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Introduction

The following study of Chartism in the Black Country has been abstracted from a larger work.* The decade 1850 to 1860 has been chosen in an attempt to throw some light on the most obscure period of Chartism.

From Chartist days to the present time there has been no lack of commentators ready to set a date to the end of Chartist activity and influence. It is widely suggested that the movement collapsed amid derisory laughter after the "fiasco" of the Kennington meeting in April 1848. Others claim that the upsurge of 1848 was a flash in the pan and that Chartism had effectively disappeared after the presentation of the second petition in 1842. As far as the Midlands are concerned, it is even held that Chartism was a spent force after the defection from the Chartist Convention of Attwood and the middle class Birmingham leaders early in 1839. A study of Chartism in the Black Country gives little support to the above views.

Chartist origins in this area can be traced to the disillusionment with the Reform Bill of 1832. After this time the leadership of the Political Unions, through which the Reform Bill had been achieved, was seized by the working class, and in most Black Country towns the transition to Chartism came directly through the Political Unions. Black Country Chartism achieved its greatest mass influence in the middle of 1842 and at this time it is probably true that the Bilston Association was the strongest in the country. From 1842 to 1848 Chartism remained organised throughout the Black Country. This long period of six years played an important part in the development of the mass influence which the Chartist leaders, notably Joseph Linney of Bilston, Samuel Cook of Dudley and John Chance of Stourbridge were to enjoy until the end of organised Chartist activity in 1860. Two basic activities of this period 1842 - 48, absorbing a great deal of Chartist energies, were the building of Trade Unions and the organisation of the Chartist Land Company to which many hundreds of Black Country workers contributed, fifteen of whom were actually settled on the land.

The study which follows deals entirely with organised Chartist activity in the decade 1850 - 60. In the original study two other chapters deal with Chartist participation in what would today be known as mass organisations. From this it emerges that whenever discontent took an organised form, it was to the Chartists that the working class looked for leadership. The story of the building of stable trade unions in the two basic industries of the area, coal and iron, has still to be written,

* "The Working Class Movement in the Black Country 1815-67"
by G. Barnsby. Birmingham University M.A. thesis 1965

but enough is known to demonstrate that Chartists played a leading part. From 1844, the energies of John Jones, the Bilston Chartist barber were channelled into trade union activity. Throughout the 1850s Joseph Linney was the leading figure (whether paid or unpaid is not known) in organising the miners. Chartists often took part in negotiations with masters even where their actual relations with the trade unions are obscure, and at mass demonstrations it was invariably a Chartist who was called to the chair.

In other spheres, Chartists were equally active. In the agitation against church rates Chartists took a leading part, especially Samuel Cook the Dudley draper and Benjamin Danks the Wednesbury tube manufacturer. In the fight to improve social conditions, Chartists also took the lead. During the 1850s Linney was an Inspector of Nuisances under the Bilston Improvement Act. He dealt with such matters as the sale of bad meat with a vigour which was obviously unusual at that time. In August 1851 when a public enquiry opened into the sanitary state of Dudley, where the death rate of 28 per 1,000 was the worst in the country, there were only twelve to fourteen people present, but among them was Samuel Cook who never let the Health Inspector out of his sight during the time he was in Dudley. Also in Dudley, where the impact of Chartist activity on the affairs of the town was very deep, a long battle was fought from 1848 for a working class Mechanics Institute. This reached its peak in 1859 when the Chartists opened a rival Working Men's Institute.

Finally, two instances of agitation against the high price of food can be cited as evidence of Chartist leadership of the working class in this last decade of organised Chartism. The first occurred in 1855 in the middle of the Crimean War. At this time mass meetings attracting crowds of up to 35,000 people were claimed. This agitation led on to the very real revival of Chartism which took place during the "war and to the publication of the "Democrat and Labour Advocate", the only local Chartist newspaper ever to be published in the Black Country. The other agitation, against the high price of meat, occurred in the summer of 1860 only a few months before national Chartist organisation disappeared. Both in Dudley and in Oldbury, Chartism was very virile at that time.

Later Chartist activity must be seen against the economic situation of the time. This is much more complex than the usual generalisation that after the 1840s "conditions improved" would leave one to believe. The first half of the century had been gashed by the Long Depressions of the period, 1815 to 1823, 1826 to 1833 and 1838 to 1843. From 1844 employment conditions improved and remained good until the slump of 1847-8. Economic expansion was resumed until the winter of 1855-6 *when there was another slump. Large scale unemployment again returned to the Black Country in 1858-9. The 1850s were therefore a "good" decade compared with what had gone before* They were also better than what followed, for the 1860s were a period of

almost chronic depression in the Black Country. This led to a revival of the open class-warfare which had characterised the early forties, * By this time organised Chartism was dead, but the great advance of that decade - the Reform Bill of 1832 - was a large instalment of the Chartist programme and, in the Black Country, Chartist leaders played a leading role in that agitation.

Organised Black Country Chartism, which existed continuously throughout the decade 1830 - 40 exhibited two distinct phases. For the years 1830-36 Bilston was the strongest branch and took the initiative in organising the area. In the latter years of the decade, this position was taken over by the Dudley branch which performed the same function. At times, the Bilston and Dudley branches were not only the strongest in the area, but ranked among the three or four most important branches in the country.

Bilston Chartist Leadership 1830 - 36

At the beginning of 1830, Black Country Chartism was beginning to stir again, stimulated by the Chartist Delegate Conference held in London in December 1830* In the first week in January a meeting of Bilston Chartists was held at the house of John Jones of Wolverhampton Street. There it had been "unanimously agreed to join the National Charter Association established by the late Conference in London". The meeting was adjourned until the next week at John White's, Hall Street, (1) In February the National Land Company was under discussion. It must be remembered that the Land Company was not dissolved for many years and that Chartist functions continued to be held at O'Connorsville; in addition the local branches were still in existence, presumably with some connection with the national body. This meeting of the Bilston Land Company took place at John White's with T. Davis in the chair. The meeting was very critical of the behaviour of the directors of the Company and "condemned the crafty petition presented by Mr. Henly". It also believed it was high time that the directors reduced their salaries. (2) Organisation at Dudley is testified to by the acknowledgement by Mr. William Rankin of sums of money received by the "Northern Star". These included 2/-d "per William Dunn from the Chartists who meet in Campbell Street", 2/-d from William Moir, shilling donations from six people, six 6d donations, including one from Samuel Cook, 2/6d per "William Besley from "Democrats of Kates Hill", 2/6d from William Insull, bookseller of Stone Street and other donations totalling the not inconsiderable amount of 24/-d. (3)

See the Centenary booklet "Origins of the Wolverhampton Trades Council" price 2/-d available from the Secretary, Wolverhampton Trades Council, 43 Dickinson Avenue, Wolverhampton, Staffordshire.

