

Council Meeting February 9.

Members present: Dupont, Eccarius, Bernard, Jung, Johannard, Lessner, Mrs Law, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Stepney, Warren, ~~Lucraft~~, Weston.

Cit. Jung in the Chair. Minutes of the p.m. read & confirmed.

The secretary read letters from the Webbweavers, Cigar Makers, & Hatters' Societies consenting to receive deputations on behalf of the lock-out at Bâle.

Cit. Jung reported that he had attended the Easter Webb Weavers meeting who had voted one pound. Cit. Lessner handed over ~~two~~ pound ~~five~~ shillings collected at the Anniversary of the Arbeiter Bildungs Verein.

Cit. Jung & Milner were appointed to attend the Cigar makers executive, & Eccarius & Weston at the Hatters.

Cit. Jung read a letter from Bâle complaining that the Arbeiter a weekly papers published by the Vice president of the Section was in difficulties & in danger of being extinguished.

Rules had arrived from Geneva purporting to establish a strike fund & ~~other~~ ~~existing~~ at solidarisisation of the welch branches of the International Association in Switzerland. The approval of the Council of the said rules was asked. Cit. Jung was authorized to examine to strike out anything he might find not agreeing with the General Rules & send them back with suitable comments.

Cit. Jung was authorized to ^{forward} four pounds to Bâle. The silk dyers of Zurich had formed a society & joined the International. Cit. Weston & Dupont were appointed to audit the books.

Cit. Dupont reported that the strike at Rouen was at an end, the working had given in but were preparing for a future time. The discussions of the Credit question were going out of date in France forming trade societies was in the ascendant.

He proposed that a manifesto should be published of the Bâle & Rouen affair as soon as all the facts were

+ It was agreed that the Congress resolutions should be advertised four consecutive times in the Bucher & St. Germain. Known. He also urged the desirability of publishing the programme for the next congress before the French elections. It was agreed that the advisability of carrying these suggestions into effect be put on the Order of the day for the next meeting.

Cit. Weston announced that a meeting was to take place on Saturday the 13 at the Southampton Buildings to consider means of providing employment for the unemployed poor he wished that the Council should be represented at that meeting.

Mrs Law & Cit. Milner were appointed to represent the Council on the occasion but to limit their remarks to the Land question.

The Secretary was instructed to write to Cit. Shaw respecting the information about the marble polishers for Belgium.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

B. Lucraft Chairman

J. George Eccarius Secretary.

Council Meeting February 16.

Present: Opplegarth, Bernard, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Mrs. Law, Lessner, Lucraft, Limbourg, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Stepney, Warren.

Cit. Lucraft was unanimously called upon to take the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. The Secretary read letters ^{sent} from the two Cabinet Makers Societies expressing sympathy with the men of Bâle but regretting the inability of their societies to render any pecuniary support.

The deputations reported that the executives of the Cigar Makers & the Hatters had consented to bring the matter before their societies.

Citizen Lessner remitted 1 l. 1 s. more from the Arbeiter Bildungs Verein.

Cit. Jung was authorized to forward another 50 fr. to Bâle.

Cit. Marx remitted one thaler for cards from the miners of Lügen in Germany.

Cit. Milner reported on behalf of the deputation to Southampton Buildings that Mrs. Law had made the speech of the evening. An opinion was expressed that it not appear that any particular party had got up the meeting as

a feeler but that a committee might have been formed with a ~~view~~ view to further proceedings if any one had taken the matter up.

Cit. Jung read extracts from the Arbiters of Bâle & the Egalité of ~~Geneva~~ ^{Geneva}. The former stated that the metal-workers, (Engineers) Carpenters, & Bookbinders of Zurich had formed trade societies & joined the Association. A collection had also been made at a public meeting for the men of Bâle amounting to 62 fr. ^{Swiss} Two country villages in the Canton of Bâle, ~~Eptingen~~ ^{Eptingen} & Oberweyer supplies had been received of firewood apples, potatoes, pease, & dried fruits. The female branch of Geneva had sent 30 fr. & in consequence of an appeal by Cit. Héligon, a member of the Association, 135 fr. had been collected at a public meeting at Paris. A watch manufacturer at St. Imier had posted up bills to the effect that he would employ no one who was a member of the Association. In reply to an article in ^{The} ~~l'Etat~~ ^{l'Etat} ~~l'Union~~ ^{l'Union} de l'Europe the Egalité repudiates the idea of aspiring to nothing better than Swiss Republicanism.

Cit. Applegarth reported that an agent of the manufacturers of Zurich had been to see him. He was making inquiries to ascertain in how far the Swiss workmen acted under directions from the London Council. He had stated that if wages were forced as high as they were in other countries they would have to stop their mills as they were under considerable disadvantages in procuring raw material yet they could not do without manufacturing as the agricultural resources were insufficient to support the population. Cit. Jung & Marx said the manufacturers were willfully spreading falsehoods. They knew that their men did not act under directions from London but they had gained a little courage since they had been brought in union with the men of other countries & the capitalists did all they could to isolate them. With regard to silk they had greater facility to procure raw material than the manufacturers of other countries & their profits were considerably higher than those of the English manufacturers.

A deputation from the Holborn Branch of the Reform League attended soliciting the cooperation of the Council to get up a demonstration in memory of Ernest Jones, whom the deputation represented as having been the champion of the oppressed in every Country of Europe. Cit. Jung, Lessner & Dupont were appointed to arrange matters with the demonstration Committee.

Another deputation attended from the Council of the Sunday League

The deputation stated that the questions to be submitted for discussion in which the council of the Sunday League desired that speakers from the International should take part would be as follows: 1, The Continental Sunday & the English Sunday compared. 2, Does the opening of Museums & Galleries involve a compulsory system of working seven days for six days pay as has been asserted? 3 Is the social & moral character of a nation destroyed by the employment of a few for the recreation of the many.

Mr. Morrell stated that he for one would not advocate the question of opening the Museums if he thought it would lead to Sunday labour generally. The League desired that the Council should appoint a speaker from each of the large Continental cities to state at the meeting how Sunday was observed in different places. In most people in this Country Paris was the Continent. The Lords Day observance Society would be invited to the discussion. Another of the deputation stated that care should be taken that the discussion did not drift into a theological controversy. Marx observed there was plenty of over work now on Sunday without the Museums being open. It was agreed to get information from abroad & consider the question of appointing speakers on a future day.

Cit. Dupont referred to his statement of the previous week respecting the programme for the next Congress. Marx considered it premature to publish the whole programme now. The two great questions Education & Credit stood in a manner adjourned to the next Congress & the Land question was sure to crop up again. There three then might be announced as part of the programme & that those who have any propositions to make be invited to do so.

The following resolution was then agreed to. "That the Secretaries be instructed to write to all the Continental Sections to inform them that the three questions Land, Credit, & Education should again form part of the Congress program & that any section who may have any suggestions to make respecting other subjects to be brought before the Congress shall be invited to send them as early as possible, ~~the~~ papers, or essays written upon the subjects to be likewise sent to London before the date fixed for the meeting of the Congress. The Council at 11 o'clock

Council Meeting February 23.

Members present: Bernard, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales, Mrs. Law, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Stepney, Weston.

Cit. Lessner in the Chair.

The meetings of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

A letter was read from the Secretary of the Amalgamated Engineers stating that the Council of that Association had no funds at their disposal ~~to~~ ~~will~~ assist the people locked out at Bâle.

A letter from the Secretary of the Sunday League suggested the advisability of issuing tickets of admission to the intended discussion & asked the concurrence of this Council. The Council agreed & instructed the Secretary to inform the Council of the League of it.

Leno delivered the Congress Resolutions, Cit. Jung was authorized to pay the bill amount 3 l. 25 s.

It was agreed that the resolutions be sold at 1d. per copy & that the sending free of charge to affiliated societies & correspondents be left to the discretion of the Secretary.

Cit. Lessner reported from the demonstration Committee in honour of Ernest Jones that prints had been issued from the sale of which the expenses were to be defrayed. A proposition to apply to middle class people for aid had been rejected.

Cit. Marx read a lengthy report upon the regulations of the Coal Miners in Saxony from which appeared that the weekly wages of adults are from 6 s. to 10 s. 3 d. of boys from 4 s. to 5 s. That they work 2 1/2 hours out of every 48 during 6 days of the week, the shifts varying from 6 to 12 hours.

That each mine has a separate benefit club to which the masters contribute in various ways but in only one case do they contribute as much as much as the men while the men have no proprietary rights in the funds in any case & the masters invariably administer them by their managers. The men lose all claim when they leave the work, no matter ^{what} for ^{what} reason. Some of the Clubs rules contain prohibitions against strikes & combinations, but none contain any provisions for men permanently disabled by accident, other than such as apply equally to inability from old age or ~~from~~ other bodily infirmities. The men propose to consolidate all

the clubs into one, that members shall not lose their claim to benefit as long as they reside in Germany & continue to pay their contributions, & that the funds shall administered by officers appointed at periodical general meetings of the miners. Some believe that the masters will continue to contribute under such arrangements. The Secretary was instructed to try & get the whole report published in some Daily Paper.

Cit. Milner proposed & Cit. Marx seconded the nomination of Mr. Poore as a member of the Council.

The Council adjourned at a quarter to eleven o'clock.

W. Jung.
J. George Eccarius.

Council Meeting March 2.

Members present: Bernard, Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Stepney, Warren, Weston.

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

A letter from the Sunday League announced that the Freemason's Hall had been engaged & that the Sunday observance discussion would take place March 16. & that it was desirable that the speakers should be appointed & their names communicated.

Marx proposed & Lessner seconded that Mrs. Law, Dupont, Jung & Eccarius be appointed as speakers & that the question be discussed by the Council on the preceding meeting. Carried unanimously.

Cit. Warren presented three copies of the rules of the Portmanteau & Trunk Makers society.

Cit. Marx stated that police of Nuremberg had prohibited a charge of admission to a meeting held in that town for the benefit of the men locked-out at Bâle as illegal. The president had submitted under protest upon which one of the men present had publicly announced that as he was not permitted to tender his mite at the entrance he would lay down inside the room this example had been followed by others so that the collection had been made in spite of the police.

He further called the attention of the Council to the fact that at the

time of the Trade Union Commission had been appointed a great outcry had been raised in the middle class upon the statement of some actuaries that the best of the trade unions must become bankrupt with their present contributions in consequence of mixing up other affairs with the benefit funds. A few days ago an accountant had published a letter addressed to Gladstone in which it was proved that the ~~present position~~ ^{of the} ~~of the~~ ^{Life Assurance} Companies amounted to insolvency. It remained to be seen if the papers would take any notice of that.

Cit Jung stated that money had been collected at Nice for the men of Bâle. In consequence of the rules & programme of the International Association having been published in the newspapers at Naples meetings had been held at which several Trade Societies had declared their adhesion & appointed a Committee to act provisionally as the Central Committee of the Association for the whole of Italy. The members of the Committee are: Etienne Caporucci, a tailor, president; Christian Gucci, a carpenter Vice president. Anthony Guistiniani, a modeler, Treasurer; Anthony Cirner, a carpenter Secretary. These proceedings were causing much alarm amongst the middleclass liberals.

Cit. Dupont was appointed as secretary pro tem for Italy & instructed to correspond with the new Committee.

The Secretary announced that he had sent the Congress resolutions to all the London Societies with the Association is in Correspondence.

He was authorised to pay a debt of 12s. 6d. to the Beehive.

Cit. Weston gave a report of the Demonstration Committee. A strong desire had been expressed that some Continental member of the Council should make a speech on the occasion. There were five presidents & five other speakers appointed & it had been suggested that ~~these~~ secularists should secure as many halls as they could in the evening to celebrate the day by suitable music & speeches.

The Council adjourned at half past 10 o'clock.
H. Jung. Chairman

Council Meeting March 9

Members present Buckley, Bernard, Cohn, Dupont, Ecarieu, Jung, Mrs. Law, Lesener, Lucraft, Mars, Maurice, Warren.

Cit. Jung in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. A letter was read from the Secretary of the International Alliance of Social Democrats demanding answers yes or no to certain questions. Citizen Mars read a letter containing the required answers which he proposed & Dupont seconded to be sent in reply. The proposition was unanimously carried & instructions given that it be forwarded to all correspondents who had received the previous letter which had called forth the present.

Cit. Jung announced that the first subscription sheet to the Bâle Lock-out had been published the subscription amounted to 300 l. Subscriptions were still coming in & men were still turned out.

Cit. Mars announced that the German Bookbinders were going to establish an International Bookbinders Union & were going to hold a Congress to which they invited delegates from every country.

The secretary called attention to a statement in the Egalite that 13,500 men had joined the Association in Austria. Dupont said we heard so much of adhesions in the papers but we were never officially informed. We ought to be informed whenever a new section was formed. Bernard said in countries where Committees existed it was their duty to do so. Cit Mars observed that we had empowered several in Germany to form new Section it would simply require to remind them of their duty if they should neglect it.

Dupont was instructed to write to Italy. A discussion then took place on the Sunday observance question in which Mars observed that the best guarantee against Sunday Labour was the extension of factory laws. In the present state of Society there was always a tendency of transforming as much of man's life time as possible into working.

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time. He instanced some cases respecting the Bakers of Dublin & the Fishmongers of London to show that the religious observance of Sunday did not prohibit Sunday working.

Jung ~~made~~ made a few observations respecting Sunday keeping in Switzerland.

Cit. Cohn & Bernard were added to the List of Speakers.
Cit. Maurice nominated Mr. Fraser as a Member of the Council.
Mrs. Law seconding.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.
H. Jung. Chairman

Council Meeting March 23.

Members present: Bernard, Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Morse, Hales, Luraft, Baon, Beelford.

Cit. Jung in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. The secretary read letters from the secretary of the Trades Council of Edinburgh, from Cit. Garrow of Eastbourne, John Smith of Whitechurch in Dorset the latter desiring information respecting the Association. The secretary mentioned that G. J. Harney had written to Mr. Hulove requesting him to send some of the reports &c. of the Association. He was of opinion that the required documents should be forwarded officially. The secretary was to forward what was required to the applicants.

