

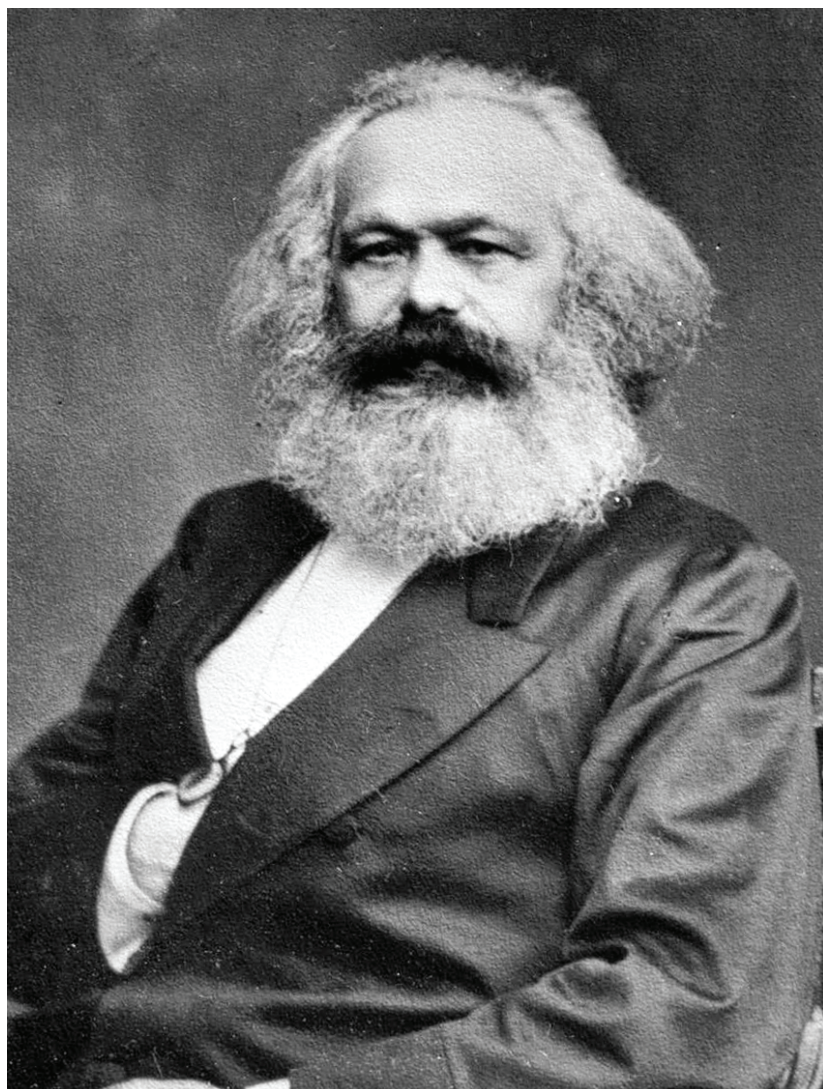
# **IRELAND AND THE IRISH QUESTION**

**KARL MARX, FREDERICK ENGELS**



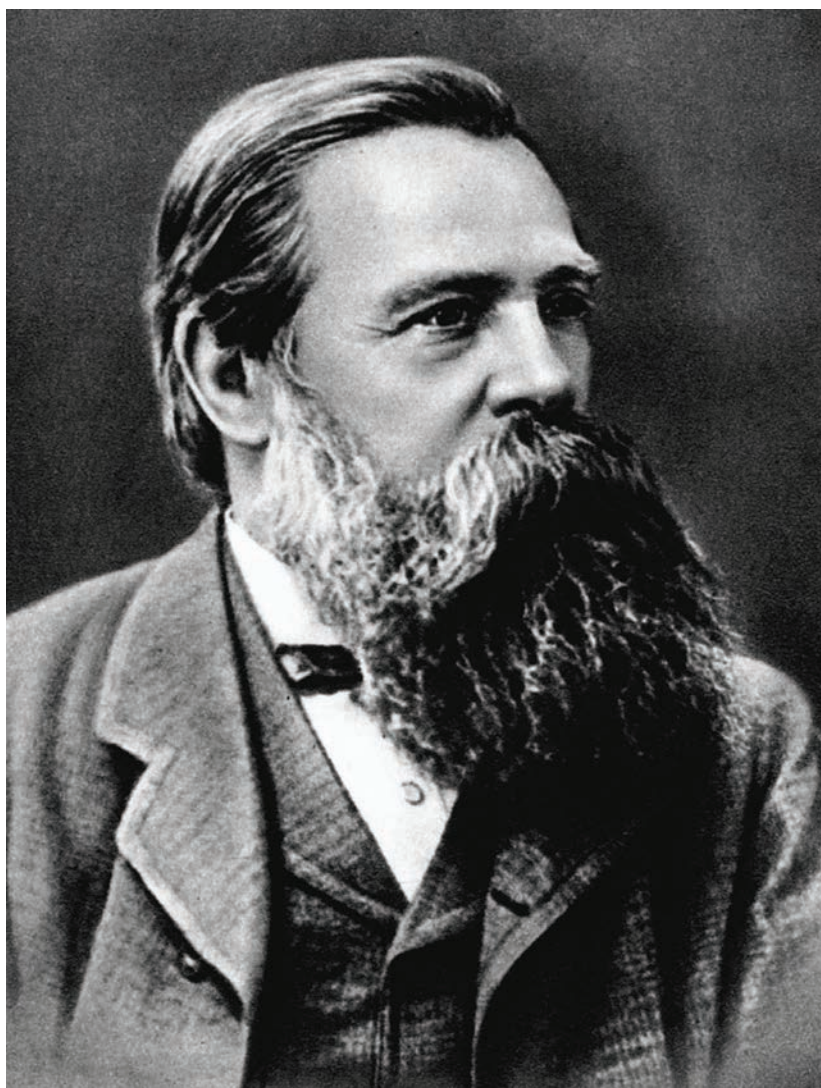
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Karl Marx





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# Contents

<b>I. Sociology of the Irish Working-Class</b>	10
The Condition of the Working-Class in England	11
Preface to the Second German Edition of <i>The Condition of the Working-Class in England</i>	25
<b>II. On the History of Ireland</b>	26
History of Ireland	27
Preparatory Materials for the “History of Ireland”	71
Chronology of Ireland	75
Varia on the History of the Irish Confiscations	122
Ancient Irish Literature	137
Anti-Dühring	139
Owenite Communism	140
From the Preparatory Notes to <i>Anti-Dühring</i>	141
From Synopsis of J. B. Green’s <i>History of the English People</i>	142
The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State	144
Dialectics of Nature	149
<b>III. Political Economy</b>	150
Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy	151
A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.	154
Introduction	
The Process of Production of Capital	156
Primitive Accumulation   173	173
Transformation of Surplus-Profit into Ground-Rent 178	178
Unplaced footnote on the Irish Question and Emigration	179
<b>IV. Interviews And Speeches</b>	182
Letters from London	183
The Commercial Crisis in England.—The Chartist Movement.—Ireland	186
Chartist Agitation	189

The Coercion Bill For Ireland and the Chartists"	193
The Chartist Movement. (The Fraternal Democrats to the Working Classes of Great Britain and Ireland.)	195
Feargus O'Connor and the Irish People	198
Cologne in Danger	200
Speech on the Polish Question	202
Defense.—Finances.—Decrease of the Aristocracy Politics	203
Forced Emigration.—Kossuth and Mazzini.—The Refugee Question.—Election Bribery in England.—Mr. Cobden	206
The Indian Question.—Irish Tenant Right	211
From Financial Failure of Government.—Cabs.—Ireland.—The Russian Question	218
The War Question.—British Population and Trade Returns.—Doings of Parliament	219
Lord Palmerston	222
From The Blue Books.—Parliamentary Debates of February 6...—The Irish Brigade	224
Ireland's Revenge	226
From Parliament	230
Lord John Russell	232
O'Connor's Funeral	240
The Question of the Ionian Islands	241
The Excitement in Ireland	242
Population, Crime and Pauperism	247
The British Cotton Trade	250
The Crisis in England	252
English Humanism and America	254
The Situation in North America	257
The English Government and the Fenian Prisoners	259
Articles on the Irish Question	266
Letters from London.—III. Meeting in Hyde Park	276
The English Elections	279
American Food and the Land Question	285



Bismarck and the German Working Men's Party	287
Jenny Longuet, Née Marx	290
England in 1845 and in 1885	292
The Peasant Question in France and Germany.—Preface	293
<b>V. The International Workingmen's Association</b>	296
Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association	297
Notes for an Undelivered Speech on Ireland	306
On the Fenian Prisoners in Manchester	314
The Fourth Annual Report of the General Council	315
The General Council to the Federal Council of French Switzerland	317
Draft Resolution of the General Council on the Policy of the British Government towards the Irish Prisoners	321
Position of the International Working Men's Association in Germany and England	323
Declaration by the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association	324
Report on the Alliance presented in the name of the General Council to the Hague Congress	326
Interventions at the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association	327
On the Policy of the British Government with Respect to the Irish Prisoners	333
The International	335
<b>VI. Letters</b>	336

# **I. SOCIOLOGY OF THE IRISH WORKING-CLASS**

# The Condition of the Working-Class in England<sup>1</sup>

*Engels, 1845 (Excerpt)*

## Introduction

We have already seen how the proletariat was called into existence by the introduction of machinery. The rapid extension of manufacture demanded hands, wages rose, and troops of workmen migrated from the agricultural districts to the towns. Population multiplied enormously, and nearly all the increases took place in the proletariat. Further, Ireland had entered upon an orderly development only since the beginning of the eighteenth century. There, too, the population, more than decimated by English cruelty in earlier disturbances, now rapidly multiplied, especially after the advance in manufacture began to draw masses of Irishmen towards England. Thus arose the great manufacturing and commercial cities of the British Empire, in which at least three-fourths of the population belong to the working class, while the lower middle class consists only of small shopkeepers, and very very few handicraftsmen. For, though the rising manufacture first attained importance by transforming tools into machines, workrooms into factories, and consequently, the toiling lower middle class into the toiling proletariat, and the former large merchants into manufacturers, though the lower middle class was thus early crushed out, and the population reduced to the two opposing elements, workers and capitalists, this happened outside of the domain of manufacture proper, in the province of handicraft and retail trade as well. In the place of the former masters and apprentices, came great capitalists and working-men who had no prospect of rising above their class. Handwork was carried on after the fashion of factory work, the division of labor was strictly applied, and small employers who could not compete with great establishments were forced down into the proletariat. At the same time the destruction of the former organization of handwork, and the disappearance of the lower middle class deprived the workingman of all possibility of rising into the middle class himself. Hitherto he had always had

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<sup>1</sup> Frederick Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*, Foreign Languages Press, Paris, 2022.

the prospect of establishing himself somewhere as master artificer, perhaps employing journeymen and apprentices; but now, when master artificers were crowded out by manufacturers, when large capital had become necessary for carrying on work independently, the working class became, for the first time, an integral, permanent class of the population, whereas it had formerly often been merely a transition leading to the bourgeoisie. Now, he who was born to toil had no other prospect than that of remaining a toiler all his life. Now, for the first time, therefore, the proletariat was in a position to undertake an independent movement.

In this way were brought together those vast masses of working men who now fill the whole British Empire, whose social condition forces itself every day more and more upon the attention of the civilized world.

The condition of the working class is the condition of the vast majority of the English people. The question: What is to become of those destitute millions who consume today what they earned yesterday; who have created the greatness of England by their inventions and their toil; who become with every passing day more conscious of their might, and demand, with daily increasing urgency, their share of the advantages of society?—This, since the Reform Bill,<sup>2</sup> has become the national question. All Parliamentary debates, of any importance, may be reduced to this; and, though the English middle class will not as yet admit it, though they try to evade this great question, and to represent their own particular interests as the truly national ones, their action is utterly useless. With every session of Parliament, the working class gains ground, the interests of the middle class diminish in importance; and, in spite of the fact that the middle class is the chief, in fact, the only power in Parliament, the last session of 1844 was a continuous debate upon subjects affecting the working class, the Poor Relief Bill, the Factory Act, the Masters' and Servants' Act; and Thomas Duncombe, the representative of the working-men in the House of Commons, was the great man of the session; while the Liberal middle class, with its motion for repealing the Corn Laws, and the Radical middle class with its resolution for refusing the taxes, played pitiable roles. Even

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<sup>2</sup> The *Reform Act* passed by the British Parliament in June 1832 was directed against the political monopoly of the landed and finance aristocracy and reformed the basis of Parliamentary representation in favor of the industrial bourgeoisie and "middle classes." The proletariat and sections of the petit bourgeoisie, who had provided the main support in the preceding campaigns for reform, received no electoral rights.

the debates about Ireland were at bottom, debates about the Irish proletariat, and the means of coming to its assistance. It is high time, too, for the English middle class to make some concessions to the working-men who no longer plead but threaten; for in a short time it may be too late.

### **The Industrial Proletariat (excerpt)**

The order of our investigation of the different sections of the proletariat follows naturally from the foregoing history of its rise. The first proletarians were connected with manufacture, were engendered by it, and accordingly, those employed in manufacture, in the working up of raw materials, will first claim our attention. The production of raw materials and of fuel for manufacture attained importance only in consequence of the industrial change, and engendered a new proletariat, the coal and metal miners. Then, in the third place, manufacture influenced agriculture, and in the fourth, the condition of Ireland; and the fractions of the proletariat belonging to each will find their place accordingly. We shall find, too, that with the possible exception of the Irish, the degree of intelligence of the various workers is in direct proportion to their relation to manufacturer and that the factory-hands are most enlightened as to their own interests, the miners somewhat less so, the agricultural laborers scarcely at all. We shall find the same order again among the industrial workers, and shall see how the factory-hands, eldest children of the industrial revolution, have from the beginning to the present day formed the nucleus of the Labor Movement, and how the others have joined this movement just in proportion as their handicraft has been invaded by the progress of machinery. We shall thus learn from the example which England offers, from the equal pace which the Labor Movement has kept with the movement of industrial development, the historical significance of manufacture. [...]

### **The Great Towns**

Let us investigate some of the slums in their order. London comes first,<sup>3</sup> and in London the famous rookery of St. Giles which is now, at

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<sup>3</sup> The description given below had already been written when I came across an article in the *Illuminated Magazine* (October 1844) dealing with the working-class districts in London which coincides—in many places almost literally and everywhere in general tenor—with what I had said. The article was entitled “The Dwellings of the Poor, from the notebook of an M.D.”—*Note by Engels*.

last, about to be penetrated by a couple of broad streets. St. Giles is in the midst of the most populous part of the town, surrounded by broad, splendid avenues in which the gay world of London idles about, in the immediate neighborhood of Oxford Street, Regent Street, of Trafalgar Square and the Strand. It is a disorderly collection of tall, three- or four-storied houses, with narrow, crooked, filthy streets, in which there is quite as much life as in the great thoroughfares of the town, except that, here, people of the working class only are to be seen. A vegetable market is held in the street, baskets with vegetables and fruits, naturally all bad and hardly fit to use, obstruct the sidewalk still further, and from these, as well as from the fish dealers' stalls, arises a horrible smell. The houses are occupied from cellar to garret, filthy within and without, and their appearance is such that no human being could possibly wish to live in them. But all this is nothing in comparison with the dwellings in the narrow courts and alleys between the streets, entered by covered passages between the houses, in which the filth and tottering ruin surpass all description. Scarcely a whole window pane can be found, the walls are crumbling, doorposts and window frames loose and broken, doors of old boards nailed together, or altogether wanting in this thieves' quarter, where no doors are needed, there being nothing to steal. Heaps of garbage and ashes lie in all directions, and the foul liquids emptied before the doors gather in stinking pools. Here live the poorest of the poor, the worst paid workers with thieves and the victims of prostitution indiscriminately huddled together, the majority Irish, or of Irish extraction, and those who have not yet sunk in the whirlpool of moral ruin which surrounds them, sinking daily deeper, losing daily more and more of their power to resist the demoralizing influence of want, filth, and evil surroundings.

Nor is St. Giles the only London slum. In the immense tangle of streets, there are hundreds and thousands of alleys and courts lined with houses too bad for anyone to live in, who can still spend anything whatsoever upon a dwelling fit for human beings. Close to the splendid houses of the rich, such a lurking-place of the bitterest poverty may often be found. So, a short time ago, on the occasion of a coroner's inquest, a region close to Portman Square, one of the very respectable squares, was characterized as an abode "of a multitude of Irish demoralized by poverty and filth." So, too, may be found in streets, such as Long Acre and others, which, though not fashionable, are yet "respectable," a great number of cellar dwellings

out of which puny children and half-starved, ragged women emerge into the light of day. In the immediate neighborhood of Drury Lane Theatre, the second in London, are some of the worst streets of the whole metropolis, Charles, King, and Park Streets, in which the houses are inhabited from cellar to garret exclusively by poor families. In the parishes of St. John and St. Margaret there lived in 1840, according to the *Journal of the Statistical Society*, 5,366 working-men's families in 5,294 "dwellings" (if they deserve the name!), men, women, and children thrown together without distinction of age or sex, 26,830 persons all told; and of these families, three-fourths possessed but one room. In the aristocratic parish of St. George, Hanover Square, there lived, according to the same authority, 1,465 working-men's families, nearly 6,000 persons, under similar conditions, and here, too, more than two-thirds of the whole number crowded together at the rate of one family in one room. And how the poverty of these unfortunates, among whom even thieves find nothing to steal, is exploited by the property-holding class in lawful ways! The abominable dwellings in Drury Lane, just mentioned, bring in the following rents: two cellar dwellings, 3s.; one room, ground floor, 4s.; second-story, 4s. 6d.; third-floor, 4s.; garret-room, 3s. weekly, so that the starving occupants of Charles Street alone pay the house owners a yearly tribute of £2,000, and the 5,366 families above mentioned in Westminster, a yearly rent of £40,000.<sup>4</sup>

[...] But the most horrible spot (if I should describe all the separate spots in detail I should never come to the end) lies on the Manchester side, immediately southwest of Oxford Road, and is known as Little Ireland. In a rather deep hole, in a curve of the Medlock and surrounded on all four sides by tall factories and high embankments, covered with buildings, stand two groups of about two hundred cottages, built chiefly back to back, in which live about four thousand human beings, most of

<sup>4</sup> The data given were taken by Engels from the *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*; in particular, the description of working-class districts in Westminster is based on the "Report of the Committee of the Statistical Society of London, on the State of the Working Classes in the Parishes of St. Margaret and St. John" (Vol. III, 1840) and the description of the district around Hanover Square on C. R. Weld's article: "On the condition of the working classes in the Inner Ward of St. George's Parish, Hanover Square" (Vol. VI, 1843). The number of inmates in the working-class houses in the parishes of St. John and St. Margaret is given according to the report by G. Alston quoted below. The *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol. III gives another figure—16,176 persons.

them Irish. The cottages are old, dirty, and of the smallest sort, the streets uneven, fallen into ruts and in part without drains or pavement; masses of refuse, offal and sickening filth lie among standing pools in all directions; the atmosphere is poisoned by the effluvia from these and laden and darkened by the smoke of a dozen tall factory chimneys. A horde of ragged women and children swarm about here, as filthy as the swine that thrive upon the garbage heaps and in the puddles. In short, the whole rookery furnishes such a hateful and repulsive spectacle as can hardly be equaled in the worst court on the Lrk. The race that lives in these ruinous cottages, behind broken windows, mended with oilskin, sprung doors, and rotten doorposts, or in dark, wet cellars, in measureless filth and stench, in this atmosphere penned in as if with a purpose, this race must really have reached the lowest stage of humanity. This is the impression and the line of thought which the exterior of this district forces upon the beholder. But what must one think when he hears that in each of these pens, containing at most two rooms, a garret and perhaps a cellar, on the average twenty human beings live; that in the whole region, for each one hundred and twenty persons, one usually inaccessible privy is provided; and that in spite of all the preachings of the physicians, in spite of the excitement into which the cholera epidemic plunged the sanitary police by reason of the condition of Little Ireland, in spite of everything, in this year of grace 1844, it is in almost the same state as in 1831!? Dr. Kay asserts<sup>5</sup> that not only the cellars but the first floors of all the houses in this district are damp; that a number of cellars once filled up with earth have now been emptied and are occupied once more by Irish people; that in one cellar the water constantly wells up through a hole stopped with clay, the cellar lying below the river level, so that its occupant, a hand-loom weaver, had to bail out the water from his dwelling every morning and pour it into the street!

