

## Note

At the 10<sup>th</sup> annual Congress of the Deputies of all the Italian workingmen's associations, held in Parma on the 9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> of October 1863, it has been established by vote that the Permanent Commission of the Ital. Workingmen's Associations should elaborate the statutes for a general fraternal bond between all the Italian <sup>Workingmen's</sup> Associations; and that the said statutes shall be read, discussed and voted at the next annual Congress which will be held in Naples in November 1864.—

### Four members of the said Permanent Commission

(B. F. Savi, Gaspare Stampa, Girolamo Astengo, and F. Valentino, hon. Secy) have elaborated ~~for~~ a project of Statutes of which the following is a literal ~~translation~~ translation.

This project has been published in an Italian newspaper called the "Journal of the Italian workingmen's associations" in its number of the 31<sup>st</sup> of July 1864.—

### Part of fraternity

between the

### Italian Workingmen's Associations

The Italian workingmen's associations whose names are annexed to this deed

#### Convinced:

That the moral, intellectual and economical progress of the working classes for the welfare of the country and for their own welfare as it is required by the times and by the awakened popular conscience, cannot be accomplished but by common operation and by the association of all the faculties and all the forces which do exist in the working classes:

That as ~~they~~ exist by virtue of this necessity of progress there are existing special duties and rights special and local for every single workingmen's association, there also do exist some general duties and rights for the entire working class of Italy:

That, as well as the duties and rights of every single association are determined and represented by the local pacts or statutes, thus in likewise the duties and rights belonging to all of them ought to be determined and represented by a pact or statute common to all of them:

#### Convinced:

That the moral progress of the working class requires that a bond of reciprocal love and fraternity <sup>in one intent</sup> ought to find together all the Working men of Italy:

That the intellectual progress of the working class ought to be as uniform as possible for all <sup>their</sup> numbers and therefore requires a common idea and unity of direction:

That ~~as~~ the economical progress of the working class looks forward to the amelioration of their material conditions and to the emancipation of work from every monopoly, from every interruption, from every unjust power, and therefore requires a concentration of all their means: —

Considering:

That before all things it is important for the working class that they shall make known to their Government in a legal manner their conditions, their desires and their wants; — that such a knowledge can only be produced by a general inquiry ~~to be~~ made in every locality in a uniform manner, and that such an inquiry can only be made by a central authority —

Therefore the undersigned Workingmen's associations, in execution of the 10<sup>th</sup> annual Workingmen's Congress held in Parma on the 9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup> & 11<sup>th</sup> October 1863

Do decree:

1<sup>o</sup> The Workingmen's associations which constitute this deed, maintaining inviolate the independence of every single association for all special duties and rights determined by their own local statutes, while bind themselves by a perpetual deed of fraternal solidarity for all things belonging to duties and rights which are common to all of them, and with the intention of promoting the moral, intellectual and economical progress of the entire working class of Italy.

2<sup>o</sup> A Central Council of the associations, consisting of 9 members and residing in Rome (and in any other town as long as Rome is not ours) shall have charge of the progressive development of this deed.

3<sup>o</sup> This Central Council to ~~have~~ authority for 2 years. At the end of every year the Council presents an account of their activity to the annual Congress of the deputies of all the associations who have adhered to this deed.

The Congress elects the new Council by universal suffrage and by ballot.

The members of the Council may be reelected.

4<sup>o</sup> Immediately the Central Council is elected it shall establish three sections of work for the threefold end, moral, intellectual and economical, of this fraternal bond.

The work of the first section shall be to induce other associations not yet adhering to this deed ~~to~~ to do so, or such associations as will be newly formed — to propagate the association amidst the agricultural classes, which till now are still very neglected. — To superintend the choice of composition of such books which may promote the higher moral education of the working class — to establish and increase fraternal relations between the Italian Workingmen's Association and those of other countries.

The work of the second section shall be to give their attention to schools for working men; the choice of school books — the publication of a ~~social~~ <sup>social</sup> ~~political~~ <sup>political</sup> Social Library — the ~~erection~~ <sup>erection</sup> of Central schools for industrial education — the proper management of a periodical paper to be written especially for the working-men's associations.

The work of the third section shall be to devote themselves to a general inquiry of the conditions, wants and desires of the working classes — the statistical <sup>more</sup> principles of all associations which are constituted upon the same

uniform and scientific - to promote the multiplication of associations of free work among workmen - to find means facilitating the purchase of raw materials, instruments and vehicles - to establish an institution of Credit for the associations of free work - to promote industrial exhibitions and bazaars ~~when they be of use~~ - to promote the restoration of workingmen's habitations - to take care of every thing belonging to petitions to be sent to Parliament for the interests and rights of the working classes.

The Central Council shall assign to these sections their work and direct them.

5<sup>o</sup>. The initiative of propositions belongs to the Central Council and to the divers associations; these last named may express their propositions through their deputies at the annual Congress, or during the year by an inquiry seconded by a certain number of associations.

6<sup>o</sup>. The fund for the Central Council shall be formed by the contributions of every association, to be 1 penny per annum, ~~paid~~ for each of their members; by the donations offered by men who <sup>interest themselves</sup> in the progress of the working classes, and by every other source of profits the Council may find out, having always in view the means of the working classes and their dignity.

7<sup>o</sup>. The Central Council, upon propositions to be made by divers associations, shall establish Sub-committees provincial sub-councils in the more important central towns of Italy, as Turin, Genoa, Milan etc.

8<sup>o</sup>. Between the associated societies ought to exist a reciprocal equal treatment, to be established by proper rules on the following bases:

A. Every member belonging to any associated society, when he has regularly accomplished his duties in his own society, if he travels to any locality where exists any other associated society, shall receive by the last named, in case of want, the same help, monetary or other, in the measure to be determined by proper rules, which he, in the same case, he would have received by his own society. He shall likewise enjoy the advantage of schools, ~~books~~ lectures, libraries or other which may exist in the society of the locality to which he has transferred himself.

B. The amounts of his reciprocal treatment shall be regulated between the associations every six months or quarter or such terms as will seem to them more appropriate.

C. G.<sup>o</sup>. The associated societies retain themselves from this very moment as a single family, interested in promoting by every possible means, together with their own welfare, the grandeur and prosperity of their country, and the education of the people.

~~This was presented, rules of  
the Italian Workingmen's  
Assoc by Mayor Trilly.  
See by Brewster H.C. A.~~

## The fraternal bond between the Italian Workingmen's Associations

~~society~~  
That this ~~comber~~ society  
basis of its operations to promote  
the moral, intellectual and economical  
progress of the working-class of  
Europe, and to come to an under-  
standing with the ~~various~~ working-class  
associations all over Europe  
in order to obtain unity of ~~purpose~~  
and unity of action, the only two  
means of arriving to the above-  
named purposes.

That one of the first operations  
of this society be to promote  
the consolidation of the work-  
men's associations of every  
country under the direction of  
a central bond.

*(Approved)*

*John Brewster*

*John Brewster*

Associations. They also stated that they were  
on strike against one employer (Mr Huntington  
of Holloway) and that they had been led to believe  
that Men had been engaged in France to come  
over to supplant them. Eccarius then took the Chair &  
Citizen Jung moved and Col<sup>r</sup> Lessner seconded that the  
Block Cutters & Pattern-Drawers be admitted as an  
Affiliated Society - Carried. Rem. Con.

On the Motion of Citizen Jung - Dupont was directed  
to write to Paris on the subject of the Block Cutters  
dispute

## MINUTES

Citizen Fox read the Minutes of the last Meet-  
ing which were confirmed

Citizen Collet was elected as the Delegate from the  
French Branch of the Association on the Motion

Citizen <sup>Jung</sup> seconded by Citizen Dupont

Citizen Fox read a letter from Naples stating that Dassie  
had been unable to write in consequence of severe illness  
He also gave satisfactory reasons why he had not published  
~~the resolution of the Council~~  
~~his letter to Lord Stanley in the Commonwealth~~

A letter was read from Mr Keavely of the Coach Makers  
Society, Green Man, Berwick Street, stating that a  
Deputation might attend on Wednesday Evening. Citizens  
Jung & Combault were appointed to attend

## Courrier Francaise

Citizen Fox read several passages from this journal  
relating to this association

Citizen Dupont said the Musical Instrument  
Makers would hold a General Meeting on Monday,  
the 14<sup>th</sup> at 8 o'clock, P.M., and would receive a  
deputation from his Council. Carter, Lessner, Collet  
Lafargue, ~~Carter~~ & Von-Ryen were appointed to attend  
On the Motion of Citizen Fox, it was unanimously

Agreed. That the thanks of the Council be sent to Mr. Horsburgh for translating the report of the Geneva Congress from the Verbale

### Trades Council

A long discussion took place as to what plan should of action should be submitted to the Trades Council which ended by most of the Members promising to attend the Council on Wednesday Evening.

Citizen Lee stated. That the Excarators intended holding their first annual Meeting on the 21<sup>st</sup> of January at the Lambeth Baths. He invited the Council to attend if convenient.

A Letter was read from the Reform League inviting the Council to take part in the Demonstration on A letter was read from Cromer stating that the Organ Builders had joined this Association. A letter was read from Odger requesting the Council to meet the Trades Council at the Bell Inn, Old Bailey, on Wednesday Evening.

The Council adjourned to Jan 15<sup>th</sup>

### Council Meeting January 15<sup>th</sup>/67

Citizen Cocarius in the Chair. The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and after an addition suggested by Citizen Fox confirmed.

Citizen Fox then asked the Council to allow Mr Luscombe the "author" of a Reform song to use the Address of the Association for the purpose furthering its sale permission was granted unanimously.

W Cohn then paid over £1.9.0 as the Annual Subscription from the Cigar Makers Society. And said that the Cigar Makers of Bremen had applied to the London Cigar Makers for copy of their Laws for the purpose forming a Society at Bremen on the same principles.

Citizen Fox reported that his Article on the conduct of the French Government with regard to this Association and the vote of thanks to Lord Stanley was published in "Commonwealth" and "The International Courier" and suggested that it should be placed in the Minute Book which was agreed to accordingly.

### THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WORKING MEN.

During the first two years of the existence of this association, and until after the assembling of the Geneva Congress, the general council had little or no complaint to make of the conduct of the French Government towards the International Working Men's Association. The council's communications, with its correspondents in France, were not interrupted; the sale of tickets not seriously impeded. If here and there, the local authorities threatened dire consequences to the council's agents, if they proceeded to enrol members, those threats were but "brutum fulmen," and were not executed upon those who had the courage to act in defiance of them.

This much is quite consistent with the fact that the very existence of the French Empire and of the laws of public safety, which it declares, are necessary for its maintenance, did greatly impede the progress of the association. In the first place, the non-existence of the right of public meeting prevented the members of the association from meeting together and organising their sections in an overt and formal manner. But the general council neither expected nor desired that the laws of the empire should be specially modified to suit their interests. The damage done to them in this manner had nothing in it "specially" invidious to themselves. It was an injury which was inflicted primarily on the whole French nation, and secondarily upon every advanced Liberal and Democrat in Europe, all of whom have an interest in the existence of the right of public meeting in France. Hence, they make no public complaint on this account.

In the second place, the general spirit of terrorism, upon which the French Government so much relies, could not but have deterred many Frenchmen who agreed with the principles and design of the association, from becoming members thereof and linking themselves to its fortunes in France. But this damage also, is general and indirect. Moreover, it was known to the founders of the association that this would be one of the obstacles to its success in France. The general council were prepared for a certain amount of up-hill work, in consequence of the prevailing terror in all that relates to independent political action in France, and therefore they do not come forward now to make a complaint on this score.

Had the French Government continued to preserve that attitude of (perhaps contemptuous) neutrality which it observed up to, and during, the Congress of Geneva, the general council would not have been compelled to make the present statement to the members of the Association. But from and after the assembling of the Congress at Geneva the French Government saw fit to alter its attitude towards the association. The motives for this change of policy cannot be found in any special act of antagonism committed either by the Geneva council or by the delegates to the congress, French or nonFrench.

It would have been the height of folly on the part of the general council or the delegates of the congress to court and invite the hostility of the French Government. Some few Parisian members of the association who attended the congress in their individual capacities thought otherwise, but as they were not delegates, they were not allowed to speak at the congress. The delegates went about the weighty business they had in hand, and did not diverge to the right hand or to the left, for the purpose of making an anti-Buonapartist demonstration.

