Religion, Radicalism & Freethought in Victorian & Edwardian Britain

Selected Pamphlets by G.J. Holyoake, 1841-1904

Contents of the microfilm collection with an introduction by Dr. Edward Royle

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENTS LIST</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction – George Jacob Holyoake</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detailed List of Pamphlets</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject Guide to Pamphlets in text and on microfilm</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pseudonyms used by G.J. Holyoake</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
George Jacob Holyoake was born in Birmingham on 13 April 1817, the eldest son of a skilled foundry worker. As a youth he learned the trade of whitesmith under his father, but his intellectual ability marked him out for a different life. Through such education as was available to a young artisan in the 1830s, he became a teacher and popular lecturer; and from here it was but a short step to involvement in radical politics and social reform. The influence of Robert Owen was paramount, and, after the failure of Owenism as a specific movement, Holyoake became one of the leading propagandists for the piecemeal development of some of its principal features. Out of Owenite economics grew the Co-operative movement, and out of Owenite philosophy and its critique of orthodox religion came Secularism. Holyoake devoted the rest of his long life to both. Like most thinking artisans of his generation he was also attracted to Chartism, and in the second half of the nineteenth century Holyoake was prominent among those who worked the subtle transformation into popular Liberalism. Many important trends in Victorian England can be studied and illustrated in the life and writings of this Birmingham artisan. He managed to thrust himself into the centre of contemporary debates about religion, politics and economics, as he uneasily straddled the social and intellectual gulf between the 'common people' and their masters. History has dealt harshly with Holyoake. He was too typical of his age to leave a lasting mark upon it, and his long and varied public career is scarcely remarked upon, save for the occasional reference to his autobiography, Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life. He had originally wanted to call himself an Educator, not an Agitator, though undoubtedly he was both. But his very typicality has historical interest, and this collection of his lesser-known and shorter writings is published in the belief that they will give insights into the nineteenth century world of self-education, self-improvement, religious controversy, campaigning Liberal journalism and pressure-group politics.

Education
Owenite theories of education have become well-known - and even highly regarded - in the twentieth century, though the practical working out of such theories in the nineteenth century may well be of more relevance to the historian. George Jacob Holyoake embodies in his life Owenite education in its most basic applications: he was himself educated in that fervour of self-improvement which characterised the popular Owenite movement; he became a lecturer and teacher in that movement; and he set down the fruits of his experience in his educational writings. Above all, he helps the historian to understand what education meant as a social and intellectual experience: "Intellectual bondage is worse than physical, because the physical chain is riveted by others, the mental by ourselves. The ignorant man is at the mercy of educated opinion. To be free, we should be in a condition to dare the judgment of the wise," he wrote in his Practical Grammar, thus clearly expressing the key to an understanding of his whole life.
Holyoake was without formal education, other than a little Sunday-schooling at the celebrated Carr's Lane Independent Chapel in Birmingham, but in 1836 he began to attend classes at the Mechanics' Institute. Here he was much influenced by Daniel Wright, a Unitarian who conducted the senior class, and also greatly impressed by Charles Reece Pemberton, a popular lecturer who had himself been one of Wright's pupils. Holyoake's intellectual ambitions were fired, as he developed an interest in arithmetic, grammar and the logic of Euclid - and learned Pope's Essay on Man by heart. He rapidly distinguished himself, and by the end of 1836 was appointed secretary to the senior class, and also a teacher at the Unitarians' New Meeting Sunday school. Among the young artisans with whom he mixed at the Mechanics' Institute were a number who were being attracted to Robert Owen, and he went with two of them to hear the latter when he came to Birmingham to lecture in 1837, while another Owenite friend, Frederick Hollick, introduced him to the delights of phrenology. By June 1837 Holyoake was himself lecturing on Owenism in Birmingham, and later the same year he signified his interest in politics by joining the revived Birmingham Political Union. At the end of 1838 his reputation was such that he was invited by the committee of the Birmingham Philosophical Institution to observe and report on the November meteors, along with two colleagues. This he did, from the roof of the Eagle Foundry where he worked, and was paid a guinea for his 'valuable report'.

His horizon was widening rapidly. Furthermore, he had married in March 1839 at a time when employment at the foundry was falling off, and so, with teaching experience as Wright's assistant at the Mechanics' Institute, he began to hope for permanent employment as a lecturer and teacher. His association with Owenism, though, barred any advancement through the Mechanics' Institutes, but two of his class-mates there had already taken up Owenite lectureships, and Holyoake was urged to do the same. He had distinguished himself at the Birmingham branch of the Owenite Association of All Classes of All Nations, and in September 1840 was sent by the Central Board of that organisation to be stationed lecturer in Worcester, where he immediately started an Owenite Institute. Here he gave classes in grammar, literary composition, drawing, arithmetic and mathematics, and lectured on 'Science, Literature, Morality, &c. &c.'. The following May he was promoted to become stationed lecturer at Sheffield, where a very active branch was led by Isaac Ironside. Here he was required to run a day school for children as well as the usual classes and lectures for the adult membership at the Rockingham Street Hall of Science. He got little official support from the Central Board, though, who were preoccupied with the newly-established Owenite Community in Hampshire, and it was some years later that he set down his experience in a series of text books on Grammar, Euclid, Logic, Public Speaking, and the rudiments of education for children.

Biography and History
Holyoake kept a large number of letters and papers, covering the whole period of his long adult life, and this means that some of his historical work is well-researched; but that is not always the case. He also often wrote from memory, and his memory was a poor one. As a journalist he
learned to write for effect, to interest and to amuse without due regard for the full niceties of the facts. His historical writings are, therefore, to be used with care. This does not render them useless, for he lived a long time and knew a great many of the principal actors on the Victorian scene; he could be a shrewd judge of character and a perceptive writer. The longer autobiographies and co-operative histories have been omitted from the present collection, as they are often available to the second-hand book purchaser. What has been put together here are the shorter sketches of campaigners whom he knew and with whom he worked - Richard Carlile, J.R. Stephens, Henry Hetherington, Emma Martin, Ledru Rollin, Thomas Cooper, J.S. Mill, and his brother Austin Holyoake; also his own earliest autobiography, which has the freshness of being written by a young, not an old, man. Holyoake believed that biography (and autobiography, one suspects) had a didactic purpose; in the classic tradition of historical writing he believed in the moral value of the historical example as an inspiration to the young. This theory he set out in one of his earliest works, The Value of Biography (1845), though it is doubtful whether all his later subjects measured up to the standard.

Secularism and Freethought

The life of the educator was rudely shattered at the end of 1841 when his friend, the former social missionary attached to the Birmingham Owenite branch, Charles Southwell, was arrested for blasphemy. He had started a periodical entitled the Oracle of Reason, in the fourth issue of which at the end of November 1841 he had attacked the bible in an article headed 'The Jew Book'. Holyoake spoke up on Southwell's behalf, and in January 1842 took on the editorship of the Oracle. He told his audience at Sheffield that "the persecution of my friend . . . has been, within these few weeks, the cradle of my doubts and the grave of my religion." Holyoake's career as a freethinker was launched, and with it went any hope that he might find a path through education to respectability and social acceptance. Matters were made worse in May 1842, when he was himself charged with blasphemy after a lecture delivered in Cheltenham, and in August he was sentenced to six months in gaol. While there his elder daughter died, and the embittered young man wrote two pamphlets attacking the traditional defences of Christian theology, A Short and Easy Method with the Saints and Paley refuted in his own Words. But Holyoake's Freethought was not, except in the heat of the moment, of the same rugged kind as Southwell's, and after the failure of the Owenite Community in 1845 he turned his attention to the preservation of the philosophical and ethical content of Owenism which was known as Rationalism. A little book of this name was published in 1845: it was a work of logic, but written out of the situation of the artisan of the 1840s, caught between merciless capitalism and destitution.

Holyoake never forsokk either the theoretical criticism of Christian doctrine nor the practical criticism of the churches, but he increasingly emphasised the merits of offering a positive alternative, a philosophy of the present world, based on Rationalism. He developed this view in his weekly periodical, the Reasoner, and from the early 1850s gave it the name of Secularism. This new movement was drawn to the attention of the public at large in the mid-1850s when a Congregationalist minister, Brewin Grant, and other clergymen held set debates on the subject with Holyoake. The latter became nationally infamous, but through his continued stress on
moderation and influential contact established with middle-class intellectuals such as G.H. Lewes and John Stuart Mill, he was gradually accepted into the category of 'honest doubters'. This development did not please other former Owenites and Secularists, who expected greater militancy from their leader. The early opposition identified with first, Southwell, and then with another Owenite, Robert Cooper, but by the late 1850s the young, dynamic Charles Bradlaugh was taking the lead. Many of Holyoake's later freethought writings are, indeed, products of the ideological conflict with Bradlaugh over the nature and meaning of Secularism. Holyoake insisted, a little disingenuously, that it had always meant neutrality on religious questions and an attitude of agnosticism in theology; Bradlaugh took the view held by Southwell in 1841, that so long as false theology and religious influences are barriers to human progress, Secularism must be anti-theological. The two views were never reconciled but, so far as the rank and file of the Secularist movement was concerned, Bradlaugh proved to be the more effective leader. As an old man after Bradlaugh's death in 1891, though, Holyoake saw the triumph of his more intellectual and agnostic approach in the success of the Rationalist Press Association, of which he was the first chairman.

Co-operation and Social Reform

As a true Owenite, Holyoake remained interested in co-operative economics and social improvement. His opposition to Sabbatarianism was social as well as theological, and he was a champion of positive amusements for the working classes on Sundays. The positive approach was also marked in his views on temperance, when he called for positive alternatives to the evils of drink rather than politically despotic prohibition. He also called for the abolition of capital punishment, and, in his old age, was chairman of the committee for the abolition of the travelling tax.

The co-operative movement, though, took up increasing amounts of his time. He never moved far from the position adopted in his first publication, on The Advantages and Disadvantages of Trades' Unions, that the only permanent solution to the plight of the working classes was independence and co-operation. The form which this co-operative world was to take changed somewhat with the passing years, as did the reaction of wider society to it. Originally, the Owenite vision was of independence on the land; gradually the emphasis shifted to co-operation at the place of work and, increasingly, to consumers' co-operation. Holyoake became associated with the latter, especially after the publication of his Self help by the People (1858), a history of co-operation in Rochdale which effectively created the myth of the Rochdale Pioneers throughout the world. Throughout his life he retained an interest in the consumers' movement, which in many places in the north of England was led locally by friends and acquaintances in the Secularist movement, and he was a ready propagandist in newspapers and pamphlets on their behalf; but his major interest was always in the co-partnership aspect of co-operation. From the days of his first contacts with the Christian Socialists in the early 1850s, he was associated with those who found consumers' co-operation alone to be a betrayal of co-operative principles. Owenite and Christian met in a curious alliance which did much to foster Holyoake's moderate interpretation of Secularism; and, eventually, when late nineteenth century socialism brought about a renewed attack on capitalism, Holyoake even found himself popular with bishops and politicians. Co-partnership in industry, though, never struck deep roots in Britain.
The refusal to accept the inevitability of conflict between capital and labour was typically Owenite. In other respects, too, Holyoake’s economic thinking was very much of his day. Free trade was for him the bulwark of the prosperity of the working classes: he spoke up for it in the 1840s, and wrote Cobden Club pamphlets on it in the 1880s. Emigration was also another solution to the problem of poverty, and many of Holyoake’s friends and family had emigrated in the 1840s and 1850s. The fashion for emigration intensified in the 1880s as the mid-Victorian economic boom collapsed, and Holyoake twice crossed the Atlantic to prepare a guide book for would-be emigrants. His accounts of his travels, written in the whimsical style which characterises his later journalism, still make interesting reading.