### **Irish Immigration (excerpt)**

We have already referred several times in passing to the Irish who have immigrated into England; and we shall now have to investigate more closely the causes and results of this immigration.

The rapid extension of English industry could not have taken place if England had not possessed in the numerous and impoverished popu-

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<sup>5</sup> Dr. Kay.—*Note by Engels.*



lation of Ireland a reserve at command. The Irish had nothing to lose at home, and much to gain in England; and from the time when it became known in Ireland that the east side of St. George's Channel offered steady work and good pay for strong arms, every year has brought armies of the Irish hither. It has been calculated that more than a million have already immigrated, and not far from fifty thousand still come every year, nearly all of whom enter the industrial districts, especially the great cities, and there form the lowest class of the population. Thus there are in London, 120,000; in Manchester, 40,000; in Liverpool, 34,000; Bristol, 24,000; Glasgow, 40,000; Edinburgh, 29,000, poor Irish people.<sup>6</sup> These people having grown up almost without civilization, accustomed from youth to every sort of privation, rough, intemperate, and improvident, bring all their brutal habits with them among a class of the English population which has, in truth, little inducement to cultivate education and morality. Let us hear Thomas Carlyle upon this subject:<sup>7</sup>

The wild Milesian<sup>8</sup> features, looking false ingenuity, restlessness, unreason, misery, and mockery, salute you on all high-ways and byways. The English coachman, as he whirls past, lashes the Milesian with his whip, curses him with his tongue; the Milesian is holding out his hat to beg. He is the sorest evil this country has to strive with. In his rags and laughing savagery, he is there to undertake all work that can be done by mere strength of hand and back—for wages that will purchase him potatoes. He needs only salt for condiment, he lodges to his mind in any pig-hutch or dog-hutch, roosts in outhouses, and wears a suit of tatters, the getting on and off of which is said to be a difficult operation, transacted only in festivals and the high tides of the calendar. The Saxon-man, if he cannot work on these terms, finds no work. The uncivilized Irishman, not by his strength, but by *the* opposite of strength, drives the Saxon native out, takes possession in his room. There abides

<sup>6</sup> Archibald Alison, *The Principles of Population, and their Connection with Human Happiness*, two vols., 1840. This Alison is the historian of the French Revolution, and, like his brother, Dr. W. P. Alison, a religious Tory.—*Note by Engels.*

<sup>7</sup> *Chartism*.—*Note by Engels.*

<sup>8</sup> Milesian—the name of an ancient family of Celtic kings of Ireland.—*Note by Engels.*

he, in his squalor and unreason, in his falsity and drunken violence, as the ready-made nucleus of degradation and disorder. Whoever struggles, swimming with difficulty, may now find an example how the human being can exist not swimming, but sunk.... That the condition of the lower multitude of English laborers approximates more and more to that of the Irish, competing with them in all the markets: that whatsoever labor, to which mere strength with little skill will suffice, is to be done, will be done not at the English price, but at an approximation to the Irish price; at a price superior as yet to the Irish, that is, superior to scarcity of potatoes for thirty weeks yearly; superior, yet hourly, with the arrival of every new steamboat, sinking nearer to an equality with that.

If we except his exaggerated and one-sided condemnation of the Irish national character, Carlyle is perfectly right. These Irishmen who migrate for fourpence to England, on the deck of a steamship on which they are often packed like cattle, insinuate themselves everywhere. The worst dwellings are good enough for them; their clothing causes them little trouble, so long as it holds together by a single thread; shoes they know not; their food consists of potatoes and potatoes only; whatever they earn beyond these needs they spend upon drink. What does such a race want with high wages? The worst quarters of all the large towns are inhabited by Irishmen. Whenever a district is distinguished for especial filth and especial ruinousness, the explorer may safely count upon meeting chiefly those Celtic faces which one recognizes at the first glance as different from the Saxon physiognomy of the native, and the singing, aspirate brogue which the true Irishman never loses. I have occasionally heard the Irish-Celtic language spoken in the most thickly populated parts of Manchester. The majority of the families who live in cellars are almost everywhere of Irish origin. In short, the Irish have, as Dr. Kay says, discovered the minimum of the necessities of life, and are now making the English workers acquainted with it. Filth and drunkenness, too, they have brought with them. The lack of cleanliness, which is not so injurious in the country, where population is scattered, and which is the Irishman's second nature, becomes terrifying and gravely dangerous through its concentration here

in the great cities. The Milesian deposits all garbage and filth before his house door here, as he was accustomed to do at home, and so accumulates the pools and dirt heaps which disfigure the working-people's quarters and poison the air. He builds a pigsty against the house wall as he did at home, and if he is prevented from doing this, he lets the pig sleep in the room with himself. This new and unnatural method of cattle raising in cities is wholly of Irish origin. The Irishman loves his pig as the Arab his horse, with the difference that he sells it when it is fat enough to kill. Otherwise, he eats and sleeps with it, his children play with it, ride upon it, roll in the dirt with it, as anyone may see a thousand times repeated in all the great towns of England. The filth and comfortlessness that prevail in the houses themselves it is impossible to describe. The Irishman is unaccustomed to the presence of furniture; a heap of straw, a few rags, utterly beyond use as clothing, suffice for his nightly couch. A piece of wood, a broken chair, an old chest for a table, more he needs not; a tea kettle, a few pots and dishes, equip his kitchen, which is also his sleeping and living room. When he is in want of fuel, everything combustible within his reach, chairs, door posts, moldings, flooring, finds its way up the chimney. Moreover, why should he need much room? At home in his mud cabin there was only one room for all domestic purposes; more than one room his family does not need in England. So the custom of crowding many persons into a single room, now so universal, has been chiefly implanted by the Irish immigration. And since the poor devil must have one enjoyment, and society has shut him out of all others, he betakes himself to the drinking of spirits. Drink is the only thing which makes the Irishman's life worth having, drink and his cheery carefree temperament; so he revels in drink to the point of the most bestial drunkenness. The southern facile character of the Irishman, his crudity, which places him but little above the savage, his contempt for all humane enjoyments, in which his very crudeness makes him incapable of sharing, his filth and poverty, all favor drunkenness. The temptation is great, he cannot resist it, and so when he has money he gets rid of it down his throat. What else should he do? How can society blame him when it places him in a position in which he almost of necessity becomes a drunkard, when it leaves him to himself, to his savagery?

With such a competitor the English working-man has to struggle, with a competitor upon the lowest plane possible in a civilized country,

who for this very reason requires fewer wages than any other. Nothing else is therefore possible than that, as Carlyle says, the wages of English working-man should be forced down further and further in every branch in which the Irish compete with him. And these branches are many. All such as demand little or no skill are open to the Irish. For work which requires long training or regular, pertinacious application, the dissolute, unsteady, drunken Irishman is on too low a plane. To become a mechanic, a mill-hand, he would have to adopt the English civilization, the English customs, become, in the main, an Englishman. But for all simple, less exact work, wherever it is a question more of strength than skill, the Irishman is as good as the Englishman. Such occupations are therefore especially overcrowded with Irishmen: hand-weavers, bricklayers, porters, jobbers, and such workers, count hordes of Irishmen among their number, and the pressure of this race has done much to depress wages and lower the working class. And even if the Irish, who have forced their way into other occupations, should become more civilized, enough of the old habits would cling to them to have a strong, degrading influence upon their English companions in toil, especially in view of the general effect of being surrounded by the Irish. For when, in almost every great city, a fifth or a quarter of the workers are Irish, or children of Irish parents, who have grown up among Irish filth, no one can wonder if the life, habits, intelligence, moral status—in short, the whole character of the working class assimilates a great part of the Irish characteristics. On the contrary, it is easy to understand how the degrading position of the English workers, engendered by our modern history, and its immediate consequences, has been still more degraded by the presence of Irish competition. [...]

### **The Agricultural Proletariat**

If England illustrates the results of the system of farming on a large scale and Wales on a small one, Ireland exhibits the consequences of over dividing the soil. The great mass of the population of Ireland consists of small tenants who occupy a sorry hut without partitions, and a potato patch just large enough to supply them most scantily with potatoes through the winter. In consequence of the great competition which prevails among these small tenants, the rent has reached an unheard-of height, double, treble, and quadruple that paid in England. For every agricultural laborer seeks to

become a tenant-farmer, and though the division of land has gone so far, there still remain numbers of laborers in competition for plots. Although in Great Britain 34,000,000 acres of land are cultivated, and in Ireland but 14,000,000; although Great Britain produces agricultural products to the value of £150,000,000, and Ireland of but £36,000,000, there are in Ireland 75,000 agricultural proletarians *more* than in the neighboring island.<sup>9</sup> How great the competition for land in Ireland must be is evident from this extraordinary disproportion, especially when one reflects that the laborers in Great Britain are living in the utmost distress. The consequence of this competition is that it is impossible for the tenants to live much better than the laborers, by reason of the high rents paid. The Irish people are thus held in crushing poverty, from which it cannot free itself under our present social conditions. These people live in the most wretched clay huts, scarcely good enough for cattle-pens, have scant food all winter long, or, as the report above quoted expresses it, they have potatoes half enough thirty weeks in the year, and the rest of the year nothing. When the time comes in the spring at which this provision reaches its end, or can no longer be used because of its sprouting, wife and children go forth to beg and tramp the country with their kettle in their hands. Meanwhile the husband, after planting potatoes for the next year, goes in search of work either in Ireland or England, and returns at the potato harvest to his family. This is the condition in which nine-tenths of the Irish country folks live. They are poor as church mice, wear the most wretched rags, and stand upon the lowest plane of intelligence possible in a half-civilized country. According to the report quoted, there are, in a population of 8½ millions, 585,000 heads of families in a state of total destitution; and according to other authorities, cited by Sheriff Alison,<sup>10</sup> there are in Ireland 2,300,000 persons who could not live without public or private assistance—or 27 percent of the whole population paupers!

The cause of this poverty lies in the existing social conditions, especially in competition here found in the form of the subdivision of the soil. Much effort has been spent in finding other causes. It has been asserted that the relation of the tenant to the landlord who lets his estate in large

<sup>9</sup> Report of the Poor Law Commissioners for Ireland. Parliamentary Session of 1837.—*Note by Engels.*

<sup>10</sup> *Principles of Population*, Vol. II.—*Note by Engels.*

lots to tenants, who again have their sub-tenants, and sub-sub-tenants, in turn, so that often ten middlemen come between the landlord and the actual cultivator—it has been asserted that the shameful law which gives the landlord the right of expropriating the cultivator who may have paid his rent duly, if the first tenant fails to pay the landlord, that this law is to blame for all this poverty. But all this determines only the form in which the poverty manifests itself. Make the small tenant a landowner himself and what follows? The majority could not live upon their holdings even if they had no rent to pay, and any slight improvement which might take place would be lost again in a few years in consequence of the rapid increase of population. The children would then live to grow up under the improved conditions, who now die in consequence of poverty in early childhood. From another side comes the assertion that the shameless oppression inflicted by the English is the cause of the trouble. It is the cause of the somewhat earlier appearance of this poverty, but not of the poverty itself. Or the blame is laid on the Protestant Church forced upon a Catholic nation; but divide among the Irish what the Church takes from them, and it does not reach six shillings a head. Besides, tithes are a tax upon landed property, not upon the tenant, though he may nominally pay them; now, since the Commutation Bill of 1838,<sup>11</sup> the landlord pays the tithes directly and reckons so much higher rent, so that the tenant is none the better off. And in the same way a hundred other causes of this poverty are brought forward, all proving as little as these. This poverty is the result of our social conditions; apart from these, causes may be found for the manner in which it manifests itself, but not for the fact of its existence. That poverty manifests itself in Ireland thus and not otherwise, is owing to the character of the people, and to their historical development. The Irish are a people related in their whole character to the Latin nations, to the French, and especially to the Italians. The bad features of their character we have already had depicted by Carlyle. Let us now hear an Irishman,<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Before the Commutation Act of 1838, Irish peasants renting land paid tithes to the Established Church of Ireland. Under the Act of 1838 the tithe was reduced by 25 percent and commuted into a tax exacted from landlords and landowners. The latter in turn transferred this tax to the tenants, thus raising the rent.

<sup>12</sup> John Wilson Croker.—*Ed*

who at least comes nearer to the truth than Carlyle, with his prejudice in favor of the Teutonic character:<sup>13</sup>

They are restless yet indolent, shrewd and indiscreet, impetuous, impatient and improvident, instinctively brave, thoughtlessly generous; quick to resent and forgive offenses, to form and renounce friendships. With genius they are profusely gifted; with judgment sparingly.

With the Irish, feeling and passion predominate; reason must bow before them. Their sensuous, excitable nature prevents reflection and quiet, persevering activity from reaching development—such a nation is utterly unfit for manufacture as now conducted. Hence they held fast to agriculture and remained upon the lowest plane even of that. With the small subdivisions of land, which were not here artificially created, as in France and on the Rhine, by the division of great estates,<sup>14</sup> but have existed from time immemorial, an improvement of the soil by the investment of capital was not to be thought of; and it would, according to Alison, require 120 million pounds sterling to bring the soil up to the not very high state of fertility already attained in England. The English immigration, which might have raised the standard of Irish civilization, has contented itself with the most brutal plundering of the Irish people; and while the Irish, by their immigration into England, have furnished England a leaven which will produce its own results in the future, they have little for which to be thankful to the English immigration.

The attempts of the Irish to save themselves from their present ruin, on the one hand, take the form of crimes. These are the order of the day in the agricultural districts, and are nearly always directed against the most immediate enemies, the landlords' agents, or their obedient servants, the Protestant intruders, whose large farms are made up of the potato patches of hundreds of ejected families. Such crimes are especially frequent in the South and West. On the other hand, the Irish hope for relief by means

<sup>13</sup> *The State of Ireland*, London, 1807; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1821. Pamphlet.—*Note by Engels*.

<sup>14</sup> Mistake. Small-scale agriculture had been the prevailing form of farming ever since the Middle Ages. Thus the small peasant farms existed even before the Revolution. The only thing the latter changed was their *ownership*; that it took away from the feudal lords and transferred, directly or indirectly, to the peasants.—*Note by Engels* (1892).

of the agitation for the repeal of the Legislative Union with England.<sup>15</sup> From all the foregoing, it is clear that the uneducated Irish must see in the English their worst enemies; and their first hope of improvement in the conquest of national independence. But quite as clear is it, too, that Irish distress cannot be removed by any Act of Repeal. Such an Act would, however, at once lay bare the fact that the cause of Irish misery, which now seems to come from abroad, is really to be found at home. Meanwhile, it is an open question whether the accomplishment of repeal will be necessary to make this clear to the Irish. Hitherto, neither Chartism nor Socialism has had marked success in Ireland.

I close my observations upon Ireland at this point the more readily, as the Repeal Agitation of 1843 and O'Connell's trial<sup>16</sup> have been the means of making the Irish distress more and more known in Germany.

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<sup>15</sup> The Union *of Ireland with Great Britain* was imposed on Ireland by the British Government after the suppression of the Irish rising of 1798. The Union, which entered into force on January 1, 1801, abolished the autonomy of the Irish Parliament and made the country still more dependent on England. The demand for the repeal of the Union became the most popular slogan in Ireland from the 1820s. Its leader, Daniel O'Connell, founder of the Repeal Association (1840), tried to steer the movement toward compromise with the British ruling classes. The agitation revived in the early 1840s.

<sup>16</sup> The reference is to the trial of O'Connell and eight other leaders of the Repeal movement in 1844. The Tory government intended by this trial to deal it a decisive blow. O'Connell and his supporters were sentenced to up to twelve months' imprisonment in February 1844, but the sentence was soon quashed by the House of Lords.



## **Preface to the Second German Edition of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*<sup>17</sup>**

*Engels, 1892 (Excerpt)*

Again, the repeated visitations of cholera, typhus, smallpox, and other epidemics have shown the British bourgeois the urgent necessity of sanitation in his towns and cities, if he wishes to save himself and family from falling victims to such diseases. Accordingly, the most crying abuses described in this book have either disappeared or have been made less conspicuous. Drainage has been introduced or improved, wide avenues have been opened out athwart many of the worst “slums” I had to describe. “Little Ireland” has disappeared, and the “Seven Dials”<sup>18</sup> are next on the list for sweeping away. But what of that? Whole districts which in 1844 I could describe as almost idyllic have now, with the growth of the towns, fallen into the state of dilapidation, discomfort, and misery. Only the pigs and the heaps of refuse are no longer tolerated. The bourgeoisie have made further progress in the art of hiding the distress of the working-class. But that, in regard to their dwellings, no substantial improvement has taken place, is amply proved by the Report of the Royal Commission “on the Housing of the Poor,” 1885. And this is the case, too, in other respects. Police regulations have been plentiful as blackberries; but they can only hedge in the distress of the workers, they cannot remove it...

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<sup>17</sup> Karl Marx & Frederick Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, p. 461.

<sup>18</sup> “Little Ireland”—a workers’ district in the southern part of Manchester inhabited mainly by Irishmen. It is described in Engels’ work *The Condition of the Working Class in England*.

“Seven Dials”—workers’ district in central London.

## II. ON THE HISTORY OF IRELAND

# History of Ireland<sup>19</sup>

*Engels, 1870*

## I. Natural Conditions

At the north-western corner of Europe lies the land whose history will occupy us, an island of 1,530 German or 32,500 English square miles. But another island, three times as large, lies obliquely interposed between Ireland and the rest of Europe. For the sake of brevity we usually call this island England; it blocks Ireland off completely towards the north, east and south-east, and allows a free view only in the direction of Spain, Western France and America.

The channel between the two islands, 50-70 English miles wide at the narrowest points in the south, 13 miles wide at one point in the north and 22 miles wide at another, allowed the Irish Scots to emigrate from the north to the neighboring island and to found the Kingdom of Scotland even before the fifth century. In the south it was too wide for Irish and British boats and a serious obstacle even for the flat-bottomed coastal vessels of the Romans. But when the Frisians, Angles and Saxons, and after them the Scandinavians, were able to venture beyond the sight of land on the open seas in their keeled vessels, this channel was an obstacle no longer; Ireland fell a victim to the raiding expeditions of the Scandinavians and presented an easy booty for the English. As soon as the Normans had built

<sup>19</sup> Marx & Engels, *Op. cit.*, pp. 263-302.

The draft shows that Engels's work was to consist of four long chapters, the last two being subdivided into sections. Engels actually succeeded in finishing only the first chapter—"Natural Conditions." The second chapter—"Ancient Ireland"—is unfinished. The manuscript breaks off where Engels intended to throw light on the social structure of Irish society before the invasion of the English conquerors in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Engels did not begin writing the last two chapters, which were to describe the development of the country up to the events of his own day, although he had compiled most of the material for them. In his letter to Sigismund Borkheim in 1872, Engels mentioned that the Franco-Prussian war, the Paris Commune, the clash with the Bakuninists in the International, etc., interrupted his work. Engels used the results of his research in his theoretical works, including *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, and in his letters to various correspondents. The fragment *History of Ireland* and some preparatory material Engels collected for this work were first published in 1948 in Russian in the *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. X.

up a powerful, unified government in England, the influence of the larger island made itself felt—in those times this meant a war of conquest.<sup>20</sup>

If during the war a period set in when England gained control of the sea, this precluded the possibility of successful foreign intervention.