One of the first signs of a change for the worse on the part of the French Government was the case of Jules Gottraux. Jules Gottraux is a native of Switzerland, and a naturalised subject of the British State. He is domiciled in London, and in September last was on a visit to his relatives in or about Geneva. The Managing Committees of the German-Swiss and French-Swiss sections at Geneva entrusted to his care some letters, and a number of pamphlets and newspapers relating to the transactions of the Association, which were all, without exception, to be delivered to the general council in London. On proceeding from Geneva to London, on Sept. 30, the valise of Gottraux was searched by French policemen at the Franco-Swiss frontier, and these letters and printed documents taken from him.

This was an outrage which the general council, when put in possession of the facts, resolved not quietly to endure. That the French Government, which enacts the law, may make it legal to seize printed matter and correspondence coming from abroad and directed to a French citizen, or even a mere resident in France, the council did not deny; but for the French Government to exercise the same right of paternal "surveillance" over the communications between Switzers and Britons, or even residents in Great Britain, was a stretch of authority that the general council felt itself bound to oppose. The outrage was ~~also~~ aggravated by the fact that the literature seized in no way concerned the French Government, and did not belong to the category of the anti-Buonapartist philippes, because, whatever the character of the literature the council denies the right of the French Government, while at peace with Switzerland and Great Britain, to intercept the communications between the citizens of the two countries.

The first step taken by the council in this matter was to write a respectful letter to the "Ministre de l'intérieur," stating the facts, requesting an inquiry into their accuracy, and terminating with a petition for the surrender of the letters and printed matter seized upon Gottraux.

The council waited five weeks for a reply to their memorial. None came, and this silence was a proof that the French government assumed responsibility for the act of its subordinate agents. Only then did the council resolve to appeal to lord Stanley, the British secretary for foreign affairs, for redress, grounding their appeal upon the facts that Gottraux was a British subject, and that the general council was composed of subjects and denizens in Great Britain.

Lord Stanley, be it said to his credit, heard this appeal, and directed Lord Cowley, the British ambassador at Paris, to ask for the restitution of the said letters and printed matter.

On the 21<sup>st</sup> ult., the council received a letter from Mr. Hammond, (of the foreign office,) accompanying a parcel sealed with the seal of the British embassy. The letter informed the council that the parcel contained the papers which had been seized upon Gottraux.

It did contain the confiscated letters and printed matter, and also, strange to say, some newspapers not seized upon Gottraux, nor coming from Switzerland. These newspapers were two bundles of the Brussels "Tribune du Peuple," a paper doubtless highly obnoxious to the French Government, and the principal organ of the association in Belgium. These papers had been addressed to some French members, and the council far from having demanded their restitution, were unaware of their having been seized. These two bundles had upon them the official seal of the administration of public safety.

In order to conclude this case of Gottraux's, the undersigned inserts here a resolution passed on the first instant, by the general council.

"Resolved, that the general council of the international workingmen's association tenders its thanks to Lord Stanley for his just and efficacious intervention with the French Government with a view to obtain for the said general council the papers and letters belonging to it, which were seized upon the person of Jules Gottraux, a British subject, on Sep. 30, 1866," at the same time the undersigned was directed to communicate a copy of the same without delay, to Lord Stanley.

In November last, citizen Dupont, the council's secretary for France, found that letters sent by him to the association's agents in France were seized, and also that letters directed to him from all parts of France did not come to hand. A "fortiori," the French post-office was closed against the delivery of printed matter addressed by the council to its agents in France, and "vice versa."

Of course citizen Dupont can no longer confide in the French post-office,

The latest news under this head is that, whereas the blockade against printed matter directed to French citizens and members of the association is still stringently enforced; letters from the French provinces directed to Dupont have of late, once more, come through, although letters so directed from Paris continue to be detained!

Another fact is reported in the last number of the "Courrier Français." The interesting essay contributed by the Parisian delegates to the Geneva congress, parts of which have already been published in the "Courrier Français," without evil consequences, was sent to Brussels to be printed, only because no printer in Paris would undertake to execute the job. This memorial, be it said, is directed against the capitalist class, but is silent concerning the present Government of France. Nevertheless, the printed edition of this memorial has been seized by the postal authorities of France and confiscated.

Under these circumstances it is impossible to say how long the French Government will continue to allow the sale of tickets of membership in the association, and abstain from persecuting the prominent members thereof, who live subject to its jurisdiction.

By order of the General Council,  
PETER FOX,

Jan. 5, 1867.

Citizen Jung then reported his Mission to the Coach Makers Friendly Society held at the Green Man Berwick Street and concluded by moving that the Coach Makers be accepted as an affiliated Society. The Motion was agreed to unanimously and Citizen Reaveley was elected as the Delegate on this Council to represent that Society. Citizen Reaveley then paid 5/- as enrolment fee of his Society and 1/- as his contribution.

A letter was read from Citizen Odger stating that the Resolution passed by the London Trades Council on the 9<sup>th</sup> instant would be found in the "Times" Newspaper of that day.

The following is the resolution

**THE LONDON TRADES COUNCIL AND THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION.**—At a meeting of the London Trades Council, held last night at the Bell Inn, Old Bailey, Mr. Danter (president of the Society of Amalgamated Engineers) in the chair, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—"That this meeting is of opinion that the position of the working man can never be much improved, and is in imminent danger of being seriously depreciated, whilst the people of different countries have no regular intercommunication

among themselves for the purpose of regulating the hours of labour and assimilating wages. And as the International Association affords the best facilities for bringing about that object, it is hereby resolved to co-operate with that association for the furtherance of all questions affecting the interests of labour; at the same time continuing the London Trades Council as a distinct and independent body as before."

A letter was read from the Secretary of the Reform League inviting this Council to take part in the Coming Demonstration and requesting the appointment of Delegates to attend the Meeting at Newmans Street on the 16<sup>th</sup> instant.

Hessner, Carter, Collet & Shaw were appointed to attend the Blockcutters Dispute. Citizen Collet stated, that since the last Meeting he had been trying to bring the Blockcutters dispute to an end. He had seen Mr Huntington of Holloway who had written to Lancashire for the Employers statement of the Case. The Employers had refused to give their statement to Citizen Collet until they knew who he was and whom he represented. Citizen Collet then asked the Council to give him authority to write to these said employers for their statement of the Case.

A Resolution was submitted giving Citizen Collet the required authority. But, on the Motion of Shaw seconded by Jung the subject was adjourned until the next Meeting and in the meantime a deputation should be invited to attend from Blockcutters Society.

Shaw reported that he had waited upon the Organ Builders Society on the previous evening. He had received the enrolment fee 5/- and the form of application filled up.

Mr Mialls bill was read demanding the rent of the Office. It was proposed, seconded and carried that £2. 10. 0 be paid to Mr Miall.

Jung said that Dupont had received a letter from Vienne stating that they had 300 Members and they wanted their Carnets.

Jung said he had received a letter from Mr Applegarth inviting him to meet a gentleman at his office who was very favorable to the objects of our Association and who owned property a Lausanne. Polish Demonstration.

Fox reported that the standing Committee had agreed that 4 Resolutions should be submitted to the meeting.

On the motion of Citizen Eccarius seconded by Carter Citizen Jung was appointed to take the Chair at the Polish Demonstration. A letter was read from Mr Roberti of Lea & Stow expressing a desire to take part in the Demonstration. The letter was left with Fox to answer as he might think best. The Meeting then adjourned until Tuesday the 29<sup>th</sup> instant.

### General Council Meeting Jan 29<sup>th</sup>

Citizen Eccarius in the Chair. The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed. The Secretary then read several letters which he had received since the last meeting. One was from Mrs Hasburgh in reply to a vote of thanks sent to her by the Council. Another was from the Coventry Weavers Association with the annual Subscription of £13.4. And two were from the Lancashire Derbyshire Yorkshire & Cheshire Block-Printers Union with the entrance fee of the Society and annual subscription for 1000 members. It was then moved by C<sup>t</sup> Jung & seconded by C<sup>t</sup> Lennar that the L, D, Y, & C. Block-Printers Union be accepted as an affiliated Branch of this Association.

Citizen Fox then read several letters for Citizen Dupont. One was from the Editor of the Courrier Français giving reasons for declining to publish the <sup>the General Congress</sup> transactions of the <sup>1867</sup>. Another was from Varlin of Paris Bookbinders. This letter Varlin wished to be read to the London Bookbinders by some members of the Council. It also announced that Varlin had sent 18 francs to the Council. It was then proposed and seconded that a Deputation wait upon the Bookbinders in order to deliver the statement of the Paris Bookbinders and that

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the Secretary write to Mr Boekett informing him of the same. Jung, Dupont & Von Ryan agreed to attend.

A letter was read from Liege in Belgium announcing the formation of a new branch of the Association etc.

A letter was read from Beignies of Fleurat-sur-Saone and one from Tribourg of Paris.

A deputation from the Block-Cutters Society being present, the question relating to the B<sup>r</sup>Cutters which was adjourned at the last Meeting was then introduced by the President. The Secretary stated his reasons for allowing the adjournment of the question, C<sup>t</sup> Collet said he had done nothing in the matter since the last Meeting. ~~that~~ he thought he could do no good now as circumstances had taken place which had caused him to alter his opinion on the subject. Mr Shettleworth said he thought the Council might render some service by holding some communication with 2 men who had come from France to work for Mr Huntington. Jung Dupont and Von Ryan agreed to render their assistance and the subject then dropped.

The invitation of the Reform League to take part in the Reform Demonstration was referred to the Standing Committee and the meeting adjourned until February 5<sup>th</sup> 1867.

### General Council Meeting Feb 5<sup>th</sup> 1867

Citizen Jung in the Chair. The Minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

Mr Keaveley then introduced Mr Möller a Member of the Coach Trimmers Society held at the "Crown" Broad Sted. Golden Square who asked for information relative to the objects of the Association.

He was supplied with a copy of the rules, and a Deputation was promised to attend upon his Society on the first Tuesday in March next —

Mr Heavely took up Cards of Membership for Lewis Smith, 36 South St. Manchester Spx. and for Cornelius Huddington 10 Adam St. Patman Spx. W<sup>r</sup>, for which he paid 2/2. <sup>he also returned 2/- for as to the money</sup> Mr Cowell Stepney of Sandon Villa Upper Norwood, Surrey also took up a card of membership and paid ~~1/-~~<sup>1/-</sup> one Guinea

C. Fox read a letter from the National Reform League held at the Ecclatice Hall, Denmark Street, Soho W. Desiring to know what terms that league could become affiliated to the Association. Fox was desired to give the required information. A discussion then arose as to what date the subscriptions of Societies in affiliate should become due. It was then resolved that all societies should pay their contributions in advance ~~no advance~~ to clear them up for 12 months from date of enrollment

Block Cutters. Tung reported that he had waited upon the two French Block-Cutters who had gone to work for Mr Huntington of Holloway but he had arrived at no satisfactory conclusion as yet. He should see the men again.

Tung reported that he had waited upon the Bookbinders at the Harpers Arms Theobalds Road but in consequence of their pressure of business he had not been able to read to them the letter from the Paris Bookbinders. He had however left them a translation of it. The Standing Committee recommended the Council to take part in the Reform Demonstration by sending a Deputation. Fox, Lassner, Lafargue, Dupont & Shaw were appointed to represent the Council, and — Simoward, Collet & Niemer on behalf of the French Branch

Tung read a letter asking for the General Report from Card of Geneva. The Secretary was instructed to pay £3. 0. 0 to Mr Leno on account of printing, and £2. 10. 0 to Mr Mail for Kent. Mr Cottam's Bill for printing Cards was referred to the Standing Committee.

The Authorised Council authorized the Standing Committee to get the forms printed for obtaining statistical information to be laid before Congress

## General Council Meeting Feb 12

In consequence of the small attendance of Council Men the Meeting was adjourned after the reading of the Minutes

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It was ultimately resolved to appeal to the Miners and Iron Workers of Britain, and Eccarius was ordered to draw up a Circular for presentation to the subcommittee on Saturday next.

Report from Coach Trimmers at the Globe North Audley St. Governor Square - Lessner reported that he had attended this body since the last meeting of the Council. The members had agreed to become affiliated to the Association.

### Correspondence from France

Citizen Dupont paid in a Bill of Exchange equal to 9/2 $\frac{1}{2}$  English Money in payment of balance due from Fleuriot sur Soane. Dupont also read a letter from the Paris Commission announcing that the delegates to the Geneva Congress had been <sup>all</sup> re-elected and giving reasons for the Commission as it now stood. The same letter also set forth the programme which the new commission had drawn up for the Congress at Lausanne.