Political Reform and Republicanism

Though Robert Owen was inconsistent in his attitude towards political rights, he usually argued that these were of less importance than the total social transformation which Owenism would accomplish. Most Owenites, though, happily combined political radicalism with Owenite socialism, and Holyoake was no exception. He was, however, much given to the politics of compromise. He was active on the moderate wing of Chartism, a member of the last executive of the National Charter Association (which his presence helped to break up), and a leading advocate of collaboration with middle-class radical reformers in the 1850s. He never abandoned his theoretical support for universal suffrage, but saw more to be gained from a practical alliance for gradual reform. Such political pamphlets of the 1860s as The Liberal Situation (1865) and A New Defence of the Ballot (1868) were born out of this position. His knowledge and understanding of politics grew through his friendships with Radical M.P.s, and through his Liberal journalism, correspondence with prominent Liberals, and parliamentary Lobby work until, in the end, he became the personification of popular Liberalism. He also remained a staunch champion of the representation of Labour, but as an old man who had lost touch with modern developments in the labour movement and socialist politics, he had the misfortune to outlive his usefulness.

As a freethinker in a Christian country, Holyoake was perforce a champion also of civil rights and freedom of expression. His greatest contribution to political reform agitations lies here - the campaign for the oath in courts of law to be replaced by the civil affirmation; and in the struggle to force the abandonment of the remaining 'taxes on knowledge'. Other Secularists, notably Charles Bradlaugh, continued and completed these agitations, but from the Newspaper Stamp Abolition Committee of 1849 to the Liberty of Bequest Committee of 1890 Holyoake managed to find himself and his pen at the heart of things. On the matter of the oath he was opposed to Charles Bradlaugh’s tactics in the 1880s, preferring unrealistically to advise commitment to the principle of affirmation when Bradlaugh was fighting for the right to take the oath in which he did not believe.

Like many Liberals, Holyoake found it easier to support extremism abroad than at home, and he became prominent in the affairs of Continental revolutionaries from the 1840s to the 1860s. He exchanged letters with them, collected funds for Kossuth and Mazzini, and was secretary of the Garibaldi Committee which met in 1860 to finance an expedition to fight in Italy. More curiously he was involved in the preparation and testing of the 'Orsini bombs' provided for the assault on the life of Napoleon III in 1858, though this revelation had to wait until his autobiography was published in 1892.
Further Reading:


E. Royle, *Victorian Infidels; the origins of the British Secularist movement, 1791-1866*. Manchester, 1974

Edward Royle
University of York
1981

Note:

The works filmed have been taken from George Jacob Holyoake's personal library, which was given after his death to the Bishopsgate Institute in London. Supplementary material used is taken from the Library of the Co-operative Union in Manchester. Omitted from the filming are the major books and a few ephemeral leaflets; the selected pamphlets have then been grouped according to subject, corresponding roughly to the divisions indicated in this introduction, though this has meant that some items which cut across topics have been rather arbitrarily placed. Cross references are given where this is thought useful.

The descriptive notes in the contents list make use of the entries prepared by C.W.F. Goss in his *Descriptive Bibliography of the Writings of George Jacob Holyoake*, published in 1908. Goss was at that time the Librarian to the Bishopsgate Institute.

The diaries, early notebooks and other manuscript items relating to Holyoake, which are also in the Bishopsgate Institute, have been filmed and are available from EP Microform. The bulk of the correspondence to and from Holyoake, over 4000 items, is in Holyoake House, the headquarters of the Co-operative Union in Manchester. This collection is also available on microfilm from EP Microform.

E.R.
1844  Practical Grammar; or, composition divested of difficulties; with select examples from the writings of elegant authors, containing all that is necessary for ordinary purposes and no more; and intended for the use of those who have little time to study. By G. JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.iii+72, 12mo.

London: J. Watson, 1844. Is. 6d.

An analysis of the English language in which the reader is pointed to its capabilities and directed by many valuable rules and suggestions. Treats not only of grammar but of the art of writing and speaking with perspicuity and effect; and also of style by instances both of good and bad writing from modern authors. The whole is enlivened by wit, and interspersed with selected illustrations and judicious anecdote, with the object of imparting a taste for reading. Published 25th May, 1844.

Edition on microfilm is:-

Fifth edition, pp.iii+72, cr. 8vo.

London: J. Watson, 1847. Is. 6d.

This edition is entitled "Practical Grammar, intended for the use of those who have little time for study" and was reprinted on several occasions between 1847 and 1852, in which year a fifth reprint appeared with a fresh title.

A further eighth edition was published in 1870.

1846  The lectures used by the Manchester Unity of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, sanctioned and approved by the Bristol A.M.C., June, 1846. Anon. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.64, 12mo.

London: John G. Hornblower. [1846].


London: J. Watson, 1846. 6d.

A companion to the "Practical Grammar", published in 1844. Published in five weekly numbers at 2d. each, No. 1 appearing on the 2nd September, 1846. It contains 320 questions deduced from "Practical Grammar" to enable teachers to exercise their pupils; or, if need be, the pupils to exercise themselves. Eight orders of graduated exercises are included, embracing the definitions and a brief epitome of the principles of grammar and composition. Reprinted in 1849, and again in 1850 at Is.
1847 Mathematics no mystery; or, the beauties and uses of Euclid. By G.J. HOLYOAKE. pp.121, illus., 12mo.

London: J. Watson [1847]. 2s. 6d.

Originally issued in weekly parts, No. 1 on October 21st, 1846, No. 2 on October 28th, and No. 3 on November 4th, and first published in book form in March, 1847, at the request of the Central Board. The work was prepared some years earlier, but Robert Owen, to whom the MS. was submitted, discouraged its publication. The book was suggested by the wants of the author's own mathematical class held at the Birmingham Mechanics' Institute, and it aims to précis the limits of mathematical learning; to review the supposed connection between arithmetic and mathematics; to present a history of the subject; and to exhibit the value of natural geometry, its beauties and uses.

Edition on microfilm is:-

Second edition, pp.121, illus., 12mo.

London: J. Watson [1847]. 2s. 6d.

The copy before the compiler is a presentation one from Mr. Holyoake "to his friend Henry Allsop Ivory, Nov., 1848."

A further third edition was published in 1851.

1848 A logic of facts; or, plain hints on reasoning. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.xii+92, 12mo.

London: J. Watson, 1848. 1s. 6d.

Originally issued in seven 2d. parts - the first on February 2nd and the last on March 15th, 1848 - and afterwards in two sections at 6d. each. The author attempts to make logic popular by restoring it to the domain of common sense, and to methodise the popular intelligence by rules, within the appreciation of the working classes, for whom the work was principally intended.

Later editions also appeared.

1849 Rudiments of public speaking and debate; or, hints on the application of logic. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.vii+90, 12mo.

London: J. Watson, 1849. 1s. 6d.

The work, which is anecdotally illustrated, was first issued in two sixpenny parts on the 9th May, and published in cloth boards on 30th May, 1849. It was shortly afterwards reprinted by Mr. John Bower as his own work. It is a treatise on the art of popular eloquence, and the application of its principles to the development of style and the correction of faults. It expounds the secret of success in debate, and the management of controversy; and suggests that public speaking, debate, and writing to the press are the weapons of self-defence and progress, but its chief merit is, that it combines with the ordinary technical rules for the study of the art of speaking a vast variety of moral and intellectual hints.

Later editions also appeared.
1849 Literary Institutions: their relation to public opinion. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. Dedicated to the City Mechanics' Institution, Gould Square, Crutched Friars. pp.16, post 8vo.

London: J. Watson, 1849. 2d.

In 1848 the London Literary and Scientific Institution offered a prize for the best essay on "The characteristics and advantages of literary and scientific institutions - their claims to the support of society, and the best means of extending their usefulness." Mr. Holyoake, one of the competitors, sent in the above essay but was not successful.


London: J. Watson, 1852. 1d.

Edition on microfilm is from:-


London: J. Watson, 1852. 2d.

The date on cover is 1853, and that on title-page 1852.


London: J. Watson, 1853. 4d.


London: Holyoake & Co., 1854. 3d.

The four preceding booklets were intended for the cultivation of the feelings and the training of the observing faculties. They attempt to teach a child the rudiments of reading and writing, and the plates are calculated to lead a child in the easiest manner and by the most gentle steps from a knowledge of the alphabet to a knowledge of words. In writing, the child is first taught to make a straight line and a circle, and then, by a combination of these, to write the alphabet. The language is most simple and the words taught belong to familiar objects of indoor life and outdoor nature. The books were really the outcome of Mr. Holyoake's Sheffield experience, and were issued in a new form circa 1864 under the title of "The child's ladder of knowledge."


London: Holyoake & Co., 1854. 1d.

Of the thirty-three questions contained in Mr. Crosskey's 'Catechism,' Mr. Holyoake takes twenty-four, which he varies to suit his system of secular teaching. Mr. Crosskey was attached to the Unitarian body, and not only placed his church at the disposal of Mr. Holyoake for a lecture, but continued to hold him in high esteem, notwithstanding the criticism to which he was subjected.
The letter was written in reply to a question whether the "Thirty shillings' working men's excursion to Paris" was to be trusted. Mr. Holyoake urged the working man to avail himself of the opportunity, and offered excellent advice in the spending of his time there. He draws comparison between the habits of the French and those of the English, not always favourable to the latter.

A further edition appeared in 1867.

1870 To Education Board Electors. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. leaflet.

A circular upon the question of electing School Boards, addressed to the friends of the secular instruction.

1878 The provincial mind. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. A paper read before the Manchester Literary Club, November 19th, 1877. pp.6, dy. 8vo.

Manchester: Abel Heywood & Son, 1878.

Reprinted from the Club papers, vol. 4, 1878. Aims to dispel the common impression that the provincial mind is of a lower type than that of the metropolitan, and suggests that London is but the mirror of the provinces where every man of genius who looked into it saw his own face. The moral of the pamphlet is that the provincial mind had fecundity and force by reason of its position in science, in industry and commerce, in politics, in journalism and poetry. It had stoutness of imagination and even gaiety.

BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

1845 The value of Biography in the formation of individual character, illustrated by the life and writings of Charles Reece Pemberton. By G. JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp.16, cr. 8vo.

London: J. Watson, 1845. 2d. & 1d.