Cit. Jung called attention to a shoemaker's advertisement in *L'egalite* inserted to entrap unwary people to work for a chapon strike. A letter in the *Egalite* announced that money had been sent from ~~Italy~~ ^{Italy} to Bale. A another letter from Madrid stated that a section had been formed & wished to correspond with London.

The factory lords of Bale had agreed to let the men return to work with the exception of about a dozen who ~~voluntarily~~ ^{voluntarily} ~~agreed~~ to leave the country.

A letter from Geneva stated that a fresh dispute had occurred in the Building Trade. There were 150 men out who required assistance. Cit. Jung was instructed to reply that under existing circum-

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There was no chance to obtain supplies here.

Citizen Hales proposed the admission of Baon as a member of the Council carried.

Cit. ^{Edward} Beelford & J. Ross were admitted as delegates from the Bootlosers Society.

Cit. Morse proposed & Hales seconded that the resolution of sending a congratulatory address to Spain be rescinded as there was nothing now in Spain upon which the workingclass ~~might~~ could be congratulated, agreed.

Cit. Jung complained about the arrangements & treatment of the members of the Council at the Sunday discussion. The members of the League had spoken a great longer than the allotted ten minutes while he & Dupont had been cut short.

The Secretary was ordered to call upon Mr. Cottam about the cards.

The Council adjourned at 10 o'clock.
H. Jung. Chairman

Council Meeting March 30.

Members present Bernard, Dupont, Buckley, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Stepney, Ross, Applegarth, Warren.

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

Cit. Jung announced the reception of a letter from Bale, stating that the strike was at an end but not the sufferings of the people, & enquiring whether there were any hopes of receiving more money from London. A new president had been elected in the place of Frey who seemed to have been induced to resign his place more from weakness & incapacity than from any design against the association. A reading room had been established, works on the labour question would be gladly received as that question was to be taken ^{up} in hand in preference to any other. The tailors had established a cooperative society, & would ~~be glad~~ ^{like} to have rules &c. of kindred associations in

England.

The News from Geneva was that the Compositors & Printers were on strike for a rectification of the price list.

Elie Reclus & three others at Paris had protested against the policy of the Egalité which consisted in an hostile attitude against the middle-class.

Stepney had received a letter from Pisa in Italy.

The Times & other papers were attacking the insurance societies. Cit. Jung stated further that he had received a visit from a Belgian who wanted some information about the association but preferred making enquiries here as the Belgian police was constantly watching the members of the Association there.

There being no business before the chair the secretary said now was the time to propose questions for discussion to which Citizen Milner responded by stating that on some future night he should raise the question whether trade society could assist their unemployed members to some kind of self employment & by that means avoid the necessity of ~~expelling them~~ ^{them} which frequently compelled to accept work on any condition from unprincipled employers.

The Council at half past 10 o'clock.

A. S. Jung. Chairman

Council Meeting April 6,

Members present Backley, Bernard, Dapont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Stepney, Ross.

The secretary read a letter from a Mr. Fisher of Lydney in Gloucestershire asking how he could obtain the Congress resolutions & make himself useful to the Assoc. The secretary was authorised to furnish him with the documents of the Association. The following circular had come to hand from Birmingham

the consideration of which was postponed till the next meeting.

A letter, enclosing prospectus, of an Association purporting to reclaim waste lands in the neighbourhood of the metropolis & cultivate them on the co-operative principle, establishing communities who would

PROSPECTUS.

Lambeth Benevolent Co-operative Association.
CAPITAL, HALF A MILLION,
In 100,000 Shares of £5 each.

The object of the proposed Association is to purchase, and bring into cultivation, Waste-lands, in the Counties of Surrey, Kent, Essex, Middlesex, Berkshire and Buckinghamshire.

It is estimated that the proposed Capital, would enable the Association to reclaim Ten Thousand Acres of land and provide profitable employment for Five Thousand families, or Twenty-five Thousand individuals, including Men, Women and Children.

The above quantity of Land, properly cultivated, as Market Farms, might be expected to produce 250,000 Tons of Vegetables annually, at an average value of £4 per Ton, or one Million Sterling.

It is proposed that each family should have a suitable Cottage, with garden ground attached, rent free, and that Shops should be established on the lands to supply all the necessaries of life, at nearly prime cost, in addition to which advantages, each man would receive 15s. per week, standing wages, which would amount to £195,000 per annum. The children would be employed at light work, and receive wages varying from 2s. to 5s. per week, and probably the number would amount to 10,000, which at 4s. per week, would give £104,000 per annum.

The salaries to paid Officials may be estimated at about £20,000 per annum.

Marketing produce £50,000. Manure £50,000.

Interest of Capital, £500,000, at 4 per Cent. £20,000

Seed, and sundry incidental expenses £20,000.

The several items enumerated above, amount to £459,000, leaving the large balance of £541,000 to be disposed of.

Allowing however for contingencies, to which every estimate is liable, it is proposed to appropriate the nett annual profits in the following manner:

One tenth part of the Nett profits, whatever they may be ascertained to be, upon a yearly balance being made, shall be allotted to the Shareholders, and the remaining nine tenths, shall be equally divided amongst the Workmen, on a strictly co-operative system, which, it is expected, would greatly stimulate their industry.

Although the growing of Vegetables for the London market, would be the main object of the Association, several incidental Manufactures might be advantageously introduced.

The Shareholders would always be amply secured, as the intrinsic value of the property would be yearly increased.

When the subscriptions amount to £50,000, the Committee will be able to commence operations on 1,000 Acres of land, and to go on increasing their purchases as the share list fills up.

The Labouring classes, and such persons as are favourable to the project, are invited to join the Association, and on the payment of 1s. each, will have their names enrolled as members, and be entitled, according to priority of entry, to be allocated on the Farms, or have the privilege of a nomination.

This Association particularly recommends itself to the Benevolent, and those who are interested in the reduction of the Poor-rates, in the present distressed condition of the labouring classes, as upwards of Seventy five per Cent of the gross returns will go to the Workmen and their families. Fourteen per Cent will go for Interest of Capital, and Eleven per Cent only for working expenses.

The education of the Children is included in the item of "Salaries to Officials," and is estimated at £10,000 per Annum.

Persons desirous of becoming Members of the Association are requested to register their names with the Interim Secretary.

D. SCOTT,

1, Clandon Street, Portland Street, Walworth.

They had paid 8000 fr for materials to Agent of Oak at Huddersfield 4000 fr. to Elbaux & 6000 fr. to Germany they would much

England.

The News from Geneva was that the Compositors & Printers were on strike for a rectification of the price list.

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A letter, inclosing prospectus, of an Association purporting to reclaim waste lands in the neighbourhood of the metropolis & cultivate them on the cooperative principle, establishing communities who would produce all the need for their own support with little exception, the workmen to participate in the profits that might accrue. The secretary was instructed to acknowledge the receipt.

Correspondence: A letter from Naples stated that now a real section was established, & made rapid progress amidst the difficulties thrown in the way by the old working men's organisation who is subsidised by the ruling powers. Some parts of Italy were not so well prepared for our principles as others but the leading men were in our favour, & there was no doubt that Italy would be well represented at the next Congress. Information required whether any one could correspond in Italian. The middle class revolutionists were not our way of thinking but they could not be opposed at present.

D'Arcy, in a letter, expressed regret that Dupont had received no letters. He had done much to advance the cause of the working class & was willing to do more. Had not yet received the reports of the Brussels Congress. A renovation of society was urgently required but he should like to have advice what to do & was willing to do it. The Post Office was not to be trusted.

From Geneva complaints were made that no answer had been received yet to the letter applying for pecuniary assistance.

They had to fight all the political parties of the middle class combined, who tried every thing to provoke the men to acts of violence, but they remained firm. The master builders had sent circulars to the other towns of Switzerland cautioning the employers not to employ any one coming from Geneva.

The tailors' action of Lausanne wished to know whether there was a cooperative society in England that could furnish them with stuff. They had paid 8000 fr for materials to Agent of Cook at Hudsonfield 4000 fr. to Elhous & 6000 fr to Germany they would much

prefer dealing with a cooperative society. They are going to have a shop in every town of Switzerland & a central Committee to make all the purchases.

In a letter from Brussels it was stated that many sections were in an embryo state & therefore a complete list could not be given. The Brussels treasurer was now engaged to separate his accounts what was taken & what was counting he would be done in about a fortnight. The Brussels members numbered 1500.

Two delegates from the Helvetia Society inquired had their vote of adhesion of their society was to be made effective. Some instructions were given & the delegates promised to be in appearance at next meeting. The Council adjourned at a quarter to 11 o'clock.

H. Jung, Chairman
J. George Eccarius, Secretary

Council Meeting April 13.

Members present Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Limbourg, Milner, Marx, Muller, Weston.

Cit. Jung was unanimously voted in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. The Secretary stated that he had no correspondence of any kind.

Cit. Marx, announced that in the North German Parliament three socialist speeches by real representatives of working men, they were the first that had been made in any parliament. Dr. Schweizer, the President of the General German Workingmen's Union had availed himself of the opportunity afforded by a debate on a Government proposition for the regulation of the handicraft-trades. He had explained what the workingclass required, & that they meant to have it & as a preparatory step to future action he had demanded a statistical enquiry into the whole circumstances connected with labour & insisted upon the proper education. A Mr. Brown had tried to make fun of it but he had humbly met by Fritzsche of Berlin, a Cigar Maker. The middle class speakers who had followed had been answered the next day by Bebel another Workingman, who had made the best speech in every respect. Bebel had pointed to the International

Association to remove any doubts as to the seriousness of the labour movement & would himself an advocate & active member of the Association.

Cit. Marx said that a great deal might be done just now in Germany but ~~the~~ progress was frustrated by want of cards.

Cit. Jung entered upon some explanations to show what part he had taken in the getting up of which were considered sufficient to exonerate from any blame in the matter.

Cit. Jung announced that at a mining work in Belgium where these men were compelled to contribute to a benefit fund of which the masters claimed the sole management two men, one of whom was 64 years old & had contributed upwards of 30 years, had been refused certificates to entitle them to relief. Marx stated that his report upon the Mines in Saxony had been published in three papers, in Germany.

Cit. Jung stated that the Master Builders Association at Geneva had appealed to the men to return to work. Marx thought that the Geneva Committee allowed itself too often to get entangled with every little strike without having prepared any means to support it, it could only tend to compromise the Association. Jung said that he had always urged this view of the matter in letters to Geneva & told them it was ridiculous to appeal for help in foreign country for about 150 men on strike, & that they must take such matters on their own responsibility. Cit. Weston endorsed what had been said. If we were to be appealed to for money we ought to be consulted before strikes took place. If we went soliciting money on every occasion it would be interpreted that we promoted strikes.

Cit. Marx called attention to what is called the London French Branch, who acted in the name of the Association & compromised the Association. Our rules left so wide a scope to the branches that the Council could not easily interfere but there must be some Central. They had paid no contributions, & according to the resolutions of the last Congress we had a right to call upon them to give a report their proceedings, every three months.

Cit. Jung said that that branch acted in direct opposition to the Council. The Council had frustrated the intended workingmen's banquet to the American Ambassador the president of the French branch had invoked his aid against the French army in Rome & Felix Pyat had declared that the Empire was death to property & wanted the Emperor shot to save it. He thought it was the institution of property as it is we ought to strive to remove & leave the Emperor to his fate he would fall when the system fell.

Cit. Milner thought we could not be too careful in anything that was done in the name of

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the Association we might get into trouble.

Ct. Weston regretted that alienation had occurred with the French branch which seemed not to be a branch. It might be good policy to invite them to conform to the rules. If they could be brought back it might be an advantage, if not, & they did anything wrong we could disavow them.

Ct. Marx replied that his & Weston's remarks concurred. But the French branch had done a great deal of which the Council had taken no notice. They had sent a delegate to Brussels with a long indictment against the Council brought before the Congress the matter had been referred to the Brussels section who had decided against them. They then had sent letters everywhere against Dupont & Jung. After that they had tried to get up a meeting to alter the rules of our association in that they had failed & now they called themselves the French branch. If anything took place in France they would compromise us.

Upon the proposition of Weston seconded by Milner it was agreed that the secretary be instructed to write to the branch to mention that they act in the name of the Association without consulting it & to call upon them to define their relation to the Council.

Ct. Marx proposed & Milner seconded that the request of the Genevans be complied with & the laws of inheritance be added to the questions to be discussed at the next Congress. Agreed.

Eccarius proposed & Milner seconded that enquiries be made as to the probable liabilities arising out of taking part in the Birmingham Congress. Agreed.

Ct. A. Müller presented a declaration of adhesion from the Helvetia & Graciosa as its delegate. He was admitted.

The Council adjourned at a quarter to 11 o'clock.

Meeting of the Council April 20

Members present Bernard, Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Mrs. Law, Marx, Maller, Stepmey

The Secretary read a letter from Birmingham stating that the Expenses of each delegate visiting the Congress would not exceed six shillings.

Ct. Dupont had received a letter from Geneva. The writer stated ^{the reason} that of his long silence was travelling. He had written to Dupont to Brussels

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but the letter had probably mislaid him. He had not received all the numbers of Brussels' Congress report & wanted those of Geneva & Lausanne as well, besides rules &c. A report was to be published of the workingmen's Congress of the Liguria, also an appeal to the old Italian Workingmen's Societies to join the Association.

A letter from Rouen reported all going well. The section has published an account of their doings in Pamphlet & hopes it will give satisfaction to the Trades Unionists of this country. They could not get a printer to print & had to get it done in Paris. The electoral fever was beginning. The workingmen were going to put up a candidate of their own. They did not expect to return but he would get a handsome minority of votes.

