, Odger (congratulating "the Democracy on the success of the great demonstration" in Hyde Park (reported by G. G. T.)

<Kopie>

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

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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 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 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 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.)

1872-11-30: 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 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 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 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
- 1872-12-08: NR 366 (Republican Club Department) Charles C. Cattell as delegate for Birmingham and West Bromwich on Republican Conference at Sheffield (full report to appear in *International Herald*)  
<Kopie>
- 1872-12-14: IH 004/5 International Working Men's Association resolutions of Hague Congress
- 1873-03-02: NR 135 Obituaries (among others James Freebairn of Glasgow Branch of International Working Men's Association, Owenist, Freethinker, 61 years [J. McG.]

1873-05-10: BH 007 despite all horrors of International Society, its emperors determining course of human affairs

<Kopie>

1873-06-03: T 010 The International

Second Annual Congress of British Federation of IWMA, Manchester.

S. Vickery in chair.

"the red flag is proclaimed the flag of the British Federation"; each section to get one and inscribe it with No duties without rights, no rights without duties.

1873-06-04: T 009 The International

Report of second Annual Congress of British Federation of IWMA continued.

1873-06-15: NR 382 International Working Men's Association, Stratford Section: expects Hales-lecture on International (reported by R. High, Hon. Sec.)

1873-06-22: NR 391 (Republican Club Department) Halifax branch of the British section of the International Working Men's Association: T. Westoby Sec.

1873-07-06: NR 012 (Reports of Meetings) International Working Men's Association, Stratford Branch: John Hales on Aims and Objects of International Working Men's Association;  
next Sunday: Antill will lecture for Stratford Secular Society (reported by R. High, Hon. Sec.)

1873-07-12: BH 003 National Reform League (1849)

Milner appointed delegate to British Federal Council of International Working Men's Association;

praise for *Labourers' Union Chronicle*;

dismissal of Sergeant Goodchild from the Police Force

<Kopie>

1873-07-13: NR 029 (Reports of Meetings) National Reform League (1849): usual monthly meeting of the above league at Eclectic Institute, 18 Denmark Street, on Monday 7.7., Alfred Days in chair; Charles Murray proposed, Joseph Murray seconded: George Milner delegate to British Federal Council of International Working Men's Association; John Radford, J. F. Murray make positive remarks on Agricultural Labourers' Union (reported by R.)

1873-09-13: BH 008 (Commentary) The International and English Working Men on International Congress at Geneva and *Times*

<Kopie>



1873-09-20: BH 001/2 Lloyd Jones: Trades Unionism and Internationalism

<Kopie>

1873-09-21: NR 189 (Reports of Meetings) Liverpool International Working Men's Association: R. McNeill Sec.; lecture and discussion every Sunday evening

1873-09-27: BH 010 The Geneva International Congress and the English Delegates letters by Thomas Mottershead, J. George Eccarius and John Hales

<Kopie>

1873-10-19: NR 242 Bradlaugh in America receives delegation of International Working Men's Association

1873-12-07: NR 365 (Reports of Meetings) International Working Men's Association, West End Section

1874-02-21: BH 002 Robert Rawson (Manchester): Mr. Mottershead and the Geneva Address

on Mottershead, Odger and First International; thinks that if politics had been excluded from International's programme, it would have been very successful, although he himself is in favour of political action

<Kopie>

1874-03-07: BH 007 Mundella tells Cardinal Archbishop in France about non-socialistic attitude of English workers (in connection with First International), which is praised by Archbishop

<Kopie>

1874-03-07: BH 008 Mr. Mundella, M.P., and English Working Men

with reference to First International's meeting with English workers (18.2. last), workers in England praised: "The English working men do not understand democracy in the same manner as it is regarded in other countries, and if they seek to establish an organisation of labour it is always with due regard to the law, to religion, and to property."

Beehive asks explanation from Mundella

<Kopie Anfang>

1874-09-26: BH 001/2 Lloyd Jones: The International

<Kopie>

1874-10-10: BH 007/8 Mr. Barry and the "International"

<Kopie>

1875-02-06: BH 012 International Working Men's Association

public meeting under auspices of Soho Branch of the British Federation of the International Working Men's Association, "at their rooms" 18 Denmark Street, Soho, to take steps for commemoration of the anniversary of the Paris Commune on 18. March