When the larger island finally became unified into one state, the latter had to strive to assimilate Ireland completely.

If this assimilation had been successful, its whole course would have become a matter of history. It would be subject to its judgment but could never be reversed. But if after 700 years of fighting this assimilation has not succeeded; if instead each new wave of invaders flooding Ireland is assimilated by the Irish; if, even today, the Irish are as far from being English, or West Britons, as they say, as the Poles are from being West Russians after only 100 years of oppression; if the fighting is not yet over and there is no prospect that it can be ended in any other way than by the extermination of the oppressed race—then, all the geographical pretexts in the world are not enough to prove that it is England's mission to conquer Ireland.

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To understand the nature of the soil of present-day Ireland we have to return to the distant epoch when the so-called Carboniferous System was formed.<sup>21</sup>

The center of Ireland, to the north and south of a line from Dublin to Galway, forms a wide plain rising to 100-300 feet above sea-level. This plain, the foundation so to say of the whole of Ireland, consists of the massive bed of limestone (carboniferous limestone), which forms the middle

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<sup>20</sup> Engels is referring to the formation of a centralized feudal state in England after her conquest in 1066 by William, Duke of Normandy. The reforms carried out in the 12<sup>th</sup> century by Henry II Plantagenet were particularly instrumental in strengthening the King's power. One of the objects of the English monarchy's aggressive designs was Ireland, a country at an earlier stage of social and political development than England, and still in a state of feudal decentralization. Between 1169 and 1171 part of the island was conquered by the Anglo-Norman barons, who founded a colony there known as the Pale.

<sup>21</sup> Unless otherwise stated, all the geological data given here is from J. Beete Jukes, *The Student's Manual of Geology*. New Edition. Edinburgh. 1862. Jukes was the local superior during the geological survey of Ireland and therefore the prime authority on this territory, which he treats in special detail.

layer of the Carboniferous System, and immediately above which lie the coal-measures of England and other places.

In the south and the north, this plain is encircled by a mountain chain which extends mainly along the coast, and consists almost entirely of older rock-formations which have broken through the limestone. These older rock-formations contain granite, mica-slate, Cambrian, Cambro-Silurian, Upper-Silurian, Devonian, together with argillaceous slate and sandstone, rich in copper and lead, found in the lowest layer of the Carboniferous System; apart from this they contain a little gold, silver, tin, zinc, iron, cobalt, antimony and manganese.

The limestone itself rises to mountains only in a few places: it reaches 600 feet in the center of the plain, in Queen's County,<sup>22</sup> and a little over 1,000 feet in the west, on the southern shore of Galway Bay (Burren Hills).

At several points in the southern half of the limestone plain there are to be found isolated coal-bearing mountain ridges of considerable extent and from 700 to 1,000 feet above sea-level. These rise from depressions in the limestone plain as plateaus with rather steep escarpments.

The escarpments in these widely separated tracts of coal-measures are so similar, and the beds composing them so precisely alike, that it is impossible to suppose otherwise than that they originally formed continuous sheets of rock, although they are now separated by sixty or eighty miles.... This belief is strongly confirmed by the fact that there are often, between the two larger areas, several little outlying patches in which the coal-measures are found capping the summits of small hills, and that wherever the undulation of the limestone is such as to bring its upper beds down beneath the level of the present surface of the ground, we invariably find some of the lower beds of the coal-measures coming in upon them.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> A reference to County Laoighis (Leix) in Central Ireland, which, in 1557, following the confiscation by the Tudors of the lands of local tribal communities (the clans), was renamed Queen's County in honor of Mary Tudor, the English Queen. The neighboring Offaley County, the population of which had also fallen victim to the expropriation policy of the English colonial authorities, was renamed King's County in honor of Mary's husband, Philip II of Spain.

<sup>23</sup> J. Beete Jukes, *The Student's Manual of Geology*, New Edition, Edinburgh, 1862, pp. 285-86.

Other circumstances, which are too detailed for us here and can be found in Jukes, pages 286-89, contribute to the certainty that the whole Irish central plain arose through denudation, as Jukes says, so that the lower layers of limestone were exposed after the coal-measures and the high limestone deposits—of an average thickness of at least 2,000-3,000 and possibly 5,000-6,000 feet of stone—had been washed away. Jukes even found another small coal-measure on the highest ridge of the Burren Hills, County Clare, which are pure limestone and 1,000 feet high.<sup>24</sup>

Some fairly considerable areas containing coal-measures have survived in Southern Ireland; but only a few of these contain enough coal to justify mining. Moreover, the coal itself is anthracite, that is, it contains little hydrogen and cannot be used for all industrial purposes without some addition.

There are also several not very extensive coal-fields in Northern Ireland in which the coal is bituminous, that is, ordinary coal rich in hydrogen. Their stratification does not coincide exactly with that of the southern coal deposits. But a similar washing away process did occur even here. This is shown by the fact that large fragments of coal, as well as sandstone and blue clay belonging to the same formation, are to be found on the surface of limestone valleys to the south-east of such a coal-field in the direction of Belturbet and Mohill. Large blocks of coal have been discovered by well-sinkers in this area of the drift; and in some cases the quantity of coal was so considerable that it was thought that deeper shafts must lead to a coal-bed.<sup>25</sup>

It is obvious that Ireland's misfortune is of ancient origin; it begins directly after the carboniferous strata were deposited. A country whose coal deposits are eroded, placed near a larger country rich in coal, is condemned by nature to remain for a long time the farming country for the larger country when the latter is industrialized. That sentence, pronounced millions of years ago, was carried out in this century. We shall see later, moreover, how the English assisted nature by crushing almost every seed of Irish industry as soon as it appeared.

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 513.

<sup>25</sup> Kane, *The Industrial Resources of Ireland*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Dublin, 1845, p. 265.

More recent Secondary and Tertiary layers<sup>26</sup> occur almost exclusively in the north-east; amongst these we are interested chiefly in the beds of red marl in the vicinity of Belfast, which contain almost pure rock-salt to a thickness of 200 feet,<sup>27</sup> and the chalk overlaid with a layer of basalt which covers the whole of County Antrim. Generally speaking, there are no important geological developments in Ireland between the end of the Carboniferous Period and the Ice Age.

It is known that after the Tertiary Epoch there was an era in which the low-lying lands of the medium latitudes of Europe were submerged by the sea, and in which such a low temperature prevailed in Europe that the valleys between the protruding island mountain tops were filled with glaciers which extended down to the sea. Icebergs used to separate themselves from these glaciers and carry rocks of all sizes which had been detached from the mountains, out to sea. When the ice melted, the rocks and other debris were deposited—a process still daily occurring on coasts of the polar regions.

During the Ice Age, Ireland too, with the exception of the mountain tops, was submerged by the sea. The degree of submergence may not have been the same everywhere, but an average of 1,000 feet below the present level can be accepted; the granite mountain chains south of Dublin must have been submerged by over 1,200 feet.

If Ireland had been submerged by only 500 feet, only the mountain chains would have remained exposed. These would then have formed two semi-circular groups of islands around a wide strait extending from Dublin to Galway. A still greater submergence would have made these islands smaller and decreased their number, until, at a submergence of 2,000 feet, only the most extreme tips would have risen above the water.

Ireland has an area of 32,509 English square miles. 13,243 square miles are 0-250 feet above sea-level; 11,797 are 251-500 feet above sea-level; 5,798 are 501-1,000 feet above sea-level; 1,589 are 1,001-2,000 feet above sea-level; 82 square miles are over 2,001 feet above sea-level.

As the submersion slowly proceeded, the limestone plains and mountain slopes must have been swept clean of much of the older rock covering them; subsequently there followed the depositing of the drift peculiar to the Ice Age on the whole of the area covered by water. Pieces of rock

<sup>26</sup> In modern terms—deposits of the Mesozoic and Cainozoic periods.

<sup>27</sup> Jukes, *Op. cit.*, p. 554.

eroded from the mountain islands and fine fragments of rock scraped away by the glaciers as they pushed their way slowly and powerfully through the valleys—earth, sand, gravel, stones, rocks, worn smooth within the ice but sharp-edged above it—all this was carried out to sea and gradually deposited on the sea-bed by icebergs which were detaching themselves from the shore. The layer formed in this way varies according to circumstances and contains loam (originating from argillaceous slate), sand (originating from quartz and granite), limestone gravel (derived from limestone formations), marl (where finely crumbled limestone mixes with loam) or mixtures of all these components; but it always contains a mass of stones of all sizes, sometimes rounded, sometimes sharp, ranging up to colossal erratic boulders, which are commoner in Ireland than in the North-German Plain or between the Alps and the Jura.

During the subsequent re-emergence of the land from the sea, this newly formed surface was given roughly its present structure. In Ireland, little washing away appears to have taken place then; with few exceptions varying thicknesses of drift cover all the plains, extend into all the valleys, and are also often found high up on the mountain slopes. Limestone is the most frequently occurring stone in them, and for this reason the whole stratum is usually called limestone gravel here. Big blocks of limestone are also extensively strewn over all the lowlands, one or more in nearly every field; apart from limestone, a lot of other local rocks, especially granite, are naturally to be found near the mountains they originated from. From the northern side of Galway Bay, granite appears commonly in the plain extending southeast as far as the Galty Mountains and more rarely as far as Mallow (County Cork).

The north of the country is covered with drift to the same height above sea-level as the central plain; a similar deposit, originating from the local, mainly Silurian rocks, is to be found between the various more or less parallel mountain chains running through the south. This appears plentifully in Flesk and Laune valley near Killarney.

The glacier tracks on the mountain slopes and valley bottoms are common and unmistakable, particularly in the south-west of Ireland. Only in Oberhasli and here and there in Sweden do I remember seeing more sharply stamped ice-trails than in Killarney (in the Black Valley and the Gap of Dunloe).



The emergence of the land during or after the Ice Age seems to have been so considerable that Britain was for a time connected by dry land not only with the Continent, but also with Ireland. At least this seems the only way the similarity between the fauna of these lands can be explained. Ireland has the following extinct large mammals in common with the Continent: the mammoth, the Irish giant stag, the cave-bear, a kind of reindeer, and so on. In fact, an emergence of less than 240 feet over the present level would be enough to connect Ireland with Scotland, and one of less than 360 feet would join Ireland and Wales with wide bridges of land.

The fact that Ireland emerged to a higher level after the Ice Age than at present is proved by the underwater peat bogs with upright tree trunks and roots which occur all around the coast, and which are identical in every detail with the lowest layers of the neighboring inland peat bogs.

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From an agricultural point of view, Ireland's soil is almost entirely formed from the drift of the Ice Age, which here, thanks to its slate and limestone origin, is not the barren sand with which the Scottish, Scandinavian and Finnish granites have covered such a large part of North Germany, but an extremely fertile, light loam. The variety in the rocks, whose decomposition contributed—and is still contributing to this soil, provides it with a corresponding variety of the mineral elements required for vegetable life; and if one of these, say lime, is greatly lacking in the soil, plenty of pieces of limestone of all sizes are to be found everywhere—quite apart from the underlying limestone bed—so it can be added quite easily.

When the well-known English agronomist, Arthur Young, toured Ireland in the 1770s, he did not know what amazed him more: the natural fertility of the soil or the barbaric manner in which the peasants cultivated it. "A light, dry, soft, sandy, loam soil" prevails where the land is good at all. In the "Golden Vale" of Tipperary and also elsewhere he found: "the same sort of sandy reddish loam I have already described, incomparable land for tillage."

From there, in the direction of Clonmel,

the whole way through the—same rich vein of red sandy loam  
I have so often mentioned: I examined it in several fields, and

found it to be of an extraordinary fertility, and as fine turnip land as ever I saw.

Further:

The rich land reaches from Charleville, at the foot of the mountains, to Tipperary, by Kilfenning, a line of twenty-five miles, and across from Ardpatrik to within four miles of Limerick, sixteen miles.

The richest in the country is the Corcasses on the Maag, about Adair, a tract of five miles long, and two broad, down to the Shannon.... When they break this land up, they sow first oats, and get 20 barrels an acre, or 40 common barrels, and do not reckon that an extra crop; they take ten or twelve in succession, upon one ploughing, till the crops grow poor, and then they sow one of horse beans, which refreshes the land enough to take ten crops of oats more; the beans are very good.... Were such barbarians ever heard of?

Further, near Castle Oliver, County Limerick,

the finest soil in the country is upon the roots of mountains; it is a rich, mellow, crumbling, putrid, sandy loam, eighteen inches to three feet deep, the color a reddish brown. It is dry sound land, and would do for turnips exceedingly well, for carrots, for cabbages, and in a word for everything. I think, upon the whole, it is the richest soil I ever saw, and such as is applicable to every purpose you can wish; it will fat the largest bullock, and at the same time do equally well for sheep, for tillage, for turnips, for wheat, for beans, and in a word, for every crop... *you* must examine into the soil before you will believe that a country, which has so beggarly an appearance, can be so rich and fertile.

On the river Blackwater near Mallow,

there are tracts of flat land in some places one quarter of a mile broad; the grass everywhere remarkably fine.... It is the finest sandy land I have anywhere seen, of a reddish-brown color,

would yield the greatest arable crops in the world, if in tillage; it is five feet deep, and has such a principle of adhesion, that it burns into good brick, yet it is a perfect sand.... The banks of this river, from its source to the sea, are equally remarkable for beauty of prospect, and fertility of soil.

Triable, sandy loams, dry but fertile, are very common, and they form the best soils in the kingdom, for tillage and sheep. Tipperary and Roscommon abound particularly in them. The most fertile of all are the bullock pastures of Limerick, and the banks of the Shannon in Clare, called the Corcasses.... Sand, which is so common in England, and yet more common through Spain, France, Germany, and Poland, quite from Gibraltar to Petersburg, is nowhere met with in Ireland, except for narrow slips of hillocks, upon the sea coast. Nor did I *ever meet* with, or hear of a chalky soil.<sup>28</sup>

Young's judgement on the soil of Ireland is summarized in the following sentences:

If I was to name the characteristics of an excellent soil, I would say *that* upon which you may fat an ox and feed off a crop of turnips. By the way, I recollect little or no such land in England, yet it is not uncommon in Ireland.<sup>29</sup>—Natural fertility, acre for acre over the two kingdoms, is certainly in favor of Ireland.<sup>30</sup>—As far as I can form a general idea of the soil of the two kingdoms, Ireland has much the advantage.<sup>31</sup>

In 1808–10, Edward *Wakefield*, an Englishman likewise versed in agronomy, toured Ireland and recorded the result of his observations in a valuable work.<sup>32</sup> His remarks are better-ordered, more extensive and fuller than those in Young's travel-book; on the whole, both agree.

<sup>28</sup> Arthur Young, *A Tour in Ireland*, 3 vols., London, 1780. (Vol. 2, pp. 28, 135, 143, 154, 165; Vol. 2, Part II, p. 4.)

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 271.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, Part II, p. 3.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, Part II, p. 9.

<sup>32</sup> Edward Wakefield, *An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political*, London, 1812, 2 vols.

Wakefield found little disparity in the nature of the soil in Ireland on the whole. Sand occurs only on the coast (it is so seldom found inland that large quantities of sea sand are transported inland for improving the turf and loam soils); chalky soil is unknown (the chalk in Antrim is, as has already been mentioned, covered with a layer of basalt, the products of the decomposition of which produce a highly fertile soil. In England the chalky soils are the worst), "...tenacious clays, such as those found in Oxfordshire, in some parts of Essex, and throughout High Suffolk, I could never meet with...." The Irish call all loamy soils clay; there might be real clay in Ireland as well, but not on the surface as in several parts of England in any case. Limestone or limestone gravel is to be found everywhere. "The former is a useful production, and is converted into a source of wealth that will always be employed with advantage." Mountains and peat bogs certainly reduce the fertile surface considerably. There is little fertile land in the north; yet even here there are highly luxuriant valleys in every county, and Wakefield unexpectedly found a highly fertile tract even in furthest Donegal amongst the wildest mountains. The extensive cultivation of flax in the north is in itself sufficient proof of fertility, as this plant does not thrive in poor soil.

A great portion of the soil in Ireland throws out a luxuriant herbage, springing up from a calcareous subsoil, without any considerable depth. I have seen bullocks of the weight of 180 stone, rapidly fattening on land incapable of receiving the print of a horse's foot, even in the wettest season, and where there were not many inches of soil. This is *one* species of the rich soil of Ireland, and is to be found throughout Roscommon, in some parts of Galway, Clare, and other districts. Some places exhibit the richest loam that I ever saw turned up by a plough; this is the case throughout Meath in particular. Where such soil occurs, its fertility is so conspicuous that it appears as if nature had determined to counteract the bad effects produced by the clumsy system of its cultivators. On the banks of the Fergus and Shannon, the land is of a different kind, but equally productive, though the surface presents the appearance of a marsh. These districts are called "the cau-

casses" [so designated by Wakefield as distinct from Young]; the substratum is a blue silt, deposited by the sea, which seems to partake of the qualities of the upper stratum; for this land can be injured by no depth of ploughing.<sup>33</sup>

In the counties of Limerick and Tipperary there is another kind of rich land, consisting of a dark, friable, dry, sandy loam which, if preserved in a clean state, would throw out corn for several years in succession. It is equally well adapted to grazing and tillage, and I will venture to say, seldom experiences a season too wet, or a summer too dry. The richness of the land, in some of the vales, may be accounted for by the deposition of soil carried thither from the upper grounds by the rain. The subsoil is calcareous, so that the very richest manure is thus spread over the land below, without subjecting the farmer to any labor.<sup>34</sup>

If a thinnish layer of heavy loam lies directly on limestone, the land is not suited to tillage and bears only a miserable crop of grain, but it makes excellent sheep-pastures. This improves it further by producing a thick grass mixed with white clover and.... [There is an omission in the manuscript. According to Wakefield it is "wild burnet"]<sup>35</sup>

Dr. Beaufort<sup>36</sup> states that there occur in the west, particularly in Mayo, many turloughs—shallow depressions of different sizes, which fill with water in the winter, although not visibly connected with streams or rivers. In the summer this drains away through underground fissures in the limestone, leaving luxurious firm grazing-ground.

Independently of the caucasses, [Wakefield continues,] the richest soil in Ireland is to be found in the counties of Tipperary, Limerick, Roscommon, Longford, and Meath. In Longford there is a farm called Granard Kill, which produced eight crops of potatoes without manure. Some parts

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., Vol. I, p. 79.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., Vol. I, p. 80.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., Vol. I, p. 80.

<sup>36</sup> Beaufort, Rev. Dr., *Memoir of a Map of Ireland*, 1792, pp. 75-76. Quoted in Wakefield, Vol. I, p. 36.

of the County of Cork are uncommonly fertile, and upon the whole, Ireland may be considered as affording land of an excellent quality, though I am by no means prepared to go the length of many writers, who assert, that it is decidedly acre for acre richer than England.<sup>37</sup>

The last observation, directed against Young, rests on a misunderstanding of Young's opinion, quoted above. Young does not say that Ireland's soil is more productive than England's, each taken in their present state of cultivation—which is naturally far higher in England; Young merely states that the *natural* fertility of the soil is greater in Ireland than in England. This does not contradict Wakefield.