Ct. Jung stated some particulars respecting the puddlers' strike at Seraing in Belgium where they military force had been called to assist the proprietors to coerce the men into submission, which had led to an indiscriminate massacre. Upon this the Liege section had sent a delegate to Brussels, who had arrived there on Saturday April between 9 & 10 at night, to induce the Central Committee of the Association to send some one to the spot to ~~prevent~~ see what could be done to calm the workpeople who in the then state of excitement might be goaded on to commit excesses. The Central Committee had appointed Eugen Hins who had left with the first train the next morning. The following is his report:

"I arrived at Liege about half past 10 in the morning. I there met two members of the Liege section who offered to accompany me to Seraing where we arrived towards noon.

I was prepared for seeing the spectacle of a city militarily occupied; ^{was my} great astonishment not to meet any soldiers, only the caps of some gendarmes were seen to rise in the distance. A great many working men were going to Gfro, others forming groups, but everything appeared very quiet. Later I discovered the reason of this tranquillity, the troops ~~did not~~ execute their work under the cover of night. This tranquillity would have deceived any one & I believed already that the affair had been exaggerated & rejoiced to see all conflict discarded. We directed our steps towards Liege, where the seat of our Seraing section is, & there I witnessed an amount of the horrors ~~that~~ at which the place that looked so peaceable had been the theatre.

On Friday night an immense crowd ^{had} assembled in the rue Cockerill

Whether ~~it~~ was.

~~The~~ The crowd provoked & stones thrown in consequence, I will not undertake to answer but I will say this that the soldiers had no business there, & if they had not been there they could not have been thrown at, & if a few illadvised persons threw stones is that any reason why every body else should maltreated.

The riot act was read three times. Nothing more odious than this manner to give villainous deeds ^{an} air of legality. Could this compact crowd disperse in a few minutes? Could the people believe in the perverseness of their governors. They treated it as a laughing matter.

At that moment in the dead of the night, 10 o'clock, the cavalry started & swept down the middle of the street the Infantry with crossed bayonets running along the footpaths. Judge of the carnage in such a compact crowd struck before any one could fly. The unfortunate were ~~pursued~~ ^{driven} into the houses where they took refuge & when they had been fortunate enough to shut the door behind them the soldiers forced them open & unable to recognise whom they had been following they hit every body. This was not only done in ~~her~~ houses but private houses. The number of the wounded it is impossible to estimate but it must have been considerable. Two are ^{said to} dead & ~~others~~ ^{many} are but how many have died besides?

On the part of the troupes the wounds amount to some contusions. Only a brigadier is seriously wounded by his own gun. He is shot through the shoulder which was only possible by going off while he knocked defenceless people about with the butt-end.

The same scene was renewed on the next night, here are the accounts of two victims. One who has three sabre cuts in the front of his arm gave me the following account: "I went quietly along the rue Cockerill, turning toward the Ougrie where I live, when hearing the noise of horses I stepped on the pavement. A police man, who is my friend, passed & stretched out his hands to save me. At the same instant I was assaulted by foot gendarmes who knocked me down by one sabre cut, & gave three more & then they left me there." The other said: "On Saturday night returning from the Confession, he said naively, I went to take a glass in house in the rue du Parc a side street of the rue Cockerill. I was sitting with my back towards the door when it suddenly opened & I felt some striking ~~my~~ my legs it was the

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sabre from which I received two cuts. I turned round & saw an officer before me. As I asked him the motive for such a brutal assault he seized me by the collar & wanted to drag me into the street. Seized with indignation I took up my glass & hurled it at his head. I was surrounded & carried to Cockerill's establishment where the gendarmes put themselves in a position to strike me with fury when one of the employees of the house was attracted by my cries & came to deliver me from these demons."

While this was told the sun shone so lively & warm, & seeing the tranquillity that reigned everywhere who could have believed that assassins in uniform were lurking in ambushes in the town only coming out in the night to accomplish their crimes. I naturally thought of the massacre of the rue Transnonain at ^{Paris} ~~Lyons~~ much surpassed by those here. The former had the extenuating circumstance of an enraged battle on their side nothing can be pleaded here. In the mean time Adrien & Varlet had arrived from Versailles. At two o'clock we held a council & came to the conclusion that the best thing we could do was to hold a meeting & to engage the work people not to be led away by these displays of brutal force. The meeting was fixed for the past four & it was announced in all directions. A considerable number responded to the call. Hlin's & Lepourgue encouraged the puddlers to hold out but advised the coalminers to return to work that they might assist the puddlers, which they have done thus limiting the number requiring support. The meeting lasted till half past seven & dispersed peaceably because there were no soldiers present. From there we went to the railways station. Learning that we should have to wait an hour & a quartre for the next train we went out to take a glass of beer. No hardly half a dozen steps from the station when charge of cavalry came sweeping along the street. A few steps from us fell a man ~~cut~~ with a sabre, we retreated. About five minutes afterwards we went out by another way & ran as fast as we could into Caffee shop. We had not been there many minutes when one of Liege friends felt queer & opened the door to go out. All at once he uttered a cry & tottered. The landlord & another ran to his assistance he had received a bayonet wound in the side. While they supported him a gendarm came in & gave the landlord a bayonet cut on the shoulder. We then shut the door & imprisoned ourselves. About half an hour after the street seemed clear & we returned to the

station without any hindrance. On arriving there we saw a man in the waiting room half naked with three bayonet wounds in his back he was a workman. On the departure platform sat two wounded one had his arm pierced by a bayonet the other was wounded in the side, a charge had been made at the passengers during our absence. Only one member of the Chambre of Deputies, belonging to the clerical party, has questioned the minister of the interior about these transactions, who answered that had been done according to law. The mayor of Seraing who read the riot act is an agent of Cockerill the minister of the interior is the largest shareholder of the colliery, & the count of Flanders has 1,500,000 fr. invested in the ironworks.

It was agreed that these atrocities should be denounced by an address from the Council which Cit. Mara was commissioned to draw up & lay it before the next meeting, to which the secretary should invite the attendance of delegates from trade societies.

A letter from Belgium announced that there was a party at Brussels who would not conform to the policy of the Central Committee but desired to be affiliated as an independent branch. ~~and in case an application should be made to this effect the Council was asked not to comply till after the Congress.~~

The master builders of Geneva it was announced had given in, & the boot-makers had joined the Association.

The Secretary read a draft of a letter to the French branch which approved of.

The Council adjourned 1/4 to 11 o'clock.

Bluerft Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary

Council Meeting April 27.

Members present: Bernard, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Mrs. Law, Lueraft, Mara, Muller, Pross.

Cit. Lueraft in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were & confirmed. The secretary announced the receipt of letters from Garroo of Whitechurch & from the Secretary of the United Trades Council of Dundee. Garroo gave his reasons why he had been able to do anything yet. The Dundee Trades Council desired

information as to the aims of the Association & how they might assist in the good work. The secretary was instructed to reply & forward documents.

Cit. Jung had received a letter & documents from the typographical society of Geneva to be forwarded to the London Compositors' Society the Secretary was instructed to see Mr. Self & deliver the papers to him.

The Address on the Belgian outrages being in order Cit. Mara stated since he had accepted the Commission fresh outrages had been committed ~~the plan~~ ^{of which} had not arrived in time to be available he therefore proposed that the matter be postponed till the next meeting. He was also of opinion that something more ought to be done but in the absence of so many English members the Council could hardly decide what course to pursue. If Mrs. Law could read the original reports he was sure she would make use of them to bring the matter before the British public. Mrs. Law stated that she would be glad at any time if she could to advance the interests of the Association. ^{The Secretary stated he had forwarded the report of the strike to four daily papers but none had inserted it.}

Cit. Jung interpreted a letter from Brussels, according to which the secretary of the central committee, Hins, was arrested & domiciliary visits had taken place at all the residences of the members of the central Committee. Three had attended meetings since one of whom had been arrested. All the Belgian sections had issued protests against the conduct of the Government, & the Swiss section had sent an address of condolence. The letter stated too that a man named Delasalle, who had formerly been a member, had brought some trouble upon himself by going about in an excited & partly intoxicated state. He had received a telegram that men had been killed & wounded by the soldiers to which he replied by telegram courage my friends & had gone about beerhouses making foolish & inconsidered remarks which had led the police to infer that there was a conspiracy on foot.

It was agreed that the Secretary should summon all the Council members & delegates from the affiliated societies for the next meeting. Cit. Mara read an article from La Democratie, by General Cluseret, a member of the New York Branch, against the slanderous attacks in Le Peuple, a Bonapartist paper, which the secretary was instructed to translate & forward to the weekly papers for publication.

Cit. Jung stated that he had been applied to to furnish an account of ^{the spread} trades unionism in Germany for the use of Mr. Mundella, the recorder of

of the Trades Union Bill now before the house of Commons, it was to be made use of on the occasion of the second reading. Marx said that he sent all his reports away & Enam^{stated he} knew very little about the particulars.

But Muller announced that was going to Switzerland but that his society would appoint another delegate.

The following statement ~~was~~ appears in the *Cigale* of April 26th.

To the members of the new ~~French~~ Brussels section of the International Workingmen's Association, called the Revolutionary Branch.

Citizen, Your brothers of the French Branch of London can but say to you, you have well done.

In effect: When a section retards the march of the Association ~~prescribed~~ by its rules;

When indifference in political matters is lauded;

When propagandism is anti-revolutionary;

When one covenants with the cause of the working men;

When men are excluded on account being guilty of being revolutionists;

When religious fanatics & supporters of monarchy are admitted into the ranks;

When cotteries arrogate to themselves all the rights to agitate & direct;

When people free themselves from all the acts signalised by you, we must repeat that you have well done.

Six years ago the French branch was founded at London for the purpose

1, To renew the ties with the revolutionary tradition;

2, To establish & draw closer the ties of solidarity among all the ~~most~~ revolutionists.

After five years of struggle, the French branch, true to its principles, was forced to break with the central Council, for the same reasons which have made you break with the Brussels committee.

We the members of the French branch call out to you Courage & Perseverance.

Fraternel Salut

in the name of the French branch

The secretary Monthuis

The Council adjourned at half past 10 o'clock.

R. Applegarth Chairman.
J. George Echarius Secretary.

Council Meeting May 4.

Members present, ^{Applegarth & Moon} Bernard, Buckley, Dupont, Echarius, Hales, Jung, Lesmer, Marx, Maurice, Stepany, Yabinski, Delegates from 11 Lodge of the Bricklayers Society, the Alliance Cabinet Makers, Day working Bookbinders

To the Impartial, Intelligent and Sympathizing People of the City of New York:

The undersigned, in behalf of the WORKING MEN'S UNION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, beg to call the attention of the People of the City of New York to the onerous, unjust, and it may be called inhuman exactions made on the conductors and drivers of horse railroad cars and other public vehicles, in the cities of New York and Brooklyn, as to the working hours and beggarly compensation.

The undersigned confidently believe the justice of the cause of these working men will at once manifest itself to the public. Nevertheless, we beg to commend it to favor by presenting the following statement of existing grievances:

The persons so employed are mostly heads of families, who need a support for themselves and those dependent on them. It is their desire to perform all the duties of good citizens, and to raise their families in respectability and honesty.

Under existing regulations they are unable to visit their homes during the hours of daylight, and become strangers to the faces of their own children. From twelve to seventeen hours' work is required for a day's work, and the employees of the Second Avenue R. R. Co. are now resisting a demand of eighteen hours as a day's work! The average time is fifteen hours, and includes Sundays and holidays, all seasons of the year, and often exposed to the most inclement weather. On some of the railroads it is required that a certain number of trips daily shall be made, and in some instances the payment is by the trip; so that, if prevented by stoppages by blocking the way, or by fire, or other cause, a great portion of the day's earnings is taken from the employee, who thus loses his time, although constantly in charge of, and responsible for, the horses and property of the company. At early hours of the morning and late hours of the night, in summer heat and through winter snow, they faithfully labor on. Are not such men worthy of legal protection? Under the present exactions of their employers, will it be contended that their employment is not degrading, destructive alike of morals and health? Do they enjoy any of the opportunities for improvement or the enjoyment of domestic comfort accorded to others of the working classes? Is it to the advantage of the STATE that the condition of an industrious class shall be that of *serfs*, and that their children shall grow up to inherit the burdens of their fathers in ignorance and uncontrolled?

Do not the Public, whose Servants they are, owe them Protection?

Shall not their hours be established and their compensation fixed by law? Is it asking too much of the corporations created by legislative act, and by legislative favor enjoying as gifts valuable franchises, to compensate their employees at a just rate, and to exact only reasonable hours for a day's work? No class of working men are so inadequately paid for their services. Protection is all these men seek! Can any reasonable objection be urged against the justice of their cause?

We earnestly solicit your careful investigation of these allegations, and hope to receive your active influence and support.

gether & we could not have given people down in such a manner. He thought it was the duty of all to help. The address was not only a more than a denunciation of exaction

of the Trades Union Bill now before the house of Commons, it was to be made use of on the occasion of the second reading. Marx said that he sent all his reports away & Enamius ^{stated he} knew very little about the particulars.

Enamius Muller announced that was going to Switzerland but that his society would appoint another delegate.

At the meeting of the Council of the City of New York.

To the Impartial, Intelligent and Sympathizing People of the City of New York:

The undersigned, in behalf of the WORKING MEN'S UNION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, beg to call the attention of the People of the City of New York to the various unjust and cruel laws, called 'humanitarian' laws, made on the condition and rights of horse railway cars and other public vehicles in the cities of New York and Brooklyn.

The undersigned confidently believe the justice of the cause of these working men will be once manifest itself to the public. Nevertheless, we beg to commend it to favor by presenting the following statement of existing grievances:

The persons so employed are mostly heads of families who need a support for themselves and those dependent on them. It is their desire to perform all the duties of good citizens and to raise their families in respectability and honesty.

Under existing regulations they are unable to visit their homes during the hours of day-light and become strangers to the faces of their own children. From twelve to fourteen hours are required for a day's work and the employees of the Second Avenue R. R. Co. are now receiving a demand of eighteen hours as a day's work. The average time is fifteen hours and includes Sundays and holidays all except on the year and often exposed to the most inclement weather. On some of the railroads it is required that a certain number of trips daily shall be made and in some instances the payment is by the trip, so that if they are delayed by stoppages by blocking the way, or by fire, or other cause, a great portion of the day's earnings is taken from the employee who thus loses his time although constantly in charge of and responsible for the horses and property of the company. At early hours of the morning and late hours of the night, in summer heat and through winter snow, they fully labor on. Are not such men worthy of legal protection? Under the present regulations of their employers will it be contended that their employment is not dangerous, destructive of health and life? Do they enjoy any of the opportunities for improvement or the like of mental and bodily? Do they enjoy any of the opportunities for improvement or the enjoyment of domestic comfort, needed to obtain the fullness of the working class? Is it to the advantage of the State that the condition of an industrial class shall be that of woe, and that their children shall grow up to inherit the habits of their fathers in ignorance and untidiness?

Do not the Public, whose servants they are, owe them Protection?

Will not their rights be established and their compensation fixed by law? Is it not too much of the corporations created by legislative act, and by legislative favor enjoying rights valuable franchises, to compensate their employees at a just rate, and to exact only reasonable hours for a day's work? The class of working men are so inadequately paid for their services. Protection is all these men ask! Can any reasonable objection be urged against the justice of their cause?

We earnestly solicit your careful investigation of these allegations and hope to receive your active influence and support.

The Secretary

The Council adjourned at half past 10 o'clock.

R. Applegarth Chairman.
J. George Eckarius Secretary.

Council Meeting May 4.
^{Applegarth} ^{Boon}
Members present, Bernard, Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales, Jung, Lesmer, Marx, Maurice, Steiner, Zabiiski, Delegates from 11 Lodge of the Bricklayers Society, the Alliance Cabinet Makers, Day working Bookbinders

Cit. Applegarth in the Chair. Minutes of the previous meeting read & confirmed. The Secretary read a letter from George Julian Harney of Boston, U. S. who expressed his satisfaction at the progress & the principles of the Association & enclosed 18 as contribution asking for a receipt as he had sent money to the Reform League once without ever receiving an acknowledgment.

Cit. Marx read an appeal to the workmen of America on behalf of the horse railway conductors & car drivers in New York now on strike. They work 105 hours a week & the Second Avenue Company wants them to work an hour longer than they have done each day.

Cit Jung stated that letters ^{had} appeared in the Egalite from Naples & Barcelona where the International was welcomed. The Paris work have issued an election programme based upon the platform of principles of the Association. Raspail has accepted the candidature. Marx then read the draft of the Address on the Belgian Massacres.

Cit Applegarth pronounced it able address but thought it would be better that some particulars were given about the affair before the discussion was entered upon. The Secretary then read a translation of Glins' report from the minutes & Cit Jung furnished some details both of Seraing & the Borinage strikes & massacre remarking that the Belgians though worse paid than the workmen of almost any other country had never appeal for help to foreign countries.

Cit Applegarth remarked that was the old trite story. The workpeople were miserable they endeavored to better their condition & the masters resisted, but to get the soldiers the help them must be repudiated altogether & we could not stand quietly by while the employers cut work people down in such a manner. He thought it was the duty of all to help. The address was not only a more than a denunciation of events.

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outrages it was a description of a state of things thought to be circulated throughout the country.

Cit. Brighting & Gardner stated that appeals for money must be made to their executive.

Eccarius ~~was~~ ^{that} ~~indignant~~ the address be printed.

Cit. Marx said there were two issues involved. First the right of the workmen to strike & second the fate of the Association, which must do something to manifest its power.

Cit. Hales said the address would do much to spread information at home we ought to educate the people at home on such matters.

Cit. Weston had been delighted by hearing the address read. The Association ought to show by its taking action that it was a power & taking action would make it a power. The heinousness of the ^{actions of the capitalists} ~~the~~ must respond to the workmen of other countries.

Cit. Appelgarth thought it was an excellent opportunity to give the people of this country a notion of what was going on abroad. He had learned much at the Council board & if from time to time an abstract of the proceedings of the Council was printed it might circulate with the trade society reports.

The proposition of Cit. Hales seconded by Eccarius that the address be adopted, printed & circulated was then carried unanimously.

Instructions were given to the secretary to get 1000 printed to send to the press & to the Societies affiliated as well as those with whom we were correspondence ~~copy~~ gratis & sell the rest having the prize printed on them.

~~The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.~~

Maurice proposed that Bills be printed to advertise the resolutions in the rooms of the trade societies.

B. Lucraft

Council Meeting May 11

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Members present: Buckley, Bernard, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Cohn, Lessner, Lucraft, Maurice, Oelger, Ross.

Cit. Lucraft in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read. ~~explained~~ Cit. Jung stated that he had announced that the shipbuilders society of Amsterdam had joined the Association which was not reported. Agreed to have it reported in the next. Cit. Maurice objected that a proposition he had made was not added. The proposition was added & the minutes confirmed.

Cit. Lessner called the attention of the Council to the Secretary's Report in the Beehive. The Secretary had put himself forward & suppressed Cit. Marx's name as the mover of the Belgian Address. The Secretary denied that he had put himself forward in any shape but that he had omitted the name of the mover of the address intentionally not to give people a chance to say it was Marx's address & not ~~the~~ ~~Council's~~ that of the Council. If he had committed a wrong he would rectify it by a declaration in the next report in the Beehive & the Council might pass a vote of censure upon his conduct. Cit. Lessner handed the Beehive to the Chairman to read the ~~parts~~ parts of the report complained of. The chairman read "the Corresponding Secretary for America for the English language read a letter from Mr. Harnay" &c. further on that Marx & others had spoken in favour of the address.

Q. Eccarius contended that he was corresponding secretary for the English language for America. Cit. Lessner said everybody knew that Cit. Shaw was the American Secretary & he had not been at the meeting. Eccarius was under the impression that Shaw had been ~~nominated~~ ~~nominated~~ nominated to complete the names on the cards because all the American correspondence that had been done during the last 12 months he had done. Cit. Marx said Mr. Eccarius must not be permitted to use the names of Council members as he liked. ~~He~~

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He did not care about having name mentioned but instead of being the originator of the address his name appeared amongst the supporters. It looked as if the Council was ashamed of ~~what~~ what he did. He was not particular about his name there was no need of mentioning names at all in the Beehive reports but the German Secretary was an entity not a nonentity ~~highlighted by first of all the subject of the report~~

The secretary wanted to know in what particular occasion he had failed to acknowledge the services of the German Secretary & that it would be best that some ^{body} should approve the reports before the published.

The Chairman on reading the report had been struck with the idea that it was a bungling report.

Cit. Jung said Evarius had been appointed American secretary for the English & he did not think that any intentional fault had been committed.

No other member rising to speak upon the question the Secretary read a letter from Cit. Applegarth stating the reason of his absence & requiring a dozen copies both of the Congress Resolutions & the Rules.

John Smith of White Church Dorset Shire announced in a letter that the Co-operative Society of which he is the Secretary was not inclined to join the Association but his individual adhesion was any use he desired he name to be put on the list of members & he forwarded his contribution in stamps. The principles of the Association were not new to him, he had joined the Chartists in 1838, & the fraternal Democrats in 1846 & thought that any society must be good to which the name of Odger was attached. He enclosed a ^{that had appeared in the Broomfield paper} copy of an address to the Belgian miners by a ^{Brussels} Committee styling itself the revolutionary committee of the International Workingmen's Society, recommending killing, massacring, &c. till complete liberty was granted them, & offering to send them arms. Cit. Odger proposed that it be repudiated. Cit. Jung seconded observing that ~~it~~ it was a cowardly trick for people

who were in safety themselves
(to excite others to fight & promising them arms. If he approved of the means recommended he should not be afraid to go & fight himself. ~~It was unanimously agreed~~ 246
It was unanimously agreed

not are ad, means of redress
"that the authors of that address were in no way connected with the International Working Men's Association, and that the council entirely repudiates such means of redress"

Cit. Ehn stated that having seen some reports in the papers that the Cigar makers of Antwerp were going to strike he had made some inquiries to which the men of Antwerp had replied that they knew nothing about it & that the Masters must have spread the report. Both societies of Brussels as well as Antwerp were going on well & they would join the International Association as soon as their financial year expired.

Cit. Jung announced
Cit. Marx had received
A Dutch shipbuilders society was announced to have joined the association, the first affiliation in Holland. ^{was}
The members of the Brussels committee are still in prison; there are about 200 men arrested altogether, One pound sterling ~~was~~ for the Belgian sufferers from Manchester. ^{some of whom would no doubt be at free.}

Citizen Cottam was announced as being present having brought the cards. He stated that on a former occasion he had waited a long time for the money but that he could not do so now. He should like to have a part at once & the whole settled by the 15 of June. Citizen Jung stated when the order had been given there had been money enough in hands to pay the whole but that was not the case now. It was agreed that Citizen Cottam should be informed of the decision of the Council the following morning.

Citizen Marx then rose & said that most members would have seen a letter from Professor Goldwin Smith in the Beehive respecting the impression made in America by the speech of Senator Sumner, & he, Cit. Marx, had received letters to the same effect from America & he thought it was a proper occasion for the Council to appeal to the working men of America to put a stop to these ~~menaces~~ menaces of the ~~Republican~~ Republican party. With this intention he had drawn up an address to the National Labor Union of the United States which if approved of by the Council should be ~~xxx~~ adopted & send to America. He then read as follows:
The International Workingmen's Association to the National Labor Union of the United States:—

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12, 1869."

FELLOW-WORKMEN.—In the initiatory programme of our Association we stated:—"It was not the wisdom of the ruling classes, but the heroic resistance to their criminal folly by the working classes of England, that saved the West of Europe from plunging headlong into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and propagation of slavery on the other side of the Atlantic." Your turn has now come to stop a war, the clearest result of which would be, for an indefinite period, to hurl back the ascendant movement of the working-class on both sides of the Atlantic.

"We need hardly tell you that there exist European powers anxiously bent upon hurrying the United States into a war with England. A glance at commercial statistics will show that the Russian export of raw produce, and Russia has nothing else to export, was rapidly giving way before American competition, when the civil war suddenly turned the scales. To convert the American ploughshare into a sword, would just now rescue from impending bankruptcy that despotic power which your republican statesmen, have, in their wisdom, chosen for their confidential adviser. But quite apart from the particular interests of this or that government, is it not the general interest of our common oppressors to turn our fast growing international co-operation into an internecine war?"

In a congratulatory address to Mr. Lincoln on his re-election as president, we expressed our conviction that the American civil war would prove of as great import to the advancement of the working class as the American war of independence had proved to that of the middle class. And, in point of fact, the victorious termination of the anti-slavery war has opened a new epoch in the annals of the working class. In the states themselves, an independent working class movement, looked upon with an evil eye by your old parties and their professional politicians, has since that date sprung into life. To fructify it wants years of peace. To crush it, a war between the United States and England is wanted.

The next palpable effect of the civil war, was, of course, to deteriorate the position of the American workman. In the United States, as in Europe, the monster incubus of a national debt was shifted from hand to hand, to settle down on the shoulders of the working-class. The prices of necessities, says one of your statesmen, have since 1860 risen 78 per cent., while the wages of unskilled labour rose 50 per cent., those of skilled labour 60 per cent. only. "Pauperism," he complains, "grows now in America faster than population." Moreover, the sufferings of the working classes set off as a foil the new-fangled luxury of financial aristocrats, shoddy aristocrats, and similar vermin bred by wars. Yet for all this the civil war did compensate by freeing the slave and the consequent moral impetus it gave to your own class movement. A second war, not hallowed by a sublime purpose and a great social necessity, but of the Old World's type, would forge chains for the free labourer instead of tearing assunder those of the slave. The accumulated misery left in its track would afford your capitalists at once the motive and the means to divorce the working class from its bold and just aspirations by the soulless sword of a standing army.

"On you, then, devolves the glorious task to prove to the world that now at last the working classes are bestriding the scene of history no longer as servile retainers, but as independent actors, conscious of their own responsibility, and able to command peace where their would-be masters shout war.

"In the name of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association, British nationality: R. Applegarth, carpenter; M. J. Boon, engineer; J. Backley, painter; J. Hales, elastic web weaver; Harriet Law, B. Lucraft, chairmaker; J. Milner, tailor; G. Odger, shoemaker; J. Ross, footcloser; B. Shaw, painter; Stepney Cowell, J. Warren, trunkmaker; J. Weston, handrailmaker. French nationality: E. Dupont, instrument-maker; Jules Johannard, lithograph; Paul Lafarquet. German nationality: G. Eccarius, tailor; T. Lessner, tailor; W. Limbury, shoemaker; Marx Karl, Swiss nationality: H. Jung, watchmaker; A. Muller, watchmaker, Belgian nationality: P. Bernard, painter. Danish nationality: J. Cohn, cigar-maker. Polish nationality: Zabicki, compositor. B. Lucraft, Chairman; Cowell Stepney, Treasurer; J. George Eccarius, General Secretary. London, May 12, 1869."

Cit. Odger took objection to the word vermin Citizen Lucraft rather preferred it & Cit. Marx stated that no other word could be substituted without altering the context. After some conversation the address was adopted ~~and~~ upon the proposition of Cit. Dupont

seconded by Cit. Odger. It was agreed that all the Council members should sign it & that their occupation should be stated. Cit. Jung was then called upon to give an account of the Balance in the treasury. He answered that the balance amounted to 5. 17. 10. It was then resolved that Cit. Cottam be paid £4. It was suggested that the treasurer should be asked for a loan of £5 but Cit. Jung was rather reluctant to do it.

Council Meeting May 18,

Members present: Applegarth, Bernard, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Marx, Stepney

Cit. Applegarth in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. Cit. Marx stated that the leader of the Committee that had been disavowed at the previous meeting was an ex commissary of Police.

Cit. Dupont read a letter from Marseilles stating that the Joiners had voted 463 against 7 to strike work & had struck accordingly. A letter from the Editor of the Opinion National stated that the Belgian address would be inserted as soon as the election matter was disposed of.

Cit. Jung read from the Egalite that the Carpenter, Painters, Pastors &anners of Lausanne had resolved upon establishing truck societies. A number of the gilded youth of Geneva had assaulted two Compositors on Strike (accompanied by their families) in the public streets. Two had been arrested but soon let go.

The president of the Paris Compositors Society had been sent to Geneva to endeavour to bring about an understanding between the men now on Strike & their employers but the employers had objected that they could not treat with foreigners. Out of the 8 masters only 2 were Swiss.

Cit. Eccarius stated that according to the Vollstimm of Miesne the work people of that town demanded unrestricted freedom

of Combination & had held several massmeetings to make their demand heard.

Cit. Marx stated that the United States Government wanted war for more reasons than one. It would reconcile North & South & satisfy the military party.

Cit. Jung stated ^{for Bernard} that a society of Belgian miners had issued an address in which hopes of better times were held out when the mines became common property.

The shipbuilders of Amsterdam had struck for reduction of the hours of labour. They had been in the habit of working from 5 o'clock a.m. till 7 o'clock p.m. but required that in future their workingday should commence at 6 o'clock a.m. & end 6 o'clock p.m. for 2 florins a day.

Cit. Marx stated that at a meeting at Antwerp a capitalist had made a speech against the International Association. A workman had spoken after ~~him~~ ^{him} to answer but he had not ~~wanted~~ ^{stopped} to hear the reply.

The Secretary was instructed to send subscription sheets to the affiliated societies.

1 £ was collected for the Belgian sufferers.

B. Lucraft Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary

Council Meeting May 25 Present, Bernard, Boon, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lucraft, Lessner, Stoppey.
Cit. Lucraft in the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. Cit. Jung called attention to two mistakes in the report of the Beehive which the Secretary was instructed to correct.

The Secretary announced that the Executive of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters & Joiners had granted 2 £ for the Belgian sufferers.

Cit. Boon stated that his time did not permit him to attend regular but he had some one to propose who would be able to render good services. He proposed Mr. George Harris & Mr. Townsend as members. Eccarius & Jung seconded.

Cit. Lessner proposed Mr. Fraser seconded by Cit. Maurice.

H. Dupont read a letter from the secretary of the Paris Bronze-workers Society who wanted some information from the Council about the Belgian affairs. Many people in Paris knew nothing at all about it as only short & scattered despatches had been published in the Paris papers. The Bronzeworkers had opened a subscription the marble cutters had already sent off 38 fr. He thought that a question might be added to the Congress programme respecting the influence of trade societies in the struggle for the emancipation of the workingclass. The causes of the universal want of employment might also be discussed with advantage. He sent a printed draft of Rules for the federation of trade societies & wishes to have the opinion of the Council upon it. The Bronzeworkers will send a delegate to the Congress. The society has voted shortly to reimburse the English trade societies who have lent money during the strike.

Cit. Jung stated that the Democrat of Baselland was praising the German working men for their perseverance in contending against all the obstacles that stood in their way while the Swiss with greater freedom of action moved but slowly. A manifesto ~~had~~ from the Barcelona section had been published in the Egalette in which it was stated that the revolution had freed Spain from ~~the~~ ^{one} tyranny the political & that the time had now come to overcome the social tyranny which could only be done by the united action of the workingclass.

The secretary thought that the Council ought officially to express its sentiments about Madame Hino of Brussels whose death if it had not been caused by the proceedings of the Government officials had certainly been accelerated. After some conversation the following was agreed to:

"This Council deeply sympathises with Eugen Hino in the sad affliction that has befallen him through the premature death of his wife Jeanne born Brismée, & expresses its abhorrence at the cruel treatment she met with from the authorities shortly before her untimely end."

It was stated that all the members of the Brussels committee who had been imprisoned were released, but that further domiciliary searches had taken place, & all the committee members were summoned to appear before the Judge of instruction.

Cit. Lessner announced the death of Peter Hax at Vienna after 5 days illness.

Cit. Dupont read a statement from the London International containing some falsehoods about the Association to which he wished to send a reply. The proposition was sent to the Secretary was instructed to write to the societies for their contributions.

Council Meeting June 1

Members present Dupont, Ecarius, Jung, Lessner, Stepney, Lucraft, Applegarth, Walton, Jabicki.
 Cit. Jung in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. Letters were read from Gerrow of Eastbourne, Ironfield of Sheffield, & the Secretary of the Alliance Cabinetmakers who had voted £3 for the Belgian sufferers. Cit. Jabicki handed in 8 s. collected amongst his friends.

Cit. Jung stated that the Amsterdam section had constituted itself the Central section for Holland. They were publishing fly sheets containing the grievances of the work people & the aims of the Association. This was preparatory to publishing a newspaper under the title the People's Standard. A Bulletin had been published at Naples containing an appeal to the workmen to join, the rules of the Association were also to be published & a regular Newspaper to be started in June. An Italian section had been founded at Geneva.

The police of Geneva had taken to making assaults on work people & arresting them & keeping them in prison over night & the magistrates discharged them in the morning. At Lausanne the bricklayers had struck for 40 Centimes an hour the labourers & wheelbarrow men for 30 Centimes an hour, the Council had called the military under arms to protect individual liberty & illtreat suspected workmen. On the proposition of Cit. Lessner seconded by Ecarius it was agreed to borrow 7 s. 6 d. from the Belgian fund to pay linen. 50 Copies resolutions to the Co-operative Congress.

A. S. Jung. Chairman
 J. George Ecarius Secretary

Meeting of the Council June 8.

Members present: Bernard, Boon, Dupont, Ecarius, Jung, Lessner, Limbury, Ross, Stepney.
 Cit. Jung in the Chair:

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. A letter was read from W. H. Lylo's president of the National Labour Union U. S. acknowledging the receipt of the Address. A letter from R. Smith White Church was received enclosing 1 s. in stamps for the Belgians. Another from the Westend bootclovers society announcing that 10 s. had been voted for the Belgians. A letter from Citizen Applegarth containing 10 s. from H. Buckmaster of the Science & Art Department Kensington Museum, & a letter from the Secretary of No 1 Lodge Bricklayers, acknowledging receipt of subscription sheet & promising to try what can be done, a letter from Harry, Chelsea Carpenters, demanding more Belgian Addresses, but too late & a letter from the Liverpool Cigar Makers recommending James Samuelson to be furnished with Continental Addresses.

A letter from Murat in Paris was read stating that he had written a long letter which was waiting for the Friend who brought the last ^{but had not yet received the answer.} The Bronze workers had sent for him to hand over the money they owed to English societies for transmission detailing the various items. While supporting other trades they had reduced their debt from £1,800 to £200. Referring to the elections he stated that they had taken place under high Socialist pressure, & Every body now talked about ^{the} social reform question. The Voix du Peuple had published a favourable article on the Congress programme the Engineers were going to appoint two delegates. A letter from Marseilles stated that the strike of the Joiners was still going on. Many of the men had been members of the Association before the dissolution of Paris. They required assistance in two ways 1, Loans, 2, Moral support. All the men in the trade had joined. The society had only been in existence for a few months & depended entirely on the pecuniary support of others. The masters had resolved to starve them out ~~therefore~~ men had come to the conclusion that they could work

without the masters by starting cooperative workshops but the difficulty was to put it into practice.

A conversation ensued which elicited a general opinion that there was no chance of obtaining money at present from English societies.

Cit. Lessner moved & Ross seconded that the French secretary be instructed to write to that effect.

According to the International of Brussels the ship joiners of Amsterdam had gained the rise of wages but not the reduction of working time. A report would be published to show what part the government had taken in the strike.

Citizen Harris, Townsend, & Fraser were unanimously accepted as members of the Council.

Cit. Lessner proposed & Eccarius seconded that the standing Committee should meet to draw up the Congress programme & report not later than Tuesday June 22.

Cit. Ross called the attention of the Council to the fact that citizen Polger had incurred about £10 expense in his election canvass for Stafford towards the defraying of which any subscriptions would be acceptable. The Committee for promoting workingmen's representation would be made permanent so that any surplus that might arise would be reserved for future purposes.

H. Jung Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary

Meeting of the Council June 16

Members present: Bernard, Boon, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Milner, Stepney

Citizen Jung in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. A letter was ^{was read} from Gaspar Sentinon a Spaniard residing in Eastern Prussia desiring to put in correspondence with the secretary of the Barcelona section which he intends to join in preference to any other as he is going to return to Spain.

A letter from Citizen Varlin of Paris, the secretary of the bookbinders society, complaining that he had received no news from the Council which was the

more surprising as the Paris Bookbinders' Society was now the only Paris section. He wanted an explanation why the Congress programme had been communicated to the Paris papers & not him. Respecting the riots he stated that they had been got up by the police to have an excuse to arrest & prosecute certain people among whom were the members of the late Committee Combault, Murat, Tolain, Limosin & others.

C. Dupont said the reason why he had not was because he had not received any letters which according to the rules it would have been the duty of Cit. Varlin to send. Citizen Dupont was instructed to reply.

A letter from the German Committee of Geneva was read containing a proposition to be added to the Congress programme viz: How can the working class arrive at collective property & thereby annihilate the antagonism of classes. Complaints were made about the German section represented by the Gallien as well as those who had voted in favour of the association at Nuremberg of not rendering the necessary support. Complaints were also made of not having received the addresses issued by the Council officially. Cit. Jung stated that he could not have sent them before because he had no translation & the ~~paper contained~~ original had been forwarded by the ~~Gen~~ Secretary. Cit. Jung was instructed to reply.

In a letter from the Brussels Committee two questions were proposed to be added to the Congress programme viz: The organisation of Justice in the future & the federation of ~~provident~~ & organisation of provident, friendly & insurance societies.

Cit. Hales proposed & Lessner seconded to refer the matter to the standing Committee to report next Tuesday. Agreed.

Council Meeting June 22.

Members present Bernard, Boon, Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Harris, Lessner, Marx, Milner, Ross.

Cit. Dupont in the Chair: Letters were read, from the Secretary of the Workingmen's Club & Institute Union inviting the members of the Council to attend a conference on technical education; from the Secretary of

the Birmingham Trades Council requesting to be informed whether the Council of the International will send a delegate to the working men's Congress to be held at Birmingham, & one from the secretary of the 'Hendal Shoemakers' Society enclosing 5s. for the Belgian sufferers.

Cit. Marx read a letter from Solingen the writer of which stated that the conviction ^{that} the labour question could only be settled by an International combination was spreading more & more. Alluding to the so called free religious communities he remarked that they consisted of shopkeepers & such like people who were opposed to the advance of the workingclass, they had simply thrown the old God of the bible overboard to put marmion in his place.

The bookbinders of Leipzig were anxious to contract international alliances with the bookbinders of other countries. Some of their branches have entered ~~the~~ our Association.

A letter from Brussels acknowledged the receipt of 200 francs from London for the Belgian sufferers.

Upon the report of the Standing Committee the following was agreed to as the programme of the next Congress:

1. The question of landed property
2. The right to inheritance
3. To what extent can credit be immediately utilised by the workingclass.
4. The question of general Education
5. The influence of trades unions upon the emancipation of the workingclass.

It was further agreed that the Order of proceeding be as follows

1. Verification of Credentials;
2. Election of Congress officers;
3. Report of the General Council & reports of branches & sections;
4. Discussion of the questions on the programme
5. Appointment of the seat of the General Council for the ensuing year;
6. Election of the members of the General Council;
7. Appointment of time & place of meeting of the next Congress.

It was further agreed that a notice be appended to the programme stating that the statistical inquiry is still proceeding.

A resolution that ^{the discussion of the questions of} the programme be discussed commencing at the next meeting.

Closed the proceedings

Benjamin Lucraft
J. George Eccarius

A nos frères les travailleurs

Nous savions depuis longtemps que la section Bruxelloise de l'Association Internationale des travailleurs, dont le local est actuellement au Cygne, Grand'Place, n'ose s'aventurer dans la grande voie du progrès tracée par les statuts généraux selon les décisions des congrès de Londres, de Lausanne et de Bruxelles; qu'elle n'ose aborder en face ni la question rationaliste ni la question autoritaire; et qu'elle impose en quelque sorte à ses orateurs de ne s'occuper dans les meetings que de questions purement économiques et matérielles.

Aujourd'hui, par le vote de lundi 14 juin, nous savons que cette section est complètement perdue à la cause qu'elle est cependant chargée de défendre.

C'est triste à dire, mais ce vote provoqué par le soi-disant Conseil Général Belge contre des membres reconnus le plus dévoués à l'internationale, c'est le suicide moral de cette section; ce vote la dénonce aux travailleurs associés de l'Europe comme formée de faux frères et d'incapables.

Citoyens de tous les pays, nous vous le demandons: Sont-ce bien des hommes de l'internationale ceux-là qui craignent de déployer tout grand le drapeau de l'avenir!...

ni préjugés, ni autorité, ni exploitation. Cependant nous leur avons laissé leur autonomie à ces hommes; et sans haine, en simple vue d'une organisation embrassant toutes les questions qui font le citoyen, nous nous sommes retirés de la section du Cygne pour former la section militante les Affranchis de Bruxelles à la Coupe.

Quand on ne peut vivre ensemble, mais que l'on poursuit le même but: l'affranchissement des travailleurs, on se sépare comme société, tout en restant en fraternelles relations dans tout ce qui touche aux intérêts généraux, à la prospérité de l'association. Mais non, a dit la section bruxelloise, « qui sort de chez nous est contre nous, » et ils ont prononcé l'exclusion sans se préoccuper le moins du monde ni de l'honnêteté des membres exclus, ni de leur valeur d'agitation, ni de leurs antécédents démocratiques durant une lutte continue de plus d'un quart de siècle.

La section Bruxelloise du Cygne, nous la mettons en accusation devant le monde des travailleurs; et nous demandons au conseil général de Londres si, en présence de ce vote de lundi, il n'y a pas lieu de réunir un tribunal international pour arrêter cette section dans la voie déplorable d'exploitation et de calomnies où la mènent certains hommes dont la conduite est plus qu'une énigme.

29.

Eccarius, Juny, Lessner, Lucraft, Mrs. Law,

The minutes of the previous meeting were read as received from the office of Lloyd's Newspaper

1 - 7s. prepaid to insert the Congress programme.

and forwarded copies to all the daily papers

The Daily News had inserted it, The Dispatch &

into, the Germania had inserted it in German

in a corner & suppressed the report of the last

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concerning the riots at St. Etienne in France,

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It was further agreed that a notice be appended to
stating that the statistical inquiry is still proceeding
The discussion of the questions of

A resolution that the programme be discussed
closed the proceedings.

Benjamin
J. George Secarius

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Council Meeting June 29.

Members present: Dupont, Euarius, Juny, Lessner, Lucraft, Mrs. Law,
Stepney, Goushond, Weston.

Cit. Lucraft in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read
& confirmed. A letter was received from the office of Lloyd's Newspaper
announcing demanding £1 - 7 s. prepaid to insert the Congress programme.
The secretary stated that he had forwarded copies to all the daily papers
& some of the weeklies. The Daily News had inserted it, The Dispatch &
Peynold's contained abridgements, the Germania had inserted it in German
& the Beehive had crowded it in a corner & suppressed the report of the last
meeting.

A circular was received from Cit. Agglartha requesting a delegate to
attend the trades union Deputation to the home secretary. Cit. Weston was
appointed to attend.

A letter was read from Marseille regretting that the ties which bound the members
together had slackened, they had no regular place of meeting, yet the presence & action
of the members was perceptible every where. The working classes had managed to
conspire with their antagonists the liberals & if they went on they might have their
Spanish revolution. But the democrats were now preaching peace while the socialists
were for action. The irreconcilable Gambetta was already going down in estimation
if the radicals did not speedily act their popularity would fade. Would
like to send the Republican salute.

A letter from Cit. Richard of Lyons contained complaints that his letters
or answers to them must have miscarried. They have no regular organisation
now at Lyons but meet often. Has been obliged to write shamefully
moderate in connection with the Elections. Will pay their contributions at
Bale in a lump.

Attention was called to an announcement in the Egalité that the Geneva
police had confiscated the first five copies of the Berne & Geneva Lantern
of which Henri Perret, the Geneva secretary was agent. From the same
papers particulars were read concerning the riots at St. Etienne in France.
Cit. Millner objected to so much time being devoted to correspondence &
it must be abbreviated or else the discussion of the Congress questions
would be impossible.

The discussion of the Congress questions was then opened. The 1st question having read the secretary read so much of the resolutions passed at the last Congress as referred to arable land. Between 20 & 30 Delegates had abstained from voting at the Congress, & complained ^{afterwards} that the resolutions had taken them by surprise. It could therefore be disputed that ^{the} resolutions ~~were~~ were a fair reflex of the convictions of the delegates & for that reason the question was to be reconsidered. He was of opinion that the Council should either ~~affirm the resolution~~ propose the affirmation of the resolution ~~or~~ substitute another ~~for~~ the adoption of the next Congress.

Cit. Milner had no doubt about the Council being in favour of converting the land into national property, but the reasons ~~ought~~ ought to be stated in detail to answer the objections of those who thought different. He was not exactly prepared to enter upon the subject just that moment but if there was no objection he was willing to commence at the next meeting night by moving the affirmation of the resolutions of the last Congress.

It was then agreed that the hour of 9 be fixed for the commencement of the discussion. The meeting adjourned at 11 o'clock. B. Lucraft
J. George Eccarius

Council Meeting July 6.

Members present: Bernard, Boon, Dupont, Eccarius, Krasser, Harris, Jung, Mrs. Law Lessner, Mara, Milner, Weston

Citizen Lucraft in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. A Letter was read from ^{the secretary of the Bronze workers} ~~Citizen~~ of Lyons containing an appeal for a loan of 4,000 fr. to enable the Bronze workers of that town, to carry on business on their own account. The appeal is endorsed by Cit. Schettel. New groups of the Association have been formed in the West of Paris & at Reims. Jaques Carrière recommended as a good man in the cause.

Cit. Mara stated that according to the Worker of Antwerp the Amsterdam section had a paper of its own which was attacked by all the capitalist journals who were astonished that the Association had spread into such a quiet country as Holland.

Cit. Jung announced that he had been furnished with patterns & lists of prices of the goods kept in stocks by the Co-operative Marble Cutters of Brussels. As they had been working for masters who exported their goods to England the men wanted to do business in ~~the~~ a similar way. The main

difficulty was that the masters here were very reluctant to do business with them & offered less than the cost of the raw material for their goods. Another difficulty was make sure that in accepting low prices they were not injuring the working men here. Cit. Weston, Harris, & Lucraft volunteered to make enquiries.

Cit. Weston gave ^{an} account of the deputation he attended to the home secretary which he said had been well received & had made a good impression upon the government who were desirous of doing something ^{but} could not during the present session even if they gave their assistance to the bill now before the house it could not become law this session, but a government measure was to be passed next session. The deputation had resolved upon pressing the second reading in the house of Commons to a division.

Cit. John Palmer was nominated as a candidate to become a member of the Council by Cit. Harris & seconded by Irons hand.

Cit. Milner resumed the adjourned debate on the land question by moving the following as an addition to the resolution of the last Congress:

"Confirming the views already expressed by the last Congress that the Lands, Mines, &c. should be the property of the State for the benefit of the whole People,
That the individual ownership of large tracts of land, mines, &c. has given a power to the few over the many incompatible with the Freedom of a Nation,
That the only way to realize the natural right of every individual to an interest in the soil of his country is to make Land the property of all for all."

Cit. Milner thought to go into the whole question would be too much like a recapitulation of what had been said already it would require to state our reasons for the change & leave those who disagreed to state the reasons of their disagreement. The views as stated in the congress resolution were rather mild. He agreed with the statements that land was the free gift of nature, that it should be made common property, the property of a state established on the principles of justice, but he wished to lay more emphasis upon the rights of men to the soil. The ground stated in the resolution for the change was social necessity. This was not a head of the way in which the middle class dealt with great questions. On this ground the telegraphs had been bought by the government & the railways would soon follow but we ought to be ahead of this, we must claim the conversion of the land into common property not as a matter of expediency but as a natural right. Thiers had gone so far as to deny the natural rights of man. But if it was conceded that man had a right to existence he must have also a right to the means of subsistence which was the land, & the only solution was to convert the land into national property. As things were at present not did the few possess

a great power to the injury of the nation but they could disinherit their own children individual ownership then was despotism. The gold which formed our circulating medium could not be obtained except from the soil & every thing we were depending on the soil. There was no alternative either the ^{natural} rights of individuals must be denied or the land be made common property. Though generations had violated the natural rights of man they were not forfeited, they had existed all along but the plea of social necessity was no necessity at all for their reclamation. The claim of a right would move men to action social necessity would not. It was very gratifying to him to have lived the day ~~that~~ when such publications as these resolutions were circulating throughout Europe & the working men of the different countries were ~~publicly~~ advocating the question. Cit. Boon endorsed what Milner had said. He considered the claim of right ^{preferable} to social necessity. To go into the ^{whole} question of abstract right would occupy too much time, but we had an abstract right to the land since we could not live without land. The time was coming when the mines & the land must be nationalised. He was in favour of the attitude to claim the soil as a natural right.

Cit. Marx was of opinion that Milner had not quite understood the nature of the controversy. There was no opposition to the mines & woods being made common property. The injury caused by the accumulation of land in the hands of the few was granted it was only with regard to arable land ^{that} there was any dispute, the opposition came from the partisans of small farming, small property was the point in dispute. The plea of social necessity was superior to the claim of abstract right. Everything, every possible form of oppression had been justified by abstract right it was high time to abandon this mode of agitation. The question was under what form ~~and~~ this right should be realised. There was a social necessity to transform feudal property into peasant property. In England the proprietor has ceased to be a necessity in agriculture. As for natural right the animal has a natural right to the soil since it cannot live without out. To push this natural right to its logical consequences would land us at the assertion of every individual to cultivate his own share. Social right & social necessity determined in what manner the means of subsistence must be procured. Social necessity enforced itself in the course at which factory had arrived where cooperation was compulsory. The fact that no one could produce anything by himself gave the social necessity for cooperation. He was not ^{against} giving a more emphatic form to the resolutions.

Cit. Harris was against using any of the old phrases. If the pores of the earth were to be made national property why not the surface. He preferred claiming it as a right.

Cit. Weston was strongly of opinion that the resolution ~~and~~ would have a better effect

if made more pungent. He was not particular whether right or necessity obtained the preference but it was milk & water language as it stood it must be made more expressive. He was sure there were several members of the council who if they would take the trouble could alter it to advantage. Small farming like manufacturing on a small scale was doomed. Science & machinery ~~could not~~ be applied in small farming ~~and~~ it must be abandoned. He had reason to believe that the individual exertions of the small farmers were more excited when they were working for themselves. In cooperation individual indifference made but a small difference in the amount they received for their labour. If cooperation succeeded to gratify the feelings of the little farmer he would readily fall in if it could be shown that it was to his advantage to do so. He had heard many stand up for the advantages of small farming but he did not believe in them. He felt certain the resolutions could be put in a more forcible form; they ~~would not~~ ^{have} been carried in their present form by an English meeting.

Cit. Jung said Milner, Boon, & Harris were in favour of claiming the right ^{every} individual to the soil this might lead to giving every one his share & if he was not mistaken Cit. Boon was in favour of small farming. (Cit. Boon stated that he advocated the nationalisation of the land & cooperative farming.) Cit. Jung continued that it was not on the score of right that the French opposed but they denied the necessity of making the land common property. The small farmer worked no more for himself than the wages labourer, he worked all the days of his life to pay taxes to the state & interest to the capitalists. As for indolence if a man was indolent in one thing it was no proof that he would be so in everything, it was simply a proof that he was in a wrong place. The opposition to the nationalisation of the land came from people who wanted to split up the land more than it was they objected to state interference they would not have anything to do with the state.

Citizen Elisee Peclus of Paris who was present as a visitor was requested to state his opinion. He said I have but a very few words to say. The peasants know very little what is going in the world, they do not come to your Congresses they do not even know that they are held we have very little to care about them. The men in the towns are for collective property. At Brussels there was an excess of individualists ~~and~~ they were not the representatives of the whole, most working men are for collective property it is looked upon as a recognised right. Cit. Marx. The small peasantry is not at the Congresses but their idealistic representatives are there. The Proudhonists are very strong upon the point & they were at Brussels. The Council is not responsible for the resolutions they were shaped by the Brussels committee, by men who well knew the opposition they had to deal with. I am not against recasting them. Cit. Weston has only spoken of social necessity. We see that both forms of private property in land have led to bad

results. The small man is only a nominal proprietor but he is the more dangerous because he still fancies that he is a proprietor. In England the land could be transformed into common property by act of Parliament in the course of a fortnight. In France it must be accomplished by one of the proprietors inebriety & liability to taxation.

Ct. Milner said I did not want to remodel the resolution but to add something to make it strong. Mrs. Law being invited to speak said she would rather decline saying anything that might. Ct. Dupont moved the adjournment of the debate. **B. Lucraft**
J. George Eccarius Secretary

Council Meeting July 13.

Members present: Oppleyarth, Bernareel, Dupont, Eccarius, Harris, Jung, Mrs. Law, Lesser, Lucraft, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Stepany, Townsend, Weston.

Ct. Lucraft in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. A letter was read from the Secretary of the London Tailors' Association stating that the Committee of that Society had resolved to re-assume its connection with the International Association if ~~it~~ it could be relieved of the past liabilities. Eccarius proposed & Maurice seconded that the request be complied with the reasons why these liabilities had not been discharged the last strike & the disorganised state of the Society afterwards, coupled with law expenses arising out of prosecutions at the Old Bailey. The Council agreed.

A letter was read from G. Phipson of Monk Sherborne stating that he had read an announcement in the Daily News that the International was going to start a newspaper in English, French, & German he wished to have the French & other documents the Association had published. The Chairman observed there was something afoot in the shape of a new move & thought Ct. Harris would be able to give some information. Ct. Harris said there had been an announcement that an International Republic Association was to be established. A meeting had been convened to which Broadbent had been invited himself had been invited, but he had learnt on the previous night that ~~it~~ it resulted from splits of various societies. The necessity of starting a workingman's Paper had been mooted in the National Reformer. Holyoake had given very elaborate instruction how it must be conducted. Harris knew nothing more of the matter.

Ct. Marx: The statement in the Daily News is that this Association is going

to start a paper. Upon the proposition of Ct. Harris it was agreed that the statement be officially contradicted by a letter from the secretary to the Daily News.

A letter was read from Lyons announcing the adhesion of the ^{men} ~~qualites~~ of that town, consisting of about 750 women & upwards of 300, to the International Association. An official declaration accompanied the letter, the contributions are to be paid at the Congress at Biele. The ~~Qualites~~ being on strike they appealed for aid.

Ct. Jung proposed & Eccarius seconded that the adhesion be accepted. Agreed.

Respecting the question of pecuniary aid Mrs Law expressed an opinion that it would be advisable to communicate with Mr. Stuart Mill to bring the matter before the Female Suffrage Association who would meet on Saturday.

Ct. Milner thought it would be better if Mrs Law attended the meeting to bring the question ~~up~~ on herself. He proposed & Lesser seconded that she be deputed to attend. Mrs Law consented & the Council agreed.

Mrs. Law suggested to ~~open~~ make a collection among the audience she was going to lecture to on the following Sunday. The Council approved.

Ct. Marx stated that he had received a letter from the president of the German Cigar makers Union, there was a strike too & ~~an~~ an appeal for help.

Ct. Lesser resumed the debate on the Land question. As to the controversy between right & necessity he said our enemies know we are right but they say we can't alter it therefore it becomes our duty to show that there is ^a necessity for an alteration & things must be altered, that a change is ~~unavoidable~~ because ~~it~~ necessity has made it so. The demonstration of the necessity is more forcible than the claiming it as a right.

Ct. Lucraft. I agree with those who think that necessity makes out a stronger case, but there is one thing stronger & that is right. I am for the land belonging to the people but I am not for letting it out, it ought to be managed by the officers of the state. The land ought to be made to yield as much as possible & the government should look after it without rent the produce would become much cheaper. The people of course require the power to do it, before they get that power the aristocracy will have ceased to exist.