In April, the Dudley branch of the National Land Company met and decided to wind itself up. A special, numerously attended meeting of shareholders took place at the meeting room in Campbell Street. A resolution was passed totally opposing the winding up of the Land Company by the government or the House of Commons. It agreed to wind up the Dudley branch by forming a Redemption League for the purpose of buying up the shares of all dissatisfied shareholders and presenting them to Feargus O'Connor to be used by him for furtherance of the glorious Land Plan". A short address to accompany the resolution was moved by Simon Watts which said "Let us rally to the rescue of the future and save it from the poisonous fangs of the blood sucking capitalists. Shall the Land Plan be lost when our co-operation can save it?". The report was signed by John Davies, chairman and William Rankin, secretary. The sum of £2 was paid in to commence with. (4) In June 1850 there was a pleasure trip to the Land Company's estate at Great Dodford. "The estate was visited by large numbers of friends from Birmingham and Dudley who were delighted with the improved appearance since their visit last year". (5) The Bilston branch of the Land Company took steps in July. A preliminary meeting of members was held at Linney's public house, the White Horse Inn, and a resolution was passed that the members "assist Feargus O'Connor to wind up the affairs of the Land Company." Linney was elected secretary in order to further this work. (6)

In October there was news of the Brierley Hill Chartists. They had met at William Dodd's Spread Eagle Inn, New Chapel Street to pass a resolution applauding the brave conduct of the men of Barclay and Perkins Brewery in London towards the inhuman monster Marshall Haynau. (7)

Activity in 1851 was at a lower level. In January Linney was in Mansfield on Land Company business transmitting 10/6d for the national Winding Up Fund. Donations to this fund also came from the Black Country.(8) At the end of March there was a conference of the National Charter Association. Birmingham? Wolverhampton and Coventry were entitled to two delegates, but in fact of the twenty or so delegates who assembled, none was from the Midlands. This is likely to have been due more to differences of opinion among Chartists than the inability to support a delegate. This Conference rejected an alliance with the middle class and was a defeat for O'Connor and a victory for Ernest Jones. (9). That Jones' view was not unanimously held in the Black Country was indicated by a meeting in Walsall in August which was addressed by Jones. In his weekly report to the N.C.A. executive Jones stated that he had lectured in Walsall in a large room which was crowded, with a number of people outside beneath the open window equal to the numbers inside. At least 100 people stepped forward to be enrolled on the chairman's invitation, when some members of the Chartist body would not allow the enrollment to take place nor would they take any cards for the future. Jones continued,

"When I asked why they stated that they were in touch with leading members of the middle class and hoped to win them over and with a good deal more about Unitarians and Baptists etc. which was perfectly unintelligible to me. This miserable, pusillanimous spirit must be put an end to. No wonder the Chartists have been low at Walsall". He went on to say that by truckling to the middle classes no movement had ever made headway. There could have been an Association of fifty members last Friday and soon there would have been 500, for he had never seen a better spirit than at Walsall. This is the case for believing that the Midlands were not represented at the March Chartist Conference because of differences of opinion. However, in the same report, Jones gave the following estimate of the position in Birmingham which might have had some application to the Black Country: "Nothing can exceed the apathy and inertness of this large town. I was told that this was the best political meeting for some time. If so, all I can say is that bad is best. Trade is too brisk. Yet the temper of the meeting itself was excellent. Eighteen people joined, a fair proportion of the audience". (10) In November, however, there was the huge Birmingham demonstration to welcome Kossuth in which, "The neighbouring towns of Wolverhampton had poured forth their thousands" (11) It is not easy, therefore, to estimate the position of the movement during 1851.

Of 1852 little can be said, partly due to the failing of sources. The "Northern Star" was at last coming to an end. In the first two months of the year there are industrial reports from the Black Country and also acknowledgement of subscriptions to the National Charter Association - 1/-d from John Chance of Stourbridge and 1/-d from William Muir of Dudley. (12) On 20th March the paper became the "Star and National Trades Journal" and in April it passed to Julian Harney who renamed it "Star of Freedom". From April until November when this great working class newspaper finally stopped publication there were reports from Birmingham, but none from the Black Country.

Light dawns in 1853 with the "People's Paper" of Ernest Jones. This paper took over the best features of the "Northern Star" including its punctilious reportage of the activities of Chartist branches. It is from this, one of the neglected newspapers of the working class, that most of our subsequent knowledge of Chartism is drawn. By January 1853 activities were in full swing. The Dudley Mutual Improvement Society was in operation. The "People's Paper" could be bought at E. Hutchings, 5 High Street, Dudley; B. Allen, of Rolfe Street, Smethwick; James Mill, The Square, Walsall and Mrs. Plant, The Market Place, Willenhall. Contributions to the fund of the paper were being sent from Brownhills, near Walsall, Willenhall, Dudley, Walsall and West Bromwich. (13) No important public activities seem to have taken place during the year and one is tempted to conclude that this was one of the years when Chartism was at its weakest. Yet in a year which brought the vast Chartist meetings at Blackstone Edge and Halifax with crowds of 200,000 it would be dangerous to conclude that the influence of Black Country Chartism ~~was~~ negligible.

1854 was a year of uncertainty. In March, Jones called the Labour Parliament, the idea for which had arisen from the united support given to the weavers in the famous Preston Lock-out. This was one of Jones' less useful ideas. (14) The Parliament met in Manchester and the only Midland's delegate was John Oxford from Birmingham, (15) although Walsall contributed 6/-d for expenses. Also in March, the Crimean War broke out and the paper was quite carried away -with its own patriotism and Ernest Jones was drawing large audiences speaking on the war. (16) It was not until 1855 that jingoism faded out and the Chartist movement saw a solid growth in its influence throughout the country. Routine organisational work and some public activity, however, did go on in the Black Country during 1854. In February, Ernest Jones, notwithstanding his previous experience, again spoke in Walsall, It was a numerous meeting, despite a more than ordinary charge for admission. Mr. Shenton was in the chair and great applause was given. (17) Also in February Ernest Jones sent a parcel of handbills for the "People's Paper" to R. Rudler at Dudley. (18) John Jones, the Bilston barber reappeared in the Correspondence Columns seeking advice to prevent tenants being evicted. (19) During 1854 Ernest Jones launched a £200 fund to reduce the price of the paper; in May it was enlarged to twelve pages and had a pictorial supplement with some very fine engravings of such things as scenes from the Crimea. This made it the largest working class newspaper ever produced, and at that time both technically and journalistically it was undoubtedly a magnificent achievement. Readers responded enthusiastically to the call to reduce the price of the paper and, although the supplements had to be discontinued because of rising costs, the paper was reduced in price in December from 5d to 3.5d. Black Country Chartists contributed to this with donations from Bilston, Bradley, Cradley and Darlaston. (2)