Fox announced that the International Courier and Courier International had been temporarily suspended by their proprietor and Editor (Collet) in consequence of his inability to find two sureties to the Government. Collet had one a French man. He wanted a British for the second. Fox thought as the two journals were advocating the principles of the Council they should help Collet over the difficulty. Collet stated that after 48 hours delay the French Government had allowed the last number containing the first part of the Congress report to circulate in France.

The Polish Celebration of January 22<sup>nd</sup> 1867  
Zabicki translated from the Government organ at Warsaw a ludicrous report of the late demonstration in Cambridge Hall

The Council then adjourned.  
Buckley, Eccarius, Fox, Collet, Yarrow, Zabicki, Lessner, Lafarge, Marx  
Dupont Carter and Cohn were present

## General Council Meeting Feb 19<sup>th</sup>

In consequence of the non attendance of Council Men the Meeting was adjourned

## General Council Meeting Feb 19<sup>th</sup>

W.P. Eccarius in the Chair. Fox Secretary for the Rights of the <sup>Delegates</sup> paid £1.7.0 on behalf of the West-end Cabinet Makers, being 5/- for Entrance-fee and £1.2.0 for Annual Subscription of 500 Members

John Cohn then presented his credentials from the Cigars Makers Society and was accepted by the Council. He stated that his Society numbered 700 Men.

### Belgian Riots & Massacre

City Collet read a letter from Vervins appealing for aid for the widows and sufferers. He stated that a collection had been made by the French Branch but that that Branch was waiting to see what action would be taken by the General Council in the matter. The question of subscription was mooted but generally discounted.

## General Council Meeting March 4<sup>th</sup>

Citizen Odger in the Chair. The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed. A letter was read from Mr Jackson of Kendal containing 20 postage stamps as the Annual Contribution of the Shoe Makers of that Town. A Letter was also read from Mr Butler the Secretary of the Coventry Ribbon Weavers Association. The letter asked for the rate of wages paid in Basle and other parts of Switzerland as the asserted low price paid to the Swiss Weaver was made the excuse for reducing the price paid to the Ribbon Weavers of England. Jurg was then directed to write to Switzerland for the required information.

Jung then read a letter from Chancery de Fondo stating that 4 New Branches of the Association had been formed. He also had a letter from Duplexie which he desired to bring before the Standing Committee. I may also read 2 letters from Triberg of Paris relating to the position of the Bronze Workers of Paris on Strike. He stated that a Deputation had waited upon the Day working Bookbinders who had given 5 pounds and lent 10 pounds to Bronze Workers of Paris. The Trades Council had also given Credentials to the Association to enable them to appeal to the Trades of London and Jung Mars LaFarge Dupont. Von Ryen Collet, Zabieki <sup>Secrarius</sup>, and Pastor were requested to wait upon the various trades to solicit their aid.

The matter of the Belgian Miners & Non-workers was then brought forward and postponed until Beccaria had produced the Circular that he had written upon the subject. The Council then adjourned.

## General Council Meeting March 12<sup>th</sup>

Citizen Fox in the Chair. Council Men present being Von Ryen, Dupont <sup>Lafarge</sup> ~~Mark~~, Carter Hales Maurice and Shaw. Citizen Solain Triberg and <sup>several</sup> three other Members of the Association were present. The Minutes of the previous Meeting were confirmed as read. The following resolution from the Standing Committee was brought up and confirmed by the Council Viz "That we approve and endorse the Political Conduct of the Paris Administration and condemn the attacks made upon Dupont, Sang, Duplexie and other members of the Association in the Espiegle L'avenir de Genève and other journals"

Dupont reported that Triberg had cited LeLubey before a meeting of the members of the French Branch of the Association for the purpose of answering the attack made by LeLubey upon Triberg and others. The meeting condemned the policy of LeLubey by a Majority of 22 out of 23 votes.

On the suggestion of Citizen Fox the following resolution was agreed to unanimously. That this Council acknowledges the value of the services rendered to it & to the interests of the association throughout Europe by Citizen James Cope, a member of this Council, in providing by his guarantee given to the British Government, for the continuance of the publications of the proceedings of the Geneva Congress in the International Courier and Courier International - two organs of this Association <sup>in England</sup>. Copies of the International Courier to be sent to Societies.

It was moved & carried with one dissentient that Copies of the International Courier, containing the two first parts of the Proceedings of the Geneva Congress be sent to the Trade <sup>other</sup> Societies affiliated with us.

It was also referred to the Standing Committee to consider the propriety of circulating the same among Trade Unions not yet affiliated with us.

### Paris Bronze Workers Lock-out.

Dupont reported that the Members present at the last Meeting of the French Branch of the I. W. Association had guaranteed to supply £13.0.0 per month to the Bronze Workers, as long as the struggle lasted. The and had paid £6.10 on account. The money would be supplied as a loan, and when returned would be formed into a fund to meet future losses that might be brought before the Branch.

Lessner & Maurice reported that the French Polishers Meeting at the "Three Tuns" Oxford Street, would decide what support they would give to the Bronze Workers on Tuesday next the 19<sup>th</sup> instant. They would also appoint a Delegate to the Council in the place of Citizen Whitehead.

Carter reported that he had waited upon the Amalgamated Carpenters. They would decide what they would do in the course of a few days.

Tung reported that he and others had waited upon the Council of the Engineers. He expected to hear what the Council would do, daily. He also stated that he had written to many other Societies and waited upon some, and that the Carriers Meeting at the "Black Jack" ~~Poole~~<sup>Portsmouth</sup> Sheet, Lincoln's Inn Fields, would hold a Quarterly Meeting on Thursday May 2<sup>nd</sup> at 8 o'clock, at which a Deputation from the Council should attend. Arrangements for attending other Societies on behalf of the Bronze workers were made and several Council men promised to attend.

### The Day Working Bookbinders Society.

Secretary Bockett paid 17/6<sup>0</sup> as annual contribution for 420 Members of the above society. And said he should have the letter from the members of his Society to the Bookbinders of Paris ready in a few days and would forward it to the Council for translation and conveyance to Paris.

Citizen Lessner paid £1.7.9 on behalf of the German-Swiss Section of the I. W. Association.

The Secretary was instructed to purchase an Address Book, for the purpose of recording therein the names, addresses & money account of the Societies affiliated with us. The following letter was handed in by Czerny Janicki and read by the President.

March 12<sup>th</sup> 1867.

### The Central London Section of the United Polish Exiles.

To  
The General Council of the International Men's Association

Citizens

We are instructed to communicate to you that, The Central London Section of the United Polish Exiles, at their sitting on the 10<sup>th</sup> of February, passed unanimously a vote of thanks, to the General Council of the International Men's Association for the generous and effectual co-operation, in the arrangements of the Social Tea Party and Public Meeting held at the Cambridge Hall in commemoration of the January anniversary of the last insurrection expressing more especially their warmest gratitude to the Chairman, Mr. ~~George~~<sup>John</sup> Mr. P. Fox, Dr. Marx, Mr. Eccarius, and the other speakers, for their noble warm, and able defence of the Polish cause, before the assembled Public. Louis Oborski.

President  
Secretary John Thyrsoski  
Colonel

The Meeting was then adjourned to the 19<sup>th</sup> instant.

66 General Council Meeting March 19<sup>th</sup>  
Citizen Lessner in the Chair. Citizen Fox acted  
as Secretary. The minutes of the previous meeting  
were confirmed with the amendments that Fox  
was ordered to make.

### Bronze Workers

Citizen Jung reported that the Boot Makers of  
Fetter Lane had voted £5.0..0.. The S.C. had  
only the power to vote £10.00

### Iron Plate Workers Black Jack

Jung stated that the Committee had no power  
<sup>to vote</sup> Money; it must be voted by a quarterly meeting of  
the members which would take place on the  
10<sup>th</sup> of April. He also stated that the Society would  
very likely join us if we sent a Deputation to  
their meeting as above stated.

Coach Trimmers. The Globe both Audley &  
Lessner & Hale reported that the above Society could  
vote money without a special meeting. They would  
their entrance fee to this Association in about a Month.

### Swiss News

Jung read an extract the "Association Internationale"  
relating to our Association

### Reports from Standing Committee

Fox brought up a report recommending that Maurice  
be paid henceforth 1/6 per week for the use of his room  
for the meetings of the Standing Committee. Carried

The Swiss Section having demanded that the programme  
of the Lausanne Congress be drawn up and published  
forthwith; the Standing Committee thought it best not to  
comply with that demand but instead thereof, to refer  
for study as the only urgent & special question of the moment  
"The Means of Making Credit Available for the  
Working Classes" this recommendation

67 was unanimously conformed by the Council  
circulation of the Report of the Geneva Congress  
Fox stated that 2 Guineas of I.C. would be wanted  
to supply English Societies and American corres-  
pondents. And 2½ Guineas of C.I. for Continental  
correspondents. He thought it would take seven number,  
without the French Essay. Fox moved & Carter seconded  
that 2 guineas of the I.C. and 2½ C.I. be ordered weekly  
until the report is concluded. Carried from C. I.

Collet said he would send 200 of the Working man  
to Trades Societies if he had the address.

Bohn said that the Cigar Makers were spreading all  
over England. The Liverpool Cigar Makers Society  
of 300 Members had several branches in the North  
(They were unconnected with London) and he advised the  
Council to communicate with them as they would  
see through the exchange of Balance Sheets that  
the London Society belonged to us.

Odger said he was going to Manchester and he  
would see what he could do for the Bronze Workers  
with the Trades Council there; he however should  
want credentials. The meeting then adjourned

### General Council Meeting March 26<sup>th</sup>

The Secretary absent. Eccarius took the Chair  
and the Minutes. Citizen Jung read a letter from Paris  
M. Barbier is going to arrange a log with his workpeople  
other employers are following his example. The Geneva Section  
of the I.W.A have agreed to a weekly log. In Paris the  
masters discharge men for supporting the lock-out  
(Two days later) Some employers have agreed to a log  
with their men. The Masters are holding a conference  
respecting a log. There will be a general Meeting next  
Sunday

Deputations Citizen Jung received £5  
from the Shoe Makers (Bronze Workers) accompanied

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with a very sympathizing letter. He had been to the Hatters (Gravel Lane) alone. The Society does not acknowledge one person as a Deputation. It requires a Statement first and Deputation afterward. The Iron Founders express great sympathy. Cannot assist as they are in great difficulties. The West End Cabinet Makers have lent £20.0.0 It was resolved to renew the application to the Shoe Makers. The Meeting then Adjourned General Council Meeting April 2<sup>nd</sup> Citizen Eearns in the Chair. The Minutes of the two previous Meetings were read by Fox & Eearns and Confirmed.

### Bronze Workers

Jung reported that he had waited upon the Hatters at Gravel Lane on last Friday. They would state what they would do on next Friday Night. He also stated that he had waited upon the Carriers & Tin Plate Workers but should wait upon them again. The Engineers had not done anything because they had not received any of their loans yet. The Bricklayers Money had not yet arrived at Paris. Dupont stated La-Voix de l'Avance contained an Article on the Bronze Workers Lock Out. Carter call attention to the Engine Drivers Strike and said we had fallen short of our mission in that Case. Dupont said he had waited upon the Committee a 31 Strand Street. Strand as soon as he heard of the affair and ~~communicated with the Committee in~~ <sup>communicated with the Committee in</sup> ~~that some day~~ <sup>that some day</sup> some sharp discussion followed and Jung & Dupont were appointed to do what they could with the Engine Drivers Committee to forward the objects of this Association.

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Several demands for the payment of debts were then read by the Secretary. It was then moved by Fox seconded by Garrow. That £1.3.7 be paid to Mr Collet for Carriers supplied to the Council Carried New Com. It was also moved by Fox & seconded by Jung that £1.10.0 be paid to Mr Leno on account of printing Carried New Com.

The payment of the Advertisement in the Commonwealth was postponed on the motion of Citizen Jung. The Meeting then adjourned.

### General Council Meeting April 9<sup>th</sup>

Citizen Jung in the Chair. The Secretary was absent and no minutes of the previous meeting could be read. Fox was appointed Minute taker for the Evening. Fox brought up a resolution from the Standing Committee to the effect that a Balance Sheet be made out and the Accounts be audited. Agreed to New Com.