After the last famine, in 1849, Sir. [The word "Ministry" appears above the "Sir"] Robert Peel sent a Scottish agronomist, Mr. *Caird*, to Ireland to report on means of improving agriculture there. In a publication issued soon afterwards he said about the west of Ireland—the worst stricken part of the country apart from the extreme north-west:

I was much surprised to find so great an extent of fine fertile land. The interior of the country is very level, and its general character stony and dry; the soil dry and friable. The humidity of the climate causes a very constant vegetation, which has both advantages and disadvantages. It is favorable for grass and green crops, ["green crops" embrace all cultivated fodder crops, as well as carrot, beetroot, turnip and potato, that is, everything except corn, grasses and garden plants] but renders it necessary to employ very vigorous and persevering efforts to extirpate weeds. The abundance of lime everywhere, both in the rock itself, and as sand and gravel beneath the surface, are of the greatest value.

Caird also confirms that County Westmeath consists of the finest pasture land. Of the region north of Lough Corrib (County Mayo) he writes:

The greater part of this farm [a farm of 500 acres] is the finest feeding land for sheep and cattle—dry, friable, undulating land, all on limestone. The fields of rich old grass are superior

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<sup>37</sup> Wakefield, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 81.

to anything we have, except in small patches, in any part of Scotland I at present remember. The best of it *is too good for tillage*, but about one half of it might be profitably brought under the plough.... The rapidity with which the land on this limestone subsoil recovers itself, and, without any seeds being sown, reverts to good pasture, is very remarkable.<sup>38</sup>

Finally we note a French authority<sup>39</sup>:

Of the two divisions of Ireland, that of the north-west, embracing a fourth of the island, and comprehending the province of Connaught, with the adjacent counties of Donegal, Clare, and Kerry, resembles Wales, and even, in its worst parts, the Highlands of Scotland. Here again are two millions of unsightly hectares, the frightful aspect of which has given rise to the national proverb, "Go to the devil or Connaught." [This expression, as will be seen later, owes its origin not to the dark mountains of Connaught, but to the darkest period in the entire history of Ireland.<sup>40</sup>] The other, or south-east and much larger division, since it [...] includes the provinces of Leinster, Ulster, and Munster, equal to about six millions of

<sup>38</sup> Caird, *The Plantation Scheme, or the West of Ireland as a Field for Investment*, Edinburgh, 1850. He also wrote travel reports on the condition of agriculture in the main counties of England for *The Times* of 1850-51. The above quotations are found on pp. 6, 17-18, 121.

<sup>39</sup> Léonce de Lavergne, *Rural Economy of England, Scotland and Ireland*. translated from the French, Edinburgh, 1855.

<sup>40</sup> A reference to the period of cruel reprisals against the Irish population and their wholesale expropriation, which began soon after the suppression of the Irish national liberation uprising of 1641-52 by the troops of the English bourgeois republic. According to the Acts of the English Parliament of 1652 and 1653, some of the Irish landowners, who were declared guilty of revolt, were to be forcibly moved to the barren province of Connaught and the swampy southern County of Clare. Resettlement was carried out under pain of execution.

On the eve of the 1798 Irish uprising, Connaught, and to an even greater extent the bordering counties of the province of Ulster in the north, became the scene of widespread terrorism by the English mercenaries and Protestant gangs hired by the landlords from among their menials (Ancient Britts, Orangemen, etc.), against the local Catholic population and its self-defense units. Under the pretext of confiscating arms from the population and billeting, soldiers and the Orangemen committed all kinds of outrages, torturing and murdering Irish people who fell into their hands and burning down their homes. Many Catholic peasants were evicted from Ulster after receiving threatening notes reading: "Go to the devil or Connaught."

hectares, *is at least equal* in natural fertility to England proper. It is not all, however, equally good; the amount of humidity there is still greater than in England. Extensive bogs cover about a tenth of the surface; more than another tenth is occupied with mountains and lakes. In fact, five only out of eight millions of hectares in Ireland are cultivated.<sup>41</sup>

Even the English admit that Ireland, in point of soil, is superior to England [...] Ireland contains eight millions of hectares. Rocks, lakes, and bogs occupy about two millions of these, and two millions more are indifferent land. The remainder—that is to say, about half the country—is rich land, with calcareous subsoil. What better could be conceived?<sup>42</sup>

We see therefore that all authorities agree that Ireland's soil contains all the elements of fertility to an extraordinary degree. This, not only in its chemical ingredients but also in its structure. The two extremes of heavy impenetrable clay, completely impermeable, and loose sand, completely permeable, do not occur. But Ireland has another disadvantage. While the mountains are mainly along the coast, the watersheds between the inland river basins are mostly low lying, and therefore the rivers are not capable of carrying all the rainwater out to sea. Thus extensive peat bogs arise inland, especially on the watersheds. In the plain alone 1,576,000 acres are covered with peat bogs. These are largely depressions or troughs in the land, most of which were once shallow lake basins which were gradually overgrown with moss and marsh plants and were filled up with their decomposing remains. As with our north-German moors, their only use is for turf cutting. With the present system of agriculture, cultivation can only gradually reclaim their edges. The soil in these former lake basins is mainly marl and its lime content (varying from 5 percent to 90 percent) is due to the shells of fresh-water mussels. Thus the material for their development into arable land exists within each of these peat bogs. Apart from this, most of them are rich in iron ore. Besides these low-lying peat bogs, there are 1,254,000 acres of mountain moor. These are the result of deforestation in a damp climate and are one of the peculiar beauties of the

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<sup>41</sup> Lavergne, *Op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 343.



British Isles. Wherever flat or almost flat summits were deforested—and this occurred extensively in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century to provide the iron works with charcoal—a layer of peat formed under the influence of rain and mist and gradually spread down the slopes where the conditions were favorable. Such moors cover the ridges of the mountain chain dividing Northern England from north to south almost as far as Derby; and are found in abundance wherever substantial mountain ranges are marked on the map of Ireland. Yet, the peat bogs of Ireland are by no means hopelessly lost to agriculture; on the contrary, in time we shall see what rich fruits some of these, and the two million hectares of the “indifferent land” contemptuously mentioned by Lavergne, can produce given correct management.

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Ireland's climate is determined by her position. The Gulf Stream and the prevailing south-west winds provide warmth and make for mild winters and cool summers. In the south-west the summer lasts far into October which, according to Wakefield,<sup>43</sup> is there regarded as the best month for sea bathing. Frost is rare and of short duration, snow usually melts immediately on the low-lying land. Spring weather prevails throughout the winter in the inlets of Kerry and Cork, which are open to the south-west and protected from the north; here, and in certain other places, myrtle thrives in the open (Wakefield mentions a country-residence where it grows into trees 16 feet high and is used to make stable-brooms),<sup>44</sup> and laurel, arbutus and other evergreen plants grow into substantial trees. In Wakefield's time, the peasants in the south were still leaving their potatoes in the open all winter—and they had not been frost-bitten since 1740. On the other hand, Ireland also suffers the first powerful downpour of the heavy Atlantic rain clouds. Ireland's average rainfall is at least 35 inches, which is considerably more than England's average, yet is definitely lower than that of Lancashire and Cheshire and scarcely more than the average for the whole of the West of England. In spite of this the Irish climate is decidedly pleasanter than the English. The leaden sky which often causes

<sup>43</sup> Wakefield, *Op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 221.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, Vol. 1, p. 55.

days of continual drizzle in England is mostly replaced in Ireland by a continental April sky; the fresh sea-breezes bring on clouds quickly and unexpectedly, but drive them past equally quickly, if they do not come down immediately in sharp showers. And even when the rain lasts for days, as it does in late autumn, it does not have the chronic air it has in England. The weather, like the inhabitants, has a more acute character, it moves in sharper, more sudden contrasts; the sky is like an Irish woman's face: here also rain and sunshine succeed each other suddenly and unexpectedly and there is none of the grey English boredom.

The Roman, *Pomponius Mela*, gives us the oldest report on the Irish climate (in *De situ orbis*) in the first century of our era:

Above Brittain is Ireland, almost of like space but on both sides equall, with shores evelong, *of a evyll ayre to ryphen things that are sown, but so aboundant of Grasse which is not onelie rancke but also sweete*, that the Cattell may in small parte of the daye fyll themselves, and if they bee not kept from feedying, they burste with grazing over-long.

*“Coeli ad maturanda semina iniqui, verum adeo luxuriosa herbis non laetis modo sed etiam dulcibus!”* We find this part amongst others translated into modern English by Mr. *Goldwin Smith*, Professor of History formerly of Oxford and now in Cornell University, America. He reports that it is difficult to gather in the harvest of wheat in a large part of Ireland and continues:

Its (Ireland's) natural way to commercial prosperity seems to be to supply with the produce of its *grazing* and dairy farms the *population of England*.<sup>45</sup>

From Mela to Goldwin Smith and up to the present day, how often has this assertion been repeated—since 1846,<sup>46</sup> especially by a noisy chorus

<sup>45</sup> Goldwin Smith, *Irish History and Irish Character*, Oxford and London, 1861.—What is more amazing in this work, which, under the mask of “objectivity,” justifies English policy in Ireland, the ignorance of the professor of history, or the hypocrisy of the liberal bourgeois? We shall touch on both again later.—*Ed.*

<sup>46</sup> A reference to the Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, leading to the inflow of cheap corn to England and creating conditions which, from the point of view of the landlords and bourgeoisie, favored the development of stock-breeding in Ireland.

of Irish landowners—that Ireland is condemned by her climate to provide not Irishmen with bread but Englishmen with meat and butter, and that the destiny of the Irish people is, therefore, to be brought over the ocean to make room in Ireland for cows and sheep!

It can be seen that to establish the facts on the Irish climate is to unravel a topical political question. And indeed the climate only concerns us here insofar as it is important for agriculture. Rain measurements, at their present incomplete stage of observations, are only of secondary importance for our purpose; *how much* rain falls is not so important as how and *when* it falls. Here agronomical judgements are most important.

*Arthur Young* considers that Ireland is considerably damper than England; this is the cause of the amazing grass-bearing qualities of the soil. He speaks of cases when turnip- and stubble-land, left unplowed, produced a rich harvest of hay in the next summer, a thing of which there is no example in England. He further mentions that the Irish wheat is much lighter than that grown in drier lands; weeds and grass spring up in abundance under even the best management, and the harvests are so wet and so troublesome to bring in that revenue suffers greatly.<sup>47</sup>

At the same time, however, he points out that the soil in Ireland counteracts this dampness of the climate. It is generally stony, and for this reason lets the water through more easily.

Harsh, tenacious, stoney, strong loams, difficult to work, are not uncommon (in Ireland]; but they are quite different from English clays. If as much rain fell upon the clays of England (a soil very rarely met with in Ireland, and never without much stone) as falls upon the rocks of her sister-island, those lands could not be cultivated. But the rocks here are cloathed with verdure;—those of limestone with only a thin covering of mold, have the softest and most beautiful turf imaginable.<sup>48</sup>

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*Corn Laws*—the high import tariffs on corn, aimed at limiting or prohibiting the import of corn to England—were introduced in 1815 in the interests of the big landlords. The struggle over the Corn Laws between the industrial bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy ended in 1846 with the passing by the Peel Government of a Repeal Bill. This was a heavy blow to the landed aristocracy and promoted the development of capitalism in England.

<sup>47</sup> Young, *Op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 100.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid*, Vol. 2, Part II, pp. 3-4.

The limestone is known to be full of cracks and fissures which let the excess water through quickly.

*Wakefield* devotes to the climate a very comprehensive chapter in which he summarizes all the earlier observations up to his own time. Dr. *Boate* (*Natural History of Ireland*, 1645)<sup>49</sup> describes the winters as mild, with three or four periods of frost every year, each of which usually lasts for only two or three days; the Liffey in Dublin freezes over scarcely once in 10 to 12 years. March is usually dry and fine, but then the weather becomes rainy; there are seldom more than two or three consecutive dry days in summer; and in the late autumn it is fine again. Very dry summers are rare, and dearth never occurs because of drought, but mostly because of too much rain. It seldom snows on the plains, so cattle remain in the open all the year round. Yet years of heavy snow do occur, as in 1635, when the people had difficulty in providing shelter for the cattle.<sup>50</sup> In the beginning of the last century, Dr. *Rutty*<sup>51</sup> made accurate meteorological observations which stretched over 50 years, from 1716 to 1765. During this whole period the proportion of south and west winds to north and east winds was 73:37 (10,878 south and west against 6,329 north and east). Prevailing winds were west and south-west, then came northwest and southeast, and most rarely northeast and east. In summer, autumn and winter west and southwest prevail. East is most frequent in spring and summer, when it occurs twice as frequently as in autumn and winter; north-east is most frequent in spring when, likewise, it is twice as frequent as in autumn and winter. As a result of this, the temperatures are more even, the winters milder and the summers cooler than in London, while on the other hand the air is damper. Even in summer, salt, sugar, flour, etc., soak dampness out of the air, and corn must be kiln-dried, a practice unknown in *some parts* of England.<sup>52</sup>

Rutty could at that time only compare Irish climate with that in London, which, as in all Eastern England, is drier, to be sure. If material on Western and especially North-Western England had been at his dis-

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<sup>49</sup> G. Boate, *Ireland's Natural History*, London, 1652. Engels, like Wakefield, gives an earlier date of publication.

<sup>50</sup> Wakefield, *Op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 216 and following.

<sup>51</sup> John Rutty, *Natural History of the County of Dublin*, 1772.

<sup>52</sup> Wakefield, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 172-81.

posals, he would have found that his description of the Irish climate—distribution of winds over the year, wet summers, in which sugar, salt, etc., are ruined in unheated rooms—fits this area completely, except that Western England is colder in winter.

Rutty also kept data on the meteorological aspect of the seasons. In the fifty years referred to, there were 16 cold, late or too dry springs: a little more than in London; further, 22 hot and dry, 24 wet, and 4 changeable summers: a little damper than in London, where the number of dry and wet summers is equal; further, 16 fine, 12 wet, 22 changeable autumns: again a little damper and more changeable than in London; and 13 frosty, 14 wet and 23 mild winters: which is considerably damper and milder than in London.

According to measurements made in the Botanical Gardens in Dublin, the following total amount of rain fell each month in the ten years between 1802 and 1811 (in inches): December: 27.31; July: 24.15; November: 23.49; August: 22.47; September: 22.27; January: 21.67; October: 20.12; May: 19.50; March: 14.69; April: 13.54; February: 12.32; June: 12.07. Average for the year: 23.36.<sup>53</sup> These ten years were unusually dry. Kane<sup>54</sup> gives an average of 30.87 inches for 6 years in Dublin and Symons<sup>55</sup> puts it at 29.79 inches for 1860–62. Because of the fleeting nature of local showers in Ireland, such measurements mean very little unless they extend over many years and are undertaken at many stations. This is proved among other things by the fact that, of the three stations measuring rainfall in Dublin in 1862, the first recorded 24.63, the second 28.04, and the third 30.18 inches as the average. The average amount of rainfall recorded by 12 stations in different parts of Ireland in the years 1860–62, was not quite 39 inches according to Symons (individual averages varied from 25.45 to 51.44 inches).

In his book about Ireland's climate, Dr. *Patterson* says:

The frequency of our showers, and not the amount of rainfall itself, has caused the popular notion about the wetness of our climate.... Sometimes the spring sowing is a little delayed

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 191.

<sup>54</sup> Kane, *Industrial Resources*, p. 73.

<sup>55</sup> George James Symons, *English Rainfall*.

because of wet weather, but our springs are so frequently cold and late that early sowing is not always advisable. If frequent summer and autumn showers make our hay and corn harvests risky, then vigilance and diligence would be just as successful in such exigencies as they are for the English in their “catching” harvests, and improved cultivation would ensure that the seed-corn would aid the peasants’ efforts.<sup>56</sup>

In Londonderry the number of rain-free days each year between 1791 and 1802 varied from 113 to 148—the average for the period was over 126. In Belfast the same average emerged. In Dublin it varied from 168 to 205, average 179.<sup>57</sup>

According to Wakefield, Irish harvests fall as follows: wheat mostly in September, more rarely in August, occasionally in October; barley usually a little later than wheat; and oats approximately a week after barley, therefore usually in October. After considerable research, Wakefield concluded that not nearly enough material existed for a *scientific* description of the Irish climate, but *nowhere* does he state that it provides a serious obstacle to the cultivation of corn. In fact he finds, as we shall see, that the losses incurred during wet harvest times are due to entirely different causes, and states so quite explicitly:

The soil of Ireland is so fertile, and the *climate so favorable*, that under a proper system of agriculture, it will produce not only a *sufficiency* of corn for its own use, but a *superabundance* which may be ready at all times to relieve England when she may stand in need of assistance.<sup>58</sup>

At that time, of course—1812—England was at war with the whole of Europe and America,<sup>59</sup> and it was much more difficult to import corn—

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<sup>56</sup> Dr. W. Patterson, *An Essay on the Climate of Ireland*, Dublin, 1804.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Wakefield, *Op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 61.

<sup>59</sup> The reference is to England’s participation in the war against Napoleonic France and the European countries depending on her (in 1812 England fought Napoleon in alliance with Russia, Spain and Portugal), and to the Anglo-American war which broke out in the same year because the English ruling classes had refused to recognize the sovereignty of the USA and attempted to re-establish colonial rule there. The war was won by the United States in 1814.

corn was the primary need. Now America, Rumania, Russia and Germany deliver sufficient corn, and the question now is rather one of cheap *meat*. And because of this Ireland's climate is no longer suited to tillage.

Ireland has grown corn since ancient times. In her oldest laws, recorded long before the arrival of Englishmen, the "sack of wheat" is already a definite measurement of value. Fixed quantities of wheat, malt-barley and oatmeal are quite regularly mentioned in the tributes of inferiors to tribal and other chiefs.<sup>60</sup>

After the English invasion, the cultivation of corn diminished because of the continual battles, without ever ceasing completely; it increased between 1660 and 1725 and decreased again from 1725 to about 1780; more corn as well as a greater quantity of potatoes was again sown between 1780 and 1846, and since then they have both given way to the steadily advancing cattle pastures. If Ireland were not suited to the cultivation of corn, would it have been grown for over a thousand years?

Of course there are regions, in which because of the proximity of mountains the rainfall is always greater, and which are less suited to wheat-growing—notably in the south and west. Besides the good years, a series of wet summers will often occur there, as between 1860–62, which do great harm to the wheat. Wheat, however, is not Ireland's principal grain, and Wakefield even complains that too little of it is grown for lack of a market—the only one being the nearest mill. For the most part, barley is grown only for the secret distilleries (secret because of taxation). Ireland's principal grain was and still is oats. In 1810 no less than 10 times as much oats was grown as of all the other sorts of corn put together. As oats are harvested after wheat and barley, the harvest is usually in late September or October when the weather is usually fine, especially in the south. And in any case, oats can take a considerable amount of rain.

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<sup>60</sup> *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Ireland—Senchus Mor*, 2 Vols, Dublin, published in 1865 and 1869. The third volume of this publication, comprising the conclusion of the collection *Senchus Mor (The Great Book of Old)*, appeared in 1873, after Engels had written the passage in this book. *Senchus Mor* is one of the most detailed written records of the laws of the Brehons, the guardians of and commentators on laws and customs in Celtic Ireland.

See Vol. 2. The value of one sack of wheat was 1 *screpall* (denarius) or 20-24 grains of silver. The value of the *screpall* is fixed by Dr. Petrie in *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, anterior to the Anglo-Norman Invasion, Dublin, 1845.