The revival began early in 1855- In January, Wednesbury Chartists were enquiring through the columns of the "People's Paper" whether there were any Bilston Chartists and whether they were prepared to unite with the men from Wednesbury. Back came the prompt reply that there were Chartists in Bilston and they would be pleased to co-operate. (21) The next communication from Wednesbury stated that they had met at the Three Horseshoes and had resolved to hold a locality meeting there on Sunday February 10th. The men of Darlaston, Tipton, Princes End, Bradley and Bilston were invited to attend. (22) The notice was signed by Richard Hill of Kings Mill. The next week an article appeared in the "People's Paper" and it was announced that this was by a talented writer who had promised to contribute regularly to the columns of the paper. The article was signed '-H.V.M. Bilston". The first article was on education. It stated that it was the duty of parents to see that their children were educated. The writer would have a national system of education since the voluntary system had failed. There should be secular education in all state schools and schoolmasters should be trained. (23)

Bilston had received an injection of new blood. John Jones was still helping with other people's problems and writing to the "People's Paper" when he needed assistance, receiving such intriguing replies as the following: "He might sue you for withholding the balance. His not giving a receipt for that paid is no exoneration from paying' the whole". (24)

In February, Birmingham Chartists proposed to ballot for some magnificent, large, framed pictures of democrats and donate the proceeds to the "People's Paper" fund. (25)

Richard Hill of Wednesbury appeared in the Answers to Correspondents Column in March. He wished to procure Chartist tracts. The editor recommended Dr. M'Douall's "What is a Chartist?" and R.G. Gammage, "The Chartists - What do they Want?" but he had no idea where those tracts could be obtained and asked if readers could inform him. Two weeks later there was a reply from a Rochdale Chartist, stating that he had 1,000 copies of Gammage's pamphlet. (26)

Articles continued to appear from H.V.M of Bilston. One called on Chartists to organise themselves. (27) Another, an open letter to the Miners, Forge and Furnacemen of Sth.Staffs stated that a strike at the moment would be suicidal as they had nothing to sustain the conflict with. The answer was to cast off their present political apathy and work for the Charter.

The national Birmingham ballot ran into the same trouble that the Bilston one had experienced in previous years. There were appeals for the branches to take tickets. Eventually 800 tickets were sold and £42 raised of which £33 was given to the "People's Paper" fund. The Bilston branch sold most tickets followed by the Ripponden branch. (28)

Chartism was now growing so rapidly that area organisation was essential. A start was made when Bilston democrats meeting at the Three Horseshoes appointed deputations to meet Walsall and Dudley friends. (29) As a result of this, a delegate meeting was arranged at E.S. Scholey's Temperance Coffee House, Dudley Street, Walsall for June 3rd, "to take into consideration the best means of spreading the principles of the People's Charter. (30) When the meeting took place there were delegates from Birmingham (Oxford, Alger and Scrimshire), Bilston (Mears, Davis, Smith and Hall), Dudley (Cook, Watts and Muir) and Walsall (Hartley, Smith Hodgkins and Oaborne). The first matter considered was the Chartist attitude to the middle class Administrative Reform Administration. A resolution was passed stating that Chartists had no confidence in them. They were not sincere, they repudiated them in toto and advised all localities to bring the People's Charter before the public at any meeting convened by the A.R.A. A second resolution was passed that each locality should bring up the question of the Black Country preparing its own tract on Chartism. A third resolution concerned a district lecturer and requested that Mr. Robinson should give lectures in the district when his present engagements were concluded. Finally, Mears was elected district secretary and Smith district treasurer, (31)

As soon as regional organisation was established, however. Black Country Chartists were embroiled in a dispute with Ernest Jones, largely as a result of their connection with Birmingham. John Oxford of Birmingham had criticised Jones' use of money in connection with the "People's Paper". Jones had been very short with Oxford in the paper, partly as a result of Jones' domestic problems at the time - his wife was seriously ill (32) - and partly because all Chartists knew that Jones was spending his whole fortune on the Chartist movement and charges of the improper use of monies were ludicrous.'. In Bilston there was a discussion on the paper and a resolution 'in support was only passed by two votes. The report stated that the secretary was instructed to ask why the "People's Paper could not pay its way, yet local papers with only half its circulation and facilities of production and distribution were profitable.' Jones gave a very short answer - advertisements. (33) The next month, the same matter was taken up at a delegate meeting. Present were Parker, Hall and Smith from Bilston, Scholey and Hartley from Walsall, Cook and Goodwin from Dudley and Oxford and Scrimshire from Birmingham "as friends". The report of this meeting was printed in the paper interspersed with Ernest Jones' own comments. Jones was still very touchy and his remarks scathing. The report began by stating that a large number of letters from Ernest Jones to John Oxford were read and it was resolved that the Birmingham committee of the "People's Paper" were justified in asking for a balance sheet. (First intervention by Jones - This is a poor trick. He knows how often I have myself urged an audit. The offence is not there, but in the infamous accusation of dishonesty against me. Where is Mr. Oxford's balance sheet?) The letters from Mr. Oxford were couched in sufficiently respectful language not to call for the stringent and severe remarks of Mr. Jones. (The persons when voted for that under the friendly auspices of Mr. Oxford are as destitute of any notion of honour as any scamp in Birmingham, We cannot be civil to people who are insolent). Mr. Cook abstained from voting deeming it foreign to the business of the meeting. He expressed full confidence in Mr. Oxford and urged the advisability of starting a S.Staffs Chartist . and Complete Suffrage Association operated from Bilston and showed the necessity of co-operation among reformers. Mr. Oxford concurred generally with Mr. Cook's suggestion (What! Start a new movement. Split the old one when united strength is vital? Oh, oh, Mr. Oxford!). The meeting dispersed with a resolution that having heard Mr. Cook's proposal, it should be made known among the localities and there should be another meeting in a fortnight. (34)

In August 1855 the Bilston branch voted for the three man Chartist executive. The votes are interesting. They gave thirteen to Abraham Robinson, the comparatively obscure Chartist whom they wished to have as their district lecturer. This was equal to the votes given to Ernest Jones. Finlen received eight votes and then George White, the local man from Birmingham, six. Shaw received three and Williams two, (35)

On August 30th 1855, Feargus O'Connor died. A meeting in Bilston recognised the invaluable services rendered to the Chartist movement by O'Connor and pledged support for any memorial fund. Monies were collected both for O'Connor's funeral and for the Memorial Fund.(36) Unfortunately Chartists were again divided and at least two memorials were eventually raised to O'Connor.(37) The Bilston Chartists again rubbed Ernest Jones up the wrong way by passing a resolution that they would collect, but until the Committees could agree on a memorial they would withhold the money. The editor commented "There could not be a more unwise resolve. The Committee at Friar Street Literary Institute is competent in every way". (38)

The year ended with the Dear Bread mass agitation indicating that, at this time, the Chartists were influential enough to assume the leadership of any political or trade union question that roused the working people. (39) Walsall Chartists held a public meeting in that month. The report from the "Walsall Courier" spoke of a "vast assemblage" chiefly of working men at the Assembly Rooms to hear James Finlen with Mr. Scholey in the chair. All passed off quietly. (40) Such events gave solid grounds for hope that the long-awaited renaissance was at hand, but at this moment, Black Country Chartists began to quarrel with each other. The first matter of dispute concerned George White.

At the end of 1855 George White, the Birmingham Chartist started a newspaper called the "Democrat and Labour Advocate". It was published by John Newhouse and printed by Edward Taylor at 100 Stoelhouse Lane, Birmingham. At least ten numbers of this paper were printed, although there are only five in the British Museum. So, for the first time, a local Chartist journal was circulating in the Black Country. The Dear Broad agitation, led by George White in the Black Country, was cause or effect of this paper. The first indication that all was not well was an announcement in the issue of 8th December stating that by authority of the democrats assembled at Moxley, Lye Waste, Bilston and Wednesbury the printing of the paper had been transferred to Samuel Russell, 24 Old Meeting Street, Birmingham, for the proprietor, Francis Hazeldine, Cock Inn, Lichfield Street, Bilston. The same issue carried a copy of a letter from White which had been sent to the Birmingham Journal, rebutting charges by Taylor, the previous printer, that White had not paid his bills. This was the last number of the Democrat to be found in the British Museum and for the continuation of the controversy one has to turn to the "People's Paper". Apparently, White had discussed the position of the paper with the Bilston branch and had persuaded Hazeldine to take over its ownership and the Bilston branch had passed a resolution supporting White's conduct. (41) Early in January 1856 the Dudley branch heard a statement by George White on the paper and unanimously resolved in consequence of the breach of contract by Mr. Russell the Birmingham printer to advise Mr. Hazeldine of Bilston to enter into an action against Mr. Russell to recover the amounts charged. Noting further is heard until April 1856 when the "People's Paper" took up

correspondence it had received from the Shelton locality. It stated that this branch had written exposing the infamous behaviour of George White. The locality lent him the use of types, press and a house, made him an elector and subscribed more than £20 to his paper. His drunken and scandalous behaviour and base ingratitude exceeded belief. The locality had sent a long statement, but the editor asked to be excused from printing it as the exposure of even so insignificant a person is hurtful to our cause. The locality wish all other localities to be on their guard. A secret correspondence was being-carried on between the little clique at Soho and Mr. Aulton in Walsall and George White. The members had resolved that the name of George White be erased from the membership book on account of his drunken and disorderly conduct. (42) This brought a sharp retort from D. Arthur Aulton of Bradford House, Walsall who stated that the paper had been misinformed in coupling his name with that of George White. He had been the first to suffer from White's hands during his campaign in the "black country". He had been among the first to expose him and had the Birmingham and Bilston brethren listened to him they would not have suffered so deeply in pecuniary matters, which threw the defrauds of the Shelton brethren in the shade. (43) It is difficult to pronounce on this controversy at this distance. That White's conduct was bad, can be believed; that it was exaggerated by his opponents is likely. Hazeldine of Bilston, who was likely to have been the greatest sufferer did not enter into the controversy, although it is perhaps significant that he never again played a leading role in the movement and may have "withdrawn in disgust at Wite's behaviour. On the other hand, White had been a Chartist from the beginning and remained a militant. It might well be that his conduct was condemned most by those whose political views differed from his. Aulton was certainly one such person, and if we consider other differences of opinion in the movement, some light may be shed on the White affair.

The basic cause of the dispute - which made minor disagreements more likely - was the perennial middle class question. In the spring of 1855 the middle-class Administrative Reform Association had been formed. Ernest Jones had taken his first steps towards middle class co-operation by suggesting that consideration might be given to the programme of the A.R.A. In opposition, the State Reform Association had been formed in July and although it was Chartist dominated, there was almost as much disagreement as to the dissipating effort in this new Association as there was with regard to co-operation with the A.R.A, (44) ' This was the background to disagreements with the Walsall branch dating back to Jones' meeting there in 1851 and Samuel Cooks' proposal for a Chartist and Complete Suffrage Association. In March 1856 disagreement became more open. Aulton of Walsall sent a report of a delegate meeting held at Bilston to the "People's Press". Ernest Jones printed his comments rather than publishing his report. He said that he had received a report from Aulton which would have filled half a column. As the paper was pressed with matter, as a glance at the columns would show (this was not entirely true - G.B.), the report could not be given in full, but the main point was that it was proposed to build a new

Association for the Midlands called the Central League of National Chartist Brotherhood; Jones felt convinced from "bitter experience that all such sectional and isolated movements were fatal to the Charter. He did not feel justified in excluding bona fide Chartist matter to make room for a programme in direct contravention to a united movement. He trusted that the friends, for whose kind sentiments expressed in the resolution he felt thankful, would see the justice of this course and abandon isolated action.(45) Aulton's actions were repudiated by the Faisall Chartists. They discountenanced the conduct of Aulton in sending the report. They did not know how he had brought the matter before the Bilston friends, but they were sure it did not have the sanction of Walsall Chartists. Aulton had been appointed financial secretary and had no right to send the report. The Dudley branch also met and stated that they were disposed to support the organisation and policy proposed by Jones. (46) Aulton's differences with the Black Country Chartists and Ernest Jones continued, for he signed the letter in which his name was coupled with George White: "I remain, an admirer of your literary production, but an opposer of your present political course". (47) It appears that the League of Brotherhood was set up in the Midlands, for there is a report of a tract published by that organisation, (48) and D. Aulton proposed to set up a new organisation with a new newspaper. He was answered by James Capewell of Walsall who wrote: "Are we few men to divide and re-divide our efforts until we become but ropes of sand? The wisest course would be to concentrate all our efforts on the association already in existence, namely the National Charter Association which was inaugurated and sustained by the health, wealth, liberty and life of the people's friend, beloved O'Connor and others". (49)

Meanwhile the work went forward through 1856. Early in the year, Jones, in his period of depression, proposed the one man executive which the N.C.A. eventually became:

"If you so confide the movement to our hands, you must expect no explanations If we say 'organise", you muse organise - 'assemble' and you must assemble A thousand times give me the worst dictatorship, than the blabbing squabbles of contending factions in our ranks". (50)

At a meeting in Walsall, this proposal of Jones' was approved. (51) In February, the monthly delegate meeting took place at Samuel Cook's at Dudley, (52) and in March at Jesse Fletcher's, Court No. 2. Temple Street, Bilston. (53) In Cradley Heath ten Chartists contributed 2/6d to the Charter Fund, the money being transmitted by the secretary of the branch S, Stringer. (54) The Dudley branch functioned regularly with 77. Hyde as secretary. (55)

In July 1856 John Frost, at the age of 70, returned from exile. This was an emotional occasion. Black Country Chartists had been unremitting in their efforts to procure the return of the three "martyrs" of

Newport and now their work had been crowned with success. Attempts were made to get Frost to a Black Country demonstration. A delegate meeting took place at Mr. Parker's Noah's Ark Inn, Wolverhampton Street, Bilston, (56) and a further meeting in Bilston agreed on getting out collecting sheets for a Frost demonstration. In September there was a London demonstration for Frost when nearly one million people turned out, (57) but Frost was old and not as militant as he had been in 1839 and presumably refused the invitation of the Black Country Chartists, for no more is heard of the project,

Ernest Jones' circumstances and temper improved in 1866 and this was reflected throughout the movement. In the autumn he began his famous political soirees "Evenings with the People". (58) These were published as 1d pamphlets and they filled the need for working class literature, which the Wednesbury Chartists had first spotlighted, in a remarkable way. At a Dudley meeting it was recorded: "We read your speech which was loudly cheered", and twenty five copies were ordered. A Birmingham Chartist, Noble, writes "Your address is calculated to move the most apathetic. I cannot express what my feelings were when I read it. A copy should be in the home of every working man in the kingdom". (59)

Dudley Chartist Leadership 1857-60

From 1857) the Dudley branch took the limelight and not only assumed leadership of the Black Country, but attained a national importance as well.

The first part of the year was taken up with preparations for the election in which Jones stood for Nottingham. Collections were taken, particularly in Dudley, while Wednesbury contributed £1.0.6d. (60)

In March, Samuel Cook wrote to the "People's Paper". He stated that he had seen extracts from the "Era" and also the "Leader" recommending a conference of all reformers and he was pleased to see that Jones had also recommended such a conference at Smithfield (where there had been an immense demonstration in January addressed by Jones. (61)) Cook asked what Jones would do should such a general conference of reformers be called. Jones answer was - advocate the Charter. Support nothing less. (62) Such advice was easy to give, but the problem was vastly complicated and the Dudley Chartists returned to this matter in connection with a meeting in London at which Chartists and middle-class reformers had met. At their weekly meeting they passed a resolution that it would have been advisable to have held a private conference before the meeting to have agreed to a resolution to be put and that it was unwise of the Committee to insist that all should pledge themselves to be Chartists before the Committee would assist them in their

agitation for reform. A note by Jones begged to correct a slight misunderstanding among his friends. The object of the meeting had been to show the willingness of Chartists to co-operate with the middle-class without giving up their own agitation. (63) This was acknowledged by the Dudley branch the next week who expressed sincere approval of the conciliatory tone of Jones to the middle-class reformers and hoped that a united organisation would be effected to secure a real, honest and satisfactory Reform Bill, (64) The above is a typical example of an increasingly outspoken attitude the Dudley Chartists were prepared to take and which Jones printed in the "People's Paper". It is clear that from early 1856 the strongest Black Country Chartists branch was prepared to co-operate with the middle-class, and prepared to accept less than manhood suffrage. It is possible that Jones' thinking was affected by the Dudley Chartists, for it was the next week that Jones made his proposal for a conference of reformers. (65) This conference proved to be the last great landmark of organised Chartism. It took nearly a year to prepare and by that time a large number of localities had been re-formed and were represented at the Conference. In the Black Country, the Dudley Chartists performed almost superhuman feats in resurrecting branches such as Wolverhampton, and Black Country Chartism was brought to another peak which it was never again to achieve.

Jones' idea was for the Chartists to convene a meeting to which leading reformers of other viewpoints would be invited. "If the Middle-class will not take the initiative, we must. We will not let the Russells and Palmerstons produce any bill they think fit," Jones wrote. The Dudley Chartists approved the idea of such a conference and proposed:

1. That a delegate be sent from Dudley, and an endeavour be made to solicit the whole of the surrounding areas.
2. That the next meeting discuss the amount of reform it would be best to agree to demand. (67)

They lost no time in convening a delegate meeting. An interesting report indicates the difficulty of deciphering in London the handwriting of working class correspondents for delegates were requested from, among other towns, Burley Hill, Brodeley and Walesown. The report continued: "We should have invited Birmingham, but surely that large town is capable of sending two delegates. The government has promised a reform bill next session. If we speak gently the Reform Bill will be gentle and small. If we speak in thunderous tones we may get what we have asked for in vain these twenty five years - the right of every man to vote". (68) The delegate meeting was held within a fortnight. Delegates were present from Bilston, Stourbridge, Cradley, Dudley Port, Kate's Hill and Dudley. It will be noted that the last three areas named are all in Dudley. Samuel Cook as the veteran of democracy was called to the chair. It was moved by John Chance and seconded by J. Tompson of Bilston that they approved of a

Chartist Conference. It was moved by Messrs. Wallwork and Woodhouse (of Cradley) that the delegates collect the necessary subscriptions. (69) In July another delegate meeting took place with representatives from Bilston, Dudley, Willenhall, Wednesbury, Dudley Port, Stourbridge and Birmingham etc. with John Chance in the chair. It was resolved to send £1 to Ernest Jones towards the cost of the hall, to postpone electing the delegate for a fortnight and to approve Jones' suggestion that John Frost be the chairman of the conference. (71) In August the Dudley Chartists nominated John Chance and Daniel Wallwork as candidates for election at a subsequent district meeting and when this meeting took place with representatives from Dudley, Bilston, Stourbridge and Wednesbury, Wallwork was the delegate finally chosen. (72)

But meanwhile, the idea of a Reformers' Conference was snowballing- and the date of the event put back to give time to organise wider support. This breathing space was taken full advantage of in the Black Country.

In August, John Pierce, a veteran Chartist in Tettenhall sent a payment of 10/-d indicating that the "People's Paper" was read in Tettenhall. He was thanked for his money and told that the paper was always sent on time, lateness was due to deficiencies in the postal services. (72) In September Ambrose Thompson lectured at a meeting at the Lancasterian School, Dudley, with Wallwork in the chair. At this meeting Samuel Cook moved the following resolution: "Any reform short of the People's Charter will not confer on the people their just rights. But seeing the present disposition of Reformers we are prepared to unite and co-operate with them for any measure of reform that will be of substantial benefit to the people". Cook went on to say that he went further than the Charter and if any constituency was in favour of sending any lady to the House of Lords or House of Commons they should remove the impediments to the exercise of that right, (cheers) (73)

Now it was that the Dudley Chartists went out to revive flagging or non-existent branches. A deputation was appointed 'to wait on the friends of democracy in Walsall at Mr. Scholey's Temperance Hotel', and urged every reader of the "People's Paper" in Wolverhampton to arrange a meeting in that town. The Walsall meeting took place when "several earnest friends from Walsall and Birmingham were present". They resolved to form themselves into a locality. Further deputations from Dudley were appointed to wait on Bilstort and Wednesbury. Activity in Dudley even seems to have galvanised the Birmingham Chartists and Thomas Noble reported a meeting there. At Walsall the first meeting of the branch was attended by only three people, Scholey, Grainger and S. Hodgkins, together with Dudley friends. (74) Since the delegates to the Conference had already been elected, the Dudley Chartists now suggested that the newly forming localities might like to take the opportunity of instructing the delegate who had been elected.

The Dudley report went on: "We are glad that Walsall, Wednesbury and Bilston have begun to work, but where is Wolverhampton? The Barlows, Whittinghams, Gibsons, Griffiths, Gallimores and Ashtons and others have it in their power to form an organisation such as Wolverhampton has not seen for years", (75) This public admonition seems to have had the necessary effect for by the end of the month the first Chartist meeting for many years occurred at B.R. Barlow's house in Tower Street with J.P. Ashton in the chair. Resolutions were passed on the Indian revolt and concerning a Wolverhampton delegate to the Conference. Speakers at this meeting included Barlow jun., Galleymore, Spurr and Whittingham. (76)

By now the "People's Paper" was printing names of middle-class reformers it was proposed to invite to the Conference. These included, Bright, Cobden, Holyoake, Kingsley, William Newton the A.S.E. leader etc. To this list Dudley added others including Robert Owen, Rev. A. O'Neill, George Edmonds, Clutton Salt and Samuel Cook. (77)

In the Midlands, the Wednesbury branch was now meeting at William Taylor, the secretary's House in King Street, Bilston were meeting at the Noah's Ark and Birmingham at Grove's Temperance Hotel, 55 Hill Street. (78) Wolverhampton branch was progressing so well that a Committee of eight had been formed. (79) At the November district meeting at Dudley twenty delegates were present who regretted Frosts letter saying that he saw no point in a conference. (80) A Walsall member dug up a glazed picture of Feargus O'Connor which the branch proposed to raffle at 6d a ticket. (81) The December delegate meeting was held in Walsall. Represented were Bilston, Dudley, Wednesbury, Walsall, Willenhall, Stourbridge and Birmingham. The question of a second delegate to the Conference was raised, but postponed until the intentions of Wolverhampton and Birmingham were known. (82)

In Dudley, public activity was being prepared. An order for 1,000 copies of the people's Charter with the names of the six Members of Parliament and the six working men who drew it up was sent to the printers. Copies were to be sent to Palmerston, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Brougham demanding that they incorporate this in their Reform Bill. At subsequent meetings, extracts from Blackstone were to be read and perhaps published. At Wednesbury a delegate meeting took place and John Chance was elected as the second delegate to the Conference. Permanent area organisation was set up with Wallwork as District Secretary and Taylor of Wednesbury as Treasurer. A public meeting was arranged for Boxing Day at Spoil Bank, Spon Lane. (84) In January 1858 another branch was formed in Dudley when a meeting was held at Mr. Coffin's, Stafford Street to form another association in that part of the town. (85) At the end of January the last delegate meeting before the Conference met at Mr. Sykes' house in Bilston. The representatives voted that their delegates at the Conference should not accept less than Manhood Suffrage and No

Property Qualifications. The delegates were to be allowed £3.5.0d expenses each and the question of the Chartist executive was to be left to the discretion of the delegates. (86)

The long-awaited Chartist Conference met in March 185.8. Forty-delegates assembled and the Conference was in two parts. The first few days were taken up with the question of Chartist organisation and the terms on which Chartists would co-operate with middle-class reformers. The second part of the Conference consisted of meetings with some middle-class reformers and the setting up of the Political Reform League to be launched with a £100 fund. (87) The Dudley Chartists played their part in the proceedings. Before the Conference opened Samuel Cook had made a suggestion in the "People's Paper". The reply he received from Jones was that his suggestion would best be brought forward at the Conference which it was hoped that he would attend. (88) Despite the earlier suggestion that Cook should be one of the honoured guests, there is no record that he attended the Conference. Wallwork, however, was vocal on the proposal that the Chartist executive should consist of one man. This proposal was eventually adopted and Ernest Jones, of course, became the single executive member. Wallwork defended this proposal arguing that if there was an executive of more than one there would always be a split. Answering the charges of dictation, Wallwork said that Jones always submitted his plans to the localities. It would therefore be the localities that dictated and Ernest Jones would execute (applause). (89) The final resolution before meeting the other reformers was that they would unite with the middle-class on Manhood Suffrage and No Property Qualifications, as the middle-class were in favour of the Ballot, Equal Electoral Districts and Shorter Parliaments. They pledged themselves, however, not to abandon the agitation for the Charter. (90)

The Black Country branches met to hear report backs from the conference, but those discussions merged with a financial crisis for the "People's Paper" which was to lead to its being taken over in time by Baxter Langley, a middle-class reformer, and to the paper's extinction in September. Such a disappointing outcome of the Conference led to the disintegration of the newly formed branches, including those in the Black Country, until the Dudley branch stood alone, virtually throughout the country.

In Dudley the branch assembled to hear a report from the delegates. They expressed their indignation at the want of veracity in Reynolds' report. (91) The next week a district delegates' meeting assembled at Wallwork's house in Flood Street to hear a long report from the delegates. They approved the conduct of their delegates and pledged themselves to raise £1 of the £100 fund. (92) The next week Thomas Whittall of 36 Merridale Street sent 4/11d in postage stamps to the £100 fund in the name of the Wolverhampton Reform Committee.

But more urgent matters intervened. Jones announced that he needed to raise £80 immediately if the paper was to be continued. The Chartists responded nobly and £40 was contributed within a fortnight. Dudley at once raised £1.0.4d to pay off the debts of the paper. They also discussed the £100 fund. There was confusion in the branch, since it was not clear whether this fund was to be used for Chartist purposes or for the new organisation. It was finally agreed in Dudley to raise money for Chartist purposes and only then raise money for the Political Reform League. (93) The next week the Dudley branch sent another 10/-d to Jones' £80 fund, but they were critical of his proposal to start a new 1d paper called the "London News". The Dudley Chartists were in favour of cutting down the size of the "People's Paper" and instead of charging the existing price of 5d that the price be cut to 2.5d or 1d. Jones argued that this could not be done because four pages of the "People's Paper" were donated at £4-£5 less than they cost. But since the only person who "donated" to the paper was Jones himself, this does not seem a very valid objection. (94) The Dudley branch accepted Jones' decision loyally, however, and it was agreed to send for handbills for the new 1d paper and do all they could to give it a good circulation. (95)