Hales asked for a report of the Congress for his Society, and Cohn requested that Copies of the Courier containing a translation of the Parisian Mémoire be furnished to his Society. It was ordered that a note of these requests be made in the minutes. Hales thought that the Courier should be pushed amongst the Affiliated Societies. After a short discussion the Subject was adjourned until next week and Fox undertook ask Collet to attend. George Drift was nominated as a member of the Council. 2/2 was paid to Fox as subscription from Lawrence & Drift. A Delegate from the Coach Trimmers Society held at the "Globe" with another

Street. Grosvenor Square paid 7/- entrance fee for his Society to join the Association.  
Dupont read a letter from Fribourg (Paris) stating that the French Trades had advanced something like £4,000 to the Bronze Workers. It stated that the lockout was at an end, but that 17 of the most active members had been excluded from the shops. The Chairman then reported that the Cigar makers had voted £5,000 which had been sent to Paris. Also that Bricklayers Money had not yet arrived in Paris. He then asked now the Lock-out was at an end could he canvass Trades Societies for money. Cohn & Hales replied that so long as 17 men were locked out the lock-out could not be at an end. and Jung declared himself satisfied by this response from two representatives of English Trades Unions.

Citizen Cohn stated that the Cigar Trade was very slack. It would be worse before it was better. One ~~fourth~~ of seventh of their men was out of work. Still Belgians, Dutch & Hamburgers were coming over here and suffering greatly. They were working at very low prices having no other alternative but to starve. He said a very skilfull Hollander was working for 1/- per hundred while he Cohn was getting 3/- per hundred for the same kind of work. He requested the Dutch, Belgian & German Secretaries to inform their Countrymen of the sad state of things and when here was not more than 25 men out belonging to the Society the Continentals might come and welcome. It was ordered that the above matter be attended to at once. Fox then proposed William Hales as a Member of the Council. Dupont & Jung were appointed to wait upon the Tin Plate Workers. Black Jack

Cohn & Jung were appointed to wait upon the Hatters Committee. The meeting then adjourned Members present. Maurice. Fox. Cohn. Hales. Boleszyński. Habicht. Buckley, Jung & Dupont.

### General Council Meeting April 16<sup>th</sup>

Members present. Jung. Maurice. Lessner. Hales. Lafargue. Dupont. Collet. Fox. Shaw & Cohn

Fox read the minutes of the previous meeting and they were confirmed. ~~Collet~~ proposed & Maurice seconded William Hales as Member of the Council Carried. Maurice proposed & Dupont seconded George Dutt as President of the London Sailors Society as a Member of the Council Carried.

A letter was read from the Reform League requesting a Delegate to attend at the Susse Hotel on the 14<sup>th</sup> instant to receive a Memorial Tablet in commemoration of the Reform Demonstration, of Feb 7 1867 + Citizen Collet was appointed to receive the Tablet on behalf of the Council. Fox read a letter from Mrs. Harriet Law on the subject of "Womens Rights" and expressed his opinion that perhaps Mrs Law would go to the Congress at Lausanne if solicited. By Mutual Consent Fox undertook to write to Mrs Law asking her to attend the if she would be willing to attend the Council Meetings if invited.

Dupont read a letter from Paris. It express'd regret that the Sailors Deputation from London to Paris had not been introduced to the Paris Sailors. by the Paris Administration. of our Association. Maurice stated that the London Sailors Executive had no time to consult us previous to sending their Deputation to Paris. and moved that a Deputation be sent to the Sailors Meeting at the Alambra Palace on Monday the 22<sup>nd</sup> this month.

was seconded by Citizen Collet and Citizens Dupont & Pincet & were appointed as the Delegates to attend. Tung reported his attendance on the "In-Plate Workers" "Black Jack" and the Hatters. Prince & Pincess Garrel Lane. The Hatters had lent £10.00 to the Bronze Workers of Paris. They required a <sup>written</sup> printed statement of our objects to send round to their Shops before they could do anything towards becoming affiliated to our Association.

The payment of Secretary for the labor of the office was adjourned to the next meeting by common consent.

Safargue (on behalf of Marx) said that the resolution moved by Odgers at one of the Reform Meetings, conferring a vote of thanks upon Count Bismarck was calculated to injure the Cedit this Association. He therefore demanded that <sup>a vote of censure</sup> ~~should be passed upon~~ ~~of Odgers as the President of this Council~~

A discussion ensued which ended in instructing the Secretary to write to Odgers requesting his attendance at the next meeting ~~The Meeting being adjourned to the 23<sup>d</sup>~~

Courier International & International Courier. It was proposed seconded & carried unanimously "that this Council recommends the International Courier to the various affiliated Societies as the best representative organ of the principles of the Association and that this recommendation be communicated in all correspondences"

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General Council Meeting April 23<sup>d</sup>  
Members present. Citizens Tung, Maurice Fox, Collet, lessner, Dupont Lafargue Habicht, Dell, Carter, Eccarius, Shaw & Buckley

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. The Secretary read a letter from John Subcliff of the Block-Printers Union. It stated that they had 90 men on Strike against the introduction of the Cheap Labor of Women and asked for pecuniary assistance as their trade was very much depressed and they were unable to meet their outlay. Citizen Dell Moved & lessner seconded. That the Secretary write for a statement of facts and to point out the mode of application which is generally made to the Trades Council of London for pecuniary assistance.

Carried

Citizen Collet reported that a <sup>subscriber</sup> continental to the Courier International, had written to him requesting information about the association with a view of joining and opening a Branch.

### The Sailors Meeting

Citizen Collet reported that himself & Tung attended the Sailors Meeting at the Alambra Palace. Tung was introduced as the President of the late Congress at Geneva and was received with immense applause. He pointed out to the Meeting that if the I.W.A. could, last year prevent the Sailors of Paris from supplanting the men of London ~~It~~ It could ~~also~~ do the same thing with the men of Belgium & Germany this year. Consequently the Master Sailors would only be wasting money by sending to those Countries for men. Collet also addressed the Meeting and Eccarius said that Collet's speech had made <sup>him</sup> a most popular man amongst the Sailors of London.

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It was then Moved by Maurice & seconded by Collet. That the Council make a special point of sending Deputations to all Trade Meetings possible. Carried

Engine Drivers & Firemen  
Iung reported that with Dupont, he had had an interview with Engine Drivers Secretary respecting his Association. He was to wait upon the Executive as soon as he received a letter from the Secretary.

Citizen Ecarrius then took the Chair. And Citizen Iung proposed & Citizen Lafargue seconded, "That the Secretary be paid for his office Carrier".

Iung then suggested that a special Fund be created by voluntary contributions for the purpose of paying the Secretary and the following Members indicated as such. Viz Lafargue 1<sup>l</sup>

Maurice	2 <sup>s</sup>
Dupont	2 <sup>s</sup>
Iung	3 <sup>s</sup>
Collet	1 <sup>d</sup>
Carter	6 <sup>d</sup>
Dell	1 <sup>l</sup>

Making as sum total of 10/6. It was then proposed by Citizen Lessner & seconded by Citizen Fox. That the Secretary be paid 10/0 per week. Carried

Lafargue then introduced the subject of Odger proposing the vote of thanks to Count Bismarck at a Reform <sup>Meeting</sup> after some discussion in which several Members took part the following resolution proposed by Cit Lessner & seconded by Citizen Lafargue was carried unanimously. Resolved. That inasmuch as Citizen Odger has proposed a resolution at the Council of the Reform League thanking M.

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Bismarck for what he has done for the Democratic cause in Germany; and inasmuch as Citizen Odger is President of the International Working Men's Association, the General Council feels it to be its duty to repudiate any solidarity with the said resolution and with Citizen Odger's speech in support thereof"

McGregor Moller stated that the Coach Trimmers Society Meeting at the Crown Broad Street Golden Square had decided to become affiliated to this Association. He paid over 10/0 on behalf of the Society.

### The Meeting then adjourned

Fox then gave notice that on next meeting night he would move that Deputations be appointed to wait upon the Postmaster-General, on International Postage.

The Meeting then Adjourned

General Council Meeting April 30<sup>th</sup>  
Members present, Citizens Ecarrius, Lessner, Iung, Fox, Lafargue, Hales, Collet, Maurice Carter, Dell, Burkley & Shaw. Citizen Ecarrius took the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and after being amended were confirmed. The Secretary read a letter from the Curries Society about their quarterly meeting. He was ordered to answer the said letter and express regret that it had come to hand too late for the Council to attend. A letter was read from the Commonwealth Office asking for the payment of the account due for advertisement. It was then proposed seconded & carried that £1.0.0 be paid on account of advertisement in the Commonwealth. It was also proposed seconded & carried that Citizen Collet be paid 1/3

The balance due for the printing of the French Carnets. The Secretary stated that since the last meeting he had written to the Hatters Society, to Mr John Raw of 21 Hood Street, Gateshead. Durham Street Secretary of the Northern Iron workers Association and to Mr Woodhatch the Secretary of the Liverpool Cigars makers. Asking them to use their influence to cause their Societies to join the Association. He also stated that he had written to Mr John Sulcliffe the Secretary of the Block printers as directed at the previous Meeting. Carter drew the attention of the Council to the fact that himself & Jung had not yet received the £1.00 due to each of them on account of their expense to the Geneva Congress when it was proposed by Pottier & seconded by Citizen Collet that the claim of Carter & Jung be the next that is paid.

Jung read from the April Bulletin of the Lausanne section a paragraph which stated that very few sections had paid <sup>their</sup> contribution towards the expenses of the general Council. and in consequence of this default the General Council had been impeded in its task of bringing out the report of the Geneva Congress.

Jung also read a letter from Besson the Belgian Secretary which also had a letter enclosed from Vessinier.

Citizen Eccarius read the programme of the Working Men's party of Germany from the Vorbote which was as follows. "The Working Men's party address to the Masses that the oppressed of all European Countries without distinction of Creed, state or race are by their interest bound to unite & render each other Mutual Assistance." Citizen Fox drew the attention of the Council to the "American" a new Democratic Journal which had just reached its 5<sup>th</sup> Number. In answer to a question about the rent of office Citizen Collet made an offer of a room at his place of business at about £6.0.0 per year. Fox moved that the subject be referred to the Sub-Committee which was agreed to accordingly. Citizen Collet read the following letter which he had written to

To Edmund Beales, Esq. M. A. President of the Reform League.

Sir,

I am sorry, I was not in time at the last delegate meeting to hear your statement about the measures the executive committee of the League had adopted to carry out Mr. Cremer's motion, as they had been requested to do on the previous Wednesday.

I find from the "organ of the Reform movement," the Commonwealth, that you stated that "the Council of the League, acting upon the resolution of last week, had decided upon holding not a promenade, as at first intended, but a bona fide meeting in Hyde Park on the 6th of May next," and that, "if any riot or disturbance ensued the blame must rest on the Government." I find it also stated that Mr. Bradlaugh said that "the League had not only called the meeting in Hyde Park, but meant to hold it there, come what might. On this occasion they would not only demand admittance to the Park, but enforce that admittance if required."

I hope, Sir, you will allow me to make a few remarks on this important subject.

I hold that the people have a right to meet in the Park, but I hold also, that before such a serious issue as a defiance to the authorities is raised, men should be prepared to act as men and not as bombastic children.

When I proposed some time ago a promenade in Hyde Park on Good Friday and I felt convinced that the Government would not, and could not prevent the people from going into the Park individually and would not even interfere, if once there, the people held a meeting.

Some of my friends have tested the question and it has been proved that I was right.

Now I believe that when the delegates voted for Mr. Cremer's motion on the 17th inst. their impression was that the same course should be adopted.

From what I have quoted above, from the Commonwealth, it would appear that you, with the executive, are determined to call forth a demonstration similar to that of July last and that if the authorities adopt the same course they did then, either an appeal to force must be the result, or Reformers would have once more to retire. I believe that it would be, not only unpolitic but criminal to bring the question to such an issue as this, and I will give you my reasons:—

If the people of this country are really prepared to join issue with the government, then they have something better to do than to fight their fellow men of the army and the police, about a question of admittance into the park.

However important the question of the right of meeting may be, if to settle it ~~by~~ force must be resorted to and blood spilt, then the people must be prepared either to submit or to destroy the present political fabric.

I think they are not yet ripe for such an issue, and therefore I say that it would be unwise and criminal to necessarily produce violence and bloodshed, to no practical purpose.