We have already seen that Ireland's climate, as far as the amount and distribution of rain throughout the year is concerned, corresponds almost entirely with that of the North-West of England. The rainfall is much greater in the mountains of Cumberland, Westmorland, and North Lancashire (in Coniston 96.03, in Windermere 75.02 inches, average in the years 1860–62), than in certain stations in Ireland known to me, and yet hay is made and oats are grown there. In the same years the rainfall varied in South Lancashire from 25.11 in Liverpool to 59.13 in Bolton, the average being about 40 inches; in Cheshire it varied from 33.02 to 43.40 inches, the average being approximately 37 inches. In Ireland, as we saw, it was not quite 39 inches in the same years. (All figures from Symons.) In both counties corn of all kinds, and in particular wheat, is cultivated; Cheshire carried on mainly cattle-rearing and dairy farming until the last epidemic of cattle-plague, but since most of the cattle perished, the climate suddenly became quite admirably suited for wheat-growing. If there had been an epidemic of cattle-plague in Ireland causing devastation similar to that in Cheshire, instead of preaching that Ireland's natural occupation is cattle-raising, they would point to the place in Wakefield which says that Ireland is destined to be England's granary.

If one looks at the matter impartially and without being misled by the cries of the interested parties, the Irish landowners and the English bourgeois, one finds that Ireland, like all other places, has some parts which because of soil and climate are more suited to cattle-rearing, and others to tillage, and still others—the vast majority—which are suited to both. Compared with England, Ireland is more suited to cattle-rearing on the whole; but if England is compared with France, she too is more suited to cattle-rearing. Are we to conclude that the whole of England should be transformed into cattle pastures, and the whole agricultural population be sent into the factory towns or to America—except for a few herdsmen—to make room for cattle, which are to be exported to France in exchange for silk and wine? But that is exactly what the Irish landowners who want to put up their rents and the English bourgeoisie who want to decrease wages demand for Ireland: Goldwin Smith has said so plainly enough. And yet the social revolution inherent in this transformation from tillage to cattle-rearing would be far greater in Ireland than in England. In England, where large-scale agriculture prevails and where agricultural laborers have



already been replaced by machinery to a large extent, it would mean the transplantation of at most one million; in Ireland, where small and even cottage-farming prevails, it would mean the transplantation of four million: the extermination of the Irish people.

It can be seen that even the facts of nature become points of national controversy between England and Ireland. It can also be seen, however, how the public opinion of the ruling class in England—and it is only this that is generally known on the Continent—changes with the fashion and in its own interests. Today England needs grain quickly and dependably—Ireland is just perfect for wheat-growing. Tomorrow England needs meat—Ireland is only fit for cattle pastures. The existence of five million Irish is in itself a smack in the eye to all the laws of political economy, they have to get out but whereto is their worry!

### **Ancient Ireland**

The writers of ancient Greece and Rome, and also the fathers of the Church, give very little information about Ireland.

Instead there still exists an abundant native literature, in spite of the many Irish manuscripts lost in the wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It includes poems, grammars, glossaries, annals and other historical writings and law-books. With very few exceptions, however, this whole literature, which embraces the period at least from the eighth to the seventeenth centuries, exists only *in manuscript*. For the Irish language printing has existed only for a few years only from the time when the language began to die out. Of this rich material, therefore, only a small part is available.

Amongst the most important of these annals are those of Abbot *Tigernach* (died 1088), those of *Ulster*, and above all, those of the *Four Masters*. These last were collected in 1632–36 in a monastery in Donegal under the direction of Michael O’Clery, a Franciscan monk, who was helped by three other Seanchaidhes (antiquarians), from materials which now are almost all lost. They were published in 1856 from the original Donegal manuscript which still exists, having been edited and provided with an English translation by O’Donovan.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>61</sup> *Annala Rioghachta Eireann. (Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters.)* Edited, with an English Translation, by Dr. Jolin O’Donovan. Second edition, Dub-

The earlier editions by Dr. Charles O'Connor (the first part of the *Four Masters*, and the *Annals of Ulster*) are untrustworthy in text and translation.<sup>62</sup>

The beginning of most of these annals presents the mythical prehistory of Ireland. Its base was formed by old folk legends, which were spun out endlessly by poets in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries and were then brought into suitable chronological order by the monk-chroniclers. The *Annals of the Four Masters* begins with the year of the world 2242, when Caesair, a granddaughter of Noah, landed in Ireland forty days before the Flood; other annals have the ancestors of the Scots, the last immigrants to Ireland, descend in direct line from Japheth and bring them into connection with Moses, the Egyptians and the Phoenicians, as the German chroniclers of the Middle Ages connected the ancestors of the Germans with Troy, Aeneas or Alexander the Great. The *Four Masters* devote only a few pages to this legend (in which the only valuable element, the original folk-legend, is not distinguishable even now); the *Annals of Ulster* leave it out altogether; and Tigernach, with a critical boldness wonderful for his time, explains that all the written records of the Scots before King Cimbaoth (approximately 300 B.C.) are uncertain. But when new national life awoke in Ireland at the end of the last century, and with it new interest in Irish literature and history, just these monks' legends were counted to be their most valuable constituent. With true Celtic enthusiasm and specifically Irish naivete, belief in these stories was declared an intrinsic part of national patriotism, and this offered the super-cunning world of English scholarship—whose own efforts in the field of philological and historical criticism are glori-

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lin, 1856, 7 volumes in 4°.

<sup>62</sup> Engels is referring to the collection *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veleres* (Ancient Annalists of Ireland), published in four volumes in 1814, 1825 and 1826 by Charles O'Connor in Buckingham.

The collection contains the first publication of part of the *Annales IV Magistrorum*, the *Annales Tigernachi*, which were written between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries and described events from the close of the third century, the *Annales Ultonienses* (compiled by various chroniclers between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries and describing events beginning with the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century), and the *Annales Inisfalensis* (generally assumed to have been compiled from 1215 onwards, and treating events up to 1318), mentioned by Engels.

ously enough well known to the rest of the world—the desired pretext for throwing everything Irish aside as arrant nonsense.<sup>63</sup>

Since the thirties of this century a far more critical spirit has come into being in Ireland, especially through Petrie and O'Donovan. Petrie's already-mentioned researches prove that the most complete agreement exists between the oldest surviving inscriptions, which date from the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, and the annals, and O'Donovan is of the opinion that these begin to report historical facts as early as the second and third centuries of our era. It makes little difference to us whether the credibility of the annals begins several hundred years earlier or later since, unfortunately, during that period they are almost wholly fruitless for our purpose. They contain short, dry notices of deaths, accessions to the throne, wars, battles, earthquakes, plagues, Scandinavian raiding expeditions, but little that has reference to the social life of the people. If the whole juridical literature of Ireland were published, the annals would acquire a completely different meaning; many a dry notice would obtain new life through explanations found in the law-books.

Almost all of these law-books, which are very numerous, still await the time when they will see the light of day. On the insistence of several Irish antiquarians, the English Government agreed in 1852 to appoint a commission for publishing the ancient laws and institutions of Ireland. But the commission consisted of three lords (who are never far away when there is state money to be spent), three lawyers of the highest rank, three Protestant clergymen, and Dr. Petrie and an official who is the chief surveyor in Ireland. Of these gentlemen only Dr. Petrie and two clergymen,

<sup>63</sup> One of the most naive products of that time is *The Chronicles of Eri*, being the History of the Gaal Sciôt Iber, or the Irish People, translated from the original manuscripts in the Phoenician dialect of the Scythian language by O'Connor, London, 1822, 2 volumes. The Phoenician dialect of the Scythian language is naturally Celtic Irish, and the original manuscript is a verse chronicle chosen at will. The publisher is Arthur O'Connor, exile of 1798, uncle of Feargus O'Connor who was later leader of the English Chartists, an ostensible descendant of the ancient O'Connors, Kings of Connaught, and, after a fashion, the Irish Pretender to the throne. His portrait appears in front of the title, a man with a handsome, jovial Irish face, strikingly resembling his nephew Feargus, grasping a crown with his right hand. Underneath is the caption: "O'Connor—cearrige, head of his race, and O'Connor, chief of the prostrate people of his nation: 'Soumis, pas vaincus' ('subdued, not conquered')." [Arthur O'Connor was one of the few leaders of the United Irishmen society, which prepared the 1798 uprising, who managed to escape execution. After his release from gaol in 1803 O'Connor was banished to France, where he stayed to the end of his days.]

Dr. Graves (now Protestant Bishop of Limerick) and Dr. Todd, could claim to understand anything at all about the tasks of the commission, and of these three Petrie and Todd have since died. The commission was instructed to arrange the transcription, translation and publication of the legal content of the ancient Irish manuscripts, and to employ the necessary people for that purpose. It employed the two best people that were to be had, Dr. O'Donovan and Professor O'Curry, who copied, and made a rough translation of, a large number of manuscripts; both died, however, before anything was ready for publication. Their successors, Dr. Hancock and Professor O'Mahony, then took up the work, so that up to the present the two volumes already cited, containing the *Senchus Mor*, have appeared. According to the publishers' acknowledgment only two of the members of the commission, Graves and Todd, have taken part in the work, through some annotations to the proofs. Sir Th. Larcom, a member of the commission, placed the original maps of the survey of Ireland at the disposal of the publishers for the verification of place names. Dr. Petrie soon died, and the other gentlemen confined their activities to drawing their salaries conscientiously for 18 years.

That is how public works are carried out in England, and even more so in English-ruled Ireland. Without jobbery,<sup>64</sup> they cannot begin.

No public interest may be satisfied without a pretty sum or some fat sinecures being siphoned off for lords and government proteges. With the money that the wholly superfluous commission has wasted the entire unpublished historical literature could have been published in Germany—and better.

The *Senchus Mor* has until now been our main source for information about conditions in ancient Ireland. It is a collection of ancient legal decisions which, according to the later composed introduction, was compiled on the orders of St. Patrick, and with his assistance brought into harmony with Christianity, rapidly spreading in Ireland. The High King of Ireland, Laeghaire (428–458, according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*), the Vice-Kings, Corc of Munster and Daire, probably a prince of Ulster,

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<sup>64</sup> *Jobbery*—the using of public office to one's private advantage or to that of relations and friends, and likewise the using of public money for indirect bribery in the interests of a party, is called jobbery in England. An individual transaction is called a job. The English colony in Ireland is the main center of jobbery.

and also three bishops: St. Patrick, St. Benignus and St. Cairnech, and three lawyers: Dubthach, Fergus and Rossa, are supposed to have formed the "commission" which compiled the book—and there is no doubt that they did their work more cheaply than the present commission, who only had to publish it. The *Four Masters* give 438 as the year in which the book was written.

The text itself is evidently based on very ancient heathen materials. The oldest legal formulas in it are written in verse with a precise meter and the so-called consonance, a kind of alliteration or rather consonant-assonance, which is peculiar to Irish poetry and frequently goes over to full rhyme. As it is certain that old Irish law-books were translated in the fourteenth century from the so-called Fenian dialect (Bérla Féini), the language of the fifth century, into the then current Irish (Introduction [Vol. I], p. xxxvi and following) it emerges that in the *Senchus Mor* too the meter has been more or less smoothed out in places; but it appears often enough along with occasional rhymes and marked consonance to give the text a definite rhythmical cadence. It is generally sufficient to read the translation in order to find out the verse forms. But then there are also throughout it, especially in the latter half, numerous pieces of undoubted prose; and, whereas the verse is certainly very ancient and has been handed down by tradition, these prose insertions seem to originate with the compilers of the book. At any rate, the *Senchus Mor* is quoted frequently in the glossary composed in the ninth or tenth century, and attributed to the King and Bishop of Cashel, Cormac, and it was certainly written long before the English invasion.

All the manuscripts (the oldest of which appears to date from the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century or earlier) contain a series of mostly concordant annotations and longer commenting notes on this text. The annotations are in the spirit of old glossaries; quibbles take the place of etymology and the explanation of words, and comments are of varying quality, being often badly distorted or largely incomprehensible, at least without knowledge of the rest of the law-books. The age of the annotations and comments is uncertain. Most of them, however, probably date from after the English invasion. As at the same time they show only a very few traces of developments in the law outside the text itself, and these are only a more precise establishment of details, the greater part, which is purely explana-

tory, can certainly also be used with some discretion as a source concerning earlier times.

The *Senchus Mor* contains:

1. The law of distraint [*Pfändungsrecht*], that is to say, almost the whole judicial procedure;
2. The law of hostages, which during disputes were put up by people of different territories;
3. The law of Saerrath and Daerrath (see below)<sup>65</sup>; and
4. The law of the family.

From this we obtain much valuable information on the social life of that time, but, as long as many of the expressions are unexplained and the rest of the manuscripts is not published, much remains dark.

In addition to literature, the surviving architectural monuments, churches, round towers, fortifications and inscriptions also enlighten us about the condition of the people before the arrival of the English.

From foreign sources we need only mention a few passages about Ireland in the Scandinavian sagas and the life of St. Malachy by St. Bernard,<sup>66</sup> which are not fruitful sources, and then come immediately to the first Englishman to write about Ireland from his own experience.

Sylvester Gerald Barry, known as *Giraldus Cambrensis*, Archdeacon of Brecknock, was a grandchild of the amorous Nesta, daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr, Prince of South Wales, and mistress of Henry I of England and the ancestor of almost all the Norman leaders who took part in the first conquest of Ireland. In 1185 he went with John (later “Lackland”) to Ireland and in the following years wrote, first, the *Topographia Hibernica*, a description of the land and the inhabitants, and then the *Hibernia Expugnata*, a highly col-

<sup>65</sup> *Saerrath* and *Daerrath*—two forms of tenancy in ancient Ireland, whereby the tenant, generally an ordinary member of the community, was given the use of stock and later also of land by the chief of the clan or tribe and by other representatives of the tribal elite. They involved partial loss of personal freedom (especially in the case of *Daerrath*) and various onerous duties. These forms of dependence were typical of the period of the disintegration of tribal relations in ancient Irish society and of the early stages of feudalization. At this time land tenure was on the whole still communal, while stock and farming implements were already private property, and private landownership already existed in embryonic form. Engels’s “see below” refers to the section of this chapter which remained unwritten.

<sup>66</sup> S. Bernard, *Vita S. Malachiae*.

ored history of the first invasion. It is mainly the first work which concerns us here. Written in highly pretentious Latin and filled with the wildest belief in miracles and with all the church and national prejudices of the time and the race of its vain author, the book is nevertheless of great importance as the first at all detailed report by a foreigner.<sup>67</sup>

From here on, Anglo-Norman sources about Ireland naturally become more abundant; however, little knowledge is gained about the social circumstances of the part of the island that remained independent, and it is from this that conclusions regarding ancient conditions could be drawn. It is only towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when Ireland as a whole was first systematically subjugated, that we find more detailed reports about the actual living conditions of the Irish people, and these naturally contain a strong English bias. We shall find later that, in the course of the 400 years which elapsed since the first invasion, the condition of the people changed little, and not for the better. But, precisely because of this, these newer writings—Hanmer, Campion, Spenser, Davies, Camden, Moryson and others<sup>68</sup>—which we shall have to consult frequently, are one of our main sources of information on a period 500 years earlier, and a welcome and indispensable supplement to the poor original sources.

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The mythical prehistory of Ireland tells of a series of immigrations which took place one after the other and mostly ended with the subduing of the island by the new immigrants. The three last ones are: that of

<sup>67</sup> Giraldi Cambrensis Opera, ed. J. S. Brewer, London, Longmans, 1863. [The works of Giraldus Cambrensis on Ireland, *Topographia Hibernica* and *Expugnatio Hibernica* (in Engels's manuscript *Hibernia Expugnata*), were included in the 5<sup>th</sup> volume of the *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, mentioned by Engels, the publication of which was begun by J. S. Brewer. The 5<sup>th</sup> volume published by J. F. Dimock appeared in 1867.]—A (weak) English translation of the historical works, including the two works already mentioned, was published in London by Bohn in 1863 (*The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis*).

<sup>68</sup> A reference to the following works: M. Hanmer, *The Chronicle of Ireland*; E. Campion, *History of Ireland*; E. Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland*, published in *Ancient Irish Histories. The Works of Spenser, Campion, Hanmer and Marleburrough*, vols. I-II, Dublin, 1809, and also to: John Davies, *Historical Tracts*, London, 1786; W. Camden, *Britannia*, London, 1637; F. Moryson, *An Itinerary Containing Ten Years Travels Through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Switzerland, Netherland, Denmark, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland and Ireland*, London, 1617.



the Firbolgs, that of the Tuatha-de-Dananns, and that of the Milesians or Scots, the last supposed to have come from Spain. Popular writing of history changed Firbolgs (*fir*—Irish fear, Latin *vir*, Gothic *vair*—man) into Belgian without further ado; the Tuatha-de-Dananns (*tuatha*—Irish people, tract of land, Gothic *thiuda*) into Greek Danai or German Danes as they felt the need. O'Donovan is of the opinion that something historical lies at the basis of at least the immigrations named above. According to the annals there occurred in the year 10 A.D. an insurrection of the *aitheach tuatha* (which Lynch, who is a good judge of the old language, translated in the seventeenth century as: *plebeiorum hominum gens*), that is, a plebeian revolution, in which the whole of the nobility (*saorchlann*) was slain. This points to the dominion of Scottish conquerors over the older inhabitants. O'Donovan draws the conclusion from the folk-tales that the Tuatha-de-Dananns, who were later transformed in folk-lore into elves of the mountain forest, survived up to the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> century of our era in isolated mountain areas.

There is no doubt that the Irish were a mixed people even before large numbers of English settled among them. As early as the twelfth century, the predominant type was fair-haired as it still is. Giraldus<sup>69</sup> says of two strangers, that they had long *yellow* hair like the Irish. But there are also even now, especially in the west, two quite different types of black-haired people. The one is tall and well-built with fine facial features and curly hair, people whom one thinks that one has already met in the Italian Alps or Lombardy; this type occurs most frequently in the south-west. The other, thickset and short in build, with coarse, lank, black hair and flattened, almost negroid faces, is more frequent in Connaught. Huxley attributes this dark-haired element in the originally light-haired Celtic population to an Iberian (that is, Basque) admixture,<sup>70</sup> which would be correct in part at least. However, at the time when the Irish come clearly into the light of history, they have become a homogeneous people with Celtic speech and we do not find anywhere any other foreign elements,

<sup>69</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographia Hibernica*, III, p. 26.

<sup>70</sup> Engels is referring to Huxley's public lecture on the subject "The Forefathers and Forerunners of the English People," read in Manchester on January 9, 1870. A detailed account of the lecture was published in the Manchester Examiner and The Times on January 12, 1870.



apart from the slaves acquired by conquest or barter, who were mostly Anglo-Saxons.

The reports of the classical writers of antiquity about that people do not sound very flattering. *Diodorus* recounts that those Britons who inhabit the island called Iris (or Irin? it is in the accusative, Irin) eat people.<sup>71</sup> *Strabo* gives a more detailed report:

Concerning this island [Jerne] I have nothing certain to tell, except that its inhabitants are more savage than the Britons, since they are man-eaters as well as heavy eaters [*poluyagoi*; according to another manner of reading *pohyagoi*—herbivorous], and since, further, they count it an honorable thing, when their fathers die, to devour them, and openly to have intercourse, not only with the other women, but also with their mothers and sisters.<sup>72</sup>

The patriotic Irish historians have been more than a little indignant over this alleged calumny. It was reserved to more recent investigation to prove that cannibalism, and especially the devouring of parents, was a stage in the development of probably all nations. Perhaps it will be a consolation to the Irish to know that the ancestors of the present Berliners were still honoring this custom a full thousand years later:

*Aber Weletabi, die in Germania sizzent, tie wir Wilze heizên, die ne scament A nieht ze chedenne daz—sie iro parentes mit mêren rehte ezen sulîn, danne die wurme. [But the Weletabi who reside in Germany, which we call Wilze, who are not ashamed to say that they have a greater right to eat their parents than the worms have.]*<sup>73</sup>

And we shall see the consuming of human flesh reoccur more than once under English rule. As far as the phanerogamy (to use an expression of Fourier's<sup>74</sup>), which the Irish are reproached with, is concerned: such things

<sup>71</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliothecae historicae*, Vol. 5.