At first delivered as a lecture in 1844, and though mainly based on the "Sketch of the life of Pemberton" published in 1842, it is greatly superior to that work. Here the uses of biography, as a study, are illustrated by the narration of Pemberton's life and writings. It is a species of hero worship, for not only does the author enter into the spirit of Pemberton's heroism and perseverance, and use his character to animate the reader to the attainment of a high, virtuous, moral character, but his desire seems to have been to honour the man, whose genius was, in the opinion of Mr. Holyoake, of the most original and elevated order.

Later editions also appeared.

London: J. Watson, 1849. 6d.

Mr. Holyoake commenced the "Life of Carlile" on the 29th October, and after delivering a lecture in Fitzroy Square on the 26th November, 1848, he published it on the 18th April, 1849. It is a brief and well-condensed memoir, and tells of the nine years' imprisonment which Carlile endured in the struggle for the political and theological freedom of the press. The book is written with affectionate respect, but with absolute impartiality. This "Life of Carlile" was taken as the subject of a lecture by Mr. Grant, whose opinions were controverted by "A working man" in his book entitled "Strictures on the lecture delivered by the Rev. Brewin Grant . . ." published in 1853.

Later editions also appeared.

1849 The life and character of Henry Hetherington. . . the oration at Kensal Green Cemetery. By G.J. HOLYOAKE. . . [quotation]. Published for the benefit of the survivors. pp.16, roy. 8vo.

London: J. Watson, 1849. 2d.

Henry Hetherington, a former editor of The Poor Man's Guardian, had suffered for the cause of political and religious liberty, and died in rendering testimony to it. The pamphlet is an abridgment of Thomas Cooper's Eloge, delivered at the Literary Institution, John Street, on the 26th August, 1849. Mr. Holyoake, for whom Hetherington showed a strong attachment, conducted the funeral service which took place at the burial, a service which has been described as deeply impressive. The appreciation in which Hetherington was held was clearly evidenced by the thousands who gathered at the grave-side or lined the route.

A further edition appeared in 1849.

1850 The history of the last trial by jury for atheism in England; a fragment of autobiography . . . By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp.vi+100, fcap. 8vo.

London: J. Watson, 1850. Is. 6d.

Mr. Holyoake finished the writing of this book on September 1st, 1850. It is a record of facts relative to his six months' imprisonment in 1842-3 for blasphemy, and a temperate account of the trial and his nine hours' defence. The author aims at an historical vindication of freethought which he advocated in The Reasoner, and an illustration of the intolerance which in 1842 paraded itself as a virtue, compared with the state of feeling which afterwards existed. The work has been translated into German under the title "Der letzte process wegen Atheismus," and has been criticised by the Rev. Brewin Grant and others.

"A working man" defends Mr. Holyoake, in his "Strictures on the lectures delivered by the Rev. Brewin Grant."

Later editions also appeared.
1851 The last days of Mrs Emma Martin, advocate of freethought. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.8, fcap. 8vo.

London: J. Watson, 1851. 1d.

This originally appeared in *The Reasoner*, No. 282, then reprinted in *The Leader*, No. 82. In "Finger posts for cross roads" No. 2, there is a reprint of the pamphlet under the title "It's all over; or, the last days of Mrs. Emma Martin . . . to which is appended a criticism by the Rev. Brewin Grant." It was also reprinted in a monthly journal, *The Bible and the people*.

A further edition appeared in 1852.

1855 Ledru Rollin. By G.J. HOLYOAKE. pp.2, dy. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co. 1855.

A defence of the author of "The decadence of England", re-reprinted from *The Reasoner*, No. 457, February 25th, 1855. Ledru Rollin was, in 1848, a member of the Provisional Government of France.

1856 The secular preacher; with a portrait of the Rev. Thomas Binney. By G.J. HOLYOAKE. pp.6, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co. 1856. 1d.

This pamphlet forms part 4 of *Secular Miscellany*. It is a criticism of a book entitled "Is it possible to make the best of both worlds," and aims to make its author - the Rev. Thomas Binney - a witness in favour of secularist opinions, and to show that he combines with the orthodox doctrines of Christianity a clear view and acknowledgement of the tenets of philosophic rationalism propounded by the secularists. The pamphlet originally appeared in *The Reasoner*, No. 471, June 3rd, 1855, of seq.

A further edition appeared in 1866.

1859 Life and last days of Robert Owen, of New Lanark. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.28, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co., 1859. 4d.

Published on February 22nd, 1859. It is a tribute of praise and admiration to the memory of Robert Owen, partly reprinted from *The Reasoner*. Contains the author's oration on the death of Robert Owen, delivered in the Public Hall, Rochdale, and also a bibliography of Owen's writings.

Edition on microfilm is:-

Second edition, pp.28, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co., 1859. 4d.

Later editions also appeared in 1866 and 1871.
1861 Thomas Cooper delineated as convert and controversialist: a companion to his missionary wanderings. By G.J. HOLYOAKE. pp.20, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co. [1861]. 3d.

This pamphlet, which was published on March 3rd, 1861, arose out of lectures delivered in Derby by Mr. Cooper, author of "The Purgatory of Suicides," to which no reply was permitted in that town, Mr. Holyoake being refused the use of every suitable hall. The author severely criticises Cooper's controversial characteristics, and reproduces all the most striking extracts from his sceptical writings for the use of those whose views were attacked by Mr. Cooper. Recalls his several changes in religious thought from Wesleyan preacher to sceptic. Reprinted from The Reasoner, July 8th to August 12th, 1860.

1873 John Stuart Mill as some of the working classes knew him. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp.29, cr. 8vo.

London: Trübner & Co., 1873. 6d.

Reprinted, with additions, from the Newcastle Weekly Chronicle. It is an answer to a letter circulated by Mr. Abraham Hayward, Q.C., who had already published an article in The Times on Mr. Mill's death containing unpleasant reflections on his character in earlier years, influencing a number of persons against Mill. Mr. Holyoake protested against the revival of obsolete calumnies on Mr. Mill, and does justice to the memory and character of the subject of his pamphlet.

1874 In Memoriam. Austin Holyoake, died April the 10th, 1874. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp.8, cr. 8vo.

Privately printed [1874].

Reprinted from the National Reformer, 10th May, 1874. A short account of the career of Austin Holyoake, brother of George Jacob Holyoake. It contains the sick room thoughts of Austin, dictated shortly before his death.

1875 Mr. Wendell Phillips. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. leaflet, 4to. [1875].

Refers to the invitation sent to Mr. Phillips to attend the Co-operative Congress in April, 1875.


London: Williams & Norgate [1881]. 3s.

The subject of his biography was a conservative, a protectionist, a great preacher, one of the most eloquent orators on the Chartist side, and a friend of Mr. Holyoake.


Two addresses delivered by Mr. Holyoake, one at the grave of Councillor Gimson, and another in the Secular Hall with which Mr. Gimson was connected as President of the Secular Society.

1884 Death of Mrs. G.J. Holyoake, 1819-1884. [Signed] GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 4, 4to.

Privately printed [1884].

A sympathetic biographical notice of Mrs. Holyoake who died on the 5th January, 1884. Reprinted from The Present Day.

1891 Life and career of Charles Bradlaugh. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.16, roy. 8vo.

Buffalo: H.L. Green, 1891. 15 cents.

Mr. Bradlaugh was announced to speak at the Hall of Science, London, but when the day arrived he was dead. Mr. Holyoake was asked to take his place, and he dealt with the life and character of the departed orator which forms the subject of the above pamphlet. Mr. Holyoake generously and skilfully averted the reader's glare from Mr. Bradlaugh's faults and sets in high relief the qualities and capacities which rendered him a prominent figure in our social history. It is quite an appreciation.

1895 Life of Thomas Burt, M.P., Ex-Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade; Secretary of the Northumberland Miners' Union. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE . . . [Portrait of Thomas Burt]. pp.16, cr. 8vo.

London: Walter Scott [1895]. Id.

Reprint of a pamphlet contributed to a series of biographies compiled by Mr. Henry M. Burt, of Massachusetts, who claims the subject of this biography as an "English cousin." It is a record of a labour member elected entirely by working men, and Mr. Holyoake writes with all the grace that can come from the glowing and friendly pen of a practised and eloquent writer.

1896 The warpath of opinion: strange things seen therein, as shown in the "Life of Bradlaugh" and "Memories of Linton." By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp.74, cr. 8vo.

Leicester: Co-operative Printing Society [1896].

This work was written in 1896, but while passing through the press through the influence of a friend of Mr. Holyoake's it was withheld from publication. The book was afterwards issued by the author in 1901, in vindication of Mazzini and himself. There was no publisher's name given, but it was to be obtained privately at Is. It is a criticism of Mrs. Bonner's Life of Charles Bradlaugh, in which Mr. Holyoake makes statements in reference to Fleet Street House, and Mr. Bradlaugh's connection
with the National Reformer, and repeats his objection to the publication of "The Bible: what it is." Mr. Holyoake further replies to the charges made by W.J. Linton. In a letter Mr. Holyoake wrote to his daughter in 1886, he says: "Linton's book is very interesting to me, though it is full of things not true...He asked me to Miteside to give up my opinions and take his. He never forgave me. His memory fails him. He mistakes me for Southwell who wanted to be a martyr. I never did."

190C Robert Owen, the precursor of social progress. In justification of the Newtown Memorial. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.22, dy. 8vo, illus.

Manchester: Co-operative Union [1900].

Written at the request, and issued by the authority of the Owen Memorial Committee. The pamphlet is an appreciation of Owen as social reformer, educationalist, and philanthropist, who, Mr. Holyoake points out, was the founder of "social progress," the pioneer of co-operation, and the man who gave it principles, example and individualist inspiration.

1902 Robert Owen Co-operative Memorial at Newtown. The unveiling ceremony on July 12th, 1902: address by Mr. G.J. HOLYOAKE. Illus. pp.19, dy. 8vo.

Manchester: Co-operative Union [1902].

Mr. Holyoake having been Owen's friend and co-worker was invited to unveil the monument erected to the memory of one who had worked so long and so enthusiastically in the cause of humanity. The tribute paid to the founder of "Social progress" by Mr. Holyoake was both eloquent and sympathetic. The pamphlet is reprinted from the Co-operative News of July 19th, 1902.

1903 Two great preachers; the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes and the Rev. Dr. Joseph Parker; or, appreciation distinct from concurrence. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.15, cr. 8vo.

London: Watts & Co., 1903. 3d.

Mr. Holyoake pays a warm tribute to each of his two opponents, and offers some "elucidations" of his real position - which is that of a candid man - in praising where he sees ground for it, without thereby forfeiting his own right to think differently from those whose character and actions he admired. Originally appeared in the Christian Commonwealth, early in the year 1903.

Reel 2

SECULARISM AND FREETHOUGHT

1842 The spirit of Bonner in the disciples of Jesus; or, the cruelty and intolerance of Christianity displayed, in the prosecution for blasphemy, of Charles Southwell, Editor of The Oracle of Reason: a lecture. By G. JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.16, cr. 8vo.

