

W^o Council Meeting Tuesday August 27.

Citizen Shaw in the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. The General Secretary reported that the United Society of Journeyman Carriers had announced their affiliation & the secretary had paid the entrance fee. The London Basket Makers paid their annual contribution £125. b.d. to the Congress fund.

The balance sheet was then read & citizens Maurice & Hales appointed as auditors.

Upon the proposition of Citizen Fox seconded by Citizen Marx it was resolved that the Congress delegate should receive £2 L.

Citizen Fox read a letter from the Post master General in answer to the memorial sent by the Council, in favour of a reduction of international Postage. The Post master General ^{concerned in} endorsed the views expressed in that document.

The special report of the American secretary was read & adopted.

Discussion of the Congress Questions.

The regular payment of contributions was considered to be of the utmost importance as one of the practical means to enable the Association to fulfil its functions.

Citizen Hales thought the Council should expend less on trades unions & enter more into a general propaganda to attract the foremost thinkers in the various localities.

Citizen Fox thought we have local agents in various places.

Citizen Carter maintained that with the exception of our interference in strikes we had done nothing & neglected everything regarding the practical application of the great principles of the ~~the~~ Association.

Cit. Fox mentioned that it was owing to the International that the Polish question had been kept alive.

Cit. Oelger said we required discussions upon the most important questions of the day to attract public notice & make

our meetings more entertaining which would increase our funds & enable us to carry out our principles. There was not sufficient publicity at present.

Citizen ^{Marx} was rather against turning our Association into a debating Club. We had made considerable progress abroad & had obtained a good standing in France. For weeks together none of the British members except Fox, Shaw, & Carter ^{Bury} had come near us. He was not against discussing great questions. Citizen Oelger thought special meetings might be held for particular questions.

^{Carter, Maurice Law, Hales, & Fox spoke in favour of debate.} It was then proposed that a special meeting be held on Thursday to discuss the second question which was agreed to. ~~To~~ the special meeting the balance sheet was adopted.

Citizen Walton & Citizen Swan the ^{provincial} delegates announced in former meetings were present. Citizen Walton paid the entrance fee & the annual contribution of the National reform League & Citizen Zatschky the contribution of the Arbeiter Bildungs Verein.

~~Citizen Fox entered into a long statement about the Bank Charter Act & the Currency Laws & Citizen Walton made some remarks upon the general question of credit. As there was no eagerness manifested to enter upon the details of the question respecting the funds of trades unions the meeting terminated with a few wishes for the part of Citizen Shaw who occupied the chair. This version was rejected on the motion of Cit. Fox & the following substitute~~
~~as by himself.~~

Cit. Fox spoke on the Credit question & in a lengthy statement, showed that the Currency ~~and~~ laws of Gt. Britain impeded the growth of popular Credit Associations in these islands.

Cit. Walton spoke on the general subject of Credit. No one else took part in the discussion & the meeting adjourned.

Council Meeting September 17.

Citizen Jung in the Chair.

The minutes of the two previous meetings were read. Citizen Fox objected to the version given of the discussion on the second Congress question. After a good deal of discussion Cit. Fox handed a written statement to the secretary to be substituted for the version given by the Secretary which was agreed to, & the minutes confirmed.

Report of the General Secretary.

The French Publishers had sent in their annual contribution, the Lynn Carpenters & Joiners had sent a ~~Meeting~~ Qs. 9 d. in postage stamps demanding rules & cards. the National Association of Operative Plasterers, Liverpool had sent their adhesion in delegate meeting assembled had voted a guinea a year to the funds of the International Association & wanted to know who to ~~address~~ send the money to; the House Painters Birmingham had sent their adhesion enclosing a post office order of 195. 7d. as entrance fee & annual contribution.

Cit. Jung announced that a new paper "La Liberty" had been started in Belgium the editorial staff of which had asked for literary contributions offering to insert anything that might be of interest to the Association.

Cit. Shaw objected to the manner in which Cit. Fox had rendered the reports of the American Labour Congress ^{in the Beehive} making it appear as if our Correspondents were the Correspondents of the Beehive. After a good deal of discussion the matter dropped.

Upon the proposition of Cit. Eccarius it was agreed that the remainder of the balance due to R. Cottam, should be paid. It was further agreed that two quires of the Beehive of Saturday Sep 14, & two quires of Saturday Sep. 21, be purchased for the use of the Council. As the time was too far advanced to hear the report of the Congress delegate the meeting

adjourned to Tuesday Sept. 24.

Members present Buckley, Carter, Cohn, Eccarius, Fox, Hales, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Shaw, Zabicky.

Council Meeting Sep. 24.

Cit. Odger in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. ~~the~~ A female Delegate ~~had~~ addressed from the French Publishers announced his presence. The secretary of the Liverpool Cigarmakers ~~had~~ announced by letter the affiliation of that body, & also that he had sent a P.O.O. payable to Mr. Shaw to 18 Bowrie St. which had not come to hand. Cit. Fox consented to make inquiries.

Cit. Eccarius gave an account of his mission to Lausanne & the proceedings ~~at~~ ^{at} the peace Congress at Geneva. Cit. Lessner spoke about the ~~the~~ indecorous behaviour of some of the delegates at Lausanne. He stated that the Congress had been really representative. The minutes would be published in full in the French ~~other~~ language at the expense of the French speaking delegates. ~~of the~~ ^{thanks to the delegat}

In consequence of the announcement that Congress had voted 1d. per member a year to the Central fund

Cit. Fox raised the question whether it would not be advisable to abolish the 5s. Entrance fee for societies, Cit. Eccarius, Odgers, Marx were ~~of a contrary opinion~~ ^{against the abolition}.

Cit. Shaw gave notice of motion to abolish the shilling contribution of delegates to the Council from affiliated Societies.

Cit. Fox gave notice to call the attention of the Council to Eccarius's reports of the Congress in the Times.

Cit. Marx gave notice to call ~~the~~ ^{all} the attention of the Council to ~~the contents of a letter addressed~~ by Cit. Fox to Ph. Becker of Geneva ~~&~~ with a view to

ascertain its purport.

Appointment of Officers.

Upon the proposition of Cit. Hales, it was unanimously agreed not to appoint a standing president.

Upon the proposition of Cit. Shaw it was unanimously that the functions hitherto performed by the financial secretary should be transferred & to the general secretary & the office of financial secretary abolished.

The following were appointed as officers without a dissentient voice: Mr. Shaw Treasurer. J. George Eccarius Gen. Sec. Eugene Dupont sec. for France; Karl Marx for Germany, Gabiuki for Poland. Herman Jung for Switzerland, James Carter for Italy; Peter Fox for America, Paul Lafargue for Spain. On account of the constant absence of Cit. Besson the late secretary for Belgium the appointment of a secretary for Belgium was postponed.

Cit. Cohn, the delegate of the London Cigarmakers Association stated that by economical management his society had succeeded in accumulating a fund amounting to about 2000 l. which was deposited in the savings bank at an annual interest of 2½ per cent. They thought that money might be applied more beneficially & they wanted to know how. He submitted the question to the Council with a view to being taken into consideration & that the Council might give some advice in the matter, & state its opinion whether it was possible to devise a scheme to put the money to a better purpose.

The Committee had offered a prize of 2 guineas for the best essay upon the best means to apply the funds of the Association. This was confined to the members of the Association but they wanted the advice of the Council. The time fixed for the examination of the essays was February 1868.

Cit. Hinton. (a citizen of the United States) inquired how he could aid the efforts of the International Association on his return home. He thought it was high time that the Americans

should give up their somewhat narrow movement which confined ~~area~~^{was} to National limits. He thought with proper management the moral weight of the American Republic might be gained for the support of struggling democracy in Europe. He would do his best to bring about ~~and~~ a cooperation that would have such an effect & he would also endeavour to get an American delegation to the next International Workingmen's Congress. He stigmatized the attacks of the Times against the American Labour Congress & stated there was no foundation for the assertion made in the Times respecting immigration from Europe.

After several propositions & a good deal of discussion the question as to the special powers to be entrusted to Cit. Hinton was postponed. The meeting adjourned at 10^½ o'clock.

Members present: Buckley, Cohn, Eccarius, Fox, Hales, Jung, Mr. Law, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Shaw, Gabiuki.

H. S. Jung. Chairman

J. G. Eccarius Secretary

Council Members appointed by the Congress with power to add to their number. Besson, Buckley, Carter, Dell, Dupont, Eccarius, Fox, Harriet Law, Hales, Howell, Jung, Lassalle, Lessner, Lassalle, Lafargue, Lawrence, Marx, Morgan, Maurice, Odger, Shaw, Stansby, Williams, Weston, Weston, Yarrow, Gabiuki.

119 Council Meeting Oct 1.

Citizen Jung in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

The General Secretary read a letter from Birmingham ~~Trade~~ the writer of which asked for the addresses of the continental secretaries for the Rev. Miall to transmit peace addresses. The Council took no action upon the matter.

A letter was read from the Tailors of Cologne asking for the rules of the English tailors Associations & little advice for the guidance of a tailors' Congress to be held on the 14th of October at Linzey to establish an amalgamation. The secretary was instructed to ~~wire~~ answer ~~for~~ officially.

The Secretary reported that Mr. Patti had sent a Bill charging 2d. a copy for 100 Beehives. C't. Fox volunteered to try & get the charge reduced to trade price.

C't. Fox reported that Mr. Miall was in possession of the letter from the Liverpool Cigarmakers containing a post office order but would only give it up to some authorised officers. C't. Eccarius was ordered to go & get it.

Citizens Maurice & Eccarius nominated Mr. Newberry to become a member of the Council.

C't. Fox announced that the question of the affiliation of the bootclovers had been postponed for a fuller meeting.

C't. Fox asked leave to postpone the consideration of C't. Eccarius' Correspondence in the Times.

C't. Marx preferred postponing his question respecting C't. Fox's letter to Ph. Becker.

Resolved that the Beehives containing the annual report & balance sheet to sent to the metropolitan societies be directed & brought to the next meeting.

Upon the proposition of C't. Fox seconded by C't. Lessner it was unanimously resolved to give Credentials to C't. Hinton of America.

C't. Fox gave notice that on an early day he should call attention to the relations of the Beehive towards the Council.

On account of C't. Shaw's absence the motion standing in his name was adjourned.

Members present: Eccarius, Fox, Hale, Jung, Lafargue, Lessner, Marx, Yabuki.

Chairman

J. George Eccarius Secretary

Council Meeting October 8

C't. Shaw in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read & confirmed.

The General Secretary reported that the Secretary of the Birmingham Trades Council had applied for the rules of the Association. He had sent some copies of the Address & provisional rules.

Mr. Hillam of Lynn had applied for nine Cards & rules for the Q.S. Qd sent the other day. He sent the names of nine men belonging to various trades as candidates to become members. The affiliation of the Trades branch was not yet decided upon.

Mr. Arthur Miall would only give up the letter on condition that the secretary signed a paper to make himself responsible for the £. 10 S. owing ^{which condition the secretary did not comply with} for rent & gas. C't. Shaw undertook to try & get the letter.

Correspondence.

C't. Isard sent a letter from New York stating that he had many influential men but none were serious about the International except Mr. Jessup. Writing letters to the others was labour in vain. He had been present at a States ^{of my National Labor Union} Delegate meeting where he & C't. Drury another member of the French branch had been well received. Both had spoken & laid the annexed propositions upon the table. He asked for Credentials both for himself & C't. Drury. Upon the proposition C't. Fox seconded by C't. Dupont it was agreed to send him credentials, annual & Congress reports.

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Ct. Lafarge read a Spanish letter from a Spaniard who had read something about the Congress of Lausanne. The writer was very enthusiastic for the working classes. In Madrid he had effected an alliance between the students & the working men. He had travelled over all Europe & was conscious that much was to be done in Spain but the country was too much agitated at present. There was good material in Catalonia, Aragon, & Castile. He would persevere & encounter a Martyr's fate if need be. +

Ct. Fox ~~replied~~ announced that he had received two American papers but had not read them yet. The Workman's Advocate of Chicago contained a full report.

Ct. Marx announced that a Member of the Association Ct. Liebknecht had been returned to the North German Parliament by the Workingmen of Saxony. He was the only member that had dared to attack Bismarck's war policy for which he had been invited by the Arbeiter Bildungsverein - as Schulz Döltzsch - society to receive the acknowledgements of the Workingmen for his services. +

~~Ct. Fox brought up a large amount of his reports of the Lausanne Congress in the Times~~

Ct. Fox introduced this motion of which he given notice at last meeting condemning the reports sent by Ct. Eccarius from Lausanne to the "Times," & supported it in a speech of considerable length; Ct. Carter supported & stated that he considered it the duty of any council member who had a stigma cast upon him to resign. He then announced his resignation as Italian secretary & member of the Council & left the room. Ct. Shaw also concurred in Fox's view & thought it wrong that the reports had been sent to the "Times." ~~He moved that the report be withdrawn~~

Ct. Marx, Jung, Lafarge, & Jabcik opposed it. Ct. Hale moved a more general resolution which Fox preferred to his own upon which Ct. Marx moved the order of the day as

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on amendment which was carried against two.

The Council then adjourned. Members present, Buckley, Carter, Eccarius, Fox, Hale, Jung, Lafarge, Lessner, Marx, ^{Maurice} Shaw, Stepney, Jabcik.

Council Meeting October 22.

Ct. Jung in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read & confirmed.

The secretary announced that the Cheltenham Cordwainers had sent £5. b.d. towards the Congress fund. Ct. Shaw read a letter from Miall demanding money before Wednesday to stop prosecution. The letter containing the Post Office Order from the Liverpool Cigarmakers had been ^{cut} opened & pasted together again by Mr. Miall. It was agreed to pay Mr. Miall 10s. & the secretary was instructed to answer his letter which contained insinuations against the members of the Council.

Ct. Jung read a letter from Lausanne asking for a loan to liquidate some debts incurred by the section as a co-operative association.