<sup>72</sup> Strabo, *Geographic*, translated by K. Kärcher, Buch 7, Tübingen, 1835.

<sup>73</sup> Notker, quoted in Jacob Grimm's *Rechtsaltertümer*, p. 488.

<sup>74</sup> Ch. Fourier, *Le nouveau monde industriel et sociétaire on invention du procédé d'industrie attrayante et naturelle distribuée en series passionnées*. The first edition appeared in Paris in 1829.

occurred amongst all the barbarous peoples, and much more amongst the quite unusually gallant Celts. It is interesting to note that even then the island carried the present native name: Iris, Irin and Jerne are identical with Eire and Erin; and how even Ptolemy already knew the present name of the capital, Dublin, Eblana (with the right accent Eblana).<sup>75</sup> This is all the more noteworthy since the Irish Celts have since ancient times given this city another name, Athcliath, and for them Duibhlinn—the black pool—is the name of a place on the River Liffey.

Moreover we also find the following passage in Pliny's *Historiae Naturalis*, IV, 16:

The Britons travel there [to Hibernia] in boats of willow branches across which animal-skins have been sewn together.

And later Solinus says of the Irish:

They cross the sea between Hibernia and Britannia in boats of willow-branches, which they overlay with a cover of cattle-hide.<sup>76</sup>

In the year 1810, Wakefield found that on the whole west coast of Ireland “no other boats occurred except ones which consisted of a wooden frame covered over with a horse- or ox-hide.” The shape of these boats varies according to the district, but they are all distinguished by their extraordinary lightness, so that mishaps rarely occur on them. Naturally they are of no use on the open sea, for which reason fishing can only take place in the creeks and amongst the islands. Wakefield saw these boats in Malbay, County Clare. They were 15 feet long, 5 feet wide and 2 feet deep. Two cowhides with the hair on the inside and tarred on the outside were used for one of these, and they were arranged for two rowers. Such a boat cost about 30 shillings.<sup>77</sup> Instead of woven willows—a wooden frame! What an advance in 1,800 years and after nearly 700 years of the “civilizing” influence of the foremost maritime nation in the world!

As for the rest, several signs of progress can be seen. Under King Cormac Ulfadha, who was placed on the throne in the second half of the third century, his son-in-law, Finn McCumhal, is said to have reorganized

<sup>75</sup> Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Geographia*, Book 11, Chapter 2.

<sup>76</sup> C. Jul. Solini, *Cosmographia*, Ch. 25.

<sup>77</sup> Wakefield, *Op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 97.

the Irish militia—the *Fianna Eirionn* [Feini, Fenier, is the name given to the Irish nation throughout the *Senchus Mor*. *Feinechus*, *Fenchus*, Law of the Fenians, often stands for the *Senchus* or for another lost law-book. *Feine*, *grad feine* also designates the plebs, the lowest free class of people]—probably on the lines of the Roman legion with differentiation between light troops and troops of the line; all the later Irish armies on which we have detailed information have the following categories of troops: the *kerne*—light troops—and the *galloglas*—heavy troops or troops of the line. Finn’s heroic deeds are celebrated in many old songs, some of which still exist; these and perhaps a few Scottish-Gaelic traditions form the basis of Macpherson’s *Ossian* (Irish *Oisín*, son of Finn), in which Finn appears as Fingal and the scene is transferred to Scotland.<sup>78</sup> In Irish folk-lore Finn lives on as Finn Mac-Caul, a giant, to whom some wonderful feat of strength is ascribed in almost every locality of the island.

Christianity must have penetrated Ireland quite early, at least the east coast of it. Otherwise the fact that so many Irishmen played an important part in Church-history even long before Patrick cannot be explained. Pelagius the Heretic is usually taken to be a Welsh monk from Bangor; but there was also an ancient Irish monastery, Bangor, or rather Banchor at Carrickfergus. That he comes from the Irish monastery is proved by Hieronymus, who describes him as being “stupid and heavy with Scottish gruel” (“scotorum pultibus praegravatus”).<sup>79</sup> This is the first mention of Irish oatmeal gruel (Irish *lite*, Anglo-Irish *stirabout*), which even then, before the introduction of potatoes, was the staple food of the Irish people and after that continued to be so alongside with the latter. Pelagius’s chief followers were Celestius and Albinus, also Scots, that is, Irishmen. According to Gennadius,<sup>80</sup> Celestius wrote three detailed letters to his parents from the monastery, and from them it can be seen that alphabetical writing was known in Ireland in the fourth century.

The Irish people are called Scots and the land *Scotia* in all the writings of the early Middle Ages; we find this term used by Claudianus, Isidorus,

<sup>78</sup> A reference to *The Poems of Ossian* written by the Scottish poet James Macpherson, who published them in 1760-65. He ascribed them to Ossian, the legendary Celtic bard. Macpherson’s poems are based on an ancient Irish epos in a later Scottish interpretation.

<sup>79</sup> S. Eusebius Hieronymus, *Commentariorum in Jeremiam Prophetam libri sex*, prologus.

<sup>80</sup> Gennadius, *Illustrium, virorum*, catalogus.

Beda, the geographer of Ravenna, Eginhard and even by Alfred the Great: “Hibernia, which we call Scotland” (“Ighbernia the ve Scotland hatadh”).<sup>81</sup> The present Scotland was called Caledonia by foreigners and Alba, Albania by the inhabitants; the transfer of the name Scotia, Scotland, to the northern area of the eastern isle did not occur until the eleventh century. The first substantial emigration of Irish Scots to Alba is taken to have been in the middle of the third century; Ammianus Marcellinus already knows them there in the year 360.<sup>82</sup> The emigrants used the shortest sea-route, from Antrim to the peninsula of Kintyre; Nennius explicitly says that the Britons, who then occupied all the Scottish lowlands up to the Clyde and Forth, were attacked by the Scots *from the west*, by the Picts from the north.<sup>83</sup> Further, the seventh of the ancient Welsh historical *Triads*<sup>84</sup> reports that the *gwyddyl ffichti* (see below) came to Alba over the Norse Sea (Mor Llychlin) and settled on the coast. Incidentally, the fact that the sea between Scotland and the Hebrides is called the Norse Sea shows that this ‘Triad was written after the Norse conquest of the Hebrides. Large numbers of Scots came over again at about the year 500, and they gradually formed a kingdom, independent of both Ireland and the Picts. They finally subdued the Picts in the ninth century under Kenneth MacAlpin and created the state to which the name Scotland, Scotia was transferred, probably first by the Norsemen about 150 years later.

Invasions of Wales by the *gwyddyl ffichti* or Gaelic Picts are mentioned in ancient Welsh sources (Nennius, the *Triads*) of the fifth and sixth centuries. These are generally accepted as being invasions of Irish Scots.

<sup>81</sup> The references are to the following medieval works: Claudianus, *De IV consulatu Honorii Augusti panegiricus*; Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiarum*, libri XX; Beda Venerabilis, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae libri quinque*; Anonymus Ravenatis, *De Geographiae libri V*; Eginhard, *Vita et gesta Karoli Magni*; Alfred the Great, Anglo-Saxon Version of the Historian Orosius. In all probability Engels used extracts from the above-mentioned works contained in K. Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstaemme*. See pp. 568-69 of the edition published in Munich in 1837.

<sup>82</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum*, libri XXXI, liber XX.

<sup>83</sup> Nennius, *Historia Brittonum*, with an English Version by Gunn, London, 1819, § 15.

<sup>84</sup> *Triads*—medieval Welsh works written in the form characteristic of the poetry of the ancient Celts of Wales, with persons, things, events, etc., arranged in sets of three. As regards their content the *Triads* are historical, theological, judicial, poetical and ethical. The early *Triads* were composed not later than the 10<sup>th</sup> century, but the extant manuscripts of these works relate to the period from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Gwyddyl is the Welsh form of gavidheal, as the Irish call themselves. The origin of the term Picts can be investigated by someone else.

Patricius (Irish Patrick, Patraic, as the Celts always pronounce their “c” as “k” in the Ancient Roman way) brought Christianity to dominance in the second quarter of the fifth century without any violent convulsions. Trade with Britain, which had been of long standing, also became livelier at this time; architects and building workers came over and the Irish learned from them to build with mortar, while up to then they had only known *dry-stone* building. As mortar building occurs between the seventh and twelfth centuries, and then only in church buildings, that is proof enough that its introduction is connected with that of Christianity, and further, that from then on the clergy, as the representative of foreign culture, severed itself completely from the people in its intellectual development. Whilst the people made no, or only extremely slow, social advances, there soon developed amongst the clergy a literary learning which was extraordinary for the time and which, in accordance with the custom then, manifested itself mostly in zeal for converting heathens and founding monasteries. Columba converted the British Scots and the Picts; Gallus (founder of St. Gallen) and Fridolin the Allemanni, Kilian the Franks on the Main, Virgilius the city of Salzburg. All five were Irish. The Anglo-Saxons were also converted to Christianity mainly by Irish missionaries. Furthermore, Ireland was known throughout Europe as a nursery of learning, so much so that Charlemagne summoned an Irish monk, Albinus, to teach at Pavia, where another Irishman, Dungal, followed him later. The most important of the many Irish scholars, who were famous at that time but are now mostly forgotten, was the “Father,” or as Erdmann calls him, the “Carolus Magnus” [Charles the Great] of philosophy in the Middle Ages—*Johannes Scotus Erigena*. Hegel says of him, “Real philosophy began first with him.”<sup>85</sup> He alone understood Greek in Western Europe in the ninth century, and by his translation of the writings attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, he restored the link with the last branch of the old philosophy, the Alexandrian Neoplatonic school.<sup>86</sup> His teaching was very

<sup>85</sup> G.W.F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie (Lectures on the History of Philosophy)*, Bd. 3. In: *Werke*, Bd. XV, Berlin, 1836, S. 160.

<sup>86</sup> *Alexandrian Neoplatonic school*—a trend in ancient philosophy originating in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A. D. in Alexandria during the decline of the Roman Empire. The source of neoplatonism was Plato’s idealism, and the idealistic aspect of Aristotle’s teaching, interpreted in a mystical spirit by the neoplatonic philosophers. In the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.

bold for the time. He denied the “eternity of damnation,” even for the devil, and brushed close to Pantheism. Contemporary orthodoxy, therefore, did not fail to slander him. It took a full two hundred years before the branch of learning founded by Erigena was developed by Anselm of Canterbury.<sup>87</sup>

Before this development of culture could have an effect on the people, it was interrupted by the raids of the Norsemen. The raids, which form the main staple product of Scandinavian, and particularly Danish, patriotism, occurred too late, and the nations from which they originated were too small for them to result in conquest, colonization, and the forming of states on a large scale as had been the case with the earlier invasions of the Germans. Their advantage which they bequeathed on historical development is infinitesimal in comparison with the immense and fruitless (even for the Scandinavians themselves) disturbances they caused.

Ireland was far from being inhabited by a single nation at the end of the eighth century. Supreme royal power over the whole island existed only in appearance, and by no means always at that. The provincial kings, whose number and territories were continually changing, fought amongst themselves, and the smaller territorial princes likewise carried on their private feuds. On the whole, however, these internal wars seem to have been governed by certain customs which held the ravages within definite limits, so that the country did not suffer too much. But this was not to last. In 795, a few years after the English had been first raided by the same plundering nation, Norsemen landed on the Isle of Rathlin, off the coast of Antrim, and burnt everything down; in 798, they landed near Dublin, and after this they are mentioned nearly every year in the annals as heathens, foreigners, pirates, and never without additional reports of the *losccadh* (burning down) of one or more places. Their colonies on the Orkneys, Shetlands and Hebrides (Southern Isles, Sudhreyjar in the old Norse sagas) served them as operational bases against Ireland, and against what was

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D. an unknown adherent of this school, who attempted to combine the Christian teaching with neoplatonism, signed his works with the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, the first Christian Bishop of Athens.

<sup>87</sup> More about Erigena's doctrine and works is to be found in Erdmann's *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*, 2. Aufl., Berlin, 1869, Bd. 1, S. 241-47. Erigena, who was not a clergyman, shows real Irish wit. When Charles the Bald, King of France, who was sitting opposite him at table, asked him the difference between a Scot and a sot, Erigena answered: "The width of a table."

later known as Scotland, and against England. In the middle of the ninth century, they were in possession of Dublin, [the assertion of Snorri in the *Haraldsaga*,<sup>88</sup> that Harald Harfagr's sons, Thorgils and Frodi, were the first of the Norsemen to occupy Dublin—that is, at least 50 years later than stated—is in direct contradiction with all Irish accounts which are unimpeachable for this period. Evidently Snorri is confusing Harald Harfagr's son Thorgils with the Thorgils (Turgesius) mentioned later] which, according to Giraldus, they rebuilt for the first time into a proper city. He also attributes the building of Limerick and Waterford to them. The name Waterford is only a nonsensical anglicization of the ancient Norse *Vedhrafiörðhr*, which means either storm-bay [*Welterförhde*] or ram-bay [*Widderbucht*]. Naturally, as soon as the Norsemen settled down in the land, their prime necessity was to have fortified harbor-towns. The population of these long remained Scandinavian, but in the twelfth century it had long since assimilated Irish speech and customs. The quarrelling of the Irish princes amongst themselves greatly simplified pillage and settlement for the Norsemen, and even the temporary conquest of the whole island. The extent to which the Scandinavians considered Ireland as one of their regular pillage grounds is shown by the so-called death-song of Ragnar Lodbrök, the *Krákumál*, composed about the year 1000 in the snaketower of King Ella of Northumberland.<sup>89</sup> In this song all the ancient pagan savagery is massed together, as if for the last time, and under the pretext of celebrating King Ragnar's heroic deeds in song, all the Nordic peoples' raids in their own lands, on coasts from Dunamunde to Flanders, Scotland (here already called Skotland, perhaps for the first time) and Ireland are briefly pictured. About Ireland is said:

We hew'd with our swords, heap'd high the slain,  
Glad was the wolf's brother of the furious battle's feast;

<sup>88</sup> *Haraldsaga* was written early in the 13<sup>th</sup> century by the Icelandic poet and chronicler Snorri Sturluson. He tells of the life and exploits of the Norwegian King Harald (9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries), founder of the Harfagr dynasty.

<sup>89</sup> *Krákumál* (Song of Kraka)—a medieval Scandinavian poem, composed as the death-song of Ragnar Lodbrok (9<sup>th</sup> century), a Danish Viking taken prisoner and put to death by Ella, the King of Northumberland. According to the legend Kraka, Ragnar's wife, sang the song to her children to inspire in them the desire to avenge their father's death. Engels used the text of the song as given in the reader: F. E. Ch. Dietrich, *Altnordisches Lesebuch*, Leipzig, 1864, S. 73-80.



Iron struck brass-shields; Ireland's ruler, Marsteinn,  
Did not starve the murder-wolf or eagle;  
In Vedhrafiördhr the raven was given a sacrifice.  
We hew'd with our swords, started a game at dawn,  
A merry battle against three kings at Lindiseyri;  
Not many could boast that they fled unhurt from there.  
Falcon fought wolf for flesh, the wolf's fury, devoured many;  
The blood of the Irish flow'd in streams on the beach in  
the battle.

[*Hiuggu ver meðh hiörvi, hverr láthverr of annan;  
gladhr, varðh gera brôðhir getu viðh sôknar laeti,  
lêt ei örn nê ylgi, sâ er Írlandi styrðhi,  
(môt varðh mâlms ok ritar) Marsteinn konungr fasta;  
varðh î Vedhra firdhi valtafn gefit hrafni.  
Hiuggu ver meðh hiörvi, hadhum sudhr at morni  
leik fyrir Lindiseyri viðh lofdhúnga threnna;  
fârr âtti thvî fagna (fêll margr î gyn úlfi,  
haukr sleit hold meðh vargi), at hann heill thadhan kaemi;  
Yra blôðh î oegi aerit fêll um skaeru.]*

By the first half of the ninth century, a Norse Viking Thorgils, called Turgesius by the Irish, had succeeded in submitting all Ireland to his rule. But, with his death in 844, his kingdom fell apart, and the Norsemen were driven out. The invasions and battles continued with varying success. Finally, at the beginning of the eleventh century, Ireland's national hero, Brian Borumha, originally King of only a part of Munster, gained the kingship of all Ireland and gave the decisive battle to the concentrated force of the invading Norsemen on the 23<sup>rd</sup> April (Good Friday), 1014, at Clontarf, close to Dublin, as a result of which the power of the invaders was broken forever.

The Norsemen who had settled in Ireland, and on whom Leinster was dependent (the King of Leinster, Maolmordha, had come to the throne in 999 with their help and was maintained there by it), had sent messen-



gers to the Hebrides, the Orkneys, Denmark and Norway asking for reinforcements, in anticipation of the impending decisive battle. Help came to them in large numbers. The *Niálssaga*<sup>90</sup> recounts how Jarl Sigurd Laudrisson armed himself for the departure on the Orkneys, and how Thorstein Siduhallsson, Hrafn the Red and Erlinger of Straumey went with him, and how he arrived in Dublin (Durflin) with all his army on Palm Sunday.

Brodhir had already arrived with his whole force. Brodhir tried to learn by means of sorcery how the battle would turn out, and the answer was this: if the battle was fought on a Friday, King Brian would win the victory but die; and that if it was fought before that time, then all who were against him would fall. Then Brodhir said that they should not fight before Friday.

There are two versions of the battle itself, that of the Irish annals and the Scandinavian one of the *Níals saga*. According to the latter:

King Brian had come up to the fortified town [Dublin] with his entire army, and on Friday the army [of the Norsemen] issued from the town. Both hosts arranged themselves in battle array. Brodhir headed one wing, King Sigtrygg [King of the Dublin Norsemen according to the *Annals of Inisfallen*] the other. We must say that King Brian did not wish to give battle on Good Friday; therefore a shield-burg was set about him and his army stationed in front of that. Ulf Hraeda headed the wing facing Brodhir, and Ospak and his sons headed the wing facing Sigtrygg, but Kerthialfadh stood in the middle and had the flag carried before him.

<sup>90</sup> *Niálssaga*—an Icelandic saga which, according to recent research, was recorded at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century from oral tradition and ancient written monuments. The central theme is the life story of Gunnar, an Icelandic Hawding (a member of the clan nobility) and his friend Bond Nial (a free community member), an expert on and commentator of ancient customs and laws. The saga tells of the battle of the Norsemen against the Irish King Brian Born and is an authentic source for the study of a major event in Irish history, the Irish victory over the Norse invaders in 1014 at the battle of Clontarf. Engels quoted the excerpt from the *Niálssaga* according to the text of the reader: F. E. Ch. Dietrich, *Altnordisches Lesebuch*, Leipzig, 1864, S. 103-08.

When the battle began Brodhir was driven into a wood by Ulf Hraeda where he found safety. Jarl Sigurd had a hard struggle against Kerthialfadh, who fought his way to the flag and slew the flag-bearer as well as the next man who seized the flag; then all refused to carry the flag and Jarl Sigurd took the flag from the staff and hid it in his clothing. Soon after he was pierced by a spear, and with this his part of the army appears to have been defeated. Meanwhile Ospak attacked the Norsemen in the rear and defeated Sigtrygg's wing after a hard fought battle.