London: Hetherington [1842]. 2d.
The substance of a lecture delivered in the Hall of Science, Sheffield, on the 9th January, and published on 12th February, 1842. It is a defence of Charles Southwell who was imprisoned for blasphemy, an attempt to justify his conduct and doings, and an appeal for pecuniary aid to secure the triumph of his principles. The copy of the pamphlet now before the compiler was presented to the Atheistic Museum, by Miss Roalfe, being one of the books seized by the Procurator Fiscal on the 11th December, 1843, and afterwards returned to her upon her application for it on the 29th March, 1844. The gift is referred to in The Movement, No. 28, 1844, p. 224.

1843 A short and easy method with the saints. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 28, cr. 8vo.
London: Hetherington [1843]. 4d.

The work was written while Mr. Holyoake was in prison, and published on July 8th, 1843. Aims to display Christianity as Christianity displayed itself in the various prosecutions for blasphemy in the years 1842-3, and to decide the truth of Christianity by showing what claims Christians have upon infidel attention, and what claims Christian evidences have upon infidel credence. Leslie's "Short and Easy Method with the Deists," which a clerical magistrate lent to Mr. Holyoake during his imprisonment, doubtless suggested the title of this pamphlet.

1843 Paley refuted in his own words. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 39, cr. 8vo.
London: Hetherington [1843]. 6d., & 1s.

This book was written in 1842 while Mr. Holyoake was in prison, but was not published until 12th August, 1843. It was during his imprisonment that a clerical magistrate, seeking to convert Mr. Holyoake, lent him Paley's "Natural Theology," to which this pamphlet is an answer. The author demonstrates from Paley's premises not the existence of one God only, but the existence of an infinite number, and aims to prove the organisation of Paley's Deity, and the necessity of his having a designer, equally with man, whom Paley insists his Deity designed.

Edition on microfilm is:-
Third edition, pp. 46, cr. 8vo.
London: J. Watson, 1850. 6d.

Later editions also appeared.

London: J. Watson, 1845. 6d.

The object of this book appears to have been to put Mr. Robert Owen's philosophy into a new form. Mr. Holyoake argues that rationalism as a system of mental and moral philosophy has no necessary connections with communism or other economical systems; and he avowedly abstained from entering into any description or defence of the political economy of the "New state of Society" propounded by Robert Owen. In his "History of Co-operation," page 517, Mr. Holyoake says: "In 1845 I
published a little book entitled "Rationalism," which was then the legal name of Co-operation, the societies then known to the public being enrolled under an Act of Parliament as Associations of Rational religionists."

1845  Prospectus of the Atheon. Resident curator - Mr. G.J. HOLYOAKE. Leaflet [1845].

The Institution was intended to serve as the centre of "fraternal intelligence," the Atheistical Society, The Movement Office, Anti-Persecution Union, Atheistical Museum, Library and Reading Room.- Reprinted from The Movement, No. 55, 1845, pp.4-5.

1847  Propagandism. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.4, dy. 8vo.

London: Reasoner Office, 1847.

Sketch of the rationale of propagandism, as an appeal for financial support to carry on the work of The Reasoner. Reprinted from The Reasoner, No. 53, June 2nd, 1847, p.298 et seq.

1848  The polity and resources of freethinking. [Signed] GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.8, dy. 8vo.

London: Reasoner Office, 1848.

Reprinted from No. 100 of The Reasoner, and deals with the conduct and financial position of that journal.

1850  The logic of death; or, why should the atheist fear to die? By G. JACOB HOLYOAKE . . . Burnt by the Rev. William Blandy. pp.15, 12mo.

London: J. Watson, 1850. 1d.

Mainly written in 1848 and 1849 at a time when cholera was raging in London, and first published in The Reasoner, No. 193, February 6th, 1850. The author recites the manner in which the atheist reasoned upon death, and attempts to answer the question - should the conscientious atheist fear to die? Contends that virtue is the only preparation for death, and that a good man, whatever his religious opinions, need not fear to die. The Rev. William Blandy of Chesterfield, on the occasion of his delivering a lecture on the 24th February, 1850, in Soreby Chapel, on "The evil of improper books," burnt the issue of The Reasoner containing "The logic of death." This action resulted in the treatise being reprinted on the 10th April, 1850, which was designated Blandy's edition, during which year about 20,000 copies had been circulated, and up to the year 1902 over 100,000 copies had been sold. The work has been translated into German under the title "Gedanken uber den Tod," and has been criticised by the Rev. J.W. Brooks, Rev. T. Colisson, G.B. Harris Cowper, Frank Curzon, J. Harrison, Prof. W. Martin, James Quin, S. Williams and many others; but the best reply is that of the Rev. Dr. Croly the most eloquent metropolitan preacher of his day.

Later editions also appeared.
1850 Catholicism, the religion of fear; with eight engravings from the remarkable work of Father Pinamonti of the Society of Jesus, published by Catholic authority. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.32, fcap. 8vo.

London: J. Watson, 1850. 3d.

Mainly a reprint of a series of articles which appeared in The Reasoner, vol. 9, Nos. 203-10. With slight additions it was published on December 18th, 1850, between which date and January 15th, 1851, three editions had been issued. It is a contribution to Papal aggression literature, stating the case of Catholicism and Rationalism. Contends that compromise between the two is impossible, and that if the reformation of Luther is carried out, Rationalism must be the result; that as Catholicism is a "widely-ramified conspiracy against popular liberty," so Rationalism, "the offspring of civilization," is the doctrine and the gospel of liberty.


London: Reasoner Office, 1850.

A favourable review of a book written by Mr. Fox in answer to his detractors, and as the exposition of his creed to those who were curious to know his views.


London: Reasoner Office, 1850.

A defence of The Leader against the criticisms of The Weekly Tribune.


London: Reasoner Office, 1850.

The reply is in the nature of a criticism of the book published under the above title. Mr. Holyoake complains that Mr. Fice does not define the infidelity it professes to deal with, and that his charges are false and not applicable to any system of Freethinking.

1850 The theist silenced. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. leaflet. dy. 8vo.

Privately printed [1850].

A reply to a printed page circulated in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, entitled "The atheist silenced," which represented that Mr. B. Wale had refuted an atheist lecturer at Manchester. Both Mr. Wale's arguments and Mr. Holyoake's reply appeared in The Reasoner of 9th October, 1850.

1851 Lectures and debates: their terms, condition and character. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp.8, cr. 8vo.

Privately printed [1851].

Reprinted from The Reasoner, No. 249, March 8th, 1851. Deals with the value of lecturing, the time occupied, and the expenses incurred in travelling, as well as with the remuneration. Reprinted again with additions; including a letter to Dr. Rutherford on "The conditions of public debates."
1851 Rationalism, the legitimate opponent of Catholicism. [Signed] G.J. HOLYOAKE. pp.4, dy. 8vo.

London: [Reasoner Office, 1851]. 1d.

Written at the request of the Political and Social Tract Society, and appeared in The Reasoner of January 22nd, 1851. With a few abridgments, it was stereotyped and published separately.

1851 The philosophic type of religion, as developed by Professor Newman, stated, examined and answered. By G. JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp.26, fcap. 8vo.

London: J. Watson, 1851. 3d.

A sympathetic but candid review of Prof. Francis-W. Newman's "The soul: her sorrows and her aspirations," reprinted from The Reasoner for June and July, 1851. Mr. Holyoake restates Prof. Newman's theistic argument, and with quick perceptiveness seizes upon all the salient points in Mr. Newman's presentation of the rationalistic view of religion; or, a presentation, as Mr. Holyoake puts it, of "the phenomena of religion made moral and philosophic."

1852 The organisation of freethinkers. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp.8, fcap. 8vo.

London: J. Watson, 1852. 1d.

Defines the aims and objects an organization of freethinkers should have, and the steps to be taken to attain them.

1852 Constitution and objects of secular societies. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp.4, dy. 8vo.

[London: J. Watson, 1852]. 1d.

Discussed and agreed to at the first Secular Conference, held at Manchester in October, 1852, and was issued as a supplement to The Reasoner, No. 337, November 10th, 1852.

1852 Why do the clergy avoid discussion, and the philosophers discountenance it? By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE quotation. pp.43, fcap. 8vo.

London: J. Watson, 1852. 6d.

Forms the second volume of The Cabinet of Reason. The issue of the book resulted in a six nights' discussion in 1853 between Mr. Holyoake and the Rev. Brewin Grant, who resorted to the meanest insinuations to injure the reputation of Mr. Holyoake. Under six heads, the author states, as a result of his own experiences as a debater, what are, in his opinion, the reasons for avoiding discussion: (a) that religious truth is so obvious as not to need it, (b) through fear of giving the opponent an advantage, (c) through dread of being outraged by it, (d) lack of knowledge to control it, (e) because they fear it, and (f) because they do not understand it as an art. Holds that the clergy depended for defence upon "reticence and upon railing in the sacred enclosures of their pulpits."

1852 The positive side of free enquiry. [Signed] G.J. HOLYOAKE. pp.8; dy. 8vo.

London: The Reasoner Office [1852].

Reviews the work of The Reasoner from the year 1846 to 1852.
Mr. George J. Holyoake's three lectures in Heywood, in answer to Mr. E. Grubb's lectures entitled "Infidelity unmasked." In three parts. pp.10, 12 and 12, cr. 8vo.

Heywood: A. Whitworth [1852].

The subjects of discussion were:-"Development of the principle of free inquiry," "The moral innocency of rejecting Christianity where conscientiously disbelieved," "Roman Catholicism, the type of the orthodox churches around us, who reproduce its objectionable features while repudiating its name." The first of these lectures was replied to by the Rev. Woodville Woodman in his "Doctrine of a Supreme Being vindicated."


London: J. Watson [1853].

Reprinted from The Reasoner, No. 347, January 19th, 1853, by the Hoxton Secular Society. The leaflet aims to explain what secularism actually means.

[For friends of secular progress only] Circular from Mr. Holyoake. pp.8, cr. 8vo.


An appeal for funds to carry on the Fleet Street House as a propagandist institution.

Secularism the affirmative philosophy of the people. By G.J. HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp.16, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co., 1854. 1d.

Having been asked on several occasions for some brief and general statement of secular views for circulation, the author has brought together some of the best thoughts he had uttered, as well as explanatory passages contained in his various publications, with a view to showing the necessity of independent, self-helping, self-extricating opinions. In the course of the pamphlet, which may be said to be the first dealing with secularism, the author affirms that secularism builds on the foundation of four rights, and claims for it a moral basis. The work resulted in another discussion with the Rev. Brewin Grant. Mr. John A. Langford replied to Mr. Holyoake's views in his pamphlet entitled "Christianity, not secularism," and the Rev. Joseph Barker criticised the work in his "Six chapters on secularism."

A further edition appeared in 1854.

Controversial characteristics of the Scottish people. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp.4, fcap. 8vo. [1854].

After the debate with Brewin Grant in Glasgow during October 1854, Mr. Holyoake was invited by members of the Committee to deliver two lectures in the Merchants' Hall, Glasgow, on the 2nd and 6th of November, 1854, and the above pamphlet contains the remarks he made at the conclusion of his second lecture, in which he draws a comparison between the Church of Scotland and that of England in the methods of controversy, favouring the Scotsman for his tolerance and intellect.
1854 A secular prayer. By G.J. HOLYOAKE, in Invertiel Church, Kirkcaldy, November 14th, 1854. Leaflet.

London: Holyoake & Co., 1854. 6d. per doz.

On the occasion of the debate between Mr. Holyoake and Mr. Jamieson in Invertiel Church, it was proposed to commence with prayer. Mr. Holyoake said he had no objection to his opponents praying, but he should expect to be allowed to pray also. The above-mentioned prayer was given by Mr. Holyoake on the second evening of debate. Reprinted from The Reasoner, No. 446.

1854 Freethought directory: a catalogue of works published or supplied by Holyoake & Co. (By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE). pp.16, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co. 1854. 1d.

Intended to serve as an approximate directory of Freethought, informing inquirers where they may obtain the best works likely to interest a freethinker.

1855 Statement from Fleet Street for 1855. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.4, dy. 8vo.

[London: Reasoner Office, 1853].

An account of the work of propagandism, and of the application of the funds. The objects of Fleet Street House were the securing of equal civil rights for all those excluded from them by conscientious opinion not recognised by the State; the maintenance of a centre of personal communication and the publication of free opinions on social, political and theological questions; to stimulate free search for truth, and to encourage freethought in all sects and classes.

1855 Secularism distinguished from Unitarianism: a reply to six of the Unitarian clergy. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.16, fcap. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co., 1855. 2d.

A review of a series of lectures delivered by Unitarian ministers - the Revs. Herford, Gordon, Solly, Tayler, Marshall, Madge and Clarke, in which the principles of secularism are stated. Mr. Holyoake represents secularism as the system which endeavours to find "calculable causes, that progress may no longer be a capricious aspiration, but a serious scientific pursuit in which the steps shall be definite, measured and reliable."

1856 The history of Fleet Street House: a report of sixteen years. (By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE). pp.20, roy. 8vo.

London: Promoters of Freethought, 1856. 6d.

The report covers the period 1840-56, and gives a summary of the business and propagandist property of the house, with the object of showing those who might wish to make loans to it, the amount of security in the hands of the Director.
1858 British Secular Institute of Communication and Propagandism: report of the Fleet Street House, part ii, for 1857. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp8, dy. 8vo.

London: Privately printed [1858]. 6d.

Accounts for the moneys received for propagandist purposes, and the aggregate disbursements on this account from 1854 to 1858.

1858 The trial of theism. By G.J. HOLYOAKE, Editor of The Reasoner. pp.viii+176, cr.8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co. [1858].

Originally published in 22 penny fortnightly parts of 8 pages, the first being issued on June 11th, 1857. It was also issued in four sixpence half-penny sections, two of them appearing in 1857 and two in 1858. The work contains an examination of at least ten schools of theistical thought with which Mr. Holyoake was brought into controversial contact. It does not profess to deal with the intrinsic truth of Theism, but with those aspects of interpretations which stood in the way of secular truth. It may be considered a history of a fifteen years' discussion and propagandism, giving in a revised form, the chief articles on theological subjects which he had written during that period.

A further edition appeared in 1877.

1859 The principles of secularism briefly explained. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.40, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co., 1859. 6d.

Believing in the possibility of a neutral faith, Mr. Holyoake here endeavours to define and consolidate his position. Holds that a secularist concerns himself with present time and material existence, neither ignoring nor denying the future and spiritual, which are independent questions. This work was originally published in five penny parts under the titles, (a) Definitions of terms, (b) Secular aphorisms, (c) Definitions of principles, (d) Secular organisation indicated, (e) Characteristics of secular principles. The pamphlet is severely criticised by J.H. Gordon in his "Helps to belief," No. 4.

Later editions also appeared.


[London: Reasoner Office, 1859].

A statement of the work of propagandism during the year 1858-9 and an appeal for further support, which Mr. Holyoake pointed out was not a charity but a claim.

1860 The impossibility of proving the existence of God by the design argument. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. [Two-page secular tracts, No. 3]. pp.2, cr. 8vo.


Issued as No. 2 of The Reasoner Gazette, 1860.
1861 The logic of life, deduced from the principle of freethought.
By G.J. HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp.16, cr. 8vo.

London: Newsagents' Publishing Co. [1861]. 2d.

Explains what the secular policy of life is, and in what respects secular principles are independent of Christianity, and are self-guiding and self-sustaining. Aims to show that the principles of morality are established, sufficient for human guidance, for which men are not indebted to Christianity. The work was criticised by Mr. J. Clark, in his pamphlet entitled "Mr. Holyoake's 'Logic of Life' inconsistent and dangerous."

Later editions also appeared.

1861 Public purposes of the Fleet Street House. [Signed] G.J. HOLYOAKE. pp.4, 4to.

Privately printed, 1861.

Speech by Mr. Holyoake acknowledging a gift of £500, presented to him at Anderton's Hotel, May 14th, 1861, and a statement of the circumstances which led to the presentation. The amount was subscribed to meet the loss to Mr. Holyoake in connection with Fleet Street House, and on account of his political and other services in the publication of proscribed opinion, in endeavours to diffuse among the working classes dispassionate principles of advocacy, and on account of legal risks incurred in aiding some questions of public liberty.


London: Holyoake & Co. [1862].

A proposal written on April 13th, 1862, to raise a fund for establishing The Secular World upon a profit-sharing principle, and for the diffusion of secular principles by means of lectures.

1862 Joseph Barker, and his expulsion from the secular body. Dr. Perfitt, and the unbounded virtue party. By "Quasimodo" [i.e. GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp.8, cr. 8vo.

London: Austin Holyoake [1862]. 1d.

A defence of Freethought against the charges made by Joseph Barker, whom the author severely criticises. Reprinted from The National Reformer.

1863 Mr. Holyoake's disconnection with the National Reformer, and the correspondence which accounts for it. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp.8, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co. [1863].

This pamphlet refers to the argument between Mr. Holyoake and Mr. Bradlaugh, relative to the conduct of the National Reformer, and Mr. Bradlaugh's termination of the agreement with Mr. Holyoake that he should have absolute control of three pages, and have a voice in the rejection of articles likely to bring discredit into the secular ranks.
1863 Cumming wrong; Colenso right: a reply to the Rev. Dr. Cumming's "Moses right, Colenso wrong." By "A London Zulu" [pseud. of GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp.60, cr. 8vo.

London: F. Farrah [1863]. 6d.

Originally issued in four twopenny numbers, on February 7th, 16th, March 4th and 19th. Purports to be written as a plea for the Zulus abroad and at home, by one with a leniency towards them. Mr. Holyoake shows a readiness to welcome the diffusion of religion, if it be purged from corruption. Suggests the form of religion which alone can be received by those whom Christians desire to convert, namely, that which recognizes the natural powers of man, and insists on morality as its essence, rather than on creeds and articles. It is a refutation of Dr. Cumming's attack on Bishop Colenso's "Penateuch and the Book of Joshua," and discusses the general tenor not only of Colenso's writings but of his life. Examines the characteristics of the heathen with whom he had to deal, and states the objections to the Christian dogmas which intelligent Kaffirs made, and the way in which the Bishop met them.


Deals with the issue of a series of sixpenny pamphlets relating to the religious conditions of the age, issued by a dissenting minister, which Mr. Holyoake considered were calculated to have an influence on the rationalism of theology.

1864 The suppressed lecture at Cheltenham. By G.J. HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp.8, cr. 8vo.

London: F. Farrah, 1864. 1d.

Reprinted from The Reasoner, No. 827. In 1864 Mr. Holyoake was invited by some friends to deliver a lecture upon "The changes in religious opinion in England since 1842," but although three or four suitable places were engaged, Mr. Holyoake was prevented by the police and the Lord of the Manor from delivering it. Mr. Holyoake was then prevailed upon to print this abstract of the suppressed lecture. It was afterwards issued as No. 2 of the Utilitarian tracts.


London Book Store [1865]. 3d.

Reprinted with additions from the Newcastle Weekly Chronicle. Enumerates the unfortunate points in which the Davenport brothers resemble impostors, and thus invite incredulity by their own acts. It was originally entitled "The new religion of the Tambourines, what it does and what it means," Utilitarian tracts, No. 3.
1866 Eclectic catalogue. 1866. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp.16, dy. 8vo.

London Book Store, 1866. 3d.

The object was to provide a catalogue of books of distinction, as a guide to thinkers, learners, and to the intelligent portion of the working classes desirous of forming small libraries for home use. It was intended to issue the catalogue periodically, but No. 1 was the only one published.

1868 The priesthood of science: their visit to Norwich. [Signed] G.J.H. pp.8, cr. 8vo.

London Book Store, 1868. 2d.

An account of the British Association meeting at Norwich. Reviews the speeches made by the President, and other speakers at the various sections. Draws a comparison between the Clergy and Scientists, aims to show how the one saves souls, and how the other saves lives by improving human conditions of existence. Reprinted as No. 888 of The Reasoner, 1st November, 1868.

Edition filmed is from The Reasoner, above.

1870 Misconceptions as to secular instruction. By G.J. HOLYOAKE. pp.8, cr. 8vo.

London: The Reasoner Office, 1870. 2d.

The main object is to represent Secularism as Mr. Holyoake consistently explained and advocated, as distinct in principle from Atheism, distinct in criticism from Infidelism. Reprinted as No. 890 of The Reasoner, April, 1870.

Edition filmed is from The Reasoner, above.

1873 Secular responsibility. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp.15, cr. 8vo.

London: Trübner & Co., 1873. 1d.

A reply to Dr. Brindley's lectures on "Human responsibility and retributive justice," and defends Mr. Robert Owen and Lord Brougham against unfair criticism of the lecturer, and urges that the secularist does not teach irresponsibility as Dr. Brindley states, but rather that he teaches that society is responsible for its own condition. Published on the 11th March, 1873.


Privately printed [1877].

Criticises the altered tone of The Secular Review from what it was formerly, and objects to the attack upon the Bishop of Manchester.

1880 Freethinking explained. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. leaflet.

Reprinted from The Freethinker [1880].
1881  
Code of the tenets or governing principles of the Society of Secularists set forth in ten articles. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE, and JOSEPH ELLIS, "Philip Dawson."] pp.40, cr. 8vo.

London: Society of Secularists, 1881.

Deals with the Being of God, self-dependence, knowledge, morality, religion, training of children, responsibility, good and evil, and secular sufficiency.

1882  
Secularism a religion which gives heaven no trouble. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. With speech by Mr. Councillor Gimson. pp.15, cr. 8vo.

London: Watts & Co. 1882. 2d.

Speech delivered at the opening of the Secular Hall, Leicester, on the 6th of March, 1881. Contends for the exercise of freethought, and states that those who defend it and teach it, show far more piety than they who defame and frustrate it.

1882  
Plain words about secularism. [Signed] GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.4, dy. 8vo.

Privately printed [1882].

Aims to show what secularism really means and what it does, that it seeks the improvement of the world by material but moral means, that it teaches self-help by the use of science and morality, founded not upon creeds but upon experience.

1886  

London: E.W. Allen 1886. 2d.

A discourse delivered in South Place Chapel on Sunday, February 28th, 1886, reprinted from The Present Day. Touches upon every phase of toleration, and appeals for that which not only asserts fair play, but takes care that rival opinion is not killed by foul play.

1887  
New ideas of the day. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.16, cr. 8vo.

London: Freethought Publishing Co., 1887. Id.

The subject of a lecture delivered at the Hall of Science, Old Street, London. It first appeared in the National Reformer. Shows the advances made during the past two or three centuries in the matter of toleration. Points out that the ideas of the day are improving and broadening, and suggests that secular perception is the greatest of all new ideas.

1890  
What would follow on the effacement of Christianity. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.15, roy. 8vo.

Buffalo: H.L. Green, 1890. 10 cents.

Deals with militant Christianity, stating what the authorised and accepted doctrines of Christianity really are, what the aspect of society would be if they disappeared, and how Christianity sits on moral endeavour and suffocates it. This essay was written for a competition at the request of his friend Thomas Allsop who offered the prize.
1896 The origin and nature of secularism; showing that where freethought commonly ends, secularism begins. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.136, cr. 8vo.

London: Watts & Co., 1896. 2s. 6d.

An exposition of secularism. The author holds that secularism is the extension of freethought to ethics, and aims to explain how unfounded are the objections to secular instruction. The work was sent to Mr. Gladstone with the object of explaining to him the quality of the heresy against which he had so strenuously written.


London: Rationalist Press Assoc. 1903.

An appeal for funds to enable the Rationalist Press Association to engage lecturers to expound the principles of the Association.

Reel 3

CO-OPERATION AND SOCIAL REFORM

a) Owenism

1841 The advantages and disadvantages of Trades' Unions. By G. JACOB HOLYOAKE. Published by request, and addressed to the Trades' Unions of Sheffield. pp.12, cr. 8vo.

Sheffield: Hardcastle [1841].

The substance of a lecture delivered to members of the Trades' Unions in the Hall of Science, Sheffield, November 28th, 1841. Suggests that the working classes cannot be prosperous until they get the power to use the land for their own benefit and that of the whole commonwealth.

1844 A visit to Harmony Hall!...with emendations and a new and curious vindicatory chapter, containing a digest of the suppressed discussions at Branch A1, dedicated to the Socialists of England and Scotland. By G.J.H. pp.27, post 8vo.

London: Hetherington, 1844. 2d.

The author opens with an amusing account of his journey to Queenwood on 14th October, 1844, and gives his impressions of the Socialist community founded there in that year at a cost of £37,000, largely borrowed. The object of his visit to the Hampshire Colony was to draw attention to the condition of things existing under the new executive, and to awaken the communists from the sleep of the paternal despotism of the previous executive. Mr. Holyoake severely criticises Mr. Robert Owen and his coadjutors for their foolish choice of locality, for their unwarrantable extravagance, and the many irregularities enacted at Harmony Hall. The failure of Queenwood was announced in the following year and the palatial building was afterwards used as an educational establishment. Mr. Holyoake was censured by the London A1 Branch for the publication of this pamphlet, and charged with being the cause of the failure. Published 25th December, 1844.
1861 Dr. Brindley and the vote of censure. [Signed] "Ion." leaflet, folio. 1861.

An exposure of the persecuting spirit which Dr. Brindley had worked up in the minds of the employers of labour at Huddersfield, in advising them to dismiss all socialists from their employment. Reprinted from the Huddersfield Examiner, April 3rd, 1861.

1861 To the subscribers of the Brindley testimonial fund. [Signed] "A voice from the crowd" [i.e. GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. leaflet, folio. 1861.

A protest against a testimonial being made to Dr. Brindley for alleged meritorious services in Huddersfield, by reason of his advice to employers of labour to dismiss all socialists employed by them.

For this section see also 1900 Robert Owen, the Precursor of social progress, 1902 Robert Owen Co-operative Memorial at Newtown both on reel 1 and 1845 Rationalism: a treatise for the times on reel 2.

b) Temperance

1856 Letter to the Rev. J. Gibson, M.A., of the Free Kirk Presbytery in reply to his "Principles of Bible Temperance," to which is appended the entire controversy with The Reasoner.

London: Holyoake & Co. [1856]. 5d.

Reprinted from the Appendix to "The Works of Dr. Lees," vol. 3.

1859 The social means of promoting temperance, with remarks on errors in its advocacy. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp.31, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co. [1859]. 4d.

Published on the 12th December, 1850. The author endeavours to point out the defective basis of teetotalism. Holds that, by a Maine law, we may conform conduct to a standard, but by social means we may control the conscience. Urges a more liberal advocacy of temperance, and better material conditions for its cultivation.


Privately printed, 1871.

Reprint of a letter which Mr. Holyoake contributed to The Examiner, No. 3307, in support of Mr. Dalrymple's Bill for the detention of "habitual inebriates" in asylums.

c) Anti-Sabbatarianism

1856 The rich man's six, and the poor man's one day: a letter to Lord Palmerston. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE] pp.8, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co., 1856]. 1d.

An appeal for freedom for the working man to have music on Sunday, and for the Sunday opening of the Crystal Palace, museums, National Gallery, Botanical Gardens, etc. Reprinted from The Reasoner, which according to the pamphlet is No. 529, while the issue in which it appeared is incorrectly numbered 527, when it should have been No. 528, July 6th, 1856.
d) Penal Reform

1864 Public lessons of the hangman. By G.J. HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp.8, cr. 8vo.

London: F. Farrah [1864]. 1d.

Reprinted from the Morning Star, November 16th, 1864, by several gentlemen in favour of the abolition of capital punishment in the open street. The hangman is shown to be considered by the public, who attend his appearances, as an actor in melodrama, and nothing more. Urges that capital punishment should be abolished; or, that the method of carrying it out be reformed. The pamphlet was written the day after the hanging of Franz Muller, and forms No. 1 of the Utilitarian pamphlets. Shortly after the publication of this pamphlet, public executions were abolished by Parliament.

Edition on microfilm is:-

Fifth edition, pp.8, cr. 8vo.

London: F. Farrah [1864]. 1d.

1884 Jurisprudence and amendment of the law ... By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.4, dy. 8vo. [1884].

A paper read at the Birmingham Congress of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, September, 1884, dealing with the question of prison labour. Holds that our prisons should be made self-supporting, and that prison idleness is not only a waste of taxpayers' money, but demoralises the prisoners.

1898 The romance of a deputation. [Signed] G.J. HOLYOAKE. leaflet, 4to.

Brighton Herald Office, 1898.

Refers to the deputation which met the Watch Committee of the Brighton Town Council to discuss the desirability of appointing police matrons to attend to female prisoners in the cells of the Town Hall. Extracted from the Brighton Herald, 30th April, 1898.

e) Travelling Tax Abolition

1884 Continuance of the travelling tax. [Signed] GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.2, dy. 8vo.

London: Travelling Tax Abolition Committee [1884].

A letter addressed to The Times of Friday, 1st August, 1884, protesting against the passenger tax imposed upon season ticket holders travelling first or second class.

1901 History of the travelling tax. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.16, dy. 8vo.

London: A. Bonner, 1901.

Reprinted from the Co-operative Wholesale Societies' Annual for 1901. For over 25 years Mr. Holyoake served as Chairman of a Committee which laboured to free travelling from taxation.
f) Free Trade

1885  Robbing a thousand Peters to pay one Paul. [Signed] GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.2, dy. 8vo.

London: Cassell & Co. [1885]. 1s.

Cobden Club Leaflet, No. XXI, showing the fallacy of the protective policy.

1885  Reciprocity explained. [Signed] GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.2, dy. 8vo.

London: Cassell & Co. [1885]. 1s.

Cobden Club Leaflet, No. XXV, showing what protection, reciprocity or fair trade actually means to the people.

g) Trade Unionism

1896  Three articles dealing with the treatment of the musicians by the bandmaster of West Pier, Brighton. By G.J. HOLYOAKE. pp.8, cr. 8vo.

Brighton: Amalgamated Musicians' Union [1896].

Criticises the action of Mr. Gates, Bandmaster of the West Pier, in discharging the musicians because they had joined the Trade Union, and charges him with sweating the men. Reprinted from The Labour Leader.

For this section see also 1841 The advantages and disadvantages of Trades' Unions in section (a) Owenism above.

h) Co-operation

1850  The appeal of the distressed operative tailors to the higher classes and the public. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE and ROBERT LE BLOND. pp.31, dy. 8vo.

London: Privately printed [1850].

Narrative of the poverty, degradation and hopeless toil of men and women employed by "sweaters" for the tailoring trade, and a statement of the misery engendered by the sweating and middleman system.

1851  The workman and the International Exhibition. By "ION" [pseud. of GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp.18, fcap. 8vo.

[London: J. Watson, 1851. ½d].

This pamphlet, which is signed by Ion, was reprinted from The Leader, No. 65, June 21st, 1851, for gratuitous circulation among visitors at the great Hyde Park Exhibition. It aims to show the condition of workmen and the misery that existed in the houses and workshops from which came the beautiful objects and wonders of production exhibited there; and at what human cost they were produced is pathetically described by Mr. Holyoake.
1858  Self help by the people: history of co-operation in Rochdale.
Part I.  1844-1857. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.72, cr. 8vo.


   It was intended to publish this work in the first place through
the columns of the Daily News in 1857; but after the first chapter
had appeared, the breaking out of the Indian Mutiny necessitated
the abandonment of its publication in that journal, and it appeared
in book form. Describes the difficulties that had to be surmounted
in the attempt at co-operation in Rochdale, and the way in which
they were overcome, the causes of success, and also the many
failures which had occurred. The aim of the book is to show what
working men can accomplish when united. The author considers
co-operation amongst workmen, as the best and most practical
substitute, under the then circumstances, for strikes. If followed
out, the author implies that it would render the working classes,
to a certain extent, independent of their employers.

Edition on microfilm is:-
   Second edition, pp.72, cr. 8vo.


Later editions also appeared. In 1878 was published

   Part II. 1857-1877. pp.viii+92, cr. 8vo.


1862  Moral errors which endanger the permanence of co-operative societies
...By G.J. HOLYOAKE. pp.15, cr. 8vo.

   Bury Co-operative Society, 1862. Id.

   A paper on the moral causes which frustrate co-operative success,
read before the Political Economy section of the Social Science
Congress, in Guildhall, London, 1862. The original title of the
paper was "The moral mistakes of co-operators." It has been
reprinted several times.

1863  A "Working man's" objections to co-operative societies answered.
   By "One who has seen them before." [GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp.14,
cr. 8vo.


   A reply to "Four letters on co-operative societies: their aims
and failures." Mrs. Holyoake-Marsh possesses a copy of this
pamphlet signed by her father, clearly showing that he was the
author.

1864  Imitable features of the Railway Permanent Benefit Building Society,
   Euston. By G.J. HOLYOAKE. pp.8, dy. 8vo.


   A paper read at York, September 26th, 1864, in the Social
Economy section at the Congress of the National Association for
Promoting Social Science.
The perils of co-operation. The hundred master system. By "A student in co-operation." [i.e., GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp.8, 12mo.

Reprinted from the Morning Star. The author criticises the class of men calling themselves co-operators, who, as workmen, protest against the unfeeling tyranny of employers, yet, when they are lucky enough to become shareholders in a factory, take care to exclude their workpeople from any share in the profits. Mr. Holyoake contends that it is better to work under one master than under a hundred such.

Partnerships of industry: a statement of the co-operative case divested of sentimentality. By G.J. HOLYOAKE. pp.16, cr. 8vo.

London Book Store [1865]. 2d.

A paper read at the Social Science Congress, 1865. The author urges the profit-sharing principle in all industries, pointing out that the working man, unless he is to enjoy a share in the profits of his employers, becomes careless in his work, extravagant with material, engages in strikes, and endangers the business of his employer.

The Social Economist. leaflet.

London: Proprietors of The Social Economist [1871].

Refers to the discontinuance of the journal in favour of the projected Co-operative News, and the neglect of the proprietors of the News to accept arbitration upon a property upon which £1,000 had been spent before the transfer to them of The Social Economist.

The logic of co-operation. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp.16, cr. 8vo.

London: Trübner & Co., 1873. 1d. and 2d.

Calls upon co-operators to admit the consumer to participate as a purchaser to some undefined extent in the profits of productive work, and considers that the provision for securing this participation, made by the Hebden Bridge Fustian Manufacturing Society, a very proper one for a working man's association. Published on 13th March, 1873.

The policy of commercial co-operation as respects including the consumer. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. [quotation]. pp.16, cr. 8vo.

London: Trübner & Co. [1873]. 1d.

Reprinted on the 15th July, 1873, with additions, from the Co-operative News. It is a reply to the views expressed by Mr. Ludlow in a paper read at the Newcastle Congress in 1873 on Co-operative Production. Aims to explain the commercial policy which justifies the consumer participating in the division of profits.
1882 The revenue of the Central Co-operative Board: a paper read by Mr. G.J. HOLYOAKE ... pp.4, 12mo.

Central Co-operative Board [1882].

Read at the Congress held at Oxford in 1882. Deals with the question of subscriptions, which, the author urges, should be paid promptly to the Central Board for the continuity, prosperity and extension of the co-operative movement.

1884 Employee interest in co-operation. [Signed] GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

leaflet [1884].

A leaflet printed for the use of delegates to the London Conference, August 20th, 1884. Urges that co-operation means social equality, and that equality of consideration to each will do much to beget and maintain quality of interest to all.

1885 Manual of co-operation; being an epitome of Holyoake's "History of Co-operation" arranged by the Sociologic Society of America; with an introduction by GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.78, fcap. 8vo.

New York: John B. Alden, 1885.

Simply a summary of such portions of the work as have relevance to American needs, with an account of the English conception of the co-operative movement up to 1885.

1887 Inaugural address delivered at the Nineteenth Co-operative Congress, held at Carlisle, May 30th and 31st, and June 1st, 1887. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE, Esq. pp.15, cr. 8vo.

Manchester: Central Co-operative Board [1887]. 3s. 6d. per 100.

Mr. Holyoake's address was a vindication of the co-operative movement, and an appreciation of those who had aided it in principle and by financial support.


Manchester: Central Co-operative Board [1888]. 2d.

Reprinted (by permission) from the Fortnightly Review, August, 1887. It is an historical outline of the co-operative idea, and deals with the movement in its relation to commerce and industry and the working classes.

1888 Self help a hundred years ago. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE ... pp.viii+214, post 8vo.

London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1888. 2s. 6d.

Published in the Co-operative News under the title "Social ideas a hundred years ago, more than are in the mind of any one to-day." It is a record of the social devices which were in action before the beginning of the 19th century. Throws light on the principles of the co-operative movement in a convenient form, and affords a glimpse into the condition of rural England more than a century ago.

-Later editions also appeared.
1888 Co-operative dairy farming in Denmark. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.4, dy. 8vo.

London: Cassell & Co. 1888. 2s. per 100.

Cobden Club leaflet, No. LX. An account of the Danish dairies organised on the co-operative principle, dealing with the question of the produce and its distribution, with a set of rules for management.

1891 The co-operative movement to-day. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE ... pp.iv+189, cr. 8vo. Social questions of to-day.

London: Methuen & Co., 1891, 2s. 6d.

States the precise position of the co-operative movement, and estimates its prospects for the future, as well as the benefits which its adoption brings to the labourer. Aims to vindicate co-operative equity as a means of concord between labour and wealth.

A further edition appeared in 1891.

1894 Letter from Mr. GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE to the Daily News, April 18th, 1894, on the proposed journal, Labour Co-partnership. pp.2, dy. 8vo.

Privately printed [1894].

An appeal for the support of Associations which have for their object the sharing of profits with labour, and attempts to show that co-partnership is the only way in which labour can be conciliated, strikes rendered needless, and old age pensions self-provided.

1898 Essentials of co-operative education. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE ... pp.19, roy. 8vo.

London: Labour Co-partnership Association, 1898. 4d.

Two addresses given in the Labour Association rooms on June 22nd and July 6th, 1898. To care for the welfare of others; the duty of, according an equitable share to all concerned in creating wealth; to know what the true principles of a co-operative society are, their influence and operation; cordial association, the sense of truth and the sense of equity are some of the "essentials" of co-operative education which Mr. Holyoake submits to the reader.

1899 Against clandestine commissions, mainly in the interest of co-operative societies. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp.12, roy. 8vo.

London: Gay & Bird, 1899. 3d.

Deals with Lord Russell's bill against Secret Commissions, and points out that to make national, and especially commercial, probity more possible than at present, and to discourage departures thence from was its main object. Originally appeared in The Co-operative News, 25th November to the 9th December, 1899.

A further edition appeared in 1899.
1900 The two kinds of co-operation. [Signed] G.J. HOLYOAKE. pp.2, dy. 8vo.

Brighton Equitable E. & R.I. Committee [1900]

A comparison between "Rochdale Co-operation" and that known as "Civil Service" or "London Co-operation."


Manchester: Co-operative Union [1903]. 6d.

This work contains ten pamphlets which originally appeared as articles in the Co-operative News, in answer to the "private trader," and afterwards published in this collected form. It was the intention of Mr. Holyoake to give to this volume the title "The case of co-operation stated, in respect to the private trader."

(There are thirteen papers in this booklet, ten of which were written by Holyoake but the volume has been filmed complete.)

1904 The new party of profit seizers. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.7, cr. 8vo.

Glasgow: Scottish Co-operative Society, 1904.

Written for the Scottish Co-operative Employees' Association, and published in the Scottish Co-operator, March 4th, 1904. Objects to the proposal to take from labour its rightful profit, and give it to the consumer, thereby violating the co-operative principle of participation. Points out that it is the worker who creates wealth and profit, and therefore he should have a share of that which he creates.

Reel 4

1) Emigration

1881 Among the Americans, and A stranger in America. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.246, cr. 8vo.

Chicago: Belford, Clarke & Co., 1881. 6s.

Originally published in The Co-operative News. It is a story of nearly four months' travel in the United States and Canada: the voyage out, pleasant days in New York, interviewing, political affairs, pulpit and political orators, manners and opinions, eminent men in Boston, discoveries, etc. Gives an explanation of co-operation in the New World, emigration, and State socialistic tendencies. The main object of the visit was to induce the Governments at Ottawa and Washington to issue an official guide book for the use of emigrants. Towards the expense of this visit Mr. Holyoake received a Treasury order for £100 through Professor Rogers.

Travels in search of a settler's guide book of America and Canada.
By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE . . . [quotation]. pp.iv+148. 8vo.
London: Trübner & Co., 1884, 2s. 6d.

Account of a second visit to Canada and America in 1883, under Mr. Gladstone's sanction, with the object of inducing the Governments of those countries to issue a guide book which should furnish some unimpeachable and well-arranged information for the use of emigrants. It is really a record, not of the result of his official enquiries, but of his travels and adventures while making those enquiries. Published on the 30th May.

POLITICAL REFORM AND REPUBLICANISM

a) Domestic Radicalism

1853 Organisation: not of arms - but ideas. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.viii+26, cr. 8vo.
London: J. Watson, 1853. 6d.

Forms the third volume of The Cabinet of Reason. Without disparaging the organisation of arms, the author shows that the organisation of ideas in the middle 19th century, was as important to the people then as that of arms was to our feudal ancestors. The author holds that ideas are our material of war, with which, in this country, we can effectually fight the battle of progress. It is a criticism of chartism, and violent action, and aims to show the moral duty of organisation or methodical co-operation for good and useful purposes. It also gives hints for private self-discipline.

1857 To the electors of the Tower Hamlets. [Signed] GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. leaflet, 8vo, 1857.

A letter addressed to the electors in reply to the requisition presented to him, requesting him to become a candidate to represent the Tower Hamlets in Parliament.

London: Holyoake & Co. 1859 . 6d.

1863 History of the rise and progress of Middlesbrough; reprinted, revised and enlarged from the Newcastle Daily Chronicle. By "LANDOR PRAED" [pseud. of GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. [quotation]. pp.28, dy. 8vo.
Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Chronicle Office, 1863. 6d.

London Book Store [1865]. 6d.

Reprinted from the Newcastle Weekly Chronicle, and published in pamphlet form on April 17th, 1865. It was intended for circulation among members of political reform unions as a contribution on behalf of the reform agitation. The author holds that no measure of reform could be considered worthy of acceptance unless it afforded a reasonable prospect of effecting a settlement of the question.
1867  The working classes and the middle classes. [Signed] GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. leaflet.

Privately printed [1867].

Text of the petition drawn up by Mr. Holyoake, and presented to the House of Commons by Mr. John Stuart Mill, urging that the enfranchisement of the entire resident and industrious population is desirable.

1868  Working class representation: its conditions and consequences. An address to the electors of Birmingham, delivered at the Town Hall, October 16th, 1868. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.16, roy. 8vo.

London Book Store, 1868. 2d.

Holds that working men who desire to be represented by their own class must create a political fund for electoral purposes, to enable the representatives to maintain a fair position in society, and to cease looking about as they did for a rich Radical. The benefits described as likely to result are: compulsory education, the disestablishment of the Irish Church, reduction of pauperism, and the introduction of the ballot. Reprinted as No. 889 of The Reasoner, 1st December, 1868.

1868  A new defence of the ballot, in consequence of Mr. Mill's objections to it. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp.8, cr. 8vo.

London Book Store, 1868. 1d. and 3d.

The substance of an address delivered at St. James's Hall in January, 1868. Printed by the Reform League. Several editions were published during the year 1868, some of them may be seen at Bishopsgate Institute (1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th, 7th and 9th).

1870  Common people: a discourse delivered at the Church of Progress, St. George's Hall, Langham Place. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp.8, roy. 8vo.

London: Trübner & Co., 1870. 2d.

A plea for that class of unfortunates - from the poorest to the stump orator - too often misunderstood, and frequently suspected and despised, showing that the "common people" are not altogether hopeless. It is really an appeal for more charity and less judgment, and a helping hand in the amelioration of humanity. Reprinted as No. 891 of The Reasoner, 2nd May, 1870.

1884  To the members of the Leicester Liberal Association. Signed GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. leaflet. folio. 1884.

A statement of his views addressed to the members upon being asked to represent Leicester in Parliament.

1884  To the members of the Leicester Liberal Association. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. leaflet, folio.

Leicester: Batty & Co., 1884

An address to the Liberal Council on the occasion of his defeat as a candidate for Leicester.
1885  Patriotism by charity. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE . . . [quotation].
pp.12, cr. 8vo.

Leicester: Fook Store [1885]. 1d.

First published in The Present Day. In April, 1885, it was issued
as a pamphlet, and within a few days nearly 4,000 copies were sold.
Deals with the organisation of Liberal associations, and urges upon
every member to subscribe according to his means in the cause of
liberalism. Points out that to expect wealthy members to pay all
the expenses is nothing short of patriotism by charity. Recommends
an alteration of the qualification clause which has been adopted by
many associations, and suggests that a subscription of a shilling
a year might provide a fund for the support of desirable candidates
who are unable to pay their own election expenses.

1886  Deliberate liberalism: four instances of it. By GEORGE JACOB
HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp.16, cr. 8vo.

London: John Heywood, 1886. 1d.

An address to a Liberal working men's Committee, Brighton. Aims
to show that liberalism is not yet self-regulating, and is not only
deliberate but dilatory in understanding its own business. The
instances given are: suffering the exclusion of the elector from
the lobby of the House of Commons, ignorance of the theory of the
ballot, permitting the irresponsibility of "independent members," and
not ending the lawlessness of public meetings.

1886  The opportunity of Ireland. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation].
pp.7, cr. 8vo.


National Liberal pamphlets, No. 5. Argues for Home Rule, pointing
out that as Union subsisted when Ireland had a Parliament before, so
a condition of concord will subsist more securely when Ireland has
its home interests in its own keeping, controlled by the wide and
free suffrages of its own people.

b) Legal Reform

1853  The Government and the working man's press. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.
pp.12, cr. 8vo.

Free Press Union, 1853. 1d.

A reprint from The Leader of two letters to the Rt. Hon. Thomas
Milner Gibson, M.P., President of the Association for promoting the
Repeal of Taxes on Knowledge, in which Mr. Holyoake examines the
arguments upon which the Government then relied in justification of
the proceedings against the unstamped press.

1857  The case of Thomas Pooley, the Cornish well-sinker, sentenced to a
year and nine months' imprisonment for writing on a clergymen's field
gate (a report made at the instance of the secularists). By G.J.
HOLYOAKE. pp.32, cr. 8vo.


There is a woodcut of a five-barred gate, bearing the inscription
"Jesus Christ. T. Pooley," and underneath is printed "The wretched
gate of the Rev. Paul Bush," which it was said Pooley wrote in chalk.
Pooley was charged at the Bodmin assizes with composing, writing and
publishing a scandalous, blasphemous and profane libel on the Holy Scriptures, and sentenced to imprisonment. Mr. Holyoake was requested by the London secularists to investigate the case, and he published his report in The Reasoner. This report, together with the pamphlet, drew much attention to the injustice, and Pooley was pardoned at the end of five months, most of which time was spent in the county lunatic asylum. The case was the subject of an article in Fraser's Magazine by Thomas Henry Buckle, to which Mr. J.D. Coleridge (afterwards Lord Chief Justice Coleridge), the prosecuting counsel, replied. The pamphlet first appeared in The Reasoner of the 23rd and 30th September, 1857.

1861 The outlaws of freethought: the policy which may secure an Affirmation Bill. By G.J. HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp.8, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co. [1861]. 1d.

Contends that all persons who conscientiously object to taking the oath, should be allowed to make a solemn affirmation in cases where the oath was ordinarily administered, and appeals for the same respect being shown to the sceptic or secularist as is enjoyed by the Jew, and others, who refuse to take the oath. To this pamphlet was largely due the passing of the "Evidence Amendment Bill" in August, 1869.

1861 The limits of atheism; or, why should sceptics be outlaws? By G.J. HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp.16, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co., 1861. 2d.

Written to explain that atheism is not the limitless, lawless theory which many persons suppose, and to show what the nature, scope and limits of that form of opinion really are; also that its tendency is to modesty and reverence, and is neither dogmatic nor intolerant.

Edition on microfilm is:-

Another edition, pp.16, cr. 8vo.

London: J.A. Brooke, 1874. 2d.


London: John Bates [1861]. 1d.

A report of the trial of Mr. John Bates, a Northampton bookseller, on the charge of having libelled the Rev. Sydney Gedge by exhibiting a copy of a letter satirising the proceedings of the reverend gentleman in forcing the collection of Church rates. Lord Chief Justice Cockburn found for the defendant.


London: [Holyoake & Co.], 1862.

The purpose of the fund was to promote agitation in favour of a bill for a simple or secular affirmation.

1863 Civil equality: the parliamentary progress of the Affirmation Bill. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp.8, fcap. 8vo. [1863].

"A bill to allow affirmations or declarations to be made instead of oaths, in certain cases in Great Britain and Ireland" was first prepared and brought into Parliament by Sir John Trelawny and Mr. Lewis L. Dillwyn, February 25th, 1861.
1865 Excluded evidence on the ground of speculative opinion . . . By G.J. HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp.16, cr. 8vo. 
London Book Store [1865]. 2d.

A paper read at the Social Science Congress, 1865. The author gives definitions of the oath and states his reason why two classes should be entitled to exemption. In dealing with the classes already exempted from the oath he urges that the law should enforce the oath upon all alike, or relieve those who have a conscientious objection to it.


Published on February 3rd, 1882. It is an appeal for the adoption of a form of affirmation, optional to all members of parliament, with whose convictions it may be more consonant than the ecclesiastical oath.

c) Foreign Affairs

1852 One thousand shillings for European freedom. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp.4, dy. 8vo. 
London: Reasoner Office [1852].

An appeal which Mr. Holyoake made through the columns of The Reasoner for shilling subscriptions to a fund for the joint use of Mazzini and Kossuth in furthering their attempt to secure for Italy and Hungary complete freedom from despotic oppression. The actual number of shillings subscribed was 9,000, towards which Mr. Holyoake contributed 89; being the proceeds of the Townley-Holyoake debate which took place a month earlier. Reprinted from The Reasoner No. 319, 7th July, 1852.

1853 Address from the democrats of England to the democrats of the United States. [Signed] GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [and others]. leaflet, 1853.

This address, which is signed by Mr. Holyoake, Mr. Richard Moore, and Mr. Coleman Burroughs, is on the subject of negro emancipation and appeals to the American people to extinguish slavery.

1857 An afternoon with Mr. Urquhart. By G.J. HOLYOAKE. leaflet. 4to, 1857.

Reprint of a letter addressed to the Manchester Guardian criticising a lecture delivered by Mr. Urquhart.

1861 What may England yet do for Italy? From The Counsellor for October, 1861. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp.8, roy. 8vo. 
London: Holyoake & Co., [1861].

A appeal for an expression of British sympathy towards the Italians in their struggle for independence, and for funds towards aiding in the emancipation of those parts of Italy subject to priestly misrule and oppression.
Guide to Subjects on Microfilm 97234

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Intro. Page</th>
<th>Reel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EDUCATION</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIOGRAPHY &amp; HISTORY</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECULARISM &amp; FREETHOUGHT</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CO-OPERATION &amp; SOCIAL REFORM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) OWENISM</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) TEMPERENCE</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) ANTI-SABBATARIANISM</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) PENAL REFORM</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) TRAVELLING TAX ABOLITION</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f) FREE TRADE</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) TRADE UNIONISM</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h) CO-OPERATION</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) EMIGRATION</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLITICAL REFORM &amp; REPUBLICANISM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) DOMESTIC RADICALISM</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) LEGAL REFORM</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) FOREIGN AFFAIRS</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pseudonyms, etc. used by

Mr. G.J. Holyoake

"DISQUE"
"ION"
"LANDOR PRAED"
"A LONDON ZULU"
"ONE WHO HAS SEEN THEM BEFORE"
"QUASIMODO"
"A STUDENT IN CO-OPERATION"
"A VOICE FROM THE CROWD"
RELIGION, RADICALISM AND FREETHOUGHT
IN VICTORIAN & EDWARDIAN BRITAIN

Religion was a central issue in the lives of many of the people in Britain in the nineteenth century, and religious societies proliferated to express this concern and to reach out to the poor, who were felt not to be religious enough and to be in special need of its message. Charity, education, social policy and even politics were seen as having an important religious dimension. One consequence of this was that those radicals who dissented from the prevailing orthodoxies of their age felt obliged to attack the religious dimension as well, often substituting for it their own belief systems and organisations. Only in the present century has an increasing secularity of mind removed the centrality of both the religious dimension and the anti-religious response; nowadays the economic dimension is seen to be paramount, and radical attacks have concentrated on this. Though the historian cannot avoid the priorities of his own age in his interpretation of the past, he has also to try to enter into the unfamiliar ways of previous generations. In recent years there has been a growing realisation of the need to take the religious dimension seriously in the study of social and labour history and with the aim of assisting researchers in this task Microform Academic Publishers have produced this series of publications in microfilm.

The project was produced under the academic guidance of Dr. Edward Royle, University of York, who selected the material and wrote the introductions to each of the four groups of material. Details as follows:

Group I Manchester Domestic Missionary Society Annual Reports 1833-1908
2 Reels, Film No. 97126, Supplied with Introductory booklet

Group II Periodicals
This group includes periodicals representing those radical movements in which the religious or anti-religious dimension is apparent. Titles include The Freethinker, The Reasoner, Lancashire Beacon, Secular Review, Republican Chronicle Series, The Adult, The Truth Seeker, Ethical World Series and many others.
97 Reels, Supplied with Introductory/Index booklet

Group III Selection of Pamphlets by G.J. Holyoake, 1841-1904
A selection of pamphlets of George Jacob Holyoake (1817-1906) an advocate of Owenism, Co-operation, popular education, freethought and liberal radicalism. This collection includes material from both Bishopsgate Institute, London and Co-operative Union Library, Manchester.
4 Reels, Film No. 97234, With Introductory booklet

Group IV Leicester Secular Society
Local history is a desirable way of studying any popular agitation, but the sources are often difficult to find. The records of the Leicester Secular Society serve to exemplify the working out of a local tradition of radicalism from the days of Owenism to the advent of socialism and the rise of Labour in the early twentieth century.
5 Reels, Film No. 97180, With Introductory booklet
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