Ct. Jung was instructed to answer the letter & to state that the Council unable to render any assistance. +

Ct. Marx read some extracts from the stenographic reports of the North German Parliament. Mr. Liebknecht, a member of the Association had delivered a speech in favour of the abolition of standing armies & the ^{introduction} ~~establishing~~ of popular armaments, & subjecting Bismarck's conduct in the Luxembourg affair to a severe criticism.

It was then agreed that the secretary should summon all the members of the Council appointed by the Lausanne congress, ^{The issuing of the} Plenary powers ~~of~~ delegation demanded by the Ct. Ward & Gray in the United States was postponed.

It was agreed that in future no extra charge should be made for cards of membership.

The resolution requiring the delegates of affiliated societies to take out cards of membership was rescinded.

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It was unanimously agreed that the money voted to Mr. Maurice for the use of his room be paid as soon as possible. The meeting adjourned at half past ten.

Members present: Buckley, Eccarius, Hales, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Shaw, Stepney, Yabikki.

October 29.

Cit. Shaw was unanimously elected to the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. The Secretary reported that having no addressees of the members of the Council he had written to five only. Cit. Howell had answered & promised that he would put in appearance at the next meeting. He read a letter from Mr. Mall containing an apology for his insinuations in the last, and a statement that should consider himself entitled to open the letters of the Council though it was unlawful.

Cit. Jung read letters from Digne (Bas Alps) & Bonneville the writers of which asked rules as they intended to establish branches of the Association.

It was proposed by Cit. Lessner & seconded by Cit. Hales & unanimously carried that Cit. Jung write to Lausanne to enquire about the minutes of the late Congress.

The secretary was instructed to ascertain the price of printing 1000 copies of the rules of the Association.

Mr. Bradnick was unanimously accepted as delegate from the Elastic Webb Weavers Association.

Mr. Weston, through the medium of Mr. Hales, apologized for his absence & promised to come in future.

It was proposed that the present secretaries should include the General Secretary form the Standing Committee. Carried. Cit. Fox stated that we required constant ~~constant~~ information about the labor movement in the United States & the best mode

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to get it would be to get our Correspondent Whally & Jessup to furnish us with ~~XIX~~ News Papers. Wherever a social movement takes place Jessup gets papers from all parts of the country. Jessup was a tried man. He doubted that Whally & would turn out to be equally good. If he was & our funds run short we might confine ourselves to one. But at present we ought to enter into arrangements with both. We should have to send papers in return but what? He thought the weekly Beehive, the fortnight Co-operator & the Industrial partnership record would answer the purpose. The would amount to 45.4d. a month.

Cit. Jung said he was ready to second the proposition but before doing so he wanted to know what use was going to be made of the papers we should receive.

Cit. Fox was willing to have that question settled first. Cit. Hales spoke in favour of the scheme. He thought it was the business of the Council to get the information to supply it to the Continent. The Council adjourned at half past ten. Members present Buckley, Eccarius, Fox, Hales, Jung, Lessner, ^{Mrs. Law} Marx, Maurice, Shaw, Stepney, Yabikki.

Council Meeting Nov. 5.

Citizen Shaw in the Chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

It was agreed to have a thousand copies of Rules printed. The secretary was instructed to have the Bill sent by Mr. George Patter, charging for more than double the number of Beehives received, rectified.

Correspondence.

A letter was read from Loire apologising for the delay caused in printing the Congress reports. It stated that the resolutions were ready & should be sent. The Geneva

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Papers had stated that the Council of the Reform League had passed a resolution in favour of Fenianism & that the Government had commenced a prosecution against its authors. The College authorities of Lille had fallen out with professor Guillame ~~his position was in~~ he in danger of losing his place.

Syons. The old branch had divided itself into two. The one party was in favour of taking an active part in political affairs the other was of a different opinion. The writer considered Schetzel a good soldier but not a general. Palis is Secretary of the new branch. A third branch has formed itself at Lyons under the title of Independent Group. It desires to correspond directly with the Council & require Rules. They will send their contributions together with the other branches.

Proven. A letter announcing that ~~160~~ new members had been admitted.

Marseilles. A letter announcing a satisfactory increase, & the establishment of a bureau at Marseilles. Vasseur has been attacked by the Clerical Journals since his return from the Congress. Will send their contributions on the last day of the year.

Geneva. The Carpenters Society has amalgamated its benefit fund with the International Association, the same as the Joiners. The Plasterers have amalgamated their funds in like manner.

Chausse de Fonds. More Groups of co-operative Watchmakers have been formed under the auspices of the Association. Also a society of Mainspring makers. They will all pay contributions to the ~~General~~ General Council. The title of the third Lyonese Group gave rise to some controversies. Cit. Jung was ~~not~~ instructed to advise ~~the~~ the adoption of a more neutral title.

Cit. Fox announced his intention to resign his American Secretary ship to free his relation with the Beehive. Had the Council possessed funds to pay him for his

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trouble it would have been better that his articles should have come from the Association ~~but it was better that he should~~ But as the Council could not pay he must do it in the service of the Beehive. He had some Council Members on his side his aim was to widen the Platform of the Beehive, & must disregard the majority of the Council if it should be against him.

Cit. Jung said it was anything but handsome on Fox's part to have availed himself of his position as American Secretary to obtain information & enter into relations & now to tell the Council you are too poor to pay me I go to the Beehive.

Cit Marx said we ought to have used more precaution in the first instance. We ought to have entered into an agreement about our reports. They now appeared inside amongst the miscellaneous News. Fox had only been attacked about one passage in the ~~Congress~~ ^{American} report. There was no other fault committed. He had nothing to do with Fox's articles unless he wrote against us.

Cit Shaw had never heard any body blame Fox for writing for the Beehive except the Congress report already mentioned which had done the Association some injury. Had the Council asked the Beehive whether ~~they~~ ^{they} would pay us for our reports they might have done so. He was sorry ~~that things had turned out as they for~~ what had taken place.

Cit Fox gave notice of the following motion:
That this Council directs its American Secretary to correspond with Mr. J. C. Whaley, President of the National Labor Union Washington D. C. & to send him the weekly Beehive, the bi-monthly Manchester Co-operator & monthly Industrial Partnership Record praying him in return therefore to send the Chicago Workingman's Advocate & any other working class journals which are of a nature to give the General Council the information which it desires to have concerning the working class cause in America.

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The Council then adjourned.

Members present Buckley, Dupont, Ecarius, Fox, Howell, Jung, Lessner, Mrs. Law, Marse, Maurice, Shaw, Stepney.

Council Meeting Nov. 12

Cit. Shaw in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read & confirmed.

The Secretary read a letter from Mr. George Potter concerning the number of Beehives, of the 14, & 21 of September, sent to the Office of the Association. The matter was left in the hands of the Secretary to deal with Fox's Letter. A long letter was read from P. Fox affirming his resignation as American Secretary & making some charges against the conduct of the Chairman of the last meeting, the silent endorsement of the said conduct on the part of the Council members & repudiating the statements made by Cit. Jung at that meeting.

Cit. Jung said that ~~said~~ he had told Mr. Fox to his face what he had considered wrong & he ought to have replied then.

The members present were of opinion that what had taken place at the last meeting did not ~~not~~ justify such a letter as that sent by Mr. Fox.

It was agreed to refer the matter to the standing committee.

Cit. Jung stated that the working men of Geneva had held a mass-meeting & adopted an address to the Italians calling upon them to rise en-mass. A concert had also been given for the benefit of the Garibaldi fund.

The engravers of Geneva were announced to be on strike.

Several professors were making arrangements for the establishment ~~of~~ ^{in connection with the Association} of a free-school where mathematics, geometry, & book keeping should be taught.

Cit. Morgan proposed Mad. Hulett as a member of the Council.

Cit. Jung proposed & Cit. Lessner seconded that the Fenian Question be discussed on Tuesday Nov. 19. Unanimously carried.

Members present: Buckley, Dupont, Ecarius, Jung, Lafargue, Lessner, Maurice, Morgan, Shaw. The first copy of Congress minutes was received. Also three papers from Mr. Jessie in America. The Workmen Advocate, Philadelphia, & the Pittsburgh Weekly Advocate. Read & adopted on December 17. H. Jung. J. Ecarius

Meeting of the Council & Members & Friends of the Association November 19 Citizen Weston was unanimously elected to take the chair.

The Secretary read the resolution, from the minutes of the previous Council meeting, ~~fixing the appointing the 19th as the day on which~~ fixing the order of the day for the 19th, being the discussion of the Fenian question.

The Chairman said, I think the Council has acted wisely in determining ~~on~~ the discussion of this question at this time, & I have no doubt that it will receive the attention it merits. He then called upon Cit. Jung to open the discussion.

Mr. JUNG said: When I proposed that this question should be discussed I thought an expression of opinion on the part of the council of this association was desirable. I am no abolitionist of physical force movements, but the Irish have no other means to make an impression. Many people seem to be frightened at the term "physical force" in this country, yet even English agitations are not free from its influence. The Reform League has accomplished much by way of moral force, but it was only under a threat that physical force might be resorted to on the occasion of the Hyde park meetings that the Government gave way. I should be sorry to find the working men of this country go wrong upon this question. They have been right upon every other. The Irish require more than simple reform. Some endeavours have been made to divert the attention of the workpeople of this country with regard to the Fenians. While they are denounced as murderers, Garibaldi is held up as a great patriot; and how no lives been sacrificed in Garibaldi's movements? The Irish have the same right to revolt as the Italians, and the Italians have not exhibited greater courage than the Irish. I may not agree with the particular way in which the Irish manifest their resistance, but they deserve to be free. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. LESSNER said: Our association is not confined to any particular nationality; we are of all nations, and the Irish question concerns us as much as any other. In the course of twenty years the Irish population has dwindled down from eight millions to five and a half millions, and this decline is in consequence of the British rule. No country can be prosperous with a declining population. Ireland declines at a rapid rate, and the Irish have a right to revolt against those who drive them out of their country; the English would do the same if any foreign Power oppressed them in a similar manner. (Cheers.)

Mr. DUPONT: The council would be wanting in its duty if it remained indifferent to the Irish cause. What is Fenianism?

Is it a sect or a party whose principles are opposed to ours? Certainly not. Fenianism is the vindication by an oppressed people of its right to social and political existence.

The Fenian declarations leave no room for doubt in this respect. They affirm the republican form of government, liberty of conscience, no State religion, the produce of labour to the labourer, and the possession of the soil to the people. What people could abjure such principles?

Only blindness and bad faith can support the contrary. We hear that those whom the English law is going to strike down for their devotedness to such a cause are exclaiming, "We are proud to die for our country and for republican principles."

Let us see of what value the reproaches are that are addressed to the Fenians by the English would-be libertators. Fenianism is not altogether wrong, they say,

but why not employ the legal means of meetings and demonstrations by the aid of which we have gained our Reform Bill?

I avow that it is hardly possible to restrain one's indignation at hearing such arguments.

What is the use of talking of legal means to a people reduced to the lowest state of misery from century to century by English oppression—to people who emigrate by thousands, to obtain bread, from all parts of the country?

Is not this Irish emigration to America by millions the most eloquent legal protest?

Having destroyed all life and liberty—be not surprised that nothing should be found but hatred to the oppressor.

Is it well for the English to talk of legality and justice to those who on the slightest suspicion of Fenianism are arrested and incarcerated, and subjected to physical and mental tortures which leave the cruelties of King Bomba, of whom the would-be liberators talked so much, far behind?

A citizen of Manchester, whose domicile was invaded by constables, asked one of them to show his warrant. "Here is my warrant," he replied, drawing a pistol from his pocket. This shows the conduct of the English Government towards the Irish.

Without having right,

on their side, such conduct is enough to provoke and justify resistance. The English working men who blame the Fenians commit more than a fault, for the cause of both peoples is the same; they have the same enemy to defeat—the territorial aristocracy and the capitalists. (Cheers.)

Mr. MORGAN thought it was rather unfortunate that the Irish had chosen the name of Fenian, which many Englishmen considered synonymous with all that is bad. Had they simply called themselves Republicans, they would have shut up at once all those Englishmen who profess to be in favour of Republicanism. Englishmen as a rule did not look as favourably upon things in their own country as in other countries. They applauded insurrection abroad, but denounced it in Ireland. Deeds that would be considered as heroism if committed in France, Italy, or in Poland, would beigmatized as crimes in Ireland. The Irish had every reason to have recourse to physical force. Moral suasion had never been used towards them by the British Government; it had always applied to the robe and the market. The English ought at least to look as favourably upon the Irish as upon the Italians. Were they treated in the same manner by a foreign Power they would revolt sooner than the Irish. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. LUCRAFT said the question was not whether the Irish were justified in using physical force, but whether they could do any good by it. He thought they could not. He thought it rather strange that the Irish of London, for instance, had not made common cause with the English and Scotch in the reform agitation.

Mr. WESTON thought the word Fenianism meant the head produced by a nurse of oppression, and the hatred engendered by it, which could not be cured by the concessions of reform which the English demanded for themselves. A Government that had trampled upon the rights of a people could never be reached by moral suasion, but by physical force resistance. In England there was no need of bludgeons, but in Ireland moral force had not fair play. The rescue of the Fenian prisoners at Manchester was an exact duplicate affair of the rescue that was now attempted by the British Government of the prisoners held in Abyssinia. If killing was murder to rescue prisoners in Manchester, it was murder in Abyssinia; if it was wrong in one place it was wrong in the other. The crime of starving the Irish was far greater than the accidental killing of one man in trying to rescue the Fenian prisoners. He did not believe in the justice of the law. The laws were made and administered by hostile partisans, and there was a possibility of finding an innocent man guilty. He thought Ireland had been governed with more mercilessness than any other country, and he was glad that the Irish question had come uppermost. The democracy of the sister kingdoms must take the matter up and redress the wrong. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. WILLIAM PARKS said that the Irish in Ireland, in America, and in England were all of one opinion—they wanted Ireland for the Irish, and to govern themselves. Upon the proposition of Dr. MARK, the discussion was adjourned to Tuesday next.

The standing committee was instructed to draw up a memorial to the Home Secretary on behalf of the Fenian prisoners now under sentence of death at Manchester.

Cit. Jayet argued in a speech of some length that physical force resistance was a bounden duty for every people who was oppressed by tyrants were they of home or foreign origin, & showed that this was laid down as a maxim in the constitution of the French Convention of which Robespierre had been a leading member.

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Upon the proposition of C't. Luard it was agreed after some discussion, & the standing Committee with the Chairman of the Meeting were instructed, to draw up a memorial to the Home Secretary concerning the Fenian prisoners under sentence of death at Manchester & present it to a special meeting ^{of the} for adoption on Wednesday Novem. 20.

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Special Meeting November 20, at the Office 16 Castlereagh
East W. C't Weston in the Chair.

The following memorial proposed by the standing Committee was unanimously adopted:

Memorial of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association
To the Right Hon. Gathorne Hardy her Majesty's
Secretary of State.

The memorial of the undersigned, representing workingmen's Associations in all parts of Europe, sheweth,— That the execution of the Irish prisoners condemned to death at Manchester will greatly impair the moral influence of England upon the European continent.

The execution of the four prisoners, resting upon the same evidence & the same verdict which, by the free pardon of Maguire, have been officially declared, the one false, the other erroneous will bear the stamp not of a judicial act, but of political revenge. But even if the verdict of the Manchester jury & the evidence it rests upon had not been tainted by the British Government itself, the latter would now have to choose between the blood handed practices of old

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Europe, & the magnanimous humanity of the young transatlantic Republic.

The commutation of the sentence, for which we pray, will be an act not only of justice, but of political wisdom.

By order of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association

Chairman
Secretary for America
" " France
" " Germany
" " Switzerland
" " Spain
" " Poland
" " Holland
" " Belgium
J. George Eccarius Hon. Gen. Secretary

C't. P. Shaw was appointed unanimously as American Secretary
Members present. Eccarius, Dupont, Jung, Lafargue, Marx, Maurice, Shaw, Weston, Lessner.

W. J. H. Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary

Read & adopted December 17

Council Meeting November 26

Citizen Shaw in the Chair.

Resumption of the debate on the Fenian question.

Cit. Marx stated that he would give up his parole ~~to~~ in favour of Col. Fox. Col. Fox, in long speech stated that the Irish under the leadership of D. O'Connell had been the originators of moral force agitation but that the English Government had forced them to change their tactics; that in consequence of the absence of political life in this country Fenianism had drafted into open hostility towards England; that Fenianism was the vindication of Irish ~~to~~ nationality in the face of the English, & that the Irish oligarchy, unlike the aristocracies of other countries, was anti-national. That the unsettled state of Ireland was a constant danger to the relations between England & America & that Irish influence in the States was prejudicial to the British workmen who emigrated to America, & that the Irish question also prevented England from taking her proper stand upon the Polish question. The English dominion over Ireland was as ruinous as the Austrian dominion over Italy.

He concluded by moving resolution:

"That this meeting desires that a settled peace & amity between the British & the Irish nations ~~to~~ should be substituted for the war of seven hundred years between England & Ireland & with a view to that end this meeting exhorts the friends of Irish nationality to bring their cause before the British people & advises the latter to accord an unprejudiced bearing to the arguments advanced on behalf of Ireland's right to autonomy."

Cit. Garrison seconded the resolution & endorsed what Col. Fox had stated regarding American affairs.

Cit. Cohn thought there was a difference between England & Austria. Ireland was on the road to America & might interfere with British commerce if it came into other hands.

After some conversation in which the Chairman, Cit

Marsé, Eccarius, Weston, & Jung took part, it was agreed upon the proposition of Col. Cohn that the resolution be referred to the standing committee.

The Meeting then adjourned.

Members present: ~~Hoole, Eccarius, Jung, Mr. Law, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Shaw~~

Council Meeting December 17.

Cit Shaw in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meetings were generally read & confirmed. A letter was read from Jos. Hart Godwell Broad desiring to become a member. Cit Jung volunteered to see him.

Cit. Marsé proposed & Cit. Maurice seconded that the rules be printed, Col. Marx offering to advance the money if not should come in. Carried.

Cit. Jung read a letter from Paris stating that the committee had decided to clear up the debt of last year. Counting 300 members their obligations would amount to £1. 12s. Deducting £2. 10s. for expenses incurred they hoped the Council would not object to ~~paying~~ taking £2. They wished to have it brought before the Council & to have an early answer. They would then try to collect some money & send it as soon ~~possible~~. It was agreed that the Council ~~had power to~~ ^{had power to} abate the amount due & Cit. Shaw undertook to inform the French Secretary of it.

Cit. Jung also announced that the engravers of Geneva had joined the Association.

The Secretary was then called upon to read the resolution respecting the Fenian question proposed by Col. Fox.

The resolution having been read Col. Jung said that he wished to say a few words before the question was entertained. He ~~said~~ said it was desirable that Col. Fox should be present & to enable him to do so he would retract what he ^{had} said about Fox having committed an dishonest act, & he moved that the consideration of the resolution be postponed. This was agreed to & the secretary instructed to communicate it to Col. Fox.

The Council then adjourned.

Members present: Buckley, Eccarius, Jung, Mrs. Law, Lessner, Marsé, Maurice, Shaw.

Matthew Lawrence Chairman
J. G. Eccarius Secretary

126 Council Meeting December 31

Citizen Lawrence in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. Citizen Lawrence stated that in consequence of having resigned the secretaryship of the Tailors Association he was free to attend the meetings of the Council & would do all that lay in his power to promote the objects of the Association. He also thanked the Council ~~on~~ on behalf of the Tailors Association for the assistance rendered during the strike.

Citizen Jung stated that he had been to see Joseph Hart but that he was not in town.

From Switzerland he announced that the engravers of Geneva had joined the Association & that two Bakers had entered into a contract to supply the members of the Association with bread at a lower charge than the general selling price.

The resolution of Cst. Fox, was on account of his absence, again postponed.

Cst. Dupont announced that domiciliary visits had been made by the Paris police at some of the members' houses.

The Council then adjourned.

Members present Dupont, Eccarius, ~~Jung~~, Lawrence, Lessner, Maurice Niemeyer, Hulleck, & Mrs. Hulleck.

R. Shaw
Chairman

J. George Eccarius Secretary

1868

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Council Meeting January 21, 1868 at 16 Castle Street East W¹

Citz. Shaw in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

Correspondence. Cst. Dupont stated that he had not received any direct communication from Paris but that a letter received by the French branch here showed that the regular correspondence on both sides must have been seized by the Police. The Parisian Members who have been summoned to give an account of themselves will employ no lawyers.

Cst. Jung read a letter from Geneva ^{appealing for help for} concerning the Engravers & Jewel Case makers' ~~Delegates~~ who are on Strike. The Strike had taken place with the consent of the Geneva Committee.

The French Secretary was instructed to write to Paris Bronze workers & enquire whether they had repaid any & what loans to the English trade societies, & solicit them to refund the money as soon as they could as the non-payment might prove an obstacle to raising funds for the Engravers of Geneva.

Cst. Jung then proposed & Cst. Dupont seconded that ~~#~~ Members be appointed to go on deputation. Carried: Citizens Dupont, Jung, Lessner, Morgan, & Shaw were appointed Cst. Shaw to be the Secretary of the Deputation.

Citizen Niemeyer ^{was admitted} took his seat as delegate from the French Branch. It was Citizen Meyerson was nominated to become a member of the Council by Cst. Jung & Lessner. Mr. & Mrs. Hulleck were nominated by Cst. Morgan seconded by Dupont.

It was then agreed that the following questions be submitted to the affiliated Societies for discussion. 1. Organisation of Credit, Co-operative Exchange, Paper-money from a practical point of view. 2. Machinery & its Effects, 3. Technical & comprehensive Education. 4. The advisability of drawing up a Programme of rational Education. 5. Land, Mines, Canals, Highways, Railways ought they to be ~~owned~~ private or public property & worked for the benefit of private individuals or for the profit of the community. 6. The Policy of Strikes & Courts of Arbitration. The Council then adjourned. Members present: Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Morgan, ^{Buckley} Maurice Niemeyer, Shaw

R. Shaw Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary

128 Council Meeting January 28

Citizen Shaw in the Chair

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read & Confirmed.

Election of New Members.

E. Meyerson, Halleck & Mrs. Halleck were elected as members of the Council.

Louis Lefevre was nominated by Citz Dupont & seconded by Citz. Jung.

Correspondence.

Citz. Dupont related that a Bookbinder having come from Geneva to Paris & required funds to commence work, the Paris Bookbinders had upon the recommendation of the Geneva Section made the necessary advances. It was the first case of international Credit.

Citz. Tolain & Chemalé had baffled the judge d'Instruction by demanding distinct overt acts to be brought forward on the part of the prosecution.

In Belgium our members endeavoured to resist the Conscription.

The French Branch announced that it had been resolved to celebrate the anniversary of the February Revolution

Report of Deputations, on the 24th, in Cleveland Hall.

The Shoemakers' Executive had inserted the statement respecting the Geneva Engineers' Strike in their monthly report.

Citz. Jung was well received by the Shoemakers in Feather lane he thought they would something.

Citz. Shaw found no body at the Wm's Head, Lessner was ill. Dupont Protested against the resolution to have only two names printed on the rules.

It was agreed that 1d. be charged for the rules but a copy sent free to each Secretary.

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The following circular was adopted to be sent out to the Secretaries & Members of the Association.

CITIZENS.—As the General Council intends issuing a report on the present state of the working population, you are desired to furnish whatever authentic information you may be able to procure respecting the state and the condition of the workpeople of your respective localities, if possible within a month. The secretaries of the affiliated trades societies will oblige by answering the following questions:—1. The name of the society? 2. The number of its members? 3. What are the customary hours of labour? 4. What is the customary rate of wages? 5. Is employment constant or fluctuating? 6. What number has been out of work during the last three months? 7. Are those in work fully employed? 8. Has any advance or reduction of wages taken place in the trade within the last five years? 9. Has co-operative production been tried, and with what success?

The Council will esteem it a favour if, in addition to answering these questions, they can give any other information, either about their own or any trade in particular, or of the state of the working population in their neighbourhood in general, and whether any special endeavours are being made to improve the condition of the poor and with what success.

The following address has also been sent in the form of a circular letter:

To the Members of the International Working Men's Association.

Fellow working men! With the view of eliciting an unmistakable expression of opinion from the great body of the members of the International Working Men's Association, the last congress recommended the council to submit to you the following questions for deliberation, and we solicit your favour to return your conclusions respecting them at the earliest opportunity.

1. The practicability of organising a system of credit and co-operative exchanges—facilitated by the use of paper money—amongst the various associations of working men.

2. What are the effects of the use of machinery upon the condition of the labouring poor?

3. The advisability of drawing up a definite programme for the technical, and a comprehensive secular education of the children of the poor.

4. The land, mines, canals, highways, railroads, &c., ought they to be the property of private individuals and worked for their personal profit, or would it be expedient to convert them into public property and work them for the community at large.

5. The policy of strikes, and the advisability of insisting upon the establishment of the courts of arbitration.

It will depend upon the answers returned to these questions, whether any of them shall form a part of the programme of the next congress to be held at Brussels in the first week of September next.

By order of the general council of the International Working Men's Association, R. Shaw, chairman, J. George Eccarius, hon. general secretary.

N.B.—Secretaries of trade societies and others who may be desirous of assisting in the furnishing material for the intended report, are invited to send whatever they have to communicate to the Secretary of the International Working Men's Association, 16, Castle-street, E. W., London.

Citz. Jung consented to go as Deputation to the Bookbinders. Members present. Dupont, Eccarius, Halleck & Mrs Halleck, Jung, Lessner, Morgan, Maurice, Niemier, Shaw.

R. Shaw Chairman

J. George Eccarius

180 Council Meeting February 1.

Citizen Lessner in the Chair.

In the absence of the Secretary Citizen Shaw acted as Secretary
Cit. Dupont payed £ £ contribution for the Marseilles
Branch for 1867.

Jung stated that he had seen in the papers that the Geneva
strike was over.

The Secretary of the Day working Bookbinders had replied
that his Society could entertain no deputation as there were
two on already & a monthly meeting could grant five pounds.
Members present. Halleck & Mrs. Jung, Dupont Shaw
Lessner Maurice.

Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary

Council Meeting Feb. 11.

Cit. Shaw in the Chair.

The minutes of the two last meetings were read & confirmed.

Correspondence

Cit Jung received a letter from Geneva stating that the strike was over not
altogether to the satisfaction of the men, but considering the unfavourable
season they might have fareel worse. The letter from London had not
given much encouragement, but they thanked the Council for the steps that
had been taken. Almost all the trades Societies had now joined & newspapers had
been established in several places. They would soon sent money.

Belgium. The members hold numerous meetings about co-operation,
universal suffrage, & to organise opposition to the law of conscription
& agitate for the abolition of the standing army. New sections have
been established at Liege, Vervier, & amongst the Miners of Borinage.
The Finances are in an unsatisfactory state, & they have much
expense but have no doubt that they will be able to pay their contributions.

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They have also received a letter from Guillaume of Soile announcing that
the Compt Rendu is at last ready but will cost 2 francs.

France Cit Dupont read a letter ~~to~~ stating that the inquiry before
the Juge d'instruction was not yet ended. There had been but 4
domiliary visits this was not enough for the prosecution so the
police had summoned all the members of the committee, including
one who had never accepted & never attended. The judge was of
opinion that English names on the Council list of the I.W.A
were men of straw, that is was only the revolutionary refugees
who gave instructions to their friends how to act. It was a secret
society with a public platform. The Paris members sought to obtain
the control ~~of~~ over the French workmen for revolutionary purposes.
Rothschild has received notice to quit. In default of any
punishable offence the accused expect to be punished for their
sentiments.

The Marseilles Branch ~~contains~~ consists of 280 Members.

Cit. Jung was instructed to send the translations of the circulars
to Switzerland & to instruct the German Secretary of Geneva
to get it published in as many ^{papers} letters as he could.

It was further agreed that Cit. Dupont have the questions on
the circular & some Congress resolutions printed for transmission
to France.

Cit Lawrence gave notice that on that day for the night
he would move some resolutions respecting the Credit institution
for the working class.

* The Council then adjourned to Tuesday Feb. 18.

Members present: Dupont, Eccarius, Halleck, Mrs. Halleck,
Hales, Jung, Lessner, ~~Neal~~, Lawrence, Neal, Maurice, Shaw.

R. Shaw Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary.

1851 Council Meeting February 18

Cit. Shaw in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed
Correspondence.

The Chausse de Fond section has formed co-operative stores under the title of La Presoyante & asks for the addresses of British Manufacturers of Shirtings, Muslins & other stuffs for women's dresses & Cavalry adds that we should sent patterns. All purchases made with ready money. Cavalry wants to know whether London is asleep. The Secretary was instructed to communicate the substance of the letter to Rochdale Pioneers' Cooperative Society.

Belgium. The Government wants 2000 more soldiers & requires several millions for war purposes the section has protested. It was agreed that Maurice be paid £1 on account of rent nomination. Mrs. Morgan nominated by Cit. Shaw seconded by Cit. Halleck. Cit. Williamson by Halleck seconded by Cit. Morgan.

An account of the Sailors General Meeting the Council adjourned to Wednesday Feb. 28.

Members present Bucky, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Mrs. Halleck, Halleck, Maurice, Morgan, Lawrence, Neal, Shaw.

Council Meeting Feb. 26

Cit. Shaw in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. Mrs. Morgan & Cit. Williamson were admitted as members without a division. Cit. Milner presented his credentials as delegates of the National Reform League & paid £5. 10d. as the second half of the annual contribution for 1851. The delegate was ~~unanimously~~ admitted by a unanimous vote.

Correspondence. A letter from the West End Bootmakers, answering the questions & offering ^{to pay} the first quarter's contribution but it must be settled. Mr. S. P. Shorrock's writes from Manchester that the workpeople in that town have little faith in London but he will ~~not~~ ^{not} do endeavour

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to get adherions to the International & information for the Report. Report of Deputations. Cit. Halleck had an interview with the N.W. branch of the Bootmakers but the meeting was not numerous enough to decide the question of affiliation. This no doubt they will join.

Cit. Jung was well received by the City Women's Men. They joined, are 400 strong, & will send a delegate.

Cit. Lawrence had received ~~at~~ a letter from the Corresponding Secretary of the International Sailors Union of America, in which the readiness is announced to enter into a Sailors' Union standing throughout the world, the London Sailors on the previous night had endorsed the sentiment & instructed their Secretary to continue the correspondence, & Cit. Lawrence thinks if the most important passages of that letter be made known on the continent & may induce other trades to follow, ~~they may~~

Cit. Jung desires to hear the letter before any action is taken. Cit. Lawrence gives notice that we call the attention of the Council to the subject at the next meeting.

The American Secretary was instructed to write to Mr. Jessup at New York with a view to obtain information for the Report.

The Council adjourned at 10 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Members present: Eccarius, Halleck, Mrs. Halleck, Jung, Lessner, Lawrence Milner, Mrs. Morgan, Morgan, Maurice, Shaw.

Chairman.

Ms. Jung.

J. George Eccarius Secretary

Council Meeting March the 3.

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

The Secretary reported that the New London Society of Basket Makers had paid their first quarters contribution for 300 Members. The General Shoemakers had paid their annual contribution for 40 Members. Letters had ~~arrive~~ were read from the Lynn Branch & the Secretary of the Birmingham Trades Council with referring to the

P.M.A.

Circulars.

Citizen Jung read extracts from the *Voice de l'Amir* from which it appeared that the Building trades of Geneva are trying for a rise of Wages of 10 per cent upon the present average of 3fr. 80c. per day. A letter from Belgium in the same paper states that several important Societies have joined & others are about to join the Association. A co-operative society of agriculturists is preparing to emigrate to America to establish a communistic Colony there. The Belgian Section intends to issue an address to the British Workmen about the Germans. The Belgian Section is stated to be 4000 strong.

In Zurich a proposition has been carried into law for the Canton, by the agency of the Members of the Association that no measure carried by the legislature can have the force of law until approved of by a vote of the electors.

Cit. Hulbeck announced that he had made overtures to the Portmanian & Trunkmakers, & that the society was ready to receive a delegation. It was agreed that a delegation consisting of Cts. Milner, Lessner & Jung be sent.

Cit. Hulbeck stated on behalf of Cts. Morgan that a shoemaker had presented himself ^{as} pret to the Cordwainers Association pretending to be delegated by a Paris society but having ^{no} credentials he would move that the French Secretary be instructed to make inquiries. Cts. Morgan. Members present Buckley, Eccarius, Hulbeck & Mrs. Hulbeck, Jung, Lessner, Milner, ^{Mrs.} Morgan, Maurie, Nemer, Shaw. The Council adjourned at half past 10.

Chairman *H. Jung.*

J. George Eccarius
Secretary

Council Meeting March 10

Cit. Jung in the Chair. The Minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. A letter was read from Paris about the trial of the ~~W~~ members of the Paris Committee. The Hall had been filled by the Members of the Association. Various questions had been asked of the members of Trades Societies. Cit. Chemalé had demanded to know the inducement the Judge had refused unless the accused would employ lawyers which they ^{had} refused to do. The letter ~~says~~ ^{supposes} the writer of the letter supposed that the result was known in London which was not the case.

A new Committee had been elected on the previous Sunday consisting of Bourdon, Varlin, Mallon, Combault, Mollin, Humbert, Landrin, Graujon, & Charbonneau

Members present Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Hulbeck, Mrs. Hulbeck, Jung, Lessner, Maurie, Mrs. Morgan Milner. The Council adjourned at 9 o'clock

H. Jung. Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary
Council Meeting March 17

Cit. Shaw in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting not being ready their reading of them was postponed to the next meeting.

Correspondence. A letter from Coullery was read in which he complained of hearing no news from London, the Circular was not in the last number of the *Voice de l'Amir*. Application was made again for patterns, the Secretary undertook to write to Hulbeck. The Section had made an appeal to the Clerks & Railway officials to form an Association & given which they seemed inclined to do. Police officials not wanting. The Engravers have joined the Association & the German Section wants to amalgamate with the French. At Rouen a new Branch was to be opened.

Deputations The Deputation had been well received by the Trunkmakers, the question was to be brought before the next General Meeting.

Cit. Lawrence was then called upon to open the discussion of which he had given notice. He said, the Credit question was rather a difficult subject to approach. He was hardly prepared to propose anything practical. The question ought to be discussed in all its bearings & the conclusions arrived at embodied in resolutions. The object was to offer increased facilities for cooperation. There were two kinds of cooperation that of retailing the products bought wholesale, & the other of production. The former was carried on with ready money & required no credit, but the latter required credit in the course of production. All the other classes of producers could give a marketable value to their produce by means of securities & credit before the produce itself was ready to realise its market price. The trade Societies & others of known wealth & acknowledged integrity ought to make their business to guarantee the paper of solvent co-operative Societies. An insurance Society upon the principles of Lloyds would enable co-operative societies to obtain credit without trouble. Without Credit co-operative production would not attain the acquire the dimensions it was destined to attain. To bring the question fully before the working classes he would move the following resolution: "That the subject of Credit Societies for the assistance of productive

cooperative Societies be considered by the Council with a view of issuing an opinion on the matter from this Council to the working classes."

Cit. Neal seconded the motion. He thought the matter was worth taking up. There were difficulties to contend with, but these things must be taken up by some one. They might appear utopian at the outset but if perseveringly advocated they succeeded in the end. He alluded to enormous amount of wealth produced annually & its unequal distribution as described by Leonid Baster & said it was hardly conceivable that wage receiving class a large number of whom were organised & accumulated large sums should hand these sums over to the rich who used them for their own purposes. He believed that this money could apply for the redemption of the oppressed. The Capitalists had gained their position by the organisation of their Credit institutions & the working classes could not do better than imitate them.

Several members having ^{spoken} ~~expressed themselves~~ in favour of the motion it was unanimously carried & the debate adjourned.

Members present Buckley, Ecarins, Hullock, Mrs. Hullock, Jany, Lawrence, Lessner, Neal, Milner, Maurice Mrs. Morgan Shaw.

H. Jany. Chairman
J. George Ecarins Secretary

Council Meeting March 24

Cit Jany in the Chair. The minutes of the two previous meetings were read & confirmed.

Correspondence. The Secretary read a letter from Cit Walton on the Credit Question & another from Nottingham acknowledging the receipt of the circular, Hales, & addresser.

Cit Jany read extracts from the Voix de l'Avenir about the Building trades. He want to discuss their differences with their employers. He requires a reduction in the number of the hours of labour from 12 to 10 hours & an increase of wages per hour.

Cit. Hales stated why his Society had not replied to the circular the questions had been discussed & he would furnish the conclusions next week.

Belgium A cooperative society is to be established at Brussels. L'Union a workingmen's Association, has joined the Association. Members present Buckley, Ecarins, Hales, Hullock, Mrs. Hullock, Jany, Lessner, Mrs. Morgan, Maurice.

*H. C. Shaw Chairman
J. George Ecarins Hon. Secy.*

Council Meeting March 30.

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

Mr. Burns of Halifax sent 12 stamps to be enrolled as a member of the Association. In his reply to the letter concerning the Patterns to have de Groot he stated that none of the productive Associations were sufficiently advanced in their business transactions to undertake it & he advised the Council to communicate with Mr. Owen Greening of Manchester. He also suggested the establishing of an international cooperative Agency. Cit. Lurraft volunteered to write & the Secretary was also instructed to write

Green. A letter was read from Rouen enclosing 8 shillings as contribution for 100 new members. The branch is prosperous & rapidly increasing. Preparations are being made to publish a monthly paper The correspondent wants to be put in communication with some English spinners.

An application was received from Avignon for the authorisation of new branch. Citizens Dupont & Ecarins were appointed to investigate the enclosed rules of the applicants & to grant the application if they consider it advisable. From the Paris section it was announced that they would continue as if nothing had happened & if the Government felt inclined to persevere in the prosecutions they would furnish ~~more~~ victims.

Extracts were read from the Voix de l'Avenir to the effect that a strike of building trades had taken place at Geneva. The condition put by the capitalists is renunciation of the Association. Many lying statements were read from English papers, which gave rise to a long conversation. Deputations were appointed to wait upon trade societies & the secretary instructed to write to same to ascertain when & where deputations would be received.

1330
The secretary agreed to draw up a statement of the facts of the case to be sent to all the daily papers & submitted it for approval on Friday evening. The Council adjourned at half past 11 o'clock.

Members present Buckley, Lapont, Eccarius, Hulbeck, Mrs Hulbeck, Jung, Lessner, Maurice, Milner, Mrs Morgan, Shaw.

P. R. Shaw Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary

Council Meeting April 7.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. The Secretary read letters from Mr. Owen Greening stating that the cooperative Societies were not sufficiently advanced to supply the goods required but he would send patterns from other sources & would be glad to give his office in London for an International Agency. The other from Birmingham promising a report.

Jung read a letter from Switzerland respecting the lock out. The masters have tried to provoke disorder but in vain. They had called a meeting of German Swiss to sever them from the French speaking ones but after 4 hours discussion & speeches the German Swiss could not be gained.

The Genevieve had sent a delegate who had brought some papers from which it appeared that the masters were not so unanimous as had been asserted.

A deputation had attended the Council of the Amalgamated Carpenters & Joiners & had been well received.

At the Bookbinders through a mistake the case could not be brought forward.

At the French Branch signatures were obtained amounting to 305. a week.

In Paris Varlin has published an appeal.

In Switzerland the societies are doing their best.

Members present Buckley, Lapont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Maurice, Shaw.

Council Meeting April 14.

1338
Cat Shaw in the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

The Secretary announced that the West End Ladies Bootmakers would receive a deputation on the 20th. The West End Cabinet Makers had replied they were too poor to grant anything but the for the Genevese but they would pay their subscription. These were all the answers received to 9 letters.

Cat. Jung read a letter from Geneva showing that great provocation had been used to invite a quarrel & disorder that the federal Government might interfere. The writer approved of the action taken by Cat. Varlin at Paris.

Another letter from Varlin to the Geneva delegate stated that 60£ had been obtained from one Society & 80£ from another. 20£ had been received from the amalgamated Carpenters in London. Varlin had inserted an appeal in the Opinion National in the name of the Association & signed by himself on behalf the new Committee. The Rules & Platform of the Social Party of New York were received.

Cat Jung had been well received by the Cigar Makers & also by the Elecsti Webb Weavers who granted 5£ voted unanimously. He had also written to the Voix de l'Avenir, a fortnight ago but it not yet been inserted. The same notice which appeared in the London Papers of Saturday of the termination of the Geneva dispute appears in the Voix de l'Avenir. The men will in future only work 11 hours a day with a rise of 10 per cent upon the former wages per day.

Cat. ~~Lessner~~ Lessner reported that he had had to combat some objections at the Trunkmakers' Society. The Secretary prevaricated a good deal & it was at last resolved to join but not to take effect before July.

Cat. Hale reported that he had written to several trade societies in the provinces to join.

Members present Buckley, Eccarius, Hale, ~~Lessner~~, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Maurice, Shaw.

Council Meeting April 21.

Cit. Jung in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. Letters were read from the Board de l'Uffre Mâcher announcing that £1 had been granted for the Workmen of Geneva; another from the Secretary of the Sunday League respecting the hiring of an office & one from the Secretary of the Coach Trimmer announcing the withdrawal of that Society.

Upon the proposition of Citizen Lessner seconded by Cit. Milner it was agreed that the secretary should write to the Coachtrimmers to enquire for the reason of their withdrawal.

The Secretary was instructed to write to Mr. Mossall & Co. to state what kind of accommodation was required.

Correspondence. Cit. Jung had received a letter on Friday which stated that the masters had thought that the men would refuse the terms proposed which would have put them in a false position. The masters instead of opening their shops on the 13, most of the masters refused to take back their men.

Deputations. Afternoon the Hatters was well received & had no doubt that something would be done if a written statement was sent. The City Women's Shoemakers do not meet till in a fortnight's time. The City Men's Men numbering about 150 members will discuss the question of joining. It was proposed that £1. be given to the Geneva Workmen which was carried.

Cit. Lessner had sent circulars to several German Societies the result of which was that the Arbeiter Bildungs Verein had subscribed £1. 10s. 4d — £1. 3s. from the Hanoverians other sums were got elsewhere.

Marseilles. The Branch has written to Dupont how to act under existing circumstances. The old Committee has resigned & new one has been appointed but in case the Council desires the old Committee to resume they are willing to do so. The Council thought the matter ought to be left to the discretion of the members of Marseilles.

A letter from Cit. Chemale of Paris stated that he had appealed against the decision of the Court the appeal will be heard on the 22. A member of the Association had been sent from Paris with various sums belonging to cooperative societies ^{to aid the Geneva} signed

An appeal has been published to the Paris Workmen by ~~the~~ delegates of various trades of Paris.

The members of the P. W. A in Belgium has furnished the promoted miners with Council.

Members present Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Haleck, Mrs Haleck, Lessner, Milner, Maurice.

GEO ADLER Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary.

Council Meeting April 28.

Cit. Adler in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. The Secretary reported that the Organ Builders & Coach Makers had consented to receive delegations in favour of the Genevers. The No 1 Lodge of the C. B. S. required 8 blank cards. The secretary that new cards were wanting the question was postponed. A Report on the condition of the poor of Birmingham, send by Mr. Mc Fal ^{the Tribune} was received. Cit. Jung read some extracts from a Belgian paper showing that the coal had reduced the wages while they divided 15 per cent net profits. Many of the soldiers had shot over the heads of the people. A medical practitioner & his son had rendered great assistance to the wounded. A committee from the International was ~~providing~~ ^{getting up} evidence for the prisoners. The people's Union of Anvers has joined ~~of~~ ^{of} Versiers.

A letter from Soile stated that the Congress report was ready that the cost was £50. & ~~the~~ Cit. Guilanme wanted to know whether the Council could pay it at once. Cit. Eccarius stated that the Council was not in any way responsible for the expense the printing having been undertaken at the instigation of the French speaking delegates. The Council was only responsible for a certain number of copies. Cit. Jung was instructed to reply to that effect. A pamphlet on the Geneva Lock Out came to hand which costs 3d. Paris. The Bronze workers have only reimbursed the French branch & the tailors in London. Elsewhere they have paid off more, in all 800 f.

Chemale's appeal has been adjourned. The new committee ~~meets without~~ concealment the Government does not know what to do.

The newly established branch at Avignon requires a recognition that may be published, they will do everything publicly. ~~The Amis~~

The Genevers complain that they have received no answers to their letters.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

Members present Buckley, Eccarius, Jung, Milner, Lessner, Maurice.

The Schweizer Gesang Verein sent £1 to S for Geneva, the City Men's Men of the Thonvalys paid their contribution £1. 14s. 6d Benjamin Luceoff Chairman
J. G. Eccarius Secretary

Council Meeting May 5

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

Deputations

Cit. Jung was well received at the Silver Cup Carpenters but they are too poor to grant money. He also waited on the Hatters Committee a majority had voted against granting money because the funds were low & they had already a weekly levy. The Bookbinders put questions about the French branch & about the political character of the Association. He had stated that Dupont had written his private opinion about the Hyde Park demonstrations & that the ~~out~~ celebration of the anniversary of the last revolution was the act of the French refugees in London. His explanation was considered satisfactory they voted a loan of 10l. for Geneva. He had not received the money yet from the shoemakers in the City.

Cit. Jung met accidentally a member of the executive of the Amalgamated Engineers, who stated that the Council was inclined to join that the question was on the programme & he advised the Council to send a delegate to the next conference.

A letter was read from Mr. Owen Greening at Manchester, stating the reason why no patterns had been sent for La Chaux de Fonds.

Cards. It was agreed that 500 new cards be printed. The ^{old form of the} card was then modified & Cit. Jung deputed to get the order executed.

Members present. Buckley, Eccarius, Jung, Haleck, Mr. Hul, Lessner, Lurraft, Marx, Maurice.

W. Jung. Chairman
J. G. Eccarius Secretary

Council Meeting May 12.

Cit. Jung in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. The secretary announced that the Organ Builders had sent six months contribution for 42 members. The Cigar Makers enquired w^t how much they were in arrears.

Deputations. Cit. Jung stated that he had received a letter from the secretary of the Cigarmakers advising not to press a deputation for Geneva at present.

Cit. Marx proposed that as the Belgian Government has dragged this Association into the miners affair, an official denunciation of that Government ought published by the Council. Seconded by Maurice & carried unanimously. Cit. Dupont was instructed to write to Belgian to obtain the facts of the case.

Cit. Lessner prop. Dupont seconded that the Secretary writes to the Executive of the Amalgamated ~~Amalgamated~~ Engineers to enquire whether they would receive a deputation from this Council at their next conference.

The Council then adjourned to Tuesday May 19.

Members present Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Maurice.

Chairmen

Council Meeting May 19

Cit. Cohen in the Chair. The minutes of the last meeting were read & confirmed. He made a statement respecting the reasons that had prevented him attending of late. His society has voted the new contribution. Upon the questions send by the Council the Cigar Makers have appointed a committee of 11 to report upon them. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. The Secretary read a letter from the Secretary of the Sunday League respecting office accommodation. Eccarius, Lessner were deputed to wait on the Council of the Sunday League ~~on~~ Thursday. The deputa-

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was instructed not enter into any arrangements if the rent be more than £1 1s a month.

Correspondence. Marseilles. The branch thinks it has been neglected by the Council of London. Want to know the number of members of the Association. Are going to forward the second instalment of contributions. Want rules of co-operation societies, & are going to discuss co-operation. They also sent the lists of the newly elected committee. The French Secretary was instructed to reply & refer them to the Congress so minutes for number of members &c. It was further agreed that as many members as could should bring rules of co-operation societies to the next meeting.

Members present, Buckley, Dupont, Ecarins, Hocart, Mr. Hullock, Lessner, Mrs. May, Maurice, Shaw.

Chairman
J. G. Ecarins Secretary

Meeting of the Council May 25th

Cit Shaw in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. Ecarins reported that the Sunday had agreed to the terms proposed, & that Mr. Morrell would bring a copy of the agreement. Cit Jang reported that he had waited on the City Shoemakers of both sides of the Geneva strike but they had been too busy with other things. He had also seen the Bookbinders. He thought the contribution would be carried but they would not send a delegate.

A letter from Geneva stated that the dispute was at an end. Most trades had resumed work on the conditions agreed upon in April. The Locksmiths & Tinplate workers had reduced their hours to 10. The master joiners had made a log with the men resisted. If a came to a strike no foreign aid would be required. 1200 members had joined the association since the lock-out. Paris had sent 10,000 francs.

A letter from Brussels stated that De Paix was too much occupied at present to write himself therefore somebody else wrote. A few particulars were mentioned concerning the iron & the coal trade. De Paix will send papers.

The 9 members of the new Paris Committee have been sentenced to one month imprisonment & 100 francs fine with one month's grace. The main points of the prosecution were the telegrams sent from London to prevent coming when strikes have been on in the various trades.

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Cit Dupont proposed that the Swiss Secretary be instructed to write to Guillame to enquire the reason why Paris had received congress reports & London not, also to demand the written Congress Documents. Agreed.

The Chairman suggested that an address of denunciation be issued against the French & Belgian Governments. Agreed. Cit. Marx, Jung & Dupont were appointed as a committee to draw up the address.

Cit Marx gave notice that he should move a resolution concerning the meeting of the next Congress which could not meet at Brussels as the alien law had been renewed.

Cit. Mrs. Hullock announced that a Paris shoemakers society had entered into an alliance with the English Amalgamation of Cordwainers. Cit Jang nominated & Mrs. Hullock seconded Cit Jules Joinard to become a member of the Council.

Mr. Morrell came but had lost the agreement.

The Council adjourned 10th to 25th High Holborn on Tuesday^{next}.
Members present Buckley, Dupont, Ecarins, Hales, Hullock, Mr. Hullock, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Shaw.

Gov Odger Chairman

Meeting of G.C. June 2 at 25th High Holborn Cit Odger in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read & confirmed.
Cit. Cohn paid six months contribution for the London cigar makers Association £1. 9s. 2d.

The Chairman read the agreement with the Sunday League.
Cit. Joinard was unanimously voted to a member of the Council
Cit. Jang. Belgium. When the Belgian minister asked for the renewal of the alien law he spoke of the International Association as stirring up discontent in Belgium. The Belgium Branch has replied to his statements.

The Brussels Committee had called a public meeting at Charleroi to inform the miners to form a trades society & join the International a section was established. The Free Workmen of Verviers have joined.

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Cit. Jung proposed the following resolutions

1. Considering, that the Belgian Parliament has just prolonged for three years the law by which every foreigner may be expelled the country by the Belgian Executive Government;
2. that the dignity of the I. W. Assoc. is incompatible with the meeting of the Congress at a place where they would be at the mercy of the local police;
3. that Article 3 of the Rules of the I. W. A. provides, that the General Council may, in case of need, change the place of meeting of the Congress.

The General Council Resolves that the Congress of the I. W. A. do assemble in London on the 5 of September 1858. At Dupont seconds it.

Cit. Cohn thought that the decision might be postponed to see whether or not some other place could be found.

Cit Odger urged to insist upon attempting to hold the Congress there to raise the question in such a manner that it could be taken up in the House of Commons. He thought that a few might be sent when the time came to make preparations for the Congress to see what the Government would do.

Cit. Jung had no objection to an adjournment but was determined to press the resolution next week, as the I.W.A. could reckon upon no favour from any government & that even a discussion in the House of Commons might come too late & be of no avail.

Paris. The new Committee has been sentenced to three months imprisonment & 100 fr. fine to be paid within a month. Chemale's appeal has not yet been heard. Chemale separated himself from the rest to try the legal question whether the correctional tribunal had jurisdiction over me. The question having decided against him he will have to submit to the sentence his case will come on June 5, 1858. He wants to know what the Council is going to do about the meeting of the next congress. Thinks he shall come to London. A monthly Review is to be established. April 27 a second domiciliary visit was made at his place.

Cit. Besson announced that he had received £1. contribution from Belgium & that 8,000 miners had joined the Association at Charleroi. The miners are very eager to hear something of the general Council. The Belgian papers which inserted the address to the miners was sold in thousands in

the mining districts. They want the address of our American correspondent. The Committee wishes to know whether we would receive the seven papers which are in favour of our Association that the Council may see what they are made of.

Cit. Jung proposed that the address of the our Correspondent in America be given to the Belgian Secretary for transmission to the resident Americans of Brussels & that in our next Correspondence we mention the fact to our American correspondent. Seconded by Besson. Agreed. The papers to be received.

Members present: Dupont, Eccarius, ^{John} Jung, Joinard, Huldrich, Mrs. Huldrich, Lessner, Mr. Morgan, Maurice, Odger, Shaw.

Chairman *Geo Odger*
J. George Eccarius Secretary.

Council Meeting June 9.

Members present: ~~the~~ Buckley, Hale, Joinard, Lessner, Mrs. Law, Mrs. Morgan, Huldrich, Mrs. Huldrich, Odger, Maurice ^{Wm} Jung, Shaw, ^{John} Besson
^{Odger} City was unanimously appointed to take the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. The Secretary announced that he had received 75. b.d. for Cards sent to Number 1 Lodge of the Bricklayers Society, & a letter from the Secretary of the Engineers stating that no conference will be held this year but that the subject of our letter will be laid before the General Executive when it meets. He also corrected some errors made in the verbal statements of the contents of two letters from Brussels.
^{announced that a branch had been formed at Nyon in Switzerland he also read}
Cit. Jung read the following list of 2

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Delighted question of the Congress. Ct. Jung thought that it would be better to postpone the question for another week & ask the opinion of the Belgian Section.

Ct. Odger reiterated his former opinion & thought our best course would be to abandon the resolutions. He was of opinion that two men should be sent when the time came & if it was ^{it would do more strengthen the Association} forbidding while a temporary policy would weaken it. Ct. Jung said he cannot possibly withdraw the resolution. In the event of Odger's advice being followed there would be no Congress.

Lessner. Would remind the Council to consider what they have to decide the Council will be held responsible for the consequences. The money would be wasted.

Odgers replied that instead of wasting money it would be economised. In the event of two men being sent & sent back the Congress could still be held in London. It could not result in a breaking up of the Association. They might imprison the men for a few days this would not break up the Association.

Eccarius said that duty of the Council was to see that the Congress was held. It could not be held at Brussels under existing circumstances, nor did he believe that it would be a success in London. ^{He was in favour of having the action of the Belgian etc.} Odger thought it would be bad policy to ask the Belgians to let them know that we have an intention not to hold the Congress at Brussels.

Jung said that if the Congress was not removed the Belgian Government would wait until the Congress assembled & we would have to send the delegates home or provide the means to bring them to London.

Sacraft. Did not believe that the question could be tested in the way proposed. The government would wait till the Congress was together. If we forced it we might put the Belgians in a wrong position. A small Congress in London would be quite as influential abroad as one held in a smaller place. The London press went through all the world. ~~We held it here~~ We should ask the opinions of the Belgians.

Odger recapitulated his view & demanded & spoke against asking the Belgian's Advice. Mrs. Law. It seems the general opinion to test the question if we had the means. To test this point ought to be part of our business, we should not throw upon any nation, & is against asking the Belgians.

Hales is in favour of removing the Congress without asking the Belgians. If a more central place could be found on the Continent let it be held there if not in London. The former Congresses were Continental Congresses then let us have an English one. Thinks it is idle to hope anything from the British Parliament. If we violated Belgian laws we would have to stand the consequence.

Odger. If the Congress meets there will be some talk if it is stopped there would

be some talk too. The raising of the question would be worth more ~~than~~ to us than the Congress.

Dupont the duty of the Council is to see that the Congress do take place the Rules provide for doing so. We are responsible if the Congress do not take place. The Belgian law has been renewed for the purpose of preventing the Congress it is a French law. Lessner says ^a the noise will be of no use.

Milner. Thinks the main idea is to hold the Congress without interruption. There has not yet been a fair chance of fully expressing what the International is to accomplish. To contest the right of holding it is to lead us off our track.

Hales looks upon the Congress as something more than talking match. It is to elucidate opinion & to come to a common understanding.

Hulbeck the point raised is a better representation of the British Element. After the defeat in Belgium we would have a better Congress here.

Vessinier. The Belgian law against foreigners is not new. It enables the Government to expel a foreigner as soon as he lands. The only freedom that is ~~not~~ limited in Belgium is the liberty of meeting. Wants the Council to ask the Belgians. If the French delegates said anything in Belgium they would be taken up on coming home, they will be served the same if they go to London. The English & Americans would ~~not~~ probably not be molested.

Agreed that the Belgian Secretary be instructed to write to Brussels & ask the opinion of the Committee there.

Citizen Limburg was admitted as delegate of the Arbeiter Bildungs Verein.

Copeland nominated by Mrs. Law seconded by Hales

*A. G. Jung. Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary*

Council Meeting June 16

Stepney

Members present. ^{Besson} Bakley, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales, Hulbeck, Mrs. Hulbeck, ~~Leopold~~ Jung, Lafargue, Joinard, Lessner, Marie Maurice Ct. Jung in the Chair. Minutes of the previous Meeting read & confirmed. Ct. Copeland was unanimously voted to become a member of the Council.

Correspondence June 9 Paris. Slowness of legal proceedings & much business pleaded as an excuse why no official announcement has

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been made of the last trial. The condemned are to be ^{held} solidarily responsible for the fine. They have appealed against the sentence. The letter is signed by the whole Committee. The Carpenters & Joiners Association of Antwerp & the Affranchis of Jumet have joined Belgium. Two large meetings have taken place one at Brussels the other Liège the middle class press denounced our Association. The Paris Correspondent of a paper belonging to the peace league has written an article on our Association & says that everything now a days becomes international. He blames the French Government for its prosecution.

The answer to a letter from Brussels urges that the Congress be held in Belgium & that the existence of the Association in Belgium depends upon it.

Cit Besson proposed that two numbers of the Beehive against the Belgian working men's Papers. Seconded by Dupont. Agreed.

Adjourned Debate. Cit Marx. When I proposed three weeks ago that the Congress should be moved several things which have since transpired were unknown. The law against foreigners is a general law. The Minister has proposed us to resist it by declaring that the Congress should not take place. Our Section has declared it shall meet in spite of the Government & it is for us to back them. Therefore withdraw my resolution.

Cit Joinard said that he deserved that instructions be given to all the delegates not to leave such a may be meddled by the police in the lurch but ~~join~~ to offer a joint resistance.

Cit Dupont said that but for a letter which he had received from de Pape he would still have adhered to his former resolution but the French themselves are willing to go to Belgium & the Belgians promise ^{them} protection.

Cit Marx raised the question of making some compensation to the Secretary. Cit Hale proposed that the amounts be audited. Lessner seconded.

Cit Joinard proposed ~~as~~ an amendment that the Secretary receive 15^{s. a week}. Objection being ~~that~~ made on account of the state of the funds.

Cit Hale withdrew his former proposition & proposed that the secretary be paid £5 in a lump & ^{not a further sum to be made} something again when the funds permit it.

Lafargue proposed as amendment that £5 be given now for past services & £5 a week after. Cit Joinard assents to Lafargue's proposition.

Hale's proposition be carried unanimously.

As June

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Council Meeting June 23

Members present. Buckley, Copeland, Dupont, Eccarius, Cohn, Jung, Halleck, Mr. Huller, Lessner, Mrs. Law, Marx, Maurice, Joinard, Hale, Limbourg, Stepney.

Cit. Jung in the Chair. The Minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. The Secretary read a letter from Citizen Shaw dated St Leonards on the Sea Ct. Shaw tendered his resignation as treasurer & American Secretary. Ct. Marx proposed & Lessner seconded that the resignation be not accepted. Unanimously carried. The General Secretary to officiate as American Secretary during Shaw's absence. Correspondence. A letter was read from Algiers stating that the branch established there ~~had~~ was at an end in consequence of the members ^{all but one} leaving left for France. The writer complained that workers were brought over from France to work against his friends. The Paris prosecutions were mentioned as a cause of discouragement. He requests to be informed of all that

Germany. Dr. Preinke a member of our Association, had been elected by the Rhinish workmen to the North German Parliament, & made there the proposition that the Parliament ~~have~~ the right to appoint commissions of inquiry. The proposition was rejected & he has in consequence resigned. When elected he promised to push the social question & not being able to fulfil his promise he resigned.

The Compositors of Lippiz have written many letters to the Paris compositors only one of which was delivered. This letter stated that national differences must be left to the possessors of wealth, for the wages slaves such differences must not exist.

Switzerland. The Shoemakers of Geneva have opened their business.

Proposed by Citizen Maurice Seconded by Ct. Hale that a delegation be sent to attend the celebration of the anniversary of the Insurrection of June agreed.

Members proposed Hale, Jung, Lafargue, Copeland, Mrs. Law, Cohn. Carried.

The Secretary raised the question of inviting delegates from the Labor Reform Association in America. Cit. Marx proposed Lafargue seconded that the Secretary be instructed to invite delegates from that Association. Carried unanimously.

A conversation then arose about the drawing up of the Congress programme & an address to the trades societies.

Cit. Copeland proposed & Cit. Marx seconded that Ct. Hale draw up a draft of an address & present it at the next meeting. Citizen Lafargue to do the Continental part. ^{apply} The meeting adjourned at a quarter to 11 o'clock

H. E. Lang.

162 Council Meeting June 30

Members present Buckley, ^{Copland} Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Joinard, Lessner, Marx, Lafargue, Stepney. Mrs. Law, Limburg. C. Jung in the Chair.

Correspondence Belgium. The Belgian Section declines to be responsible for a letter of Vésinier which has appeared in the *Le Gile*. If the letter was published with the knowledge of the Council it is an imprudence. If ~~done~~ without the knowledge of the Council it is highly reprehensible on the part of Vésinier who has no business to publish the transactions of an executive meeting of the Association. They also protest against the animus shown against some of the members. They do so to leave no doubt since it might be considered that the Section had something to do with the publication. They are also going to publish a protest in the *Le Gile*. They acknowledge the services rendered by Vésinier amongst the miners.

Dupont proposed Hales seconded that an extract from the minutes of the 9th be sent to Brussels. Agreed.

Cit. Jung stated that Lloyd's contained a paragraph announcing a new strike at Geneva Report of the Address to the trades Societies. ~~Lafargue read~~ Both drafts were read & Citizen Copland appointed to fuse them into one.

The Council adjourned at 10½ o'clock.

As Trng Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary.

Council Meeting July 7.

Members present Copland, Eccarius, Joinard, Halleck, Mrs. Hulluck, Lessner, Mrs. Law, Mr. Morgan, Stepney ~~Moses~~, Maurice, Jung, Buckley, Hales, Lucraft.

Cit. Jung in the Chair. Minutes of the previous meeting read & confirmed. Correspondence. Belgium. The Belgian Ministry has directly interfered with the Association by telling the manufacturers ^{of various} to dismiss the workmen belonging to the Association. The Epopee declares that the International has applauded

163 Félix Pyat. They do not believe it, but if it be the case they will ~~take~~ ^{the} ~~communist~~ ^{the} declare that they have nothing in common with the Ideas of the French ~~socialists~~ ^{revolutionaries}. C. Marx stated that this would be detrimental to our Association abroad & the Council ~~decided~~ ^{to} take some action.

Cit. Marx proposed that a declaration be made that the Association was not responsible for an incident at a public meeting, & that Félix Pyat who read the address in question was not even a member.
Seconded Maurice.

Resolved. That the General Council of the I. W. A. repudiates all responsibility for the Address delivered ^{in Cleveland Hall} ~~in New York~~ at the public meeting by Félix Pyat, who is in no way connected with this Association.

Paris. Our member have entered upon their imprisonment. They are going to publish the trial in Pamphlet form, the workmen of Paris have collected \$10. for the purpose. They intend to draw up a manifest for the Congress. They urge the Council to publish the Programme immediately for the purpose of inducing the workmen of Paris to send delegates to the Congress. They have not considered it advisable to elect a third committee.

A Programme with questions for the Congress has been published by the Belgian Section. There is to be a local delegate meeting to arrange the preliminaries. The Address ^{was} adopted with a few verbal alterations, & the secretary instructed to revise it & get it printed.

The standing was summoned for the following Saturday to draw up the programme for the Congress.

H. S. Jung. Chairman

J. George Eccarius Secretary

Council Meeting July 14.

Members present, Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Joinard, Halleck, Marx, Mrs. Law, Shaw, Meyerison, Copeland, Copen, Milner, Lucraft, Limburg, Stepney Mrs. Morgan C. Shaw in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

Correspondence. Marx. The Prussian government has suppressed

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the Berlin branch of the General Workingmen's Union. ^{Society} They are going to hold a conference at Hamburg about the middle of August in Switzerland. The Geneva committee has issued an address to the members of the Association about the prosecution of the Paris committee. The address was read.

Luzern a branch has been established

Cigar makers of Merton have struck because they were refused extra pay while working at bad material. They have established a co-operative ~~the~~ factory.

Marx. The English government has quietly struck off the list of pensioners ^{a month after the Russian decree} title the Polish refugees. They have not withdrawn the pensions but they wiped out the reason why they were granted.

Ct. Marx proposed & Copeland seconded the following declaration "The Council of the I. W. Ass. denounces the last manifestation of the subserviency ^{to Russia} of the British government to Russia by suppressing the adjective Polish before the world refugees in the budget one month after the Russian Government had by a decree suppressed the name of Poland.

Ct. Lessner proposed that the secretary ~~should~~ be paid 15s. a week till the Congress, seconded by Joinard. Carried unanimously.

Ct. John proposed & Lessner seconded the following resolution: The Council hails with delight the passing of the eight hours labor bill by the American Congress ^{hoping that it will lead to} ~~now~~ ^{becoming the future} making 8 hours the normal working day of the United States for the future. Report of the Standing Committee.

1st proposition to reduce the contribution to the Council to one halfpenny.

Jung, Lessner, & Ecarus spoke in favour Lucroft, Milner against. Mrs. Law wanted to know whether the individual members had to pay or whether it came out of the funds. John & Hales stated it came out of the funds in their societies. Raw said in some instances levies were made. Halleck spoke against the proposition. Hales against the proposition. Withdrawn. 2. Reduction of the hours of labour. Carried.

3. The influence of machinery in the hands of capitalists. Carried

4. Education of the working class. Carried

5. Property in land. Carried

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5. The establishment of Credit institutions with the view of promoting & facilitating the social emancipation of the working class. Carried
Ct. Hale proposed & Ct Lucroft seconded that another proposition be added.
The best means to establish cooperative Production
Carried

H. Jung. Chairman
J. George Ecarus Secretary.

TO THE
TRADES' UNIONISTS'
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

FELLOW WORKINGMEN,—

Nearly four years have elapsed since a small number of workingmen, belonging to different countries, convened a public meeting at St. Martin's Hall, at which the International Workingmen's Association was established. They were doing the right thing at the right time. During that space of time the Association has acquired a position that no other organization has ever attained in Europe. It is neither a rival of, nor in conflict with any workingmen's organizations; on the contrary, it aims at utilising and extending the influence of existing organizations in all countries, by endeavouring to bring about a common understanding and promoting common action between them.

As to its character, though it advocates complete political freedom, it is not a political association in the old acceptation of the term. While aiding all progressive movements it avoids the contending factions, well knowing how futile it would be to expect any real amelioration in the condition of the labouring poor by trusting to the capitalists as a class. Slanderers assert that the Association has provoked strikes, it has not done any such thing; but it has enabled workingmen to resist lock-outs, and successfully terminate strikes rendered inevitable by the encroachments, bad faith, and wanton conduct of employers.

The fundamental principle of the Association is, that the produce of labour ought to be the property of the producer; that the brotherhood of labour should be the basis of society; and that the workingmen of all countries should throw aside their petty jealousies and national antipathies, and make common cause with each other in their struggle with capital. Labour is of no country! Working-

and, Jung, Halleck Mr. Hallett
Milner, Stepney, Joinard, Besson,

& confirmed.
of the Addresses printed. He
at 16s. they were already disposed

General Workingmen's Union
at the Russians said prohibits
King men's ~~delegates~~ which
so are going to join. A
Robin's party, makes favourable
iation.

that party was obliged
would we going to them.
ceived any papers from Belgium.

or be discussed next meeting
precedence of all the other

Belgian & Besson read a letter which contained the following proposition; & report upon the Condition of all Trades in every Country.

Declarations were presented by Marie Bernhard as ~~the~~ ^{the} delegates of the
House painters on the Brussels Committee.

Ct. Jung proposed that the Secretaries be instructed to state in their report,

men have the same evils to contend with everywhere. Capital is but accumulated labour. Why should the labourer be the slave to that which he has himself produced? Too long have the capitalists profited by the national isolation of the sons of toil. Foreign competition has always furnished a plea for the reduction of wages. For a long time the Trades' Unions of this Kingdom sufficed to keep wages up. Free trade has worked a change. The Continental workmen work longer hours, for less money, than the British do. If this country is yet producing cheaper than others it is due to a higher development of her machinery. The distance in the race between the British and the Continental manufacturer for the prices in the markets of the world, is rapidly diminishing; the British is ahead, but only just ahead.

These facts ought to convince the British workmen of the importance of the International Association. It has everywhere on the Continent fostered the *formation of Trades' Unions*, and served as an engine for their common and fraternal action. In France its action in the lock-out of the Paris bronze-workers was characteristic, 1,500 men were locked out and 4,000 more threatened to be locked out, unless they abandoned their newly-formed trade society—one of the first that was formed after the British model. By the aid of the International Association that combination of employers was defeated. Since then trades' unions have become naturalized in France, and the government, alarmed at the progress of the International Association, has again and again tried to suppress it by fining and imprisoning the executive committee of Paris. In Switzerland the strike in the building trades of Geneva resulted in a reduction of the hours of labour and an increase of wages per day, but the masters only gave in after they had ascertained to what extent the men received supplies from abroad. Instead of crushing the Association, the action of the master builders has tended to increase its influence.

In Belgium the International Association has played an equally prominent part. In consequence of the general crisis in the metal trades, the directors of the mines resolved upon working only four days a week. To make sure of the shareholders' dividends they gave peremptory notice of a ten per cent. reduction of wages. The miners refused to continue working on such conditions, and the over-anxious Government tried the persuasive influence of powder and lead upon them; many were killed, many more were wounded, and

imprisoned. At that stage the Brussels committee stepped in. They procured medical aid for the wounded, pecuniary support for the bereft, and counsel for the imprisoned. Since then they have succeeded in establishing a miner's union in the coal basin of Charlerois. The untutored miners have thus been brought within the bonds of labour's brotherhood which will be a safeguard against their oppressors riding rough-shod over them on a future day.

In Germany, on the occasion of Count Bismarck proposing a reform of the tariff, the chamber of commerce of Barmen and Elberfeld (the Prussian Manchester) objected on the ground that the Prussian manufacturers could not compete with the English without a reduction of wages—a course that could not be pursued without danger in the face of the rapidly spreading influence and prompt action of the International Association.

In countries where the development of modern industry has not yet led to open war, its members content themselves with quietly propagating the principles held by their fellow-workmen in the more advanced countries. The London Council is also in correspondence with the officers of the great Labour Reform Movement in the United States.

To British trades' societies it has rendered signal service, by furnishing special information from abroad when required, and by circulating correct accounts of their disputes all over the Continent, and thus prevented the employers obtaining foreign labour to supplant that of their own men. In the accusation against the Paris committee the imperial prosecutor stated, one of the chief reasons for demanding the condemnation of its members was that they had not only brought an excessive influence to bear upon all strikes in France, but had efficiently supported those in foreign countries, and as instances he stated that during the strikes of the English zinc-workers, tailors, and railway *employés*, the Paris committee had prevented French workmen from proceeding to England.

The ever-ready cry of the British capitalist that wages must be reduced because the workmen on the Continent work longer hours for less money than the British, can only be effectually met by endeavouring to approximate the hours of labour and the rate of wages throughout Europe. This is one of the missions of the International Workingmen's Association, and its annual congresses one of the most efficient means to accomplish it. At those gatherings the spokesmen of the working classes of different countries meet each

5. The establishment of Credit Institutions with the view of promoting & facilitating the social emancipation of the working class. Carried
 Ct. Hales proposed & Ct. Lacroft seconded that another proposition be added.
 The best means to establish co-operative Production
 do so.

H. Jung. Chairman
 J. George Eccarius Secretary.

Council Meeting July 21

Members present Barkley, Eccarius, Copeland, Jung, Hallett Mr. Hallett
 Lessner, Lacroft, Marx, Mrs Law, Weston, Milner, Stepney, Joinard, Besson
 Dayant

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

The Secretary asked permission to have 500 more of the Addresses printed. He
 had taken upon himself to order a thousand at 16s. they were already disposed
 of. The permission was granted.

Correspondence. Ct. Marx. Germany. The General Workmen's Union
 is going to do in a round about way what the Russian law prohibits
 to be done directly. There is another Workmen's ^{Union in the Southern &}
~~International~~ which has some affiliations in Switzerland they also are going to join. A
 new paper Le Peuple published by Lebreton Rulin's party, makes favorable
 comments upon the International Association.

Ct. Jung expressed his satisfaction that that party was obliged
 to come to us instead as they had supposed we going to them.

The Secretary mentioned that he had not yet received any papers from Belgium.
 The Secretary was instructed to write

Ct. Marx proposed that the Congress questions be discussed next meeting
 & that the question about machinery take precedence of all the other
 questions. Seconded by Jung agreed.

Belgian Co Besson read a letter which contained the following proposition; I
 report upon the condition of all trades in every Country.

Declarations were presented by Marie Bernhard as ~~the~~ delegate of the
 Housepainters on the Brussels Committee.

Ct. Jung proposed that the Secretaries be instructed to state in their respon-

other face to face. The exchange of ideas which is brought about in the private conversations outside the regular meetings exercises as great, if not a greater, influence than the regular debates. It is there where everybody says what he has to say, and makes enquiries as to what people think of kindred topics elsewhere. At the London Conference of 1865 the French and Swiss delegates expressed it as their conviction that trades' unionism would never take root on the Continent. At the Congress of 1867 there were upwards of 40 delegates representing Continental trades' societies formed on the British model. The seed that had been sown in London had borne fruit.

The next congress will assemble on the first Monday of September next, at Brussels, a few hours' journey from England. Brussels was selected at the last Congress with the view of enabling the British workmen to send a greater number of delegates than they had been able to send to Switzerland. To make the British delegation a really respectable one the Council urges the affiliated societies to send as many delegates as possible.

Societies joining before the end of August will be entitled to send delegates of their own. Affiliated societies who do not consider it advisable to send delegates of their own, and trades societies desirous of rendering assistance are solicited to contribute towards defraying the expense of delegates appointed by the Council.

Amongst the questions that will be submitted for deliberation are; 1. Reduction of the hours of labour. 2. The influence of machinery in the hands of capitalists. 3. Property in land. 4. The education of the working class. 5. The establishment of credit institutions to promote and facilitate the social emancipation of the working class. 6. The best means to establish co-operative production.

By order of the general Council of the International Working-men Association.

H. JUNG, CHAIRMAN.

R. SHAW, TREASURER.

J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, GENERAL SECRETARY,
 256, High Holborn, London, W.C.

Money orders to be made payable to the Secretary at the Charing Cross Office, W.C.

letters to urge their Correspondents to answer the questions submitted to them. Ct. Marx thought it required caution it would be impolitic to state publicly that nothing had been done.

Ct. Dupont thought that if we simply stated that the statistical enquiry was still open & invite the sections to ^{sund their delegates} bring answers to the Congress would satisfy the Belgians.

Ct. Jayet thought it was time that the delegates received positive instructions how to act. The Council ought to know what the societies do & they must know what the Council is about.

Dupont believed that the question was about the appendage proposed by the Belgian section.

Ct. Marx. I am not against the proposition but it depends upon the form in which it is published. ~~that those branches which have not yet answered the question are requested to send their answers to the Co before the Congress.~~ ^{by the results of their inquiries}

Ct. Lafargue. The French papers were seized by the police, & that the work could not be finished this year.

The following resolution was then agreed to: "The Council reminds the different sections that the statistical enquiry is still open & that those branches whose labours are in a sufficiently advanced state shall lay them before the next Congress.

*His Gr^e. Chairman
J. George Ecarius Secretary,*

Council Meeting July 28

Members present. Buckley, Copeland, Cohn, Dupont, Ecarus, Jung, Lafargue, Lessner, Mrs Law, Marx, Mrs Morgan, Hulbeck, Mrs. Hulbeck, Steppen Weston, Mayerson, Hale, Millner. Johannard.

Ct. Jung in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. Correspondence. Germany. Ct. Marx read two letters from Leipzig one from W. Liebknecht the other from August Bebel president of the Workingmen's Unions of Saxony & the Southern States of Germany. They invite a deputation from the Council to attend their Conference at Nürnberg where the question of ^{the} affiliation of the whole of the 100 Societies is to be decided.

Ct. Marx announced also that he had received an invitation from Vienna (where the Workmen are going to celebrate the fraternization of the working men of all countries) to send a representative to be present.

Ct. Lafargue proposed Copeland seconded that Peter Fox Andre be appointed, agreed.

Ct. Marx proposed that a delegate be sent to Nürnberg if the funds permit. Seconded by Cohn carried.

Ct. Jung read an address from ^{the} social democratic party of New York to the Workmen of Geneva

France. A letter from Marseille stated that warning had been published for the masons of Marseille not go to Algiers. They ask for the Congress programme & declare that they will adhere steadfast to the Association. The letter announces the sad event of Vasseurs death.

Ct. Jung read a letter from the French branch concerning the disavowal of the proceedings at Cleveland Hall. (by 14)

Ct. Lafargue proposed the order of the day Ecarus seconded the proposition. Carried against 5.

Ct. Dupont proposed that Ct. Johannard be appointed secretary for Italy seconded by Lafargue 9. for 4 against Hulbeck ^{more} seconded by Mrs. Morgan ^{the adjournment of the question for a week.} that we continue as we were till we find another 6 for the Amendment 10 against

Dupont's proposition was carried by 9 agains 4 votes.

Urg
An address of the Social Democratic Union to the working men of Geneva was communicated, which contains the following passage:—“Working men.—Your struggle is also ours. Throughout the so-called civilised world society divides itself more or less, into two opposing camps of oppressed and oppressors, workers and drones, poor and rich. The struggle between these two parties is inevitable. The social question no longer recognises geographical frontiers, no national separations. It is everywhere the same, and it is for this that we applauded the foundation and the development, and approve the action of the International Working Men's Association.”

The discussion of the proposition, “The influence of machinery in the hands of capitalists,” was opened by Citizen Marx. He said what strikes us most is that all the consequences which were expected as the inevitable result of the use of machinery have been reversed. Instead of diminishing the hours of labour, the working day was prolonged to sixteen and eighteen hours. Formerly, the normal working day was ten hours, during the last century the hours of labour were increased by law here as well as on the Continent. The whole of the trade legislation of the last century turns upon compelling the working people by law to work longer hours. It was not until 1833 that the hours of labour for children were limited to twelve. In consequence of overwork, there was no time left whatever for mental culture. They also became physically deteriorated; contagious fevers broke out amongst them, and this induced a portion of the upper class to take the matter up. The first Sir Robert Peel was one of the foremost in calling attention to the crying evil, and Robert Owen was the first millowner who limited the hours of labour in his factory. The ten hours' bill was the first law which limited the hours of labour to ten and a half per day for women and children, but it applied only to certain factories. This was a step of progress, in so far as it afforded more leisure time to the workpeople. With regard to production, the limitation has long since been overtaken. By improved machinery and increased intensity of the labour of individuals there is now more work done in the short day than formerly in the long day. People are again overworked, and it will soon become necessary to limit the working day to eight hours. Another consequence of the use of machinery was to force women and children into the factory. The woman has thus become an active agent in our social production. Formerly female and children's labour was carried on within the family circle, I do not say that it is

wrong that women and children should participate in our social production. I think every child above the age of nine ought to be employed at productive labour a portion of its time, but the way in which they are made to work under existing circumstances is abominable. Another consequence of the use of machinery was, that it entirely changed the relations of the capital of the country. Formerly there were wealthy employers of labour, and poor labourers who worked with their own tools. They were to a certain extent free agents, who had it in their power effectively to resist their employers. For the modern factory operative, for the women and children, such freedom does not exist, they are slaves

of capital. There was a constant cry for some invention that might render the capitalist independent of the workingman, the spinning machine and the powerloom has rendered him independent, it has transferred the motive power of production into his hands. By this the power of the capitalist has been immensely increased. The factory lord has become a penal legislator within his own establishment, inflicting fines at will, frequently for his own aggrandisement. The feudal baron in his dealings with his serfs, was bound by traditions and subject to certain definite rules; the factory lord is subject to no controlling agency of any kind. One of the great results of machinery is organised labour which must bear fruit sooner or later. The influence of machinery upon those with whose labour it enters into competition is directly hostile. Many hand-loom weavers were positively killed by the introduction of the powerloom both here and in India. We are frequently told that the hardships resulting from machinery are only temporary, but the development of machinery is constant, and if it attracts and gives employment to large numbers at one time it constantly throws large numbers out of employment. There is a continual surplus of displaced population, not as the Malthusian asserts a surplus population in relation to the produce of the country, but surplus whose labour has been superseded by more productive agencies. Employed on land machinery produces a constantly increasing surplus population whose employment is not fluctuating. This surplus population exerts a wage pressure upon the labour market. The state of the East of London is one of the phenomena it produces. The real consequences are best seen in those branches of labour in which the machine is not employed. To conclude for the present, machinery leads on one hand to associated organised labour, on the other to the disintegration of all formerly existing social and family relations.

Citizen Weston said, the previous speaker had only referred to machinery in the factory districts. In the carpentering trade the machine has not tended to lengthen the hours of labour. It did the most laborious part of the work, and tending the machine was not an exhausting occupation; he certainly thought he could do more in twelve hours than he could do in ten days by extra exertion. If a man with a machine could do in ten hours what required ten days if done by hand, this would not diminish the aggregate demand for labour. If it rained hats from heaven for people to wear for nothing that would not diminish the aggregate demand for labour. The surplus population resulted from the existing system of wages labour.

Eccarius asked, the question, if it rain cloths from heaven and the money now spent for cloths be devoted to the building of houses, the carpenters and the masons work done by machinery, how many superseded tailors would find employment in the building trade?

Another member told Mr. Weston that he must consider the question of the hats being monopolised as the property of a capitalist.