Thereupon the entire host took to flight. Thorstein Hallson stopped while the others were fleeing and tied his shoe thong. Then Kerthialfadh asked him why he was not running too.

"Because I can't get home this evening anyway," said Thorstein, "as I live out in Iceland!" Kerthialfadh spared him.

Brodhir now saw from his hiding-place that Brian's army was pursuing those who fled from the battle and that few people remained at the shield-burg. Then he ran out of the wood, broke through the shield-burg and slew the King. (Brian, who was 88, was obviously not capable of joining in the battle and had remained in the camp.)

Then Brodhir shouted: "Let it pass from mouth to mouth that Brodhir felled Brian!"

But the pursuers returned, surrounded Brodhir and seized him alive.

Ulf Hraeda slit open his belly, led him round and round an oak-tree, and in this way unwound all his intestines out of his body, and Brodhir did not die before they were all pulled out of him. Brodhir's men were slain to the last man.

According to the *Annals of Inisfallen* the Norse army was divided into three sections. The first consisted of the Dublin Norsemen and 1,000 Norwegian volunteers, who all wore long shirts of mail. The second was made up of the Irish auxiliary forces from Leinster under King Maolmordha. The third consisted of reinforcements from the Islands and Scandinavia under Bruadhair, the commander of the fleet that had brought them, and Lodar, the Jarl of the Orkneys. Against these Brian also placed his troops in three sections; but the names of the leaders given here do not

correspond with those given in the *Níalssaga*, and the account of the battle is insignificant. The following account, given in the *Four Masters*, is shorter and clearer:

A.D. 1013 [given here as everywhere mistakenly for 1014]. The foreigners of the west of Europe assembled against Brian and Maelseachlainn [usually called Malachy, King of Meath under Brian's High Kingship]; and they took with them ten hundred men with coats of mail. A spirited, fierce, violent, vengeful, and furious battle was fought between them—the likeness of which was not to be found at that time—at Clu-aintarbh [Meadow of the Bulls, now Clontarf] on the Friday before Easter precisely. In this battle were slain Brian... in the eighty-eighth year of his age; Murchadh, his son, in the sixty-third year of his age; Conaing,... the son of Brian's brother; Toirdhealbhadh, son of Murchadh... [there follow a multitude of names]

The [enemy] forces were afterwards routed by dint of battling, bravery, and striking, by Maelseachlainn, from Tulcainn to Athcliath [Dublin], against the foreigners and the Leinstermen; and there fell Maolmordha, son of Murchadh, son of Finn, King of Leinster.... There was a countless slaughter of the Leinstermen along with them. There were also slain Dubhgall, son of Amhlanibh [usually called Anlaf or Olaf], and Gillaciarain, son of Gluniarin, two tanists of the foreigners, Sichfrith, son of Lodar, Earl of the Orkneys (*iarla Insi h Oirc*); Brodar, chief of the Danes, who was the person that slew Brian. The ten hundred in armor were cut to pieces, and at the least three thousand of the foreigners were there slain.

The *Níalssaga* was written in Iceland approximately 100 years after the battle; the Irish annals are based, at least in part, on contemporary information. The two are completely independent of each other. Yet not only do they correspond in all the main points, but they also complete each other. We can only find out who Brodhir and Sigtrygg were from the Irish annals. Sigurd Laudrisson is the name of Sichfrith, Lodar's son. Sichfrith is in fact the correct Anglo-Saxon form of the ancient Norse name,

Sigurd. In Ireland, Scandinavian names appear—on coins as well as in the annals—mainly in their Anglo-Saxon forms, not in the ancient Norse. In the *Niálssaga* the names of Brian's generals are adapted for easier pronunciation by the Scandinavians. One of the names, Ulf Hraeda, is, in fact, ancient Norse, but it would be risky as some do to conclude from this that Brian had Norsemen in his army too. Ospak and Kerthialfadh appear to be Celtic names; the latter might be a distortion of the Toirdhealbhach mentioned in the *Four Masters*. The date of the battle—given as the Friday after Palm Sunday in the one, and as the Friday before Easter in the other—is the same in both, as is also the place of the battle. Although this is given as Kantaraburg (otherwise Canterbury)<sup>91</sup> in the *Niálssaga*, it is also explicitly said to be close to the gates of Dublin. The course of the battle is reported more precisely in the *Four Masters*: The Norsemen attacked Brian's army on the Plain of Clontarf. From there they were thrown back beyond the Tolka, a little stream near the northern part of Dublin, towards the city. Both report that Brodhir slew King Brian, but more detailed accounts are given only in the Norse source.

It can be seen that our reports on this battle are quite informative and authentic, considering the barbarity of that time. There are not many eleventh-century battles on which such reliable and corroborating accounts are available from both sides. This does not prevent Professor Goldwin Smith from describing it as a “shadowy conflict.”<sup>92</sup> Certainly, the most robust facts quite often take on a “shadowy” form in our Professor's head.

After their defeat at Clontarf, the Norse raids became less frequent and less dangerous. The Dublin Norsemen soon came under the domination of the neighboring Irish princes, and, after one or two generations, were assimilated by the native population. The only compensation the Irish got for the devastation caused by the Scandinavians was three or four cities and the beginnings of a trading bourgeoisie.

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<sup>91</sup> Modern scholars transcribe the name of King Brian's residence in Munster as Kantaraborg, or Kincora.

<sup>92</sup> Goldwin Smith, *Op. cit.* (“Irish History and Irish Character”), p. 48.

The further back we go into history, the more the characteristics distinguishing different peoples of the same race disappear. This is partly because of the nature of the sources, which in the measure in which they are older, become thinner and contain only the most essential information, and partly because of the development of the peoples themselves. The less remote the individual branches are from the original stock, the nearer they are to each other and the more they resemble each other. Jacob Grimm has always quite correctly treated the information given by Roman historians, who described the War of the Cimbri,<sup>93</sup> Adam of Bremen and Saxo Grammaticus, all the literary written records from *Beowulf* and *Hildebrandslied* to the *Eddas*<sup>94</sup> and the sagas, all the books of law from the *Leges barbarorum*<sup>95</sup> to the ancient Danish and ancient Swedish laws and the old Germanic judicial procedures as equally valuable sources of information on the German national character, customs and legal conditions. A specific characteristic may be of purely local significance, but the character reflected in it is common to the whole race; and the older the sources used, the more local differences disappear.

Just as the Scandinavians and the Germans differed less in the seventh and eighth centuries than they do today, so also must the Irish Celts and the Gallic Celts have originally resembled each other more than present-day Irishmen and Frenchmen. Therefore we should not be surprised to find in Caesar's description of the Gauls many features which are ascribed

<sup>93</sup> The Cimbri and Teutons, Germanic tribes, invaded Southern Gaul and Northern Italy in 113–101 B.C. In 101 B.C. these tribes were routed by the Roman General Marius in the battle of Vercelli (Northern Italy). The battle of the Romans against the Cimbri and Teutons was described by Plutarch in his biography of Marius, by Tacitus in *Germania*, and by other ancient historians.

<sup>94</sup> *Beowulf*—a poem about the legendary hero Beowulf is supposed to have been recorded in the 8<sup>th</sup> century and ranks as the finest known work of Anglo-Saxon poetry. The poem is based on folk sagas about the life of the Germanic tribes of the early 6<sup>th</sup> century.

*Hildebrandslied*—an 8<sup>th</sup> century German epic poem, of which only some passages have survived.

*Edda*—a collection of epic poems and songs about the lives and deeds of the Scandinavian gods and heroes. It has come down to us in a manuscript dating from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, discovered in 1643 by the Icelandic Bishop Sveinsson—the so-called *Elder Edda*—and in a treatise on the poetry of the scalds compiled in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century by Snorri Sturluson (*Younger Edda*).

<sup>95</sup> *Leges barbarorum*—records of the common law of various Germanic tribes, compiled between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries.

to the Irish by Giraldus some twelve hundred years later, and which, furthermore, are discernible in the Irish national character even today, in spite of the admixture of Germanic blood...

## Preparatory Materials for the “History of Ireland”<sup>96</sup>

*Engels, 1870*

### Draft Plan

1. Natural conditions
2. Ancient Ireland
3. English conquests
  - 1) First invasion
  - 2) Pale and Irishry
  - 3) Subjugation and expropriation. 152...-1691
4. English rule
  - 1) Penal Laws. 1691–1780
  - 2) Rebellion and Union. 1780–1801
  - 3) Ireland in the United Kingdom
    - a) The period of the small peasants. 1801–1846
    - b) The period of extermination. 1846–1870

### Notes for the “History of Ireland”

Ir[ish] literature?—17<sup>th</sup> century, poet[ical], histor[ical], jurid[ical], then completely suppressed due to the extirpation of the Ir[ish] *literary* language—exists *only in manuscript*—publication is beginning only now—this is [possible] only with an oppressed people. See Serbs, etc.

The English knew how to reconcile people of the most diverse races with their rule. The Welsh, who held so tenaciously to their nationality and language, have fused completely with the British Empire. The Scottish Celts, though rebellious until 1745<sup>97</sup> and since almost completely exter-

<sup>96</sup> Marx & Engels, *Op. cit.*, pp. 303-382.

<sup>97</sup> A reference to the uprising of the Scottish highlanders in 1745. The rebellion was the result of oppression and eviction from the land carried out in the interests of the Anglo-Scottish landed aristocracy and bourgeoisie. Part of the nobility in the Scottish Highlands, who supported the claims to the English crown of the overthrown Stuart dynasty (the official aim of the insurgents was to enthrone Charles Edward, the grandson of James II), took advantage of the dissatisfaction of the highlanders. The

minated first by the government and then by their own aristocracy, do not even think of rebellion. The French of the Channel Isles fought bitterly against France during the Great Revolution. Even the Frisians of Heligoland,<sup>98</sup> which Denmark sold to Britain, are satisfied with their lot; and a long time will probably pass before the laurels of Sadowa and the conquests of the North—German Confederation<sup>99</sup> wrench from their throats a pained wail about unification with the “great fatherland.” Only with the Irish, the English could not cope. The reason for this is the enormous resilience of the Irish race. After the most savage suppression, after every attempt to exterminate them, the Irish, following a short respite, stood stronger than ever before: it seemed they drew their main strength from the very foreign garrison forced on them in order to oppress them. Within two generations, often within one, the foreigners became more Irish than the Irish, *Hiberniores ipsis Hibernis*. The more the Irish accepted the English language and forgot their own, the more Irish they became.

The bourgeoisie turns everything into a commodity, hence also the writing of history. It is part of its being, of its condition for existence, to falsify all goods: it falsified the writing of history. And the best—paid historiography is that which is best falsified for the purposes of the bourgeoisie. Witness Macaulay, who, for that very reason, is the inept G. Smith’s unequalled paragon.

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suppression of the rebellion put an end to the clan system in the Scottish Highlands and brought about increased evictions.

<sup>98</sup> *The Island of Heligoland* (North Sea) was in early times settled by a Germanic tribe, the Frisians. Having become a Danish possession in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it was captured by the English in 1807 and ceded to England in 1814 by the Treaty of Kiel. In 1890, England gave Heligoland to Germany in exchange for Zanzibar.

<sup>99</sup> The Prussians defeated the Austrians in the Austro-Prussian war on July 3, 1866, near the village of *Sadowa*, in the vicinity of the town of Königgrätz in Bohemia (now Hradec Králové).

*North-German Confederation*—a federal German state established in 1867 under the leadership of Prussia after her victory over Austria in 1866. It existed until the formation, in January 1871, of the German Empire, incorporating in addition to the North-German Confederation the South-German states.



*Queen's Evidence.—Rewards for Evidence.*

England is the only country where the state openly dares to bribe witnesses, [be it] by an offer of exemption from punishment, be it by ready cash. That prices are fixed for the betrayal of the sojourn of a political persecutee is comprehensible, but that they say: who gives me evidence *on grounds of which* somebody can be sentenced as the contriver of some crime or another—this infamy is something not only the Code, but also Pr[ussian] common law have left to Eng[lish] law. That collateral evidence is required alongside with that given by the informer is useless; generally there is suspicion of somebody, or else it is fabricated, and the informer only has to adjust his lies accordingly.

Whether this pretty usage [*saubere Usus*] has its roots already in Eng[lish] legal proceedings is hard to say, but it is certain that it has received its *development* on Irish soil at the time of the Tories<sup>100</sup> and the penal laws.

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On March 15, 1870, when the government removed an Irish sheriff (Coote of Monaghan) on the plea that he had packed the jury panel, G. H. Moore, M. P. for Mayo, said in Parliament:

If Capt. Coote had done all the things of which he had been accused, he had only followed the practice which, in political cases, had been habitually sanctioned by the Institute Executive.

As one instance out of many that might be cited, he would mention *that though County Cork had a proportion of 500,000 Catholics against*

<sup>100</sup> The name given in Ireland to those who took part in the movement against the colonial authorities and landlords in the latter half of the 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The name was derived from the original meaning of the word—a bully, a ruffian. The Tories were mostly peasants, their leaders—expropriated Irish noblemen. At the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century there emerged detachments made up of peasants alone—the *rap-parees*. The authorities used extremely brutal methods in the fight against the Tories and *rapparees*. Those caught were hung, drawn and quartered. People giving information leading to their capture received high rewards. In England the nickname Tory was given by the Whigs to their opponents—the representatives of the conservative aristocratic circles, supporting the absolutist claims of the Stuarts, who were restored in 1660.

*50,000 Protestants, at the time of the Fenian trials in 1865,<sup>101</sup> a jury Panel was called, composed of 360 Protestants and 40 Catholics!*

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The German Legion of 1806–13 was also sent to Ireland. Thus, the good Hanoverians who refused to put up with French (bondage) rule, *were used by the English to preserve the English rule in Ireland!*

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The agrarian murders in Ireland cannot be suppressed *because* and *as long as* they are the only effective remedy against the extermination of the people by the landlords. They *help*, that is why they continue, and will continue, in spite of all the coercive laws. Their number varies, as it does with all social phenomena; they can even become epidemic in certain circumstances, when they occur at quite insignificant occasions. The epidemic can be suppressed, but the sickness itself cannot.

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<sup>101</sup> A reference to the trial held in Dublin in the autumn of 1865 of the prominent participants in the Fenian movement, accused of organizing an anti-government plot. The main accused were O'Leary, Luby, Kickham and O'Donovan Rossa, the publishers and editors of *The Irish People*, the Fenian newspaper suppressed by the police on September 15. Many other Fenians were also arrested on denunciation by *agents provocateurs* and traitors. The picked jury was composed of supporters of English rule hostile to the Irish revolutionaries. The sentences were extremely severe: O'Leary, Luby and Kickham were sentenced to twenty years of penal servitude and O'Donovan Rossa to penal servitude for life.

# Chronology of Ireland<sup>102</sup>

*Engels, 1870*

?	Immigration of the Scots (Milesians).
200 B.C.?	King Kimbaoth.
A.D. 2?	King Conary the Great?
258?	First Scottish settlement in Albany (Scotland). King Cormac Ulfadha.-Finn McCumhal.
396	Irish invasion of Great Britain. King Nial of the Nine Hostages.
406	Dathy, last of the Irish heathen kings.
403	St. Patrick brought to Ireland from France as slave. He fled in 410.
432	Returned as converter and died in 465.
684	Egfrid, King of Northumberland, sailed his navy to Ireland.
795	First Danish invasion, thenceforth regularly renewed (first invasion of England in 787).
818–33	King Concobar.
839–46	Feidlim, King of Munster.
844	Turgesius died and Danes were expelled.
849	New Danish invasion.
853	Olaf, Ivar and Sitrick arrived. Nose-money tribute.
901–08	Cormac McCulinan, King of Munster.
902	Leinster expelled Danes from Dublin.
926	Muirkeartach's first victory over Danes.
937	Battle of Brunanburh. Olaf of Dublin takes part <sup>103</sup>
939	Muirkeartach-ruler of all Ireland.
943	Muirkeartach died.

<sup>102</sup> Part of "Preparatory Materials for the 'History of Ireland'."

<sup>103</sup> The Anglo-Saxon King Athelstan defeated the Danes of Northumberland, and the Normans and Irish who came to their assistance, in the battle of Brunanburh (Central England) in 937.

944	King Donogh died.
969	Mahon, King of Munster, and his brother Brian Boromhe (King Kennedy's son) defeated Limerick Danes at Sulchoide and, pursuing them, captured Limerick, which they burned.
976	Mahon assassinated by another chieftain, Maolmua. Brian Boru, King of all Munster, defeated Maolmua and other chieftains involved in the plot, conquered Iniscathy (Shannon estuary) from the Danes and expelled them from the other Shannon islands.
980	Malachy the Great (of the Hy Nials) became King of Tara (at that time there were only two kingdoms in Ireland-Cashel and Tara); defeated the Danes at Tara, subjugated them and freed all Irish war prisoners (c. 2,000). Leinster and other vassal chieftains ( <i>Unterfürsten</i> ) plotted against Brian, but were foiled.
982	Malachy overran Brian's possessions.
983	Malachy overran Leinster. Brian made war. They signed an agreement consummating the division of Ireland, with Leinster remaining a tributary of the Southern Kingdom.
988	Another war broke out between the two with changing fortune, until
997	the agreement formalizing the division was reaffirmed.
998–1000	The two made common cause in war against Danes, achieving notable success.
1000	Again war between the two; Malachy, the weaker, submitted <i>before</i> the battle.
1001	Brian Boru became King of Tara and all Ireland.
1008	Defeated the rebellious Southern Hy Nials at Athlone. General peace set in.
1013	Sitrick = Sigtrygg, the Danish King of Dublin, and his allies from Leinster invaded Meath, where Malachy was local king, and defeated him. Brian denied Malachy help, but in summer marched against and ravaged Leinster.

1014	Large-scale invasion of Ireland by the Norsemen. They made Dublin their main base. Brian marched on Dublin. Battle of Clontarf on April 23 (Good Friday). The Danes defeated. <sup>104</sup> Brian was assassinated in his tent by the Norwegian Admiral Brodar; his son Morrough fell too. After the battle strife broke out anew over succession and supremacy.
1015	<i>Malachy</i> again became King of Ireland and repulsed a new Danish invasion. Numerous inland risings and new clashes with the Danes who never recovered after Clontarf.
1022	Malachy abdicated and withdrew to a cloister, where he soon died. No <i>new supreme king was elected</i> . Wars of succession followed in Munster until
1064	Turlough, Brian Boru's nephew, became King and
1072	annexed Dublin, Leinster and Meath.
1070	Murchad, the first Irish King of the Dublin Danes, who now assimilate rapidly. Ulster was also finally subjugated by Turlough.
1086	Turlough died. Wars of succession followed.
1090	Treaty of Lough Neagh: Murkertach, son of Turlough, made King of the South, and Domnal O'Lochlin, chief of the Hy Nials, King of the North. But war broke out between them at once, lasting 28 years. In
1103	Murkertach was defeated.
1114	Murkertach, who fell sick, abdicated in favor of Dermot, his brother.
1121	Domnal O'Lochlin died. New wars of succession followed.
1088	Tigernach (pronounced Tiarna), the chronicler, died.
1086	Marianus Scotus died in Mayence.
1136	Tordelvac O'Connor, King of Connaught, made King of all Ireland, but continuously attacked by the kings of Munster, until...

<sup>104</sup> described in *Niallsaga*; see Dietrich [*Altnordisches Lesebuch*], p. 52.