Mrs. Law. I am in favour of Ct. Lucraft's remarks. I have natural inclination to look upon a freehold as a happy thing. As to right & necessity what is necessary is right. If you let the land to cooperative societies you will have competition. The increase comes principally through the labour that has been added. The value of the land has increased but that of labour has diminished. Every one has a right to depend upon the fruits of the soil produced by himself. Ernest Jones said

when people ask for the Land they might as well ask the Tiger to cast off its claws & live peaceable with other animals. We will have to draw the claws of the aristocracy before we get the Land. Whether it is let or not some portion of the produce will have to be sacrificed for the management, or the distribution of the produce. Cit. Harris. The difference between necessity & right appears to me much like the difference between a street & a road. I am here of necessity & this gives me a right to the land. If it is necessary to nationalize it why let it out to cultivate it. If on the other hand you entrust the government with its cultivation if you have a board who sells the produce you will have to pay for the labour somehow, you have to pay officials & that must come out of the produce. As a democrat I want as little as possible of Government. The enhancement of the value of land has either been caused by additional labour or something else. Competition is right if properly guided.

Cit. Applegarth. It is rather a late hour to talk of such a large question. I think the discussion has drifted a way from the question. Before we dispute about letting or not letting we ought to know how to get the land. We must catch the hare before we cook it. Instead of discussing the right & the necessity you ought to devise some practical plan how to get the land. When we find that there is such a stumbling block between us & the land as the aristocracy our first duty is to remove that stumbling block & we must convince the people of the necessity of removing it.

Ecarius. The natural right to the soil is the same to day as with the first family of human beings, but the social necessity differs. As long as mankind could subsist on the spontaneous products of nature the land was enjoyed in common. Even among shepherd tribes, where man has always to rear & guard the animals to supply his wants the soil is enjoyed in common there is no distinction between one part or another. But when land has to be cultivated to obtain food a necessity arises to devote certain portions to particular purposes & this social necessity has led to individual appropriations, to individual property. ^{now} Individual property has become an obstacle to ~~producing~~ further progress there is a social necessity for its abolition. That the direction of production & the distribution of the produce will ultimately become a government function I have no doubt, but before that can come to pass not only the aristocracy, but the capitalist class, & wages labour must

cease to exist. Cooperative production is the beginning of the change & the only available means ~~at present~~ to bring about the transformation. The end the discussion I propose that the sense of the meeting be taken whether the resolution shall be based on right or necessity & that it be left to the standing committee to model it accordingly.

Cit. Millner replied & urged necessity of giving people a clear idea of the change. The infancy of nations was passed we ~~not~~ could not depend upon the chapter of accidents we must know what we were about.

The chairman then put the question to vote when 6 hands were held up in favour of each upon which he gave the casting vote in favour of social necessity.

B. Lucraft chairman
J. George Ecarius Secretary

Meeting of the Council July 20.

Members present Bernerel, Ecarius, Jung, Hales, Mrs Law, Lessner, Lucraft, Limbourg, Marx, Milner, Ross, Stepney, Townshend, Weston

Cit. Lucraft in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. Cit. Marx announced the arrival of £5 of = 3 £ 15s. from Leipzig for the Belgian sufferers.

A letter from Marseilles contained applications of two men to be admitted as members. The Editor of the Courrier de la Sarthe applied for powers to act as an agent of the Association.

Mr. Law reported from the Female Suffrage Association that the question of the ovalistes of Lyons could not be officially entertained but that she would have received private donations had she been provided with a subscription sheet. The women's Club in Union Street was willing to collect subscriptions if a sheet was forwarded.

Cit. Marx opened the discussion on the question The Right to Inheritance. He said the question had been put by the Alliance of Socialist Democrats of Geneva & the Council had accepted it for discussion. ~~Marx~~ The Alliance of Geneva demanded above all the entire abolition of the Right to Inheritance. There were two forms of inheritance. The testamentary right, or inheritance by Will had come from Rome & had been peculiar to Rome. The father of the Roman family had exercised absolute authority over everything belonging to his house hold.

The Roman family father must not be compared with the father of a family of the present day. The Roman household ^{had} included slaves & clients whose affairs ^{& interests} the head had been obliged to defend & maintain in public. There had been a superstition that when this man died his ghost remained as a watch in the house to see that things were done right or to torment if things were managed wrong. In the early times of Rome people had sacrificed to this household even blood feasts had been celebrated in his honor. ^{& to appease his wrath.} By & by it ^{had} become fashionable to compromise with this spirit by an heir at will. ^{It had been the immortality of the soul.} This ^{heir} continuance ~~had~~ ^{perpetuated} the will of the deceased had been perpetuated by a testament but this ~~testamentary~~ had not necessarily ~~always~~ brought a fortune to the successor who inherited but the will of the deceased ~~the testament~~ which had been looked upon as a religious duty. In course of time these heirs at will had laid claim to the fortune too but even in imperial times had never been allowed more than ^{by law} a fourth ^{of the fortune} ~~that was the right of will~~. ^{had been transmitted to Christian countries & by law.} That ^{superstition} was the foundation of the right of will as at present existing in England & the United States.

The German right to inheritance was the intestate right, the family right, which treated an estate as a sort of co-proprietorship of which the father of the family was the manager. When this manager died the property fell to all the children. The Germans had known of no other hereditary rights; ~~until~~ the Church of Rome had introduced the Roman right & the feudal system had falsified the German right because feudal property bearing a military charge could not have been divided. The French revolution had returned to the German right to inheritance. In England we had all sorts of nonsensical things; the individual had the most absolute right to will away his property, even to disinherit his own offspring, & by this rule long after ~~they~~ ^{it} had ceased to exist. ~~It was the aristocracy in its private position~~ ^{that} ~~it would be left to the middle class~~ ^{his right of will might be left for the middle class to deal with as it was a point which would work against the aristocracy.} In Prussia only a little of a man's ~~property~~ ^{who} property could be willed away. ~~The working class~~ ^{who} had nothing

to inherit had no interest in the question.

The Democratic Alliance was going to commence the social revolution with the abolition of the right to inheritance. ~~Should he point to it?~~ He asked would it be policy to do so? The proposition was not new St. Simon had proposed it in 1830. As an economical measure it would avail nothing. ~~It would cause so much irritation that it would be sure to raise an almost insurmountable opposition which would inevitably lead to reaction.~~ If at the time of a revolution it was proclaimed he did not believe that the ~~general~~ ^{warrent} general state of intelligence would ^{be} sustained. Besides if the working class had sufficient power to abolish the right to inheritance it would be powerful enough to proceed to expropriation which would be a much simpler & more efficient process. To abolish the right to inheritance of land in England would involve the ~~abolishing~~ ^{the} hereditary functions connected with the land, the house of lords, &c. & 15,000 lords & 15,000 ladies would have to die before it became available. If on the contrary a working men's parliament decreed that the rent should be paid into the treasury instead of ~~to~~ the landlord the government would obtain a fund at once ~~abolishing~~ without ~~any~~ ^{any} social disturbance while by abolishing the right to inheritance every thing would be disturbed & nothing got. Our efforts must be directed to the end that no instruments of production should be private property. The private property in these things was a fiction since the proprietors could not use them themselves they only gave them dominion over them by which they compelled other people to work for them. In a semi-barbarous state this might ^{have} been necessary, but it was no longer so. All the means of labour must be socialized so that every man had a right & the means to exercise his labour power. If we had such a state of things the right to inheritance would be of no use. As long as we had not, the family right to inheritance could not be abolished. The chief aim of people in saving for their children was to insure them the means of subsistence. If a man's children were provided for after his death he ^{would} not care about leaving them wherewith to get a living but as long as this was not the case it could only result in hardships, it would irritate & frighten people & do no good. Instead of the beginning it could only be the end of a social revolution. The beginning must be to get the means to socialize the means of labour. The testamentary right to inheritance was obnoxious to the middle class with this the state could safely interfere any time. We had legacy duties already.

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all we had to do was to increase them & make them progressive, as well as the income tax, leaving the smaller amounts £50. for instance free. In so far only it was a workingclass question. All that was connected with the present state of things would have to be transformed, but if testaments were suppressed they would be avoided by gifts during life therefore it would be better to tolerate them ~~than~~ on certain conditions than do worse. ~~First~~ the means for a transformed state of things must be got then the right would disappear of itself.

Cit. Milner said it was but natural that people should question the right to inheritance seeing that so many were disinherited. Possession was nine points of the law & in all ages people had striven to get possession of things. If all had the same right there would be a family right to divide but if not some would be dispossessed & others would keep possession for ever. Had one man a right to disinherit another? It led to dualism in the family. Possession led to dominion & dominion to slavery. Why did not the trades unionists come here to express their ideas, we wanted all opinions.

Until we got something like a right to raw material we would remain slaves. What else could we do but to proclaim our right to the raw material.

The Chairman thought that Citizen Marx considered it impudicous to proclaim this at the Congress & preferred to propose levying a tax.

Cit. Marx ^{upheld} if the state had the power to appropriate the land inheritance ~~was~~ gone. To declare the abolition of inheritance would be foolish. If a revolution occurred expropriation could be carried if ~~there~~ was no power to do that the right to inheritance could not be abolished.

Cit. Hales. Thought there was a great question involved that had a painful influence upon society. There was a right of disposal different from the right to inheritance by which a man could dispose ⁱⁿ of such a way of his property that it became injurious to ~~that~~ living. We found land tied up, & institutions tied up, every progress barred, should we not declare against this right of disposal? We ought to declare that no man ought to have any right to dispose of property after he was dead.

Cit. Jung said the question had first been mooted by a party that had sprung up at Geneva they had intended to do something grand & had proclaimed this. He thought it could only divert the workingclass from other questions. He was not in favour of the right but he was against this question being used in a way that would do mischief. He should like to see the same plan followed as at Geneva to have resolutions prepared to lay before the Congress.

Cit. Weston thought that Marx proposed to arrive at the same result by sapping the inheritance little by little. The rents from land were only about a fourth of the property if

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the other was left it would be inconsequent. All transfer of property which enabled people to live without work ought to be condemned.

Cit. Chairman. said Cit. Weston was mistaken, about Cit. Marx proposing a round about way. Cit. Marx thought that the present state of things would last a long time yet & something ought to be got at once. If land became common property inheritance ceased at once.

Cit. Weston said we had nationalised the telegraphs but not got rid ^{of the power} of people living on it.

A conversation arose as to desirability of submitting a resolution before the discussion proceeded any further. Cit. Marx ~~was~~ consented to furnish one at the next meeting.

The debate was then adjourned to Tuesday July 27. **B. Lucraft**
J. George Ecarins Secretary.

Meeting of the Council July 27.
Members present: **Copart, Dupont, Ecarins, Jung, Applegarth, Mrs. Law, Linsley, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Lucraft, Stoppey, Harris, Weston.**

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

~~An appeal~~ An appeal urging once more the necessity of making the Birmingham Labour Congress a success was received & ordered to stand over, ^{as they could not contribute to the Congress funds.}

A letter from Cit. Varlin of Paris was read stating that the engineers were going to send two delegates to the Congress the bronze workers one, the shoemakers one ^{& others} the bookbinders were debating the desirability of being represented. The members were more than ever subjected to Police annoyances. Cit. Dupont was instructed to remind Varlin that according to the rules no Society could be represented at the Congress that had paid no contributions.

A letter from Marseilles stated that no answer had been had been received to the last. Wanted to know how adhesions could be ratified as the Congress was drawing near. All was going on well, a meeting had been held which had led to the federation of some trade societies. Required more frequent ~~and~~ communications.

Cit. Dupont stated that a ~~provable~~ reaction was taking place in France in favour of the Association, ~~& it~~ but if men joining had to write to London it would become expensive. If the Council send cards the police would confiscate them the best thing would be to appoint correspondents & empowers the French to print their own cards.

Cit. Marx stated that the Socialist Democratic Alliance of Geneva had complied with the requests of the Council he thereupon proposed that they ^{be} admitted Ecarins seconded the proposition which was unanimously carried & the General

General instructed to communicate the decision to the secretary of the Bazaar. Cit. Cohen stated that his society could not send a delegate to the Congress their Expenditure had exceeded their income by £700 within the last 18 months but a proposition would be submitted to the next meeting to contribute to the Congress expense.

Mrs. Law handed £2. 4 s. 6 d to the French Secretary for the Socialists of Lyons & observed that ladies did not like identifying themselves with strikes. It was then agreed to suspend the order of the day to consider Cit. Dupont's proposition which ended in a resolution that Dupont empower his correspondents to make adherents, that cards be forwarded by private opportunities until the meeting of the Congress & that ~~the~~ the question be submitted to the Congress for consideration & decision.

H. Jung. Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary

Meeting of the Council August 3rd.

Members present: Eccarius, ~~Harris~~, Jung, Mrs. Law, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Ross, Stoney, Townshend, Weston.

Cit. Jung in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. A letter was read from Mr. Le Luby demanding ^{the} payment of a bill sent in some years ago. The question was ordered to stand over till the next meeting.

Mrs. Cottam, ~~who~~ in a note, demanded the balance due to him for the cards by the 4 of August. The secretary was instructed to remind Cottam that the ^{delay in} completing of the cards ~~was~~ was the reason why he had not been paid in full on delivery, & that that delay was also preventing the Council from disposing of the cards this year.

After some observation as to the possibility of raising money immediately it was agreed that the Continental Secretaries should forward the following resolution to their correspondents: Resolved: That the sections & Branches of this Association who have not yet paid their contributions to the Council be reminded to do so, the more so as according to § 8 of the Regulations no delegates of sections or branches who have not paid their contributions, can be admitted to the Congress, & the Congress of Brussels has resolved that the rules shall be enforced. The secretaries were further instructed to accompany the resolution by explanatory letters as to the state

of the finances of the Council.

