**HUMAN RIGHTS AND HOW TO ENFORCE THEM**.

**LECTURE BY MR. C. BRADLAUGH**

A lecture was delivered at the Co-operative Hall, Bury, on Saturday, ………………..on the above subject, by Mr. Charles Bradlaugh. The later hall was nearly full, and the lecturer was ……………………………….. Mrs. Besant unexpectedly occupied the chair and the appearance in that ……………………..was warmly applauded.

Mrs. Besant and it was with pleasure she took the chair ………………….. of a lecture on human rights and how they …………………….. Sometimes people ………their rights by asking of them. Sometimes they had to put a little force into their ……………., and she supposed Mr. Bradlaugh was ……………………………them how they were to get their rights when they and them not…………..how they were to keep them when they had with their (Applause) The duty of a person in the …………………………other people quiet, and to keep quiet her …………….she would at once call upon Mr. Bradlaugh (Applause).

The ……………… said he had great pleasure in again meeting a …………………….. for he did not know how often he …………………………………..opportunity of meeting them. In the lecture he ……………………………. …… what rights he though humanity ……………………. explain what duties he thought those rights………………….. them for he was one of those who did not ……………………..without duties. He did not believe in the ……………………………..power for one’s self, when one was a member …………………., without feeling the duty incumbent …………………………….that power for those around. In …………………..human rights he dealt with them without …………………….. times there was much talk about ………………………………………………… we went a little beyond that and …………………………of humanity. It was utterly impossible ………………………….., division, or section of humanity ………………………………rest suffered wrong. (tear, hear) …………………………………..was not simply held by people occupying …………………………..by many hostile to him in other matters……………………..rights which men might claim, and not ……………………………….the rights into social, political, ……………………………….. to any civilized community there must be ………………………..and by law he meant that measure ………………………………..individual concedes, consciously or …………………………………..mass of which he is one, upon his …………………………………of preserving to himself and every ………………………………….. and useful liberty. There were …………………………………did not know what liberty meant, and …………………….. others as meaning license when they …………………………the kind: liberty was only license ………………………………everything and would concede nothing …………………………….liberty be claimed was for people to be …………………………..politically, and theologically ……………………………….. did not make any infringement ………………………………..others around them. They ……………………………..people of different views who must …………………………… a little and each ought to ……………………………well-being; but they claimed ………………………….for each individual that was …………………………of the state; and they ………………………………………….man of number of men to put ………………………………….which should in any way …………………………………….with womanhood, except so …………………..was necessary for the general …………………………………………. Some people dealt with ……………………………………………… While he defined law as ………………………………………….which each permitted the mass to ……………………….laws find not such result, and ……………………………..Many laws were class regulations, ………………………………………………book because some class ………………………………them. Those laws were legal, ………………………………………. impossible to deny that men ………………………………………….of birth started in life……………………………………………..child of the rich …………………………………………………………., such as the child of the …………………………..inhabitant. The offspring of ………………………………..life with disadvantages against ………………………………………………. It was a misfortune of ……………………………that it had ………………………………..increased the ……………………………………..with advantages, and decreased ………………………………………………………in a ……………………………….state those……………………………..try to countervail the disadvantages ………………………………………………..from no ………………………….of their own. …………………………………………………..an aristocracy in a country, ………………………………………………wealth, and culture there were ………………………………….good service to the ……………………………………………….conditions. He did not deny …………………………………………..but the word aristocracy was …………………………………..of knowledge, culture, …………………………….but superiority of dead weight …………………………………… counter ………………………… If this…………………………………………..-as it would be some…………………………….that we tried to cultivate and ………………………………………………or pinchbeck one. …………………………..which people should work to ………………………………………..and queens granted……………….............. by the people, sometimes ………………………………dead. Human rights all ……………………………equal – equal not in size or ……………………….to have the same social……………………………of possibility no …………………………………………..the young struggler. …………………………..poorest such a possibility of ……………………………life as, when they entered ……………………………have strength to climb if ………………….supposed that in England we …………………………..practically, socially, and ……………………………..broken through. He …………………………should have some right ………………………………………..of that state. ……………………………………kinds of government. …………………………………….despotic governments of ………………………….or divine right. There ………………………….., which was not ………………………………the manufacture of the …………………………..was a I that was needed; …………………………A government of ……………………………………only a country was ……………………………to it. Every country ……………………………..parliament ought to …………………………………….of parliament. ……………………………think it. In coming through ………………………………..what was to do as there was ……………………………was told there were …………………………….things he could conceive, ………………………………rejoicing, …………………………………It was increased (laughter) ………………………………that the poor …………………………….into the ………………………….Canal where ……………………………………again (loud applause) - ………………………………..of the country we were ………………………………….millions of people were…………………admitted. Conservatives had …………………………………of his truthfulness. ………………………………………………..He did not know if it …………… in his paper, but it …………………………………………….permitted it to be denied ……………………………attached to the office of ………………………true he was not receiving it. …………………………William IV that she had………………………..country. but the paper………………………………….William IV. …………………………………way when the ……………………………………..not carry it. ……………………..he was not …………………..he admitted to ……………………………….Mr. Taylor was generally so careful that he (Mr. Bradlaugh) was declined to believe him – that he applied for it last quarter – that he had received the whole of it, and that he only did not receive if this quarter because the Treasury department understood him to have abandoned it, and therefore refused to pay it. If this story were true it was one of the most miserable things he had heard of, and yet we had Conservative rejoicings. Well, some people were thankful for small mercies. A man had the right, and it was his duty to vote for members of Parliament. What gave force to law was the expression of the will of the nation. We ought to say to a man “It is your duty to give your vote, you have no right to withhold it; the right to have it involves the duty to use it.” Law was only binding upon a man when he had a voice in the making of it. There were things on the statute book which did not belong to 1877 but were dead many years