1151	...the Momons were totally defeated at Moinmor and Munster was subjugated. But a rising followed at once...
1153	...by Murtoth O'Lochlin, King of Tyrone, chief of Ulster and member of the Hy Nials, who, however, was also defeated.
1152	Synod in Kells. Resolutions against simony, usury, priest marriage and concubinage. Later, a prescript by Cardinal Legate Paparo, <i>introducing payment of tithe in Ireland</i> .
1156	Tordelwach died. His son Roderic O'Connor-King of Connaught; but Murtoth O'Lochlin made King of all Ireland, meeting but little resistance from Roderic. Otherwise, peace.
1166	Murtoth died. Roderic O'Connor became King of Ireland.
1167	[He] held counsel with all chiefs and prelates <i>at Athboy</i> , where a retinue of 30,000 people gathered. This was exactly four years before the English invasion!
1153	Dermot McMurchad, King of Leinster, abducted Dervorgilla, wife of Tiernan O'Ruark, chief of Breffny in East Connaught.
1154	Tordelwach forced him to return her and protected O'Ruark. However, his successor O'Lochlin sided with Dermot, while Roderic again on O'Ruark's side.
1166	Roderic sent reinforcements to help O'Ruark and drove out Dermot, who fled...
1168	...to England and appealed for help to Henry II. The latter had soon after 1155 obtained from Pope Adrian IV (an Englishman by name of Breakspear) a bull allowing him in return for recognizing extended temporal papal court authority to conquer Ireland in order to reform the Irish church, with every Irish household paying the Pope 1d. yearly.
1169-71	Conquest of South and East Ireland by the English. <sup>105</sup>

<sup>105</sup> In the "Chronology of Ireland" Engels refers to this important landmark in Ireland's history only in general outline; a detailed description of the beginning of the conquest of Ireland by the English is given in his other excerpts and notes. The Anglo-Norman barons from South Wales were the organizers of the first aggressive

1173	Marauding by the English.
1174	Strongbow and Hervey of Mount Maurice defeated by Donald O'Brian. General uprising. Raymond Le Gros brought 30 knights, 100 men-at-arms and 30 archers from England and restored order. He became Strongbow's son-in-law and enfeoffed <sup>106</sup> <i>Idrone, Fethard and Glascarrig</i> ; captured Limerick from Donald O'Brian.
1175	O'Brian beleaguered Limerick, but was defeated at Cashel. <i>Here Irishmen, the princes of Ossory and Kinsale, sided with the English.</i> Roderic and O'Brian accepted defeat. Roderic was reaffirmed as King of all Ireland under English suzerainty, exclusive of Leinster, Meath and the coast from Waterford to Dungarvan. These were put directly under English rule. Roderic acknowledged that the Kings of England were for all time Lords Paramount in Ireland and the fee of the soil should be in them. Meanwhile, old laws remained and chieftains retained full power in Roderic's possessions, making war on each other as before.
1176	Strongbow died.

campaigns. The most influential among them, Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke (nicknamed Strongbow), consented to return the crown to Dermot, the King of Leinster, who had been banished from Ireland, on condition that the latter would give him his daughter in marriage and appoint him his successor. In May 1169, troops under the Anglo-Norman barons Fitzstephen and Prendergast landed on the south-eastern coast of Ireland. The next spring, troops under Maurice Fitzgerald and Raymond Le Gros invaded Ireland, and in August of the same year Pembroke himself captured Dublin. More and more feudal adventurers landed in Ireland in later years in search of booty. In October 1171, King Henry II invaded Ireland at the head of an army. Henry not only wanted to subjugate Ireland, but also to make the Anglo-Norman barons amenable to his wishes and foil their intention of creating a kingdom of their own. Henry forced the barons and the Irish chiefs to recognize him as the "supreme ruler" of Ireland, and placed his garrisons in the strong points of Wexford, Waterford and Dublin. He left Ireland in April 1172, leaving a governor behind (Hugh de Lacy was the first).

In the fierce battles against the Anglo-Norman invaders, the Irish clans suffered defeat because of the lack of unity among their leaders and the enemy's superiority in arms and tactics. The establishment of the Anglo-Norman colony in Ireland marked the beginning of the age-long struggle between conquerors and local population.

<sup>106</sup> Enfeoffed: to give freely held land under the feudal system in exchange for pledged service.—*Ed.*

1177	English invasion of Ulster under de Courcy failed. Ditto of Connaught under Milo de Cogan without pretext and just as unsuccessful. The Irish <i>laid waste the land and withdrew to the hills</i> , attacking the English as the latter withdrew, and defeating them.
1178	De Courcy defeated in Ulster and pressed back to Downpatrick.
1182	De Cogan (Milo) assassinated in Desmond. Uprising in Munster. Strife among Irish, as a result of which Roderic abdicated in favor of his son, Connor Manmoy.
1184–85	New reinforcements of the English. Continuous plunder of the country, especially of Ulster, by the English.
1185	John (Lackland), 12 years old, sent to Ireland as Lord. His retinue insulted the Irish chiefs, and a general uprising broke out. Irish clans, long subdued in the Pale, were driven out by the English and their land confiscated. Even Welsh were mistreated by John's men. Now <i>the Irish began a small war with some success</i> , destroying isolated forts and detachments. But soon they resumed wars against each other, so that by and large the English held their ground.
1189	Henry II died. Uprisings against the English broke out continuously until the end of the century. Continuous internal wars between the Irish and those Irishmen who fought on the side of the English.
1198	Strife broke out among the English barons. After Roderic's death a war of succession began in Connaught between his sons Carrach, supported by William de Burgh (of the Fitz-Adelms), and Cathal, backed by J. de Courcy and Walter de Lacy. Soon thereafter the rivalry between John de Courcy and Hugh de Lacy culminated in...
1205	...de Courcy's capture by the King and the transfer of his county in Ulster to de Lacy.
1205–16	Ireland mostly quiet until John's death.



1216	<i>HENRY III.</i> Ten years old. Earl Pembroke, Strongbow's heir in Leinster, Earl Marshal of England, appointed administrator. Magna Carta <sup>107</sup> extended to Ireland (i.e., for the English).
1219–20	War between William Earl Pembroke (son of the above) and Hugh de Lacy over some border land, with O'Neill of Tyrone helping de Lacy.
1245	Maurice Fitz-Gerald, Lord Justice of Ireland, supplied an Irish army which included Feidlim, King of Connaught, to aid King Henry in the war against Wales. This campaign was conducted voluntarily by the Irish barons, for they were not obligated to serve outside Ireland; "may this not be considered a precedent."
1244 and 1254	Henry ordered the indigenous Irish chiefs to provide him with troops in Scotland and Gasconne. Nothing is known of whether they complied.
1255	Irish troops sailed to help Earl of Chester and the Welsh against the English, but were defeated before landing by Prince Edward (later 1). Thereupon, Irish troops dispatched to help the King <i>against</i> the Welsh.
1259	Uprising of the McCarthys of Desmond, almost all of whose land was given over to the Geraldines. <sup>108</sup> The Geraldines were expelled, but the success was not lasting, because other chiefs denied help.

<sup>107</sup> *Magna Carta Libertatum* (the Great Charter of Liberties)—a deed the insurgent barons of England, supported by the knights and townspeople, forced King John Lackland to sign on June 15, 1215. Magna Carta introduced certain limitations to the royal prerogative primarily in the interests of the big feudal lords and made the latter's privileges secure. Some concessions were also granted to the knights and townspeople.

<sup>108</sup> *Geraldines*—Anglo-Irish aristocratic family descending from the first conquerors of Ireland, the Anglo-Norman nobles from South Wales. In Ireland the Geraldines became related with the clan chiefs, thereby acquiring considerable connections and influence. At the same time they participated in the wars of conquest against the indigenous Irish. From the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, two branches of the Geraldine family—the Earls of Desmond and the Earls of Kildare—played a particularly prominent role. Both were descendants of Maurice Fitzgerald, the leader of one of the first armies of the Anglo-Norman barons to invade Ireland in 1169–71.

1264	Feud between the de Burghs and Geraldines, until finally the Irish Parliament (?) in Kilkenny and the new Lord Justice, Barry put an end to it.
1270	A new strong uprising of the Irish, but only destruction and a small war resulted; English power remained vigorous.
1272	<i>EDWARD I.</i> Early in his reign, the Irish (of the Pale) petitioned that English law be extended to them. That same year, 1272, the Irish rose again. Invasion of Ireland by Scots, followed by a raid of Scotland by Richard de Burgh and Sir Eustace de Poer with Irish troops employing their favorite method of <i>smoking</i> the Scots <i>out of the caves</i> .
1276–80	Many wars against the Irish.
1277	Wars of succession between the O'Brians of Thomond; Thomas de Clare, son of Earl of Gloucester, took advantage of this to establish himself in the country. In the meantime, the Irish warred among themselves in Connaught, of which Lord Justice Robert de Ufford wrote the King that it would be fine if the rebels killed each other, because it did not cost the King's treasury anything and would help instill peace in the country.
1280	Edward called on lords spiritual and temporal and all the other Englishmen in Ireland to hold counsel about the petition asking for the Irish to be placed under English law. He was in favor (the Irish promised 8,000 marks for it), because the laws of the Irish From were "hateful in the sight of God" and so Davies unjust that they could not be considered as laws, though he did not wish to act without the consent of the lords. However, the barons appear not to have taken any notice, with still only a few Irishmen admitted within the pale of English law. Feuds between the <i>de Burghs and the Geraldines</i> , likewise between other barons, throughout Edward's reign. Similar strife between the Irish chiefs. At last,...

1295	...Lord Justice Sir John Wogan convened Parliament to settle the feuds, devising an armistice that lasted two years. This Parliament was, of course, no more than a gathering of barons and prelates. For its decisions, see excerpts. <sup>109</sup>
1299	When Anglo-Irish auxiliary troops set out for the Scottish war <sup>110</sup> an uprising occurred in the Maraghie mountains and in Oriel. Peace ensued for a number of years after the troops returned.
1303	Again, Anglo-Irish troops from Ulster set out for Scotland.
1306	Irish rising in Meath crushed in the Battle of Glenfell.
1307	Irish rising in Offaley and Connaught.
1307	<i>EDWARD II.</i>
1309	Parliament in Kilkenny: acts against gross or 1310 exactions and general misconduct of the nobility.
1312	The Byrnes and O'tooles of Wicklow marched on Dublin, while English bondsmen [ <i>Lehnsleute</i> ] in Oriel rebelled.

<sup>109</sup> Engels is referring to his excerpts from Thomas Moore's *The History of Ireland*. Regarding the 1295 Acts of Parliament, they say the following: "In 1295 Irish *Parliament Acts*:

"1)... a new division of the kingdom into counties..."

"2... all such marchers as neglected to maintain their necessary wards should forfeit their lands...."

"3) all absentees should assign [*thus, already so early!*], out of their Irish revenues, a competent portion for that purpose [for the maintenance of a military force.]

"4)...no lord should wage war but by license of the chief governor, or by special mandate of the king...."

"5)... an effort was made at this time to limit the number of their retainers, by forbidding every person, of whatever degree, to harbor more of such followers than he could himself maintain; and for all exactions and violences committed by these idle men... their lords were to be made answerable."

Engels's remark (in italics) notes a feature typical of later times: the English owners of Irish estates did not reside in Ireland.

<sup>110</sup> In 1286, following the death of the Scottish King Alexander III, King Edward I of England laid claim to the Scottish crown and succeeded in annexing Scotland. In 1297, an uprising flared up against English rule, and in 1306 it developed into a full-scale war of independence. The revolt was headed by Robert Bruce, a remarkable soldier. In 1314, the army of Edward II was defeated and Scotland once again became an independent kingdom.

1307	Robert Bruce, who had fled to Rathlin Island, Antrim County, where he was in hiding all winter, helped by the Irish, set out for Galloway with 300 Scotsmen and 700 Irish troops, but was intercepted by Duncan M'Dowal, a local chief, at embarkation and defeated.
1315	After Robert Bruce's victory at Bannock burn in 1314, <sup>111</sup> Edward Bruce and 6,000 men landed in Antrim, the Irish joining him en masse, and conquered Ulster; he was crowned King of Ireland in Dundalk, defeated the English under de Burgh on the Banne River, Down County, and waited for reinforcements from Scotland. While Feidlim O'Connor of Connaught marched off with the English, Roderic O'Connor rebelled; Connaught was swept by insurrection; but Feidlim defeated Roderic, who was killed in battle; whereupon Feidlim banded with Bruce. Munster, too, rose against the English; even several of the great lords (English) and many English people made common cause with Bruce. The latter defeated the English in Meath, marched on Kildare and defeated them once more; an insurrection in Leinster, especially Wicklow (Byrnes, O'tooles and O'Moores), held in check by the English.
1316	Food shortages compelled Bruce to withdraw to Ulster, where he idled. The English Lord Justice, Butler, suppressed the rising in Wicklow, then the English marched against 1316 Feidlim, defeating him (he fell) at Athenry. Robert Bruce arrived in Ireland with a large force, and Carrickfergus surrendered; at the end of the year, Robert Bruce marched on Dublin, but did not dare to attack; instead he headed for Naas and Kilkenny, ravaging the land up to Limerick and thereby cutting himself off from food supplies, losing many men through hunger, especially due to the lateness of the season.

<sup>111</sup> On July 24, 1314, the Scots led by Robert Bruce defeated the far bigger English army at Bannockburn, thereby liberating Scotland from English rule.

1317	In May, Bruce brought his half-starved army to Ulster and departed for Scotland, leaving the troops to his brother Edward, probably because he was disappointed in the Irish. The Scots were quiet, but the Irish, like the English barons, were again at each other's throats.
1318	Finally, Edward Bruce was defeated and killed by the English at Faughard in Dundalk.
1327	<i>EDWARD III.</i> Feud between Maurice Fitz-Thomas, later Earl of Desmond, and Lord Arnold Poer, consequent on which...
1328	...the Irish rose in Leinster under Donald M'Morrrough of the old Dermot clan.
1329	Pacification of feuding barons by Lord Justice Roger Outlaw. The Irish again petitioned that they might be permitted to use the law of England without being obliged to purchase charters of denization, which the King advised the barons to concede, but which the latter again shelved <i>ad acta</i> . <sup>112</sup> New feuds among the barons and risings of the Irish in the south and east, until finally...
1330	...Fitz-Thomas, Earl of Desmond, helped by the O'Brians (who had rebelled shortly before!) defeated the rebels. Soon thereafter O'Brian rebelled again; a new war ensued, in which the de Burghs indulged in plunder and abuse during their march across Fitz-Thomas's estates, causing another feud; Lord Justice Sir John Darcy had to lock up the chiefs of both houses.
1331	New rebellions in Leinster.
1332	Royal decree issued that the Irish and English should have the same law (English), excluding villeins (betagii, classed with the English villanis). But the decree was stillborn. Likewise, a royal ordinance against <i>absenteeism</i> ; twenty-two absentees (English lords) were to accompany the King on his voyage to Ireland, but this did not materialize.

<sup>112</sup> Borrowed from Latin, literally "to the files," meaning "to close the matter."

1339	Irish risings all over Ireland, with here and there assimilated barons on the Irish side.
1341	Sir John Morris, Knight, Lord Justice of Ireland. On pretext of money shortage due to the war against France, he took back all estates, titles and jurisdiction granted by Edward III and Edward 11, and demanded settlement of all due, even void, crown debts.
1342	He ordered all Anglo-Irish or Irish officials and judges, or officials and judges with Anglo-Irish or Irish wives to be replaced by <i>imported Englishmen</i> (the power of the Anglo-Irish lords was to be broken). Convened Parliament in Dublin in October. Opposed Parliament of Nobles, especially of the Desmonds, in Kilkenny; a protest petition was sent to the King, who acknowledged receipt, which was as far as matters seem to have gone. Morris's orders of restitution remained in force.
1343	Sir Ralph Ufford, husband of the Countess Dowager of Ulster, was made Lord Justice, and...
1345	...convened Parliament in Dublin, while Desmond convened one in Callan; Ufford came to grips with him and compelled him to comply. Ufford died in 1346, and the King's fight against the lords seems to have ended for a time.
1353	The confiscated possessions (1342) were returned.
1361	Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward, appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Marched without the Irish lords, whom he slighted, against O'Brian of Thomond, and was defeated; then he called on them for help, and the latter defeated the Irish.
1364	Lionel returned to England.

1367	Parliament of Kilkenny. <sup>113</sup> At this time, Ireland was so peaceful that the King's writ ran in Ulster and Connaught and the revenues of those provinces were regularly accounted for in the Exchequer.
1369–70	New risings of the O'tooles and others in Leinster, and of O'Connor and O'Brian in the south-west; they were suppressed.
1364	Dublin University founded.
1377	<i>RICHARD II.</i> Almost every Parliament (English) of his reign demanded supplies and men for war in Ireland.
1394	Richard landed in Waterford with 4,000 horsemen and 30,000 archers to reconquer Ireland. The chiefs of Leinster and Ulster, numbering 75, expressed submission. Those of Ulster were to pay the <i>bonaght</i> <sup>114</sup> to the Earl of Ulster, while those of Leinster relinquished all their land and promised help against all other Irish, for which they would keep land thus conquered.

<sup>113</sup> In 1367, the Parliament of the English colony in Kilkenny adopted the famous Statute of Kilkenny—a code of prohibitions designed to protect the colonists from the spread among them of Irish customs and habits. The adoption of the Statute was prompted by the desire of the English authorities to intensify their policy of conquest in Ireland and to legalize the inequality of the Irish population in the vanquished part of the island, as well as to counteract the separatist tendencies of the Anglo-Irish nobility, whose strength lay in their ties with the Irish clan chiefs. The racist, colonialist Statute demanded that the Irish be treated as enemies and their laws (the laws of the Brehons, the keepers and commentators of ancient Irish law) as the customs of an inferior race. In the excerpts from Thomas Moore's *The History of Ireland*, Engels interprets the content of this Statute as follows (Engels's own remarks are italicized): "The Statute of Kilkenny, 1367, directed against Irelandization. Intermarriages with the natives, or any connection with them in *the way of fostering or gossiping* (see E. Spencer, *A View of the State of Ireland*) should be considered and punished as high treason:—that any man of English race, *assuming an Irish name, or using the Irish language, apparel, or customs, should forfeit all his lands and tenements*:—that to adopt or submit to the *Brehon law was treason*... that the English should *not permit the Irish to pasture or graze upon their lands, nor admit them to any ecclesiastical benefices or religious houses*... (*Where were the Irish of the Pale to pasture their stock? At that time it was their main occupation!*)."

<sup>114</sup> *Bonaght*—a duty which the supreme and local kings, and also major clan chiefs in Ireland, levied on the smaller vassal chiefs for the maintenance of the troops. After the English conquest it was often paid to the English crown and its representatives in Ireland.

1395	No sooner Richard and his army returned than raids were renewed into the Pale.
1399	Richard marched against Ireland again, but in his absence
1399	<i>HENRY IV</i> , Bolingbroke of Lancaster, usurped the English throne and took Richard prisoner on his return.
1402	The O'Byrnes of Wicklow were defeated by John Drake, Mayor of Dublin.
1407	War against McMorrough of Leinster; yielded no decisive results, though by and large favorable for the English.
1410	Parliament in Dublin. An Act made it treason to exact coynye and livery. <sup>115</sup> During an excursion by Thomas Le Boteller, Prior of Kilmainham and Lord Justice, with 1,500 kerns (Irish infantry) against O'Byrne, half went over to the enemy and the English <i>had to withdraw</i> . An act was introduced whereby the <i>Irish</i> were prohibited to migrate without special licence to assure enough hands for the fields.
1413	<i>HENRY V</i> .
1414	Talbot victorious over Irish borderers.
1417	200 Irish horsemen and 300 infantry under Thomas Butler, Prior of Kilmainham, went to France as auxiliary troops <sup>116</sup> the horsemen on ponies, unsaddled, clothed in armor, the infantