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William Harrison Riley an Karl Marx in London. London, Dienstag, 24. Dezember 1872

Lindenberg, Thomas (Bearbeitung)
Lura, Caroline (Bearbeitung)

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Handschriftenbeschreibung:

Soweit aus der s/w-Fotokopie zu ersehen ist, besteht der Brief aus zwei Bogen Papier. Wasserzeichen: „E Towgood / Fine“. Prägung: „IVORY“. Riley hat alle acht Seiten vollständig beschrieben.

Archivsignatur des Moskauer Marx-Engels-Instituts (IMĖ) auf allen beschriebenen Seiten: „RJ 361a–h“.

Absender: William Harrison Riley
Schreibort: London
Schreibdatum: 1872-12-24

Empfänger: Karl Marx
Empfangsort: London

| 24. 3.45 a.m.
54 Dame St Islington. N. 24/12/72

D[r] Citizen.

At about 11.30 last night 4 adhering members of Council called at the printing office to tell me that Hales[a] and party had got possession of the Council room prior to the arrival of the “minority”— Roach[b] being with the “majority“— this being his first visit for some months. The four were weak—did not go in—Hills[c] did go in and the four appear to think that he is inclined to join them (the “majority”[)]. I cannot yet believe this. I could not be there—and really I do not know that I could have done much good if I had been there although I should most certainly have gone in. I have impoverished | myself in my present work and have also contrived to get upon my shoulders more work than I can attend to. Nobody helps (no Internationalist) to bear the expense and I feel that it has been too hard a struggle for me.

Perhaps I am too impatient—for I am a bad one to wait. I am eager to be doing but what chance have I with so little now to work with?

Each bona fide (important) Section should be requested to withdraw its delegate if such delegate is merely a dummy of Hales[d]. | Until this crew of followers is withdrawn—or dismissed the Association—the “minority” cannot refuse them admission to a Council Meeting—thus enabling them to swamp any reform measure. The most complete solution will be the ~~*dismassal*~~ dismissal of the ~~*secededing*~~ seceding advocates by the General Council—for it may happen that the “majority” won[’]t secede ~~*voluntarilly*~~ voluntarily in form—though they do in fact.

I shall not play with Hales[e] any longer—he is too presumptuous to be played with.

This long lasting disease at the head of our Federation has weakened the body—so that really the Sections are mere skeletons.

| The trick of last night will not be allowed again—if I can be present—before they get the key they must pay all the rent due. They never paid me a penny while holding from me.

The best solution appears to me to be dismissal by the General Council.

I never explained to you that the Herald[f] loses circulation (and therefore more money) when much Internationalism (official—or technical) occupies space. Not one in five of its purchasers are members of our Associatio [n] and they do not read it for its Society news. When the Federal Council (Hales[g]) has asked that all or nearly all—should be Internationalism—strict and technical (as I may say) I have asked "at whose expense"? With every | desire to do all I could for the Association I found it impossible to give five or six pounds a week to it. The Republican Clubs have done four times as much to help the circulation—as the Internationalists. They buy at least four copies for the Sections one. I have been compelled—to refrain from making our own Association as prominent as I wished to do—it was as it was—or nothing—for the paper could not have lived had I done more. When asked to give more "Internationalism" by Hales etc.—I have replied "No rights without duties"—but alas! the duties appeared to be mine—the rights, theirs—their | Internationalism did not cost them much—mine was costing me money and health.

If the Federal Council had been healthy—we should at this day have had at least a hundred real Sections in England and Scotland, and ten thousand men meeting at those Sections. But as I sowed there was no one to reap. I can produce scores of letters, which suffice to support my assertion. From all parts came letters from men desirous of joining and of forming Branches but when they got to that point—where the Federal Council should have helped—there was nothing—and | recently—worse than nothing. Thus most of my sowing has been for the time being—wasted—the seed has been trampled upon. I am always willing to work as hard as I can but there has been no support—it is as if one was advertising a shop—getting persons to present themselves as customers—and when they come—finding the shutters up—or nothing but mouldy goods in the shop.

Several times the Herald[h] has been apparently near its end—as an International[i] paper—not because of lack of will—but of lack of power. The circulation is now about 5000 a week (of course I do not say this as an advertising agent does—but as the truth) and has fought | its way from a real sale of about 1000.

I have been thinking that perhaps it would be as well to give the supplement with the paper—for 1[d] for both. If this will answer can you help with the extra cost—to pay the extra loss? (Loss is about 2/10/– a week now—will be 1/10– after this week's issue if circulation does not fall off through Hales[j]—or any other thing)

I should not ask this question before consulting Arnold[k] were I not the one who decides. He has done all he proposed and all I expect him to do. Nobody interferes at all with the paper and I do not consult anyone (except the publisher— as to circulation—change of form etc.) If a supplement could be issued for next week's paper it might contain valuable—useful—matter. Please pardon my hasty and rough letter—I am exceedingly tired.

Yours Fraternally W[m] H. Riley

Erläuterungen

a) Hales, John (1839-nach 1882)

b) Roach, John (-)

c) Hills, Edmund (-)

d) Hales, John (1839-nach 1882)

e) Hales, John (1839-nach 1882)

f) The International Herald

g) Hales, John (1839-nach 1882)

h) The International Herald

i) Internationale Arbeiter-Assoziation (IAA) / International Workingmen's Association (IWA) / Association Internationale des Travailleurs (AIT)

j) Hales, John (1839-nach 1882)

k) Eventuell ist gemeint: Frederick Arnold[l], Print publisher, 86 , Fleet Street, E. C., London (in 1873-74)?

l) Arnold, Frederick (1862–1874)

Kritischer Apparat