Suppose that the Reformers were even to force their way into the park, what then? Do you think that the Government would stop there?

What if they bring armed force against you? Are you prepared to meet them?

What if Parliament were to pass a bill forbidding meetings in the parks? Would you then turn Parliament out?

I conclude by urging upon you to use your influence upon your colleagues of the Council to reconsider a decision, which I do not think they were empowered to take, by the delegates, and simply to invite the Reformers of London to go individually to the Park, avoiding anything that might have the appearance of a defiance, which they are not prepared to support effectively.

When the time comes, if unfortunately it ever should come, that force must be used, I hope the people of this country will be wise enough to discriminate between those who really are their enemies and those of their own ranks and blood whose interests are the same as theirs, although they may for a time be in the ranks of the army or the police.

It is not against men obliged then to earn their livelihood that the working men ought turn their wrath. I hope they will have more sense than to do that, and that they will strike the evil at the root.

I am Sir

Yours respectfully,  
JOSEPH COLLET.

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A long discussion ensued upon it without any opposite opinions being expressed.  
Frederick Card, on the motion of Shaw 1<sup>st</sup> by Dell was nominated as a Member of the Council.

It was then proposed by Citizen Tore & seconded by Citizen Lesser, that the Secretary write to the Postmaster General and ask him to receive a deputation from the Council on the subject of International Postage Carried.

The Meeting then adjourned.

General Council Meeting May 7<sup>th</sup>  
Citizen Shaw Members present Citizens Lessner in the Chair. Members present Sung Lesser Maurice Dupont Babczyński Garrison John Peaveley Dell & others & Shaw. The Minutes of the previous Meeting were confirmed as read. Frederick Card was elected a Member of the Council on the nomination of Mr Shaw & Dell. The Secretary stated, that since the last meeting he had written to Brass Finishers at the "Cheese" Mount Pleasant. Clerk Kenwell to receive a Rebutation from the Council. He had also sent this a copy of the following letter to the Postmaster General

International Working Men's Association

Central Council Rooms. 18 Bowery Street. N.Y.  
May 3<sup>d</sup> 1867— My Lord—I am directed to respectfully request your Lordship to be good enough to receive a deputation on the subject of International Postage from the Central Council of the above Association.

The Council would take it as an additional favor if your Lordship would appoint a day as near the middle of the present Month as possible for the above purpose I am My Lord Very Obediently R. Shaw Secretary

He had also written to 5 Branches of the Amalgamate Bakers Union enclosing Rules & Address and soliciting them to become affiliated to our Association. He drew the attention of the Council to the fact that the Bakers Executive met at the Working Men's Hall Harp Alley Farringdon Street every Tuesday Night and he was instructed to communicate with that Body. Sung said he had received a letter from Basle containing the prices of silk weaving as requested by the Coventry silk weavers; of which the following is the translation.

In accordance with your desire I hereby send you a summary of the wages paid in the Factories. For the so called West 17 Centimes is paid for 100 threads a day wages to 1/3. The average wages used to be 1/8 per day Piece Work. W<sup>£</sup> 29 to 46: 10 reed. 300 to 320 shuttles per inch. 24 francs & 73 cents a piece. W<sup>£</sup> 29 to 46 8 reed 200 shuttles per inch 18 francs & 50 cents a piece W<sup>£</sup> 21 to 40. 8 reeds, 7 times (something incomprehensible to the translator) 21 francs a piece. W<sup>£</sup> 1/4 to 36. 10 reed double shuttle, 200 picks per inch 17 francs & 25 cents a piece — a piece is equal to 120 staves

With 13 hours work a day, at the very utmost only 2 staves can be made in a day, and the wages never exceeds 10 p. a week, it is indeed more frequent that a fortnight's hard work only amounts to 15 p. Not only reduced prices but bad silk has contributed to bring about this deplorable state of things. Formerly 20 Centimes was paid per 100 threads; and with good silk 25 p could be earned in a fortnight; now the earnings are commonly from 8 to 10 p. — on rare occasions 12 p. The Secretary was ordered to send a copy of this translation to Coventry.

Citizen Sung also read a letter from Geneva which stated that a new Council had been appointed

there and the names of Duplessie, Carde & Becker were absent from the list of Councilmen. He also read a letter from Chauvel de Fondes requesting that the following subject should be put on the programme of the next Congress viz. Slackness of Trade: Its Causes & Remedies.

Jung read (on behalf of Dupont) a letter from Lyons. the said letter requested the Council to forward the address of the Lyonnais to the German Working Men through the German Newspapers the subject of the Address was Threatened War in Germany and it was ordered to be sent to Citizen Marras through Lessner.

A letter was read from Beliselli stating that the Chief of <sup>my</sup> Turners in the Tailoring-trade had signed a tariff agreeable to the Moon and that on the 21<sup>st</sup> of April large Meetings of Tailors, Cabinet Makers, Marble Polishers & Dyers had been held <sup>to unite</sup> on the Wages Question.

A letter was read from Chemalle of Paris stating that the Sailors had gone to work at an advance of 10 per cent instead of the 20 per cent for which they struck. The 10 per cent was accepted by a small minority in the first place and the Government withheld their authority for the holding of a Meeting of the trade. Consequently the Strike Committee had resigned and given up the contest.

This letter stated that the Paris Administration had spent £7.00 in propaganda and that was the reason why they had not sent their 3<sup>rd</sup> Contribution to the General Council. It also suggested that a certain number of Delegates from various Sections should assemble 5 days before the opening of Congress for the purpose of arranging matters so as to

solve the time of the Delegates when assembled in Congress. The letter stated that a new Branch had opened at Amiens. that the Rose-Makers of Paris had been on strike 6 weeks and that the Turners branch of the Bronze Makers Trade was not yet settled. The Bookbinders of Paris were desirous of uniting with the Bookbinders of London if any of them went over to the exhibition.

The President (Odger) then drew attention to the vote of the Council in reference to the Resolution moved by him at a Meeting of the Reform League and having stated that the resolution was meant simply to thank Count Bismarck for giving the vote to the people of Germany, and not involving his general policy the Council expressed themselves as perfectly satisfied with this explanation, and on the Motion of Shaw seconded by Garrow. It was agreed that the explanation should be sent to the International Courier for publication.

The Council then adjourned  
General Council Meeting May 14<sup>th</sup>  
Members present. Odgers, Fox, Le Carron  
Jung, Garrow, Dupont, Dell & Shaw

Citizen Odgers in the Chair  
The minutes of the previous Meeting were read & Conformed. A letter was read from the West End Ladies Shoe Makers Society requesting the payment of the £10.00 loan. The Secretary was instructed to answer the letter. A letter was read from the Block Printers Secretary Complaining at the Council for not having raised them money to support their Strike. The Secretary was ordered to answer the letter. A letter was read from the Postmaster-General declining to receive a

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Reputation from the Council on the subject of International Postage but at the same time he would be happy to consider any written statement that might be sent to him. Foxe undertook to write a statement on the subject at his earliest convenience.

A letter was read from Mr Applegarth stating that he had assisted to form a branch of our Association at Lynn in Norfolk. He requested the Council to communicate with the Secretary of the Branch. The Secretary was instructed to thank Applegarth for his services & send open up correspondence with Branch at Lynn.

The President gave in the name of G. B Stewart of 89 Irish Street, Dumfries as a man who would open a branch of the Association in that part of Britain.

The Secretary said that he had written the letters as directed at the last Meeting he had also written letters and sent reports of the Congress to Professor Besley, Mr Harrison Mr Walton those executive of the Bakers Union and the Affiliated Societies.

Jung then moved and Dupont seconded that the Reporter of the Commonwealth be admitted to report the proceedings of the Council ~~Council~~ unanimously.

Jung on behalf of Dupont read a letter from our Correspondent at Bourdeaux, stating that he had money to remit to London and enquiring what were the best means of remitting it. In the name of his Section he thanked the Working Men of London for what they had done for the Bronze Workers and

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Tailors of Paris. He also read a letter from Citizen Vaseur of Marseilles. He wrote in the name of a number of Workmen of Marseilles and its suburbs, who desired to form a branch there. The matter was left in Dupont's hands.

Jung read several paragraphs from the Tribune du peuple relating to workmen's association in Belgium and the part that our association was taking there. He also reported his attendance upon the Brass Finishers but did not get an hearing.

On the question of removing the sitting of the Council. It was proposed by Cacarrus and seconded by Foxe. That the sitting of the Council be not removed and that the use of the Office be offered to the London Trades Council at £10 per week. Carried Henry Dodd. of 26 Caroline Street, Camden Town N. W took up a Card of Membership and paid £1/2

~~The Council~~ then adjourned.

General Council Meeting May 21<sup>st</sup>  
Members present. Cacarrus, Lessner, Carter, Jung, Hales, Dell, Coulson, Odger, Buckley & Shaw.  
The Minutes of the two previous Meetings were read & confirmed. Letters were read from Professor Besley and Mr J Harrison thauing the Council for forwarding to them the report

~~the~~ <sup>of the Geneva Congress.</sup> Jung read a letter from Paris which stated that a Branch of the Association had been established at Algiers. It also stated that if any Societies were going to the exhibition word should be sent to that effect so as to enable the Parisians to give them a right hearty welcome. The letter again mentioned the necessity of sending Delegates & Essays to

<sup>84</sup> to Lausanne not later than the 25<sup>th</sup> of August Sung read a letter from Boile which contained a remittance of 14/6 for 73 Members and requested that the subject of Phonography should be placed upon the programme for discussion at the next Congress.

D'Alger then gave notice that at the next meeting he should move that a series meetings be held for the purpose of discussing labor questions the Meeting then adjourned.

General Council Meeting May 28<sup>th</sup>  
Members present - D'Alger Eccarius Lesser Dupont  
Sung Dell W. & J. Hales Shaw Buckley Paul  
<sup>Maurice</sup> and Yarrow. The Minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. A letter was read from Mr Walton of Brecon thanking the Council for sending him a report of the Congress of Geneva and a letter was read from John Lane Secretary of the National Amalgamated Association of Malleable Ironworkers stating that he had inserted the letter of the Secretary in their Monthly Circular with suitable comments of his own, and that he would send a copy to the Council & in the meantime he would join the Association individually.

Citizen Maurice brought a letter from the London Sailors Executive Committee which solicited the Council to use their best efforts for the purpose of obtaining Money for the Sailors from the Continent of Europe & America. Sung said that Dupont had spoken about the matter some ago and thought such action should be taken

but he (Sung) had declined to take any steps in the matter because he thought that the Sailors seemed desirous of doing their own work but now they had applied to the Council he would move "that the Secretaries for the Continent and America write to their Correspondents for Monetary aid for the London Sailors" Dupont seconded the Motion which was carried unanimously. Sung on behalf of Dupont read a letter from D'Alger stating that Branch had been formed.

He also read a letter from Yarrow near Marseilles stating that there was 300 Members in the Branch there and that the expected 500 shortly.

Sung at the request of Dupont again drew the attention of the Council to the points urged in the letter which was read last week. By the — advisability of sending Delegates and Essays to Lausanne 5 days before the assembling of Congress. The said Delegates to prepare the programme for the Congress. In referring to the first Article of the Bye Laws agreed to at the last Congress it was found that the production of the Congressional programme was left entirely with General Council and after some discussion. It was agreed on the Motion of Citizen I. Hales "that a Committee of 3 draw an Appeal to the Societies in and out of Affiliation inviting them to take part in the Coming Congress and also that the said Committee draw up the programme for the Congress. The appointment of the Committee was postponed until the next meeting.

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The next point that was urged by Sung  
was that the Societies affiliated to the Association  
should be informed of Chemales desire  
that any Societies or Members thereof  
who were about to visit the French Republic  
should send word to the Paris Administration  
so as to enable them to give the Britains  
a right hearty welcome on their arrival.  
On this subject a general instruction was given  
to the Secretary to mention the matter in his  
Correspondence.

President Odger then stated that, at a  
Meeting of the London Trades Council held  
on Friday Evening last. It was agreed that  
series of meetings should be held in London  
for the purpose of debating labor questions  
and, he wished the assistance of the Council  
to carry out that object. It was proposed seconded  
and carried unanimously. That Citizens  
Sung & J. Hales Cooperate with President Odger  
& Mr Edgar of the Trades Council for the  
purpose of arranging the said meetings  
The Council then adjourned

General Council Meeting June 14<sup>th</sup>  
Citizen Sung was voted to the Chair Member  
present Dupont. Lessner Cohn. Jose Gabicki J. & H.  
Hales Dell. Carter. Card Buckley Morgan Ceccarius  
Maurice & Shan. The Minutes of the previous  
Meeting were read & confirmed. Mr Malls Bill  
of 3..6..0 for rent and use of fixtures was read and  
paid until the next Meeting. On the Motion  
of Mr Dell. Citizen Carter was paid 1..0..0 the  
Balance of the expenses incurred by him on going to the

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Congress at Geneva. A letter was read from  
the Peace Society 19 New Broad Street City which  
had been addressed to the President. It suggested  
the propriety of British Working men adopting addresses  
expressing sympathy with the French & German Working  
Men. After some discussion on the Motion  
of Citizen Cohn seconded by Citizen Dell it was  
Resolved. "That the receipt of the Revd Henry Richards  
Communication be kindly acknowledged and that  
we ask for further information concerning the  
principles of the Peace Society with a view to  
cooperate with them for the furtherance of the  
cause of International peace"

Dupont read a letter from our Correspondent near  
Bordeaux which stated that their section had money  
in hand and Sung read several paragraphs from  
the French-Swiss organ of our Association relating  
to political affairs that had taken place in London.  
This journal express a desire that the General  
Council would now do some active work

### The Sailors Strike

Cecarius wished to know who was to pay for the  
Correspondence to Germany on behalf of the Sailors.  
After some discussion on the Motion of Citizen  
Carter seconded by Citizen Dell. It was resolved  
that all postage &c shall be paid by the General  
Council when writing to Continental Branches  
for aid; to any of our affiliated Societies who may  
be on Strike or Lock-Out.

It was then Moved by C. Ceccarius & seconded by  
C Carter. That the sum of 3 Shillings be voted  
to pay the postage of 6 letters to the North of Germany  
on behalf of the Sailors. It was also agreed that  
1<sup>o</sup> be voted to pay for a letter to C. Sylvas of Philadelphia  
on the same subject

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In reply to Citizen Maurice Dupont said he had appealed to Paris, Bourdeaux Lyons & Agiers Sections on behalf of the London Sailors. Jung said he had appealed to the French Swiss Sections through the French-Swiss organ of our Association, and also to Becker on behalf of the German Sections. Fox had done nothing because he had received no information on the subject. And the Secretary said that the reason Fox had not been acquainted with the matter was the want of his (Fox's) address.

On the question of appointing a Committee to draw up an appeal to Societies and the programme for the Congress. It was unanimously agreed. That Citizens Fox, Marse. Jung Eccarius & Dupont should undertake that duty.

The Meeting then adjourned

## General Council Meeting

June<sup>18<sup>th</sup></sup> 1857

Members present. Eccarius Lessner Dupont. J. Hale. Fox. Jung. Dell. Cadger Shaw Card & Bully. The Minutes of the Meeting of June 1<sup>st</sup> were read & Confirmed.

Eccarius stated that he had not received any reply to his Correspondence on behalf of the London Sailors but that there was a statement in the "Hermann" to the effect that something was being done on the Matter in Germany. Fox stated that he had written to America on the same subject.

Citizen Keller was elected a Member of the Council to represent the French Branch in the place of Citizen Collet who had resigned. Keller paid £19 as the 3<sup>d</sup> contribution for 19 Members and Mr Dell paid 1 Shilling for John Graham. On the Motion for the nomination of Citizen Fox proposer &

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Lessner seconded that Mrs Harriet Law become a Member of the Council

Jung read some portions of the French Swiss Organ showing that the Association was making much progress in Switzerland

In the Motion of Citizen Dell & Jung it was agreed that the Council requests the Committee to produce the programme of the Congress on Tuesday next.

It was proposed by Jung & seconded by Lessner that a Deputation wait upon the Engineers on Thursday next. Carried

In the Motion of Shaw & Fox. Odgers, Jung & Dupont were elected to wait upon the Engineers

Fox proposed the following resolution which were seconded by Citizen Dell and agreed unanimously

### INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION.

At the ordinary meeting of the General Council on Tuesday evening, after the usual routine business was concluded, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:-

1st. "That the General Council of the International Working Men's Association thanks the working men, students, and barristers, who took part in the recent demonstrations in Paris in favour of Poland, for having reminded the Czar of Muscovy that the domination of an Asiatic and barbarous Power over that portion of Europe called Poles, and that portion of the soil of Europe called Poland, is revolting to justice and common sense."

2nd. "That Maitre Floquet, having been blamed by many toadying or ignorant persons for his spirited and truly cosmopolitan conduct towards the Czar in the Palais de Justice, we hereby declare our approbation of that conduct, and thank the Conseil de l'ordre des Avocats for their refusal to censure Maitre Floquet."

3rd. "That the General Council hereby congratulates the British nation and Government on the good fortune of having been deemed unworthy of closer acquaintance by the Czar of Muscovy."

The Continental Secretaries were instructed to publish the above Resolutions

The Council then adjourned

# Council Meeting June 25<sup>th</sup>

Members present. Eccarius. Fox Lesser Keller Dupont Jung Bell Maurice Shaw Card & Buckley Citizen Eccarius took the Chair. The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read & Confirmed. A Letter was read from the Amalgamated Bakers Union stating that at the Annual Conference of the Union which would take place in August at Nottingham the question of the Union becoming Affiliated to the I. W. it would be submitted. Mrs. Law was accepted as a Member of the Council.

Mr Miall the landlord sent a request for immediate payment of £6.0.0 for Rent with notice to quit after some discussion Citizen Maurice offered the use of his room at 16 Castle Street until September next. It was proposed by Citizen Lesser & seconded Citizen Jung that the offer of Citizen Maurice be accepted and that the Council Meet there next Friday

Citizen Maurice brought a letter from the London Tailors Strike Committee. He wished the Council to get it published on the Continent. It was moved by C Jung & seconded by Fox — That the letter be sent to Citizen Collet for publication in the Courier Internationale subject to his (Collet's) Editorial discretion.

Fox then read the Congress Committee Report as follows Order of the Day. 1<sup>st</sup> Report of the General Council. 2<sup>nd</sup> Programme 3<sup>rd</sup> Rest of the Order of the Day

Programme  
1<sup>st</sup> Combination of efforts of the Working Classes by means of the Working Classes International Association Working Mens

## 2<sup>nd</sup> How can the working Classes utilise for the purpose of their own Emancipation the Credit which they now give to the Middle Classes & the Government Reports

Eccarius stated that he had received a letter from Berlin in reply to his on behalf of the Tailors. This letter said the Berlin Tailors had raised about £18,000 for the London Tailors. Eccarius also stated that the Philanthropic Coopers would let us know when see about joining the I. W. at their next aggregate meeting. Jung reported that he went to the Engineers last Thursday. Odgers was not there, and nothing was done. He had appointed to go next Thursday if it was agreeable. Jung Dupont were then appointed to go again on Thursday and Odgers promised to meet them there. Jung also stated that the appeal that he had sent to Becker on behalf of the London Tailors was published in the Vorbote. And that another new Branch of the Association had been opened in Switzerland.

The Meeting then adjourned

# Council Meeting July 2<sup>nd</sup>

Cit J. George Eccarius in the Chair. On account of the absence of the Secretary Cit Fox read the minutes. They were confirmed as read.

## Correspondence.

Cit Jung read a letter from Geneva complaining about the inactivity of the General Council respecting the Congress programme. It also stated that the Peace Congress to be held at Geneva was so arranged that the delegates who would be sent to Lausanne could attend & accomplish a twofold mission.

Vienne. A letter was read announcing that the branch had sent 60fr. gift & 40fr loan to the Tailors of London on strike. The branch numbered.

600 members & might have numbered 1000 had it not been for the want of Carnes. The branch was likely to send two delegates to the Congress. They had applied for permission to print the rules but the Government authorities had refused. They demand 50 copies more of the Congress report. Citizen Marcheval of Vienne requested to be authorised to open a branch at Amnonay, which was unanimously given.

### International Penny Postage.

Cit. Fox gave notice that on the following Tuesday he would present his written statement to the Post Master General.

Cit. Fox complained that a member of the French branch Cit. Besson had misconducted himself at the public meeting held under auspices of the German Arbeiter Bildungsverein to commemorate the Insurrection of June 1848. After some conversation the question was adjourned till July 9.

Cit. Fox called attention to the rapid progress of production cooperative Associations in America.

Members present: Citizens Fox, Laro, Eccarius, Dupont, Heller, Cohn, Lessner, & Maurice.

The Meeting then adjourned to Tuesday July 9.

### C Council Meeting July 9.

Cit. Jung in the Chair. Cit. Eccarius stated that he had taken notes of the last meeting but had left them at his house. A letter was read from Cit. Shaw in which he stated that having not been able to obtain employment in London he could not continue his functions as General Secretary. There being no alternative his resignation was accepted & on the proposition of Cit. Mary, seconded by Cit. Lessner, a vote of thanks for the services rendered by Cit. Shaw while in Office, was unanimously carried.

### Appointment of a General Secretary.

Cit. Fox proposed, Cit. Bubbly seconded that Cit. J. George Eccarius be appointed Secretary of the Association. Carried unanimously.

A letter was read from Mr. Arthur Miall requesting a written statement respecting the rent due to him. Cit. Fox proposed, Cit. Lessner seconded, that

£1. 10s. be paid to Mr. Miall. Agreed and the Secretary instructed to pay it.

### Correspondence.

America. Cit. Fox read letter from Mr. Sylvis, president of the Iron Workers Union U.S. in answer to an appeal on behalf of the London Sailors on Strike. Mr. Sylvis stated that his Union had done a good deal in the way of waging against the Capitalists. It had expended 35,000 £. during the past & 40,000 £. during the present year & had now 2000 members out of work. It had resolved to turn its attention principally to establishing co-operative foundries which was the only effectual mode of dealing with the labour question. They had several foundries in full blaze & more would be erected. Their funds were too low to grant relief but he would see what could be done in the shape of voluntary contribution. It also contained information about a labour convention to be held next month at Chicago. Cit. Fox was instructed to write to Mr. Jessop the organiser of the Convention.

Italy. Cit. Jung read a letter from G. D'Assie in Naples complaining that his former letters had not been answered, & he asked for the rules of the Association. Cit. Carter was instructed to reply.

France. Cit. Dupont announced that the Bronze-workers of Paris had voted a gift of 10l. & a loan of the same amount to the London Sailors on Strike. The Bordeaux branch had sent 1l. 12s. to the Sailors & 1l. 8s. contribution to the Council. At Fleurius our Soane & Rauen public meetings were to be held in support of the Sailors.

Cit. Dupont inquired about the publication of the Geneva Congress report in pamphlet form. The secretary was instructed to invite Cit. Collet to attend the standing Committee on Saturday July 13.

Castell nos d'Orle. Complaints were being made about police restrictions but promises made to do the best to organise the Association.

Scotland. A letter was read from the manager of the Commonwealth requesting payment for the advertisement. It was agreed to discontinue the advertisement.

### Deputations

Amalgamated Engineers. Cit. Jung reported that Cit. Odger had not kept his appointment & in consequence of that his own presentation had been delayed to such a late hour that but a very brief statement could be made & the Council of the Engineers had adjourned without a decision. The secretary was instructed

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to Mr. Allen. The secretary was also instructed to write to the London compositors, & the brass finishers.

### General Affairs

Cit Marx proposed & Cit. Lafargue seconded, that the following be the first Congress resolution  
On the practical means, by which to enable the International Working-men's Association  
to fulfil its function of a common centre of action for the working classes, female &  
male, in their struggle tending to their complete emancipation from the domination  
of Capital. Agreed.

Cit. Eccarius read the <sup>subjoined</sup> following address which was unanimously adopted.  
It was further agreed that 300 should be printed for circulation, & that  
Cit. Lafargue should render it in the French language & bring <sup>it</sup> before the  
standing Committee on Saturday July 13.

Respecting Cit. Besson's misconduct it was agreed that he should attend  
the standing Committee July 13, & the secretary was instructed to write to him.

Cit. Foy brought his written statement to the Post Master General before the  
Council. Cit. Eccarius, Jung, & Carter, all of whom ~~were~~ waited on  
the Post master of Switzerland, suggested some additions which Cit.  
Foy readily accepted & stated that he would complete the document in the  
course of the week. The meeting then adjourned.