A letter from Geneva was read by Cit. Jung in which the Geneva Committee complained that for the second time within a year their place of meeting was taken away on account of the property being put up for sale, & if the Council would issue a circular advising the branches to grant ^{them} loans they might be able to purchase the building in which they now met & which was the meeting of all the societies belonging to the International. Cit. Jung was instructed to reply that the Council did not deem it advisable to issue such a circular at present.

Cit. Marx announced that in consequence of splits in the old parties in Germany a Congress of Workingmen had been convened to meet on the 7th at Eisenach where a regeneration was to be effected without any sectarian differences & the position towards the International Association defined. Ph. Becker of Geneva had ~~sent~~ published a Programme proposing the Geneva Committee as the Central one for the German language, upon which the men of Leipzig had appealed how to act. He had replied that the Council did not deal with languages but with nationalities for that reason there were secretaries for Germany, Switzerland, France, &c.

Cit. Marx then read ^{text of a} the statement consisting of 5 points to be given as reasons against the abolition of the right to inheritance.

Cit. Milner thought it was rather an essay than a resolution.

Cit. Marx ~~thought~~ it was better to give the reasons & a resolution.

Upon the proposition of Eccarius seconded by Weston it was agreed that the list be accepted & the discussion closed.

Cit. Marx remarked that the Basle committee had added a new proposition ^{on} what he called in Switzerland direct legislation.

Upon the proposition of Cit. Marx seconded by Lessner it was ^{agreed} that the Education question take precedence of the Credit question & that the Education question be discussed in the next meeting.

It was further agreed that three extra meetings be held Saturdays commencing Saturday August 14 when the discussion of the Credit question should commence, & that the Saturdays meetings be entirely devoted to ~~the~~ discussion of the Congress questions, Chair to be taken at eight o'clock precisely.

Eight shillings were received from the West End Booklovers to the Congress fund.

H. Lucraft Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary

Council Meeting August 10.

Members present: Boon, Eccarius, Hales, Harris, Jung, Mr. Law, Lessner, Lavraft, Marx, **Milner**, Townshend, Weston
Cit. Lavraft in the Chair.

A letter was received from Mr. Cottam expressing a reluctant submission to be paid when money comes in.

Cit. Jung stated that a section of the Association had been formed at Fribourg.

Several letters were read from Lyons announcing the successful termination of the recent strikes & that the formation of trade societies on the English model was progressing. The marble cutters, Hatters, Cabinet makers were debating the question of joining, & sending delegates to Basle. The officials of the various societies that have joined the International Association have been summoned before ^{the police} ~~the police~~. The receipt of 100 cards was acknowledged but stated that they could not be used at present as they would furnish matter for incrimination.

~~On the 10th~~ ~~On the 10th~~ Regarding the affair at St. Etienne it was remarked that the Chief Engineer of the mines ^{had} distributed the brandy, that the soldiers employed against the miners ^{had} received a franc a day from the Companies & that 72 ^{men} ^{as} innocent as any one else were awaiting their trial.

Declarations of adhesion were received from the upholsterers' society of Lyons, ²⁰⁰ from the Ovalistes of St. Symphonin d'Oyon (Isere) 200, & an announcement that the adhesion of the Ovalistes of Lyons had been received.

Contributions were received from individual members of Lyons 20 fr. Ovalistes on account 30 fr. Upholsterers 20 fr.

Cit. Richard alluded to some differences existing between him & some other Lyons members whom he designated as middle class men & who were going to form an indictment against Richard to get him into the hands of the police, thinks they ought to be excluded from the Congress.

A letter from Marseilles was received stating that two societies had been formed which would join & send delegates to the Congress. With the right of meeting half a dozen might be sent. Wanted to know how affiliations

were to be effected & desired credentials.

Cit. ~~Marx~~ proposed & Jung seconded that the female president Philomene Rozan, of the Lyons Ovalistes receive special credentials. ~~Lyons~~

Cit. Marx read a very amusing article from the International the London Organ of the French police, in which it was said that the Association enjoyed a universal dictatorship, that it was now occupied in filling its cashbox & as soon as that was accomplished it would decree its laws.

Cit. Weston stated that he had made inquiries respecting the prices of marble work. These ~~Belgian~~ prices of Chimney pieces were in no case below the English but in one case two pounds above.

Upon the proposition of Cit. Marx the secretary was directed to prepare the balance sheet & Citizens Weston & Milner were appointed auditors.

~~On the 10th~~ ~~On the 10th~~ ~~On the 10th~~ ~~On the 10th~~ ~~On the 10th~~

The education question came then on for discussion. Cit. Eccarius read so much of the Geneva resolutions as referred to the training & education of children & adolescents & proposed that it be adhered to as what was to be taught. This would ^{limit} ~~reduce~~ the question ^{determine} to whose business it was to look after the education & who should provide the means. As there was a difficulty in raising a large amount of taxes there were no other means but to take it out of the standing army & the established church. The reason why the two last congresses had come to no resolution was because many particularly the French objected to entrust the matter to the state.

Cit. Harris read an article from an American paper containing some remarks on the education question which agreed with the Geneva resolutions.

Cit. Marx said there was a peculiar difficulty connected with this question. On the one hand a change of social circumstances was required to establish a proper system of education on the other hand a proper system of education was required to bring about a change of social circumstances, we must therefore commence where we were. The question treated at the Congress was whether education was to be national or private. National education had been looked upon as

governmental but that was ~~not~~ necessarily the case. In Massachusetts every township was bound to provide schools for primary education for all the children. In towns of more than 5000 inhabitants higher schools for technical education had to be provided in larger towns still higher. The state contributed something but not much. In Massachusetts 1/8 of the local taxes went for education in New York 1/5. The school Committees who administered the schools were local, they appointed the schoolmasters & selected the books. The fault of the American system was that it was too much localised, the education given depended upon the state of culture prevailing in each district. There was a cry for a central supervision. The taxation for schools was compulsory but the attendance of children was not. Property had to pay the taxes & the people who paid the taxes wanted that the money was usefully applied. Education might be national without being governmental. Government might appoint inspectors whose duty it was to see that the laws were obeyed just as the factory inspectors looked after the observance of the factory acts, without any power of interfering with the course of education itself. The Congress might without hesitation adopt that education was to be compulsory. As to children being prevented from working one thing was certain it would not reduce wages & people would get used to it.

The Proudhonists maintained that gratuitous education was nonsense because the state had to pay for it of course some body had to pay but not those who could least afford it. Was not in favour of gratuitous college education. As Prussian education had been talked so much of he would conclude by observing that the Prussian system was only calculated to make good soldiers. Cit. Milner thought in any scheme of education the consent of all classes was required but the working class ought to insist that with production the children ought to learn the laws that regulate the value of the produce of their labour. Cit. Harris seconded that this should be taken note of. Cit. Jung moved the adjournment of the debate. ^{agreed to.}

J. George Eccarius sen

B Lucraft

Council Meeting August 27

Members present: Eccarius, Dupont, Jung, Harris, Lessner, Mrs. Law, Lucraft, Marx, Milner, Labicki, Limbourg

Cit. Lucraft in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. A letter was read from Barcelona stating that the section was small in number but good quality would be represented at Bale. A letter from the Sunday League reminded the Council of the fact that it was in arrears of Rent. The treasurer was authorised to pay two months. A letter from Vienna applied for Cauds, the Secretary for Germany was instructed to enquire how many were wanted & forward them. Cit. Dupont had received the money owing by the Brongye Workers of Paris to London truck Laities. Cit. Jung, Dupont, Lucraft were appointed to return wait on the Laities to return the money & apply for contributions to the Congress.

A letter was read from Rouen stating that the contributions would be paid at Bale & that delegates would come from Paris, Brabant &c. ^{announced that he had received news of the sudden death of H. P. M. L. U.} The Secretary ^{members of the} was instructed to send an address of sympathy to the National Labor Union of the United States. A letter from Lyons stated that the delegates to the Congress would pay the contributions. Cit. Jung stated that he had attended the Carpenters Council & thought they would send a delegate to the Congress. Cit. Labicki mentioned that the building operations of Posen (Polish) had gained their first strike they had been assisted by the men of Berlin. Cit. Lucraft detailed a conversation he had had with the Secretary of the Peace Society. A tract in three languages will be distributed at the Congress. Cit. Marx ~~was~~ against having anything to do with Peace Societies. The Brussels Congress had declared against the Swiss Peace Society the English Peace Society was against the working man. Cit. Baclus stated at the Paris Peace Congress there had been persons of all denominations. Cit. Lucraft stated he had seen on the newspaper bills that there had been a fight between English & Belgian workmen was in favour of interfering if it was anything serious. Cit. Marx approved if the Council had the power to do so.

Cit. Jung resumed the discussion on the education question. He said had little to say. He differed from some of the remarks that had been made. We could not wait till class distinctions disappeared & must therefore be content with a plan that would have the consent of other classes. In America & Switzerland Education was national & compulsory. Abel Smith proved that the commerce of Switzerland was larger in proportion to population than ^{that} of England this showed some claims in favour of compulsory education. Primary education ought to be gratuitous the higher would not come to the work people. Compulsory primary education might be established all over the world. He disagreed with Cit. Milner. Who should give the education to instruct children as to the value of labour. There was a great difference of opinion as to what that value consisted of. Reading, writing & bodily exercise would enable people to judge for themselves. Standing armies would disappear if every body was drilled. As to the means the property of the Church might be devoted to education. He was opposed to any kind of theories being

being introduced into the schools. He should like to know what Mr. Milner meant.

Ct. Milner said he was not going into a question that had been so much discussed. He simply urged that the Association should not lose sight of the question of value & distribution. He hoped Jung would withdraw the remark that we were not agreed what the value of labour was. Should we confess that we knew nothing of the question. America was full of it. Primary education had not enabled the workpeople to understand the question the middle class & the aristocracy would not enlighten them, if we could not do so we better give it up. He had no catechism or else he would propose it. The children's minds must be imbued with it but he only asked that a few remarks be made about it in our statement.

Ct. Jung confessed his ignorance. The economists differed so much on the question that no one knew who was right. Ct. Milner assumed that the people at present must have had primary education but that was not so. He wanted it compulsory that children should learn to read & write.

Ct. Harris seconded Ct. Milner's view & wished to have primary education defined. He had endeavoured to teach children grammar & algebra & had been suspended for going too far, & on that account unfit to be a schoolmaster. The agricultural labourer knew nothing of the value of his labour. He had a hundred & twenty children under him but they had been taken away to work in the fields, the poor could not afford to have their children educated. In America compulsory education had made the people more grasping for money, in Switzerland it had stopped the men from selling themselves to fight for the tyrants of Europe & in Prussia it gave instruction to murder. Unless education could be forced to higher standard than at present it was no use. All our universities & colleges with the exception of the London University were bad though they were places of education the University of London was a living protest against them. Emerson had said we must know all the relations of life before we could educate.

Mrs. Law understood by education everything that would improve a human being. The working classes had to maintain all kinds of educational establishments but derived no benefits from them. The property of the Church must be secularised & devoted to schools. ^{We wanted fewer parsons & more schoolmasters} The law times prophesied that the established Church would not last another ten years it was therefore time to stir in the matter. The dissenters would be on our side & it would reduce the clergy of the established Church to better themselves to find the means. Pope said the proper study of man was mankind Milner wanted us to study what kind of a man a labourer was. Ct. Milner preferred that children should be taught what their labour was worth & how to get it. If they had been taught they would not work so many hours. She proposed that the Church funds should be devoted to education as a part of our demand.

Ct. Peckers said it would be bad if the Council did not speak for equal education. We did not want a part of our rights but the whole of them. We wanted to know the truth in all

questions our education must be as complete as possible ~~not~~ not only for the child of the working man but for the rich. It might be objected we had not the means, we had the Church, the Army, the Navy representing an annual fund of 60,000,000 l. in France all that would do better service if devoted to education than at present. If we had not the means to teach all let us teach the best. Primary education must go on to an advanced age & by a proper system of ^{examination} education the best should be selected ~~by the state~~ & advanced to the highest degrees at the expense of the state. The state must give equal facilities to all males & females.

Ct. Eccarius observed that the value of labour was estimated differently by the two great classes of society. At present our opponents ruled the state hence they had the power of enforcing their views of what was right when the turn of the workingmen came they would enforce theirs & make it right.

Ct. Could not accept that the value of labour was an accident. An hour's labour of one man was an equivalent for an hour's labour of another man, that must be impressed upon the rising generation. Warren in America had shown what equitable Commerce was.

Ct. Luraft thought we ought to have a resolution. We ought to endeavour to do something practical. If we waited till the Church was disestablished we might have to wait a long time without education. Those who had capacity ought to be advanced the only country in which that was at present the case was Turkey. There if a boy showed capacity no matter who he was he was pushed on. Was not for restricting the demand to low primary education. Was compulsory general ^{for} education ^{& gratuitous} with the best talents to rise. According to Ct. Harris the Americans knew the value of labour that made them grasping for money. We should shape our demands & leave to the rulers to find the means.

Citizen Marx said upon certain points we were unanimous. The discussion had started with the proposition to reaffirm the Geneva resolution which demanded that mental education should be combined with bodily labour, with gymnastics & technological training nothing had been said against that. The technological training advocated by proletarian writers was meant to compensate for the deficiencies occasioned by the division of labour which prevented apprentices from acquiring a thorough knowledge of their business. This had been taken hold of & misconstrued into what the middle class understood by technical education. As to Mrs. Law's Church budget it would be good policy for the Congress to declare against the Church. Ct. Milner's proposition was not suitable to be introduced in connection with the schools it was a kind of education that the young must get from the adults in the every day struggle of life. He could not accept Warren as a bible it was a question upon which few could agree. We might add that such education cannot be given at school, but must be given by adults. Nothing could be introduced either in primary or higher schools that admitted of party & class interpretations. Only subjects such as the physical sciences grammar &c were fit matter for schools. The rules of grammar for instance could not differ whether explained by a religious toy or a freethinker. Subjects that admitted of different conclusions must be excluded & left for the adults to such teachers as Mrs. Law who gave instruction in religion. The abolition of the Army had been resolved by the Brussels Congress, it was not advisable to bring it on again.