ago. Some, it might be said, were not enforced. Why? Because the law of popular will had repealed the dead will behind. The great difficulty was where popular will was one way and the actual letter of the law was another; then we never knew what to rely upon. There might come a moment of passion, and the bad triumph over the good. He urged not only that a man had a right to vote but that the majority should decide, but never until the minority had been fully heard. The more a man stood alone the more clearly ought we to hear him. The right to thought and the right to utter that thought was a condition of human progress. There was a time not long ago when every printing press had to be licensed, and when each person attending a meeting like that was liable to a penalty of £20, but those days were passed. The right of meeting was of great value, and he claimed the right full, free, and complete. He knew it was said that the masses were moved by demagogues, but with a press of all shades of politics there was no possibility of the demagogue moving people now as in the past. The oratory of the ………….. article, of the cheap book, was beyond the skill of tongue. He would now deal a little with the rights of kings and the rights of churches. We had the good fortune in this country to have religion with a Government stamp behind it, so that there could be no mistake. In America the churches were not necessarily more foolish than those here, but people had to exercise their brains as to which they should take. Here there was one church which, like patent medicine, came labelled to us as the right article – all others were counterfeit. Years ago, people entertained the motion – and some did to-day that there were rights for such bodies higher that the rights of citizens. But churches could have no more rights than individuals, therefore there ought to be no State Church. Every church ought to be built of its own bricks, and have no Act of Parliament cement or mortar put in. churches which sought to prescribe what men should think tomorrow were always a mistake. In regard to kings, he would say that our present Queen had a right to the throne by Act of Parliament, and only by that, but what was created by an Act of Parliament might be repealed by one. Now, how were our rights to be enforced? Every man had a right to live – the sale of his labour should win healthy food, healthy clothing, and education. Some time ago when wages were rising these things might appear likely to be about to be general, but now we had the other side of the picture. What had this to do with human rights? Dead as was the time of politics, it was not so dead as it looked: and he wanted to remind them that as war had hindered progress in Germany, and in Italy, it might do in this country. If they would let the Government spend money on more soldiers and ships, it might make war with Turkey, but the people were fools if they did. They ought to resolve upon raising themselves not by the might of war but the might of peace and their own endeavours. (Applause). He briefly referred to the rights of land. Many men got their land wrongly; how was it to be all altered? Never do wrong because wrong had been done. Never rely on force; better endure a little wrong until they could instruct others how it might be remedied than make it worse by doing wrong. They ought never to draw the sword for the purpose of enforcing a right where they had the right of meeting. They must do it by educating their little ones and fitting them for the battle of life. It was no use of the people to tell him of men or Parliament over riding them; if could not be done if they would not permit it. They must enforce their rights by voting at every parliamentary and municipal contest. He was not leaving out the theological question; It was involved in the others. A man had a right to authority in theology, If by skill of speech or tongue he could win it, but the right to punish never. He was in favour of a free church in a free state, the right to build altars to everyone, but no right to compel him to kneel, or subject him to disabilities if he did not. They could win and enforce all their rights through the press and through their meetings, and if they were not strong enough to do so now they must be patient enough to wait until they were (Applause). Mr. Bradlaugh, after giving an opportunity for questions, said with respect to the late trial against himself and Mrs. Besant, that six of the jury had since said that they did not give their consent to the verdict. He did not see what the Chief Justice could do except what he had done. He had the law to administer, and when he found they were declared guilty he had to enforce the law. If they meant to give way at all they ought never to have fought; but he had opened a shop and become a publisher on purpose to issue the work in question, and they should fight right through every court of law to the House of Lords. He would win there if he could, and if not he would win afterwards. It was not the first time he had won, and if the law was against him he would get an Act of Parliament to alter the law. Petitions had gone to Parliament and would still be sent asking for a definition of the law, for a new offence had been created. The moment he went to prison the sale of the work would be resumed.

Mrs. Besant having been pressed to say a few words said they had not the slightest intention of giving way until the law was changed and discussion upon the population question made as free as upon social, political, and theological questions. They did not say they were thoroughly right, but they meant to be; and if they were wrong let them be convinced by argument, and not have their mouths stopped by prison or fine. That plan had been tried over and over and over again in the past, and would not do. There was no chance of stopping them by shutting them up in goal. Their tongues would have a wider power when they came out. Such a course would make their voice echo through England as it had never yet echoed, for they would come from prison to speak a truth for which they had gone there. If it was wanted to make them unpopular they should have been let alone; but now they had the influence and strength 20 years of work would not have given them without this persecution. They must win; a new truth had never been destroyed by opposition, which simply made people harder and more one sided. What they had already seen was only a little outpost affair- a skirmish before the battle. The real battle was beginning. When two persons were thought to be attended, thousands would preach the same truth. It was a work which would be taken up in every town. They asked the help of others whilst they did their duty to make a truth unpopular today become axiomatic tomorrow to make what was heresy today, because held by a few, become orthodox tomorrow because the people had learned to believe it.

A vote of thanks to Mrs. Besant closed the proceedings.