Members present: ~~Biddle~~, Carter, Dupont, Eccarius, Foy, Jung, Lessner, Marx,  
Maurice, Stepney, Lafargue, Yarrow, & Gabieki.

### ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION.

#### TO THE MEMBERS AND AFFILIATED SOCIETIES.

" Fellow Working Men.—According to the reports we have received from time to time—our continental members are very persevering in propagating the principles and extending the ramifications of our Association, particularly in Switzerland, where most of our branches are actively engaged in establishing benefit and credit funds, and co-operative societies of production in connection with our Association—the progress of the British section has been greatly interfered with by the Reform movement. As the council looks upon the political enfranchisement of the working classes as a means to complete their social emancipation, it was but natural that the British members should take a leading part in the Reform agitation, and that our affiliated societies should, for the time being, throw their whole weight into the balance against reactionary phrase-mongers and malignant obstructives to bring matters to a crisis. However, now that the heat of the agitation has subsided, that no more monster demonstrations have to be organised, and the time appointed for the meeting of the second annual congress is drawing near, it is high time that those who have absented themselves during the height of the contest should resume their seats at the Council board, and our affiliated branches should make an effort to lend us a helping hand. The aims of our Association are not ephemeral; our labours will continue to absorb the attention of the working population until wages-slavery has become a matter of history. What the lot of the labouring population would be if everything were left to isolated, individual bargaining, may be easily foreseen. The iron rule of supply and demand, if left unchecked, would speedily reduce the producers of all the wealth to a starvation level, since in the actual condition of society every improvement of the productive powers, every abridgement of manual labour, tends but to lower wages and increase the hours of toil. Surely the labouring poor, the producers of all wealth, have a human, an inherent, a natural claim to participate in the fruits of their own toil, but this claim can only be enforced and realized by the union of all. Sectional efforts are of little avail, and partial successes are but short-lived. Nothing short of a thorough union and combination of the work-people of all countries can achieve the satisfactory solution of the labour question. Much has already been done in that direction, but more remains to be done. The periodical meeting of the representative men of the different countries has the effect of removing time-honoured national antipathies, cementing friendship, and smoothing the path for a common mode of action towards a common end. We therefore appeal to you, to do what is in your power to send as many representatives of the British branches as possible to the ensuing congress of our Association, which will assemble on Monday, Sept. 2nd, 1867, at Lausanne.

" According to the regulations passed at the first annual congress, every branch is entitled to send a delegate. Branches numbering above 500 members may send a delegate for every full 500 members. Branches that do not consider it advisable to send delegates of their own may contribute towards the expense of delegates representing groups of branches.

" The principal questions to be settled by the congress are :—

1. " On the practical means by which to enable the International Working-men's Association to fulfil its function of a common centre of action for the working-classes, female and male, in their struggle tending to their complete emancipation from the domination of capital.

2. " How can the working-classes utilise for the purpose of their own emancipation the credit which they now give to the middle-classes and the government.

" An early reply stating your decision is requested.

" By order of the Council,

" GEORGE OUGER, President.

" J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Gen. Sec.

" 16, Castle-street East, London, W., July 9, 1867."

## 96 Council Meeting July 16

Citizen Jung in the Chair. The Minutes of the two previous meetings were read & confirmed.

### General Report.

The general secretary reported that he received a letter from John Kane secretary of National Association of Malleable Iron workers announcing the intention of that body to join. The secretary of the Engineers had sent rather an evasive answer, & promised to lay the case before the general Council of the Engineers. The secretary of the London Trades Council asked for a deputation to attend the annual meeting of that body.

### Correspondence.

Switzerland. The people of Geneva identify the Sheffield outrages & Trades Unions with the International Association. The section desired a resolution but as the Geneva papers had only reproduced extracts from the British Journals, it was agreed not do anything in the matter. Extracts from a leading article in the voix de l'Avenir were read pointing out the fact that Maximilian, the imperial invader of Mexico, had proclaimed sentence of death, which had been executed within 24 hours of its promulgation, against every Mexican that should be found fighting for his own country against a foreign intruder & the official press of Europe, in the face of such facts, clung to extenuate his monstrous crimes.

France. The French secretary handed over £. £. as part of the of the Amalgamated annual contribution of the Lyons Branch. The Lyons branch asked to be authorised to form a central committee for the Rhône department which was unanimously granted. The members of the Lyons Branch were very hard up & might only be able to send one delegate to the Congress. To be able to hold periodical meetings they had resolved to register themselves as a co-operative Association but were not silly enough to believe that their savings would emancipate them from the domination of Capital. They had prepared a form of cards & projects of rules that would be in harmony with the laws.

A new Branch had been established at Villefranche, Lt. Chassain Secretary which would send a delegate to Lausanne. Another had been established at Castel ros d'Orme. Tammie Chitell had received all the numbers of the Courrier would gladly

subscribe but were too poor. The Voix de l'Avenir was their organ were rather more radical than it.

### General Business

Report of Standing Committee. Ct. Besson justified his conduct 1, by asserting that in French meetings one man could surrender his place to another, 2 that he had not understood the Chairman, 3d that he did not consider it a fault to raise a discussion, 4 that he owned he had been much excited, Ct. Fox on bringing up the Report objected to various points & gave notice of motion to take it into consideration at a future opportunity. The Written statement to the postmaster General was agreed to & it was resolved that it should be signed by all the secretaries.

Ct. Marx, John Fox, Dupont & Ecarins were appointed as the deputation to attend the annual meeting of the London Trades Council, on Thursday July 25, 1867 Bell Inn Old Bailey. It was agreed that the Congress programme should be discussed during the month of August.

Members present: Cohn, Buckley, Ecarins, Fox, Dupont, Jung, Lessner, Mrs. Law, Weller, Maurice, Yarrow, Gabicci.

The meeting then adjourned to Tuesday July 23.

## 97 Council Meeting July 23.

Citizen Jung in the Chair:

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The General Secretary reported that he had received a letter from Mr. Dodson the Secretary of the Amalgamated Cordwainers that the rule which his executive to grant £. towards the Congress fund last year had been rescinded by the Conference of 1864. The Amalgamation had never affiliated itself, which had been stated on one occasion to a deputation. The Secretary asked leave to write to the London Working men's Association which was agreed after some discussion.

### Correspondence

America. Ct. Marx had received letters one from New York announcing the affiliation of the Communist Club, which rejects all revealed religion,

and every not founded upon the perception of concret objects. It advocates the destruction of individual property, the equality of all persons & its members bind each other to carry these maxims into practice. <sup>also announcing its adhesion.</sup> The other letter was from a Kindred Association at Hoboken N. J. It called upon the council to send documents, and spoke of the great danger there was of the working men of America being traduced by the professional politicians, <sup>the greatest rascals under the sun</sup> who were advocating working men's measures to retain their places. Senator Wade had made an almost Communist speech the other day but had explained it away before a bourgeois audience.

Citizen Marx called the attention of the Council to a Parliamentary Blue book, "Reports by Her Majesty's Secretaries of Embassy and Legation on the manufactures and commerce of the countries in which they reside, 1867," of which the following is an extract:— During the first eleven months of 1864 the imports into Belgium of raw cast iron were 7,200 tons, of which 5,300 were British; in the corresponding period of 1865 they rose to 18,000 tons, of which 17,000 tons were British; and in 1866 they rose to 29,590 tons, of which 26,800 tons were British. On the other hand, the exports of Belgium cast iron during the first eleven months of 1864 amounted to 24,000 tons, 17,200 tons of which went to France, and 5,900 tons to England: whereas in the corresponding period of 1866 they did not amount to more than 14,000 tons, of which 9,600 tons were exported to France, and only 241 tons to Great Britain. The exports of Belgian rails have also fallen from 75,353 tons, during the first eleven months of 1864, to 62,744 tons in 1866.

The following is an exact statement, in a tabular form, of the quantities of iron and steel of all sorts imported into Belgium from Great Britain, and of Belgian iron and steel exported to Great Britain during the first eleven months of 1866, as compared with the corresponding period of 1864:—

Imports into Belgium from Great Britain. First eleven months of 1866, first eleven months of 1864.—

	1866. TONS.	1864. TONS.
Ore and filings	—	0 — 1
Raw, cast, and old iron	— 26,211	— 5,296
Hammered iron (nails, wire, &c.)	1,031	— 1,777
Castings	—	41 — 24
Wrought iron	—	255 — 203
Steel in bars, plates and wire	— 3,219	— 1,227
Wrought steel	—	522 — 0

Total 31,289 — 8,528  
Exports from Belgium to Great Britain. First eleven months of 1866, first eleven months of 1864.—

	1866. TONS.	1864. TONS.
Ore and filings	—	1,768 — 5,555
Raw, cast, and old iron	—	241 — 5,920
Hammered iron (nails, wire, &c.)	6,727	— 9,436
Castings	—	5 — 7
Wrought iron	—	12 — 0
Steel in bars, plates and wire	—	50 — 56
Wrought steel	—	16 — 5

Total 8,817 — 20,979

The results may be briefly stated thus:—whereas in 1864 (taking the first eleven months of the year) Belgium supplied England with 20,977 tons of iron and steel, in 1866 she only sent 8,117 tons, whilst the exports of British iron and steel to Belgium rose from 8,528 tons in 1864, to 31,289 tons in 1866.

It would be recollect that some of the middle class newspapers had last year raised an outcry about the pernicious effects of the Trades' Unions, that their doings were driving the iron trade from this country into the hands of the Belgian iron masters. None of the papers that had raised that outcry had even mentioned the appearance of this Blue book much less stated its contents.

After the transaction of some routine business the Council adjourned to Tuesday, July 30.

16, Castle-street, East, W.

Switzerland. The Geneva section had adhered to the programme of the peace congress. The Radical Bourgeois Committee of Yverdon called upon the Radical Bourgeois Committee of La Chaux de Fonds to fight against the Social Democratic tendencies of the International, which tended to overthrow social order & caused hatred between different classes. The workmen were availing themselves of the International Organisation to put a stop to system by which the capitalists paid their workmen at long intervals, and charged discount if the workmen drew money on account.

Italy. C. Carter stated that he written as directed but that he had only send the first four numbers of the Courier containing the Congress reports.

Cit. Ecarins nominated C. Neal president of the City Branch of the Sailors Association to become a member of the Council.

Cit. Fox announced that he had received an appeal of the Labour Congress Committee in America.

Cit. Mary pro. Lessner said "that our Congress programme be published in the Courier Français, that no branch has a right to put forth a programme of its own, that the council alone is empowered to draw up <sup>the Congress</sup> ~~such~~ programme & that the General Secretary be instructed to send the council programme to the Courier & communicate the foregoing resolution to the Paris Committee. Agreed.

Agreed that the balance sheet to September 1866 be appended to the Congress report.

Cit. Fox was commissioned to enquire about a room in Cleveland Hall. Agreed that branches that wanted the Congress report in Pamphlet form should send an instalment of the money.

Cit. J. Announced that a social science Association had been formed in America.

The Council then adjourned to July 30.  
Members present: Buckley, Carter, Dupont, Ecarins, Fox, Jany, Lessner, Law, Mary, Maurice, Keller, Steppen, Williams

## Council Meeting July 30

Cit. Carter in the Chair:

The ~~next~~ minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The General Secretary reported that Alfred A. Walton had written that he was prevented going as a delegate by the publication of his book ~~that~~ Our Future Progress. He sent five shillings to the Congress fund.

The Coventry Ribbon Weavers had enquired about the particulars of going to Switzerland with a view of sending a special delegate. Mr. Kane the Secretary of the Malleable Iron workers was going to try what he

could do for the Congress fund. The Coach Trimmers the Globe, will consider the question about the Congress fund. The Carriers Society had consented to entertain a deputation on August 1. The Eintracht, a German Club in Whitechapel, had voted 10s. to the Congress fund, & the Tailors of Bremen had sent 4l. 10s. for the Tailors on Strike. <sup>The British branch announced by letter that it would appoint a Polish exile resident in Switzerland as delegate to Congress & contribute according to its means to the Congress fund. It send two years contribution.</sup> Cit. Neal was unanimously elected as a member of the Council.

### Correspondence

France. Cit. Vassier, the Marseilles Correspondent, wrote from Turau a coal mining village about 30 Kilometres from Marseilles, that the Capitalists of that place were doing all in their power to turn the miners, about 500 in number, against the International Association. He and a few friends did all they could on the other side and he should not leave before establishing a branch. Zolain had placed the Courier Français at his disposal, which was a great assistance. He asked the French secretary to write an encouraging letter to Marseilles to keep the spirits of the members up.

Cit Talbot of Caen ~~had~~ announced in his letter that Longuet was with him; that his branch would send a delegate to Lausanne, and that he would send a guinea for the Council.

A letter was read from Eugène Benière, of Neuville sur Saône announcing that a delegate would be sent to Lausanne, and that ~~the~~ branch was in favour of the peace congress.

### Report of Deputations.

Cit. Fox had made enquiries about the Cleveland Coffee Room. It was only free ~~on~~ Wednesdays, and could be had for half a crown a week. Cit Cohn objected as Wednesday meetings would be tantamount to his exclusion, because the committee of his society met that night. The question was adjourned.

Cit. Cohn gave a report of the proceedings of the London Trades Council who had up the entire evening with a quarrel between the Council and some branches of the Amalgamated Carpenters. The meeting stood adjourned to August 3, & he volunteered to attend again. Cit <sup>Hales</sup> was appointed to accompany him.

Citizens Hales & Ecarins were appointed to attend the Carriers' deputa-

meeting on August 1,

Cit. Marx gave notice of motion that the peace programme be taken into consideration on the 6<sup>th</sup> of August.

Cit. Carter gave notice that at the next Council he should move that 4 delegates to the Congress be appointed. The Council then adjourned to Tuesday August 6. Members present Buckley, Carter, Cohn, Dupont, Ecarins, Fox, Gardner, Hales, Keller, Lessner, Marx, Maurin, Shaw, Gabicki.

Cit. Isard, a ~~French~~ member of the French branch was authorised to act as agent of the Association in the United States.

### Council Meeting August 6.

Cit. Jung in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

The General Secretary reported that Citizen Howell had sent 2s. 6d. to the Congress fund & applied for a letter of introduction to the Paris members. The Board of management of the Coventry Ribbon Weavers had referred the subject of sending a delegate to the Congress to a meeting of Trade delegates which would take place in a few days. The Alliance Cabinet Makers had written that the pressure upon their funds had been so great that it was impossible to grant anything for the Congress. The Organ Builders had sent their annual subscription, 2s. 1d. but could ~~not~~ not give anything towards the expenses of the Congress. The Arbeiter Bildungs Verein was going to hold a summoned meeting to see what could be done about the Congress. The Executive of the Amalgamated Carpenters & Joiners had agreed to <sup>an</sup> annual contribution of £2 leaving it optional for branches to affiliate themselves separately. The delegates meeting of the Carriers Society had received the Deputation favourably, but according to a letter of the Secretary the Question would have to be submitted to the members for decision.

### Correspondence.

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Graeme. A letter was read from Cdt. Boutain Conde (Calvados) stating that there were only 4 Members left; that they had sent 5 fr. to Cdt. Gribourg, & that would unite with the Caen Branch to send a delegate. ~~Cdt. Marcheval~~ Cdt. Marcheval wrote from Vienne (isere) that the question of sending a delegate was being discussed. He stated that he wanted some Congress reports. He wanted to go to Annecy & required to show something. A letter from ~~Cdt. June at Nantes~~ announced that the Congress reports as well the Address & invitation to the next Congress had been received. Many of the former members had not renewed their annual contributions fearing that as the Association was political it might ~~do~~ get them into trouble. ~~It was very difficult to make propaganda at Nantes~~  
~~Note that~~ It was very difficult to make propaganda at Nantes. There were many benefit & charitable institutions & the people were on the whole very religious. Any one who asked for money to accomplish any thing was looked upon as a rogue. The writer had been disparaged by people who had formerly been his associates.

Cdt. Dupont stated that with much trouble he had succeeded to get the Congress address & programme published in the Courier de l'Europe. He also received an invitation for the Council to send a delegate to the co-operative Congress to be held at Paris on the 16, 17, & 18 of the present month.

Cdt. Fox announced that he had received an Address from the Labour Congress Committee U. S. & that by this he had discovered that the Address he formerly had was wrong. The Chicago Workman's Advocate had published several parts of our Congress reports & stated in article on the ensuing labour Congress in America that one of the questions to be decided ~~would be~~ was the advisability of sending a delegate to the International Congress in Europe to prevent the innuendos of Workpeople brought over by the Capitalists from Europe to depreciate the value of labour, & to bring about an understanding between the working people of the two Continents.

#### Deputations.

Cdt. Hales stated that he had attended with Cdt. John at

the London Trades Council but that the other business had taken up the whole evening & the question of the Congress had not come on for discussion. There would be no other meeting before the Congress.

Citizens Hales & Jung were appointed to attend the Brass Finishers meeting next Monday.

Cdt. Carter pro. Cdt. Garrison seconded that Cdt. Howell be asked to attend the Co-operative Congress at Paris as delegate of the Council & Cdt. Dupont furnish him with credentials. Unanimously agreed.

The question of about the ~~Exeterdown~~ Cleveland Coffee rooms was again adjourned, Mrs Law volunteered to make inquiries whether it could not be had <sup>on</sup> Tuesdays. Cdt. Maurice was instructed to enquire about the Franklin Hall.

Cdt. Carter proposed that four delegates be appointed & that whatever money might come in should be equally divided amongst them & that they should be requested to advance the remainder. After some discussion the motion was withdrawn.

Citizen Hales then proposed & Cdt. Lessner seconded, that the money be given to the delegates according to the number of votes, that is he who has the highest number of votes should receive the first £10 & so in rotation as far <sup>as</sup> the money that might come in would reach. This resolution was carried by 9 against 5 votes. It was then agreed that four delegates be appointed, that the nomination should be proceeded with at once & the ballot take place on Tuesday August 13. Citizens Jung, Agger, & Shaw declined to be nominated. The following were nominated as candidates: Cdt. Carter, Dupont, Eccarius, Fox, Law, & Marx.

The meeting then adjourned to August 13.

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Secretary.

#### INTERNATIONAL WORKING MENS' ASSOCIATION.

The ordinary weekly council meeting was held last Tuesday evening, Citizen Jung in the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The General Secretary reported that he had received notice that the two societies of basket-makers were going to have a special meeting, when the question concerning the delegate to the International Congress would be decided. The Chelsea branch of the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners had passed a resolution urging upon the Executive Council of that Association the necessity of asking the votes of all the members for or against affiliating the entire body to the International Association. The Executive of the Amalgamated Tailors' Association had agreed to propose the affiliation of that Association as a substantial resolution at the next conference; they were not permitted by their rules to grant any assistance to the Congress fund. The French branch had appointed Citizen Dupont as special delegate to the Congress, and the Arbeiter Bildungs Verein would appoint a special delegate in the course of the ensuing week. The Berlin cigar makers had sent 25 thalers for the tailors on strike.

Citizen Hales announced that the Elastic Webb Weavers' Association had granted £1 to the Congress Fund.

It was then agreed that the balloting should be proceeded with.

Citizen Marr stated that he was not in a position to go to the Congress this year, and must therefore withdraw.

As Citizen Dupont was already appointed by the French branch, the ballot simply turned upon which of the proposed delegates should have the preference in case the means should prove insufficient to send the four. While the balloting was going on,

Citizen Marx called attention to the Peace Congress to be held at Geneva. He said it was desirable that as many delegates as could make it convenient should attend the Peace Congress in their individual capacity; but that it would be injudicious to take part officially as representatives of the International Association. The International Working Mens' Congress was in itself a Peace Congress, as the union of the working classes of the different countries must ultimately make international wars impossible. If the promoters of the Geneva Peace Congress really understood the question at issue they ought to have joined the International Association. The present increase of the large armies in Europe had been brought about by the revolution of 1848; large standing armies were the necessary result of the present state of society. They were not kept up for international warfare, but to keep down the working classes. However, as there were not always barricades to bombard, and working men to shoot, there was sometimes a possibility of international quarrels being fomented to keep the soldiery in trim. The peace-at-any-price party would no doubt muster strong at the

Congress. That party would fain leave Russia alone in the possession of the means to make war upon the rest of Europe, while the very existence of such a power as Russia was enough for all the other countries to keep their armies intact. It was more than probable that some of the French Radicals would avail themselves of the opportunity to make declamatory speeches against their own Government, but such would have more effect if delivered at Paris. Those who declined putting their shoulders to the wheel to bring about a transformation in the relations of labour and capital ignored the very conditions of universal peace. He ended by proposing "That the delegates of the Council be instructed not to take any official part in the Peace Congress, and to resist any motion that might be brought forward at the Working Men's Congress tending to take an official part."

Citizen Weller stated that the delegate of the French Branch had already received instructions to that effect.

After some observations by Citizens Fox and Ecaius the resolution was unanimously agreed to.

The result of the ballot was:—Citizens George Eearies, 1st; Peter Fox, 2nd; James Carter, 3rd; Mrs. Law, 4th.

On the motion of Mrs. Law it was agreed that the next meeting, on Tuesday, August 20th, be held at the Cleveland Hall Coffee-room. The subjects to be discussed are, the annual report and the Congress programme.

The meeting then adjourned.

#### INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION.

The General Council met on Tuesday last in the Cleveland Hall Coffee Room, where the regular Tuesday night's meetings will be held in future. There was a muster of members who have lately devoted their energies entirely to the Reform movement, now that the Bill has become law they will resume their seats at the Council Board. Citizen Jung occupied the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The General Secretary reported that the London cigar-makers had voted £1 1s. to the Congress fund, and the West-end ladies' boot-makers £5. The Coventry ribbon weavers had appointed a special delegate, and Citizen Alfred A. Walton, of Brecon, had announced his intention of representing the National Reform League, of which he is the President.

The Swiss secretary announced the formation of a branch at Berne.

The French secretary read a letter from the miners of Faveau, who have established a branch. He also announced that the rules of the association had been printed in Algiers.

The secretary for America read a letter from Mr. Wm. J. Jessup, vice-president and orderly officer of the National Labour Union for the state of New York, of which the following is an extract:—"It gives me the greatest pleasure to acknowledge your welcome letter and accompanying papers, for which favour please accept my most sincere thanks. I have long desired to open correspondence with the working-men of England, and have written two or three letters with that end in view. The corresponding secretary of the National Labour Union is very dilatory in answering. As an officer of the National Labour Union I exceedingly regret that your kindness in furnishing report and information relating to the Geneva Congress, has not been reciprocated on the part of our corresponding secretary, as I hold it as a matter of great importance that the working men of both the old and the new countries should be in close communication in relation to the labour movement, as I believe it will prove of mutual benefit to all. I much regret that the day will be too far advanced when our national body meets to take action upon sending a delegate to the Congress at Lausanne. I would much like to see the working men of the United States represented therein. I shall take much pleasure in complying with your request to inform the Chicago Congress of the assembling of your Congress on September 2nd. I shall also take the liberty in making my report to that body to read your letter, believing it of sufficient importance to make it public. I desire to assure your General Council that, having been elected delegate to Chicago from the Working Men's Union of this city, I will immediately on my return write them full information as to the action taken by the union, and will forward such papers as contain the fullest account of the proceedings. My official term as vice president will terminate with the sitting of the union. I would like to maintain our correspondence in my other official position as President of the New York State Working Men's Assembly, or Corresponding Secretary of the New York Working Men's Union, and will be at all times happy to exchange documents relating to the labour question. I recognize the necessity of frequent intercourse between our two bodies, and if I hold an official position therein another year, I will do all in my power to maintain such intercourse, and will willingly furnish any information in my power that you or the General Council may desire, or exchange papers or documents of interest. Many of the trades of San Francisco are on strike against an increase of hours of labour, having been employed on the eight hours' system the past nineteen months."

The General Secretary then read his draft of the third annual report of the Association, which, with an additional paragraph about the action taken by the Council respecting international penny postage, and some verbal amendments, was agreed to. It appears from this report that the British section of the Association has been increased by the affiliation of ten organised bodies. In France, seven new branches have been established, and one in Algiers. In Switzerland several trade societies, as well as co-operative and political societies, have been affiliated.

The special report of the secretary for America was also agreed to.

A conversation then arose about some of the Council members that were appointed at the last Congress, but have not put in an appearance for some time, nor paid their annual contributions. It was resolved, "That the names of all members of the Council whose contributions are not paid by Tuesday, August 27th, be struck off the list of Council members."

As the evening was too far advanced, the discussion of the Congress questions was adjourned to Tuesday next.

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