Jones' next proposal was for a National Parliament of the Unenfranchised and at this the Dudley Chartists jibbed. They considered it was impractical considering the apathy of the people. At this time the branch became utterly absorbed in the subject of "Poverty, Prostitution and Celibacy, their cause and cure", Wallwork led the discussion "fortifying his arguments from the Political Economist and the writings of Malthus". Two hours animated discussion followed. (96) The next meeting was a full one with Mr. Massey in the chair. Regret was expressed that Jones was not able to come to the provinces as the £100 fund and the union of the middle and working classes were topics hardly heard of in the last few weeks. Other remarks were made "indicating that there was not perfect satisfaction with things in connection with the paper". The address of the Political Reform League was then read and approved. A letter was also sent to the member for the Borough, H.B. Sheridan expressing surprise at his absence at the division on the Repeal of Property Qualification Bill. Finally the meeting resumed its discussion on Poverty, Prostitution and Celibacy. "After 2-3 hours earnest discussion it was again adjourned. The subject has so many bearings that it has excited more discussion than any other". (97)

The letter to Sheridan mentioned above was of some importance to Chartists, since the Bill referred to achieved the first of the six points of the Charter. Jones, in his "Current Notes" in the paper, observed that they would now be able to concentrate the more on the remaining five points. He also brought up the question of the Political Reform League saying that the middle-class were alleging that the Chartists were doing nothing about it. Chartists replied that it was they who

had brought it into existence. Jones, however, exhorted Chartists to do more and also proposed that of the £100 fund half should go to the League. Jones' "Current Notes" were always read at each branch meeting and the next Dudley meeting agreed with Jones' points calling for more effort for the Political Reform League. They then resumed their discussion on Poverty, Prostitution and Chastity, making the following comment: "This subject has now been discussed for five successive Sundays. As Ricardo, Mill, Martineau, Rossi and others have observed, food and population affects everything - morals, politics and national and domestic economy, We recommend every Chartist locality to discuss this question ' . (98)

In June Baxter Langley took over the "People's Paper" with the proviso that as long as the paper continued to come out, Jones would be allotted two columns for reporting Chartist news. The next week at the Dudley branch meeting these changes were approved, some people thinking that it would give Ernest Jones more time to travel and relieve him of his financial worries. There was unanimous agreement, however, that the "People's Paper" and Jones' still independent 1d "London News" should be merged and brought out at 2d. A letter was then read from Benjamin Lucraft (who had been one of the chairmen at the Charter Conference) that having brought about a union of the middle and working classes, Chartists were doing nothing about it. "The letter was so excellent that it was the unanimous desire of the meeting that it be published in the "People's Paper". But this was not to the liking of Jones who commented in his truncated space that the letter was a libel on the Chartist movement. The conference which had brought the union into existence had cost not less than £1,000. That was to begin with. He trusted that they would raise the promised £50 and they would then see what the middle-class could do. (99)

In Dudley, a larger meeting room was procured and about this time Jones put out a list of the localities which he thought were strong enough to stand Chartist Parliamentary candidates. In the Midlands this included Dudley, Coventry and Worcester but not Birmingham. (100) In August quarterly elections took place in Dudley. Daniel Wallwork had to give up the secretaryship and John Wadely was elected in his place. Simon Watts was re-elected treasurer. Bills were authorised to be issued announcing public lectures on Sunday evenings, and a tea party was to be arranged by a joint committee of the Miners and Mutual Improvement Society. (101) The next week there was a long letter in the paper announcing that Jones had quarrelled with Langley and a fortnight later a letter saying that Langley had offered the "People's Paper" back to Jones for £100, but Jones could not recommend the localities to consider it. So the "People's Paper" came to an end.

Within a few weeks Jones had established another newspaper. This was the "Cabinet Newspaper" of eight smallish pages costing 2d unstamped

and 3d stamped. The Dudley Chartists immediately resumed reports of their meetings. On November 21st, with Mr. Silk in the chair, a motion had been passed stating that nothing but manhood suffrage, short parliaments, the ballot and a just equalisation of electoral districts would meet the needs of the people and a public meeting would be called in December to take opinions on this subject. (102) The next week Jones announced "a perfect torrent of congratulations, votes of approval and confidence and condemnation of our unscrupulous opponents (i.e. Reynolds -- G.B.) have come to hand again this week". Among these was a letter from W. Smith of Willenhall. In Dudley at the Miners' and Working Men's Society Room, New Mill Street with Samuel Cook in the chair, it had been resolved to form themselves into a society called the Manhood Suffrage Association. (103)

By 1859 the Chartist movement, despite its previous intention to uphold its independent agitation, was taking the initiative in setting up, and beginning to merge itself with, wider organisations of reform. In Wednesbury at a meeting at the British Queen with Benjamin Danks in the chair it was resolved to set up the Wednesbury Parliamentary Reform Association. (104) In Dudley meetings were being held in the meeting' room of the Mutual Improvement and Miners' Protection Society (105) and at Walsall the M.P. was being quizzed as to his intentions with regard to the £6 ratial clause of Lord John Russell's Reform Bill. (106)

The failure of Lord John Russell's phoney Reform Bill of 1859 really marked the end of Chartism. The "Cabinet Newspaper" ended in February 1860. It was replaced by a "Penny Times and Weekly Telegraph" which quickly disappeared. Ernest Jones had by this time, not unnaturally, become thoroughly worn out with his role of sole leader of the Chartist movement. Moreover, he had begun to move towards a position of collaboration with the middle-class which indeed, in the short run, was to bring the Reform Bill of 1867, but which, in the long run, was a blind alley for the working-class, as the experience of the next twenty years was to show. That the Chartist movement was not entirely played out was demonstrated by the subscriptions to the fund which enabled Jones to sue Reynolds when his scurrility, which played its part in the demise of the Chartist movement, became intolerable. Nearly £100 was subscribed, (107) including donations from Wednesbury, Dudley and Willenhall. After Jones had won his action and had claimed only an apology from Reynolds a testimonial fund was opened for him. In the Black Country a district subscription was opened at Parker's Noah's Ark Inn, Bilston. (108) But Jones' will to survive was gone and he exchanged the ... "shabby coat buttoned close up round the throat (which) seemed to conceal the poverty to which a too faithful adherence to a lost cause had reduced him", (109) for the barrister's silk of the Northern Circuit. Black Country Chartism survived to the very end. It was left high and dry without a national leadership and without a newspaper to organise and agitate. Under these circumstances it did not continue as an organised body.

What can be said of Black Country Chartism at the end? That an organised branch in Dudley and scattered individual Chartists in other towns did not constitute a mass movement is self-evident. But political parties do not necessarily have to have large memberships to survive and exercise influence. None of the first Socialist societies of the 1880s was large, yet their influence was enormous. Chartism in the Black Country had the priceless advantage that whenever a mass agitation occurred workers would turn to it for leadership, and this was to be demonstrated again in the part that Chartists played in the 1867 agitation. It is probably true that the influence of Chartism was largely due to the activity of a number of ageing men - Cook, Linney, Chance, Banks etc. Yet at least in Dudley, new cadres could be brought forward to replace old leaders - Wallwork, Wadeley and Silk. G.D.H. Cole has remarked that until 1867 a working class political party was impossible. Perhaps he is right. If so, Ernest Jones came near to achieving the impossible; the Black Country Chartists came even nearer.

NOTES TO BLACK COUNTRY CHARTISM 1850-60

1. Northern Star 5th January 1850. 2, Northern Star 23rd February 1850.
3. Northern Star 2nd March 1850. 4. Northern Star 20th April 1850.
5. Northern Star 29th June 1850. The latter visit was the one of which Joy MacAskill writes: "It (the Great Dodford Estate) was only used in July 1848 for a meeting of Land Company sympathisers from the Black Country as a gesture of defiance of the 'slanders contained in the (Select) Committee Report'." "Chartist Land Plan" in "Chartist Studies" ed. Briggs p. 327.
6. Northern Star 3rd August 1850.
7. Northern Star 5th October 1850. Haynau, known as the Hyena was the Austrian General who had butchered the Hungarians in 1849, and whose visit to London the Government incautiously approved. He was taken to the show brewery of Barclay, Perkins (where Garibaldi was rapturously received in 1864) and so assaulted by the workers that he took refuge in a dustbin.
8. Northern Star 4th January, 18th January 1851. 9. See John Saville - "Ernest Jones, Chartist" pp. 43-45.
10. Northern Star 30th August 1851. 11. Northern Star 16th November 1851.
12. Northern Star 14th February, 21st February, 6th March 1852. 13. People's Paper 5th March, 14th May, 4th June, 24th December 1853.
14. See Saville op.cit. pp.54-55- 15. People's Paper 11th March 1854.
16. People's Paper 12th August 1854, 17. People's Paper 11th February 1854.
18. People's Paper 25th February 1854. 18. People's Paper 13th May 1854.
20. People's Paper 6th May, 25th November 1854, 13th January, 20th January 1855. 21. People's Paper 27th January 1855.
22. People's Paper 3rd February 1855. 23. People's Paper 10th February 1855.
24. People's Paper 24th February 1855. 25. People's Paper 24th February 1855.
26. People's Paper 24th March 1855. 27. People's Paper 17th March 1855.

NOTES (continued)

28. People's Paper 30th June 1855. 29. People's Paper 5th May 1855.
30. People's Paper 19th Hay 1855. 31. People's Paper 16th June 1855.
32. Saville op.cit. pp 60-62. 33. People's Paper 21st July 1855-
34. People's Paper 11th August 1855. 35. People's Paper 11th August 1855.
36. People's Paper 13th October 1855 - 6/-d from James Vipond, Gospel. 37, D. Read and E.Glasgow - "Feargus O'Connor" (1961) p I44.
38. People's Paper 6th October 1855. 39. Working Class Activities 1850-67" in Barnsby thesis, op.cit.
40. Walsall Courier report quoted by People's Paper 24th November 1855. 41. Democrat and Labour Advocate 8th December 1855.
42. People's Paper 12th April 1856. 43. People's Paper 26th April 1856.
44. See Saville op.cit. p 60. . 45. People's Paper 22nd March 1856.
46. People's Paper 8th April 1856. 47. People's Paper 26th April 1856.
48. People's Paper 28th June 1856. 49. People's Paper 5th July 1856.
50. People's Paper 26th January 1856 quoted by Saville op.cit p 6ln, 51. People's Paper 2nd February 1856.
52. People's Paper 23rd February 1856.
- 53., People's Paper 8th March 1856..' 54. People's Paper 1st March 1856.
55. People's Paper 5th April 1856. 56. People's Paper 16th August 1856.
57. People's Paper 20th September 1856. 58. See Saville op.cit. pp 61-2.
59. People's Paper 15th November 1856. 60. People's Paper 11th April 1857.
61. People's Paper 24th January 1857. 62. People's Paper 7th March 1857.
63. People's Paper 18th April 1857. 64. People's Paper 25th April 1857.

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| 65. People's Paper 2nd Hay 1857. | 66. People's Paper 2nd May 1857. |
| 67. People's Paper 16th May and 23rd May 1857. | 68. People's Paper 30th May 1857. |
| 69. People's Paper 13th June 1857. | 70. People's Paper 25th July 1857. |
| 71. People's Paper 8th August and 22nd August 1857. | 72. People's Paper 22nd August 1857. |
| 73. People's Paper 19th September 1857. | 74. People's Paper. 18th October and 17th October 1857. |
| 75. People's Paper 24th October | 76. People's Paper 7th November.1857^ |
| 77. People's Paper 7th November 1857. | 78. People's Paper 7th November 1857. |
| 79. People's Paper 14th November 1857. | 80. People's Paper 21st Novenber 1857. |
| 81. People's Paper 5th December 1857. | 82. People's Paper 12th December 1857. |
| 83. People's Paper 19th December and 26th December 1857. | 84. People's Paper 26th December 1857. |
| 85. People's Paper 30th January 1858. | 86. People's Paper 6th February 1858. |
| 87. See Saville op.cit. pp 68-\$ for a report of the Conference. | 88. People's Paper 30th January 1858. |
| 89. People's Paper 13th February 1858. | 90. People's Paper 13th February 1858. |
| 91. People's Paper 20th February 1858. G.W.M. Reynolds was then at daggers drawn with Ernest Jones and slandered him and the Chartist movement in his paper "Reynolds News" to such a degree that Jones was forced to sue him and won the case. | |
| 92. People's Paper 27th February 1858. | 93. People's Paper 20th March 1858. |
| 94. People's Paper 27th March 1858. | 95. People's Paper 17th April 1858. |
| 96. People's Paper 29th May 1858. | 97. People's Paper 12th June 1858. |

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| 98. People's Paper 19th June 1858, | 99. People's Paper 3rd July 1858. |
| 100,- People's Paper 24th July
and 31st July 1858. | 101. People's Paper 7th August 1858. |
| 102. Cabinet Newspaper No. 1.
27th November 1858. | 103. Cabinet Newspaper 4th December 1858. |
| 104. Cabinet Newspaper 25th
December 1858- | 105. Cabinet Newspaper 15th January
and 12th March 1859. |
| 106. Cabinet Newspaper 26th
1859, | 107. Cabinet Newspaper 5th February
1859. |
| 108. Cabinet Newspaper 17th
September 1859. | 109. W.E.Adams - "Memoirs" Vol. II
p. 230 quoted by Saville op.cit. |

INCREASING COSTS have gradually eaten away the small "profit" the History Group used to make on "Our History" and during the past year it has been sold at a loss. Starting with No. 41, to be issued in March 1966, the price of single copies will be 2/-, the annual subscription (four issues including postage) will be 9/4d. There will be no alteration in the 10/- subscription paid by members of the History Group.

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