The Debate was adjourned to Tuesday Augt 1st

Marx

Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary

Upon the motion of Citizen Millner the debate was adjourned to Tuesday August 1st.

Council meeting August 4,
Members present: Buckley, Copeland, Daport, Eccarius, Jung, Leesner, Mrs Law, Marx, Jahanard, Lennart, Weston, Hales, Limbourg

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed

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A letter was read from Mr. John Holme at Leeds who expressed his willingness to correspond with the Council.

Correspondence A letter was read from Lowell Stepney enclosing £1. 5s. towards the expense of the Congress.

The Day working Bookbinders' society paid their annual Contribution £1. 15 s.

A letter was read from Mr. John Holmes of Leeds expressing his willingness to correspond with the Council. He enclosed a report of a lecture delivered at Leeds upon which the secretary promised to report at the next meeting

This
Prisoners the Prisoners are well treated, they get all the papers, they can read & write as much they like & receive visits whenever any body wants to visit them. The appeal costs more than 80l. but it has been paid by the Association. Every body seems to expect something to happen in 1869. The Congress Programmes have been well received. Nearly all the papers have inserted. The Tribune & Le Peueil are going to have articles upon Le Peueil offers its services to the Association.

The third Committee was not appointed a fortnight ago it will consist of 15 Members.

Lyon. Complain that they are watched & that they cannot unite all the members of Lyon in one body. They adhere to their flag & state that considerable progress has been made in the neighbourhood. Lyon & Neuville are going to club together to send a delegate to Brussels, they will also send a delegate to Bern to speak on social reform. They have nominated a candidate for the next election.

Germany. Hanover. A strike of the power loom weavers. They work 14 hours a day for 9 shillings a week. Bremen strike at Berlin the Commissioner of the Police has enquired whether the Army Bremen could supply bread in case of a strike. Credentials to Lowell Stepney to Brussels.

Secretary to get information about the Expense of going to Brussels.

141
Cit. Stepney presented a paper

A member of the council announced that a congress of philosophers is going to meet on the 16th of September at Prague, where the following propositions will be submitted:—"The exaggeration of work, and the painful pecuniary conditions which affect the majority of men, constitute a fact unworthy of humanity and full of dangers for the future." "Mendicancy, one of the greatest disgraces to humanity, must be abolished by the State and the communes; one must distinguish here between private assistance, that of societies and that of the State. It is necessary that those who cannot gain their livelihood be furnished with the indispensable objects for their support; and that on the other hand the idle be bound over to devote themselves to some useful occupation."

Citizen Millner resumed the debate on the proposition, "The influence of machinery in the hands of capitalists." After a few words of approbation of the manner in which Citizen Marx had treated the subject on the previous night, and some allusions to Citizen Weston's assertions concerning things in the aggregate, he said he heard a clever Scotchman say the other day that if by some contrivance four men could be enabled to do the work of five this would be a clear gain in the aggregate, but he had not been able to answer the question what was to be done with the fifth man. The working man had nothing but his labour to depend upon as a means of subsistence. He had to sell his labour day by day, he could not do two days work in one, and consequently every day that he could not sell his labour was a dead loss to him, it was an irreparable deduction from his means of subsistence, and any one thrown out by machinery might perish before he could be absorbed into other trades, or employed in his own in consequence of an increased demand, for the demands of life were incessant, the cravings of nature had to be satisfied every day. The fifth man might, according to circumstances, mean the fifth part of a trade, or the fifth of the working population. It was clear that all the benefits of modern inventions were in the hands of the few, and this would continue until the working men found means to employ themselves.

Citizen Hale said he had worked amongst machinery from his childhood, and his experience was that the ordinary influence of machinery tended to the displacement of manual labour. If the productive power of a certain kind of machinery was increased tenfold, the demand for its production in consequence of reduced prices would at best increase twofold, and at least one-half of the men displaced would go to the bad, that was five out of every ten. Machinery had converted the labourer into an adjunct of the machine. The workman was a slave; he had to do his master's bidding, because the master held the means of the workman's subsistence in his hands. By the aid of machinery the labour of grown men was constantly displaced by that of women and children, so that machinery not only replaced manual labour but also transposed the individuals whose assistance was required. He was not against machinery, but machinery must become the workman's assistant, instead of being, as at present, his competitor.

Citizen Eccarius said he would only make a few remarks upon Citizen Weston's speech of the previous night. Citizen Weston had observed that Citizen Marx had only spoken of the influence of machinery in the factory districts. Citizen Marx had done what every man of science did who wanted to exhibit the peculiarities of any subject. They always took the best developed specimens for their illustrations, and machinery was best developed in the cotton trade. In answer to the assertion that machine-labour did not diminish the demand for labour in the aggregate, he read a few statements from a pamphlet published in 1844. One of them was, that in a large machine-shop at Manchester, one plaining machine, equal to fourteen men, requiring one man or a boy, to direct it, had been introduced. In the same pamphlet there was a statement of a Stockport spinner who worked 672 spindles in 1840, earning 22s. a week, in 1843 he worked 2,040 spindles, earning 13s. a week. Between 1833 and 1843 the productive powers of the cotton spinners had considerably more than doubled; the self-acting mule had dispensed with the services of spinners altogether, yet the available raw material of 1840 had not doubled until the year 1854, so that the aggregate demand for labour in the cotton trade must have been diminished considerably. There were many things connected with this subject which some people overlooked, and which never came to the knowledge of others. A hundred years ago, when Manchester had taken to manufacturing cotton, people died of starvation in the streets of the large towns in the East Indies in consequence. It has been computed that between 3,000,000 and 4,000,000 of human beings perished in the East in consequence of the cotton trade being transplanted to Lancashire. The prosperous towns of the linen trade, Dundee and Leeds, had probably never heard the cries of agony that emanated for years from the famishing weavers of Silesia; a whole generation had perished there because flax was successfully spun by machinery in the north of this island. The carpentering trade was no criterion. To the people of New York, for instance, it would matter little whether the stuff of which their clothes was made was manufactured at Bengal, in Siberia, or at Manchester; but if the London reformers wanted a hall to meet in that hall must be built in London, and by men who resided in London. If machines, attended by women and children, could erect stairs, lay floors, &c., at a distance ready for the use of the London people, Citizen Weston would, no doubt, have come to a different conclusion.

Citizen Weston said he would stick to his point. If all the hatters of London were superseded their employers would be superseded also; the same fund would remain to pay wages with. (The possibility of the master hatter selling more hats than he does now, without employing journeymen to make them, is lost sight of.)

Citizen Marx replied in a few words, and said that the congress had a right to discuss this question on its own merits.

The Secretary volunteered to open the debate on the reduction of the hours of labour, on Tuesday next. The council then adjourned. *at 11 o'clock.*

Mrs. Law said Machinery had made women less dependent on men than they were before & would ultimately emancipate them from domestic slavery. She must enter her protest against the view taken of women's labour.

Cit. Marx offered to bring the conclusions arrived at in the form of a resolution.

Cit. Eccarius volunteered to open the discussion of the next question.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.
Benjamin Lucraft Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary

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Council Meeting August 10

Members present Buckley Copeland Dupont Eccarius Jung
Johannard Lessner Lucraft Marx Stepney Shaw.

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AN ELABORATE ABSTRACT OF THE NEW COUNTY
COURTS ACT;

AND OF

THE NEW ORDERS AND RULES;

AND
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BY GEORGE HOWELL,

Late Parliamentary Secretary to the Trades Unions of Great Britain.

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dates of two great parties for the presidency should adopt this platform—no matter which—the conference advises the working men to vote for him. If neither adopts it, the Congress of the National Labour Union, which will assemble on the third of next month at New York, is to nominate an independent labour candidate for the presidency, and urge upon the working men of the United States the necessity of rallying to his support.

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Citizen Millner resumed the debate, "The influence of machinery on capitalists." After a few words of the manner in which Citizen Marx had spoken on the previous night, and to Citizen Weston's assertions concerning the aggregate, he said he heard a cleat say the other day that if by some means could be enabled to do the work would be a clear gain in the aggregate not been able to answer the question done with the fifth man. The work nothing but his labour to depend upon of subsistence. He had to sell his day, he could not do two days work consequently every day that he could labour was a dead loss to him, it was deduction from his means of subsistence thrown out by machinery might possibly be absorbed into other trades, his own in consequence of an increase the demands of life were incessant, the nature had to be satisfied every day, might, according to circumstances, part of a trade, or the fifth of the work. It was clear that all the bene inventions were in the hands of the would continue until the working men to employ themselves.

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OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

CAPITAL AND LABOUR, JULY 12TH, 1876.

"The substance and scope of the various Acts are clearly stated, avoiding as far as possible mere technical phraseology, while setting forth in a plain and correct manner their different provisions. The rules of procedure are also given, with the various forms and schedules issued by the Lord Chancellor and the Home Secretary. Taken as a whole, Mr. Howell's Handy-Book will be found very useful, and he deserves great credit for the manner in which it has been compiled, and for the general spirit which prevails in his own comments. While he has avowedly written for workmen, he has evidently also sought to make it useful to employers, and has at the same time given sound law and advocated a wise policy."

ATHENÆUM, JULY 15TH, 1876.

"Mr. Howell's book is likely to be highly useful to the numerous class of persons who, without any legal training, are anxious to know the bearing of recent legislation on the labour question. His plan is to give a 'translation' (if the expression may be allowed) into the language of every day life of each of the Acts with which his book deals. He does this section by section, in a very complete way. He also points out as he goes along where the bearing of various sections is modified by other Acts, to which he gives a brief reference; and after the translation he gives the text of the Act itself."

MANCHESTER CRITIC, JULY 14TH, 1876.

"By collating the Acts bearing upon the topics now under discussion, and presenting them in a small compass, with an introduction accurate, yet sufficiently popular, Mr. Howell has done good service to the reader interested in trade matters, whether he be employer or workman."

THE SCIENTIFIC AND LITERARY REVIEW, JULY 1ST, 1876.

"Mr. Howell puts forth this work as one intended for the instruction and guidance of the working classes; but we are disposed to think that it may be found useful even by the legal man, as affording for general purposes a comprehensive view of the Labour Laws; and we are quite sure employers of labour will find it a very useful book of reference. As a voucher for the legal soundness of Mr. Howell's work, it may be mentioned that it has been submitted to the revision of barristers of eminence, and, certainly, is worthy of the confidence of all who wish for information on the Labour Laws."

LLOYDS, JULY 15TH, 1876.

"All the statute law in force with regard to employers and workmen is given, and the various Acts are printed one after the other; they are explained and divided as the case may require; the clauses being inserted verbatim—or rendered by a periphrasis, according as they are "subtile" or not. General principles of common law are enunciated at the beginning of various sub-divisions of the Acts, supported by cases. Tables of costs, rules, and regulations, modes of putting the Acts into operation, and much practical advice are offered in this little volume. Mr. Howell appears to have the subject well in hand, and, we may add, at heart, and no pains have been spared to render it of sterling value. As a whole, Mr. Howell's book can be welcomed, and deserves success."

BEE-HIVE, JULY 15TH, 1876.

"The Handy-Book of the Labour Laws is an able production. It has been got up with great care, much thought, and deep research. These facts, combined with the author's experience and observation in the working of all laws bearing upon labour, entitle the book to high commendation. We hope that the trades unions will make an earnest effort to circulate this most useful and valuable book."

THE PROVINCIAL TYPOGRAPHICAL CIRCULAR, JULY 1ST, 1876.

"The promised work by Mr. Howell has just been published. The work contains the text of all the Acts relating to labour, or under which workmen are liable to be brought with an explanatory introduction to each, and other interesting matter. Mr. Howell's explanations of the various Acts are clear and explicit, and the book will certainly be found an invaluable one to all who wish to thoroughly understand the subject on which he treats."

"It is fortunately published at such a price, 2s. 6d., that no individual need allow the cost to be an obstacle to possessing one."

DAILY TELEGRAPH, JULY 4TH, 1876.

"Mr. George Howell, late Parliamentary Secretary to the Trades Unions of Great Britain, has compiled a tolerably accurate and easily understood 'Handy Book of the Labour Laws.' Most useful is the information given, and the book is one which should be in the library of every working man."

Council Meeting August 10

Members present Buckley Copeland Dupont Eccarius Jung
Johannard Lessner Lucraft Marx Stepney Shaw.

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The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed
The Secretary read extracts from the Chicago workmen's Advocate concerning the presidential candidature & another from John Holmes of Leeds Lecture on labour & Capital at Sheffield. John Holmes was appointed Correspondent of the Association for Leeds.

The result of the enquiry concerning the price expense of going to Brussels not being satisfactory, Mr. Copeland volunteered to get information from the Great Eastern. Upon the motion of Citizen Marx seconded by Lessner Buckley & Copeland were appointed auditors.

Cit. Marx read some extracts from a French paper concerning the International Congress.

Cit. Jung stated that the Viennese workmen had published an address urging international union.

Cit. Marx proposed the following as the conclusion of the last discussion, seconded by Jung carried.

Resolved: that on the one side machinery has proved a most powerful instrument of despotism & extortion in the hands of the capitalist class;

that on the other side the development of machinery creates the material conditions necessary for the superseding of the wages system by a truly social system of production.

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The Secretary read a report of the last conference of the National Labour Union of America. The conference rejects the election platforms of both the great parties, and has issued a platform of its own, the first resolution of which declares "that the producers are the most important portion of all communities." It demands that as the loans fall due the bonds should be exchanged for bonds bearing three per cent interest, and convertible into legal-tender notes at the option of the holders; that only those bonds, the redemption of which in gold was specially stipulated, should be paid in coin; and further, that the notes of the national banks should be withdrawn from circulation and replaced by legal-tender treasury notes. If either of the candidates of two great parties for the presidency should adopt this platform—no matter which—the conference advises the working men to vote for him. If neither adopts it, the Congress of the National Labour Union, which will assemble on the third of next month at New York, is to nominate an independent labour candidate for the presidency, and urge upon the working men of the United States the necessity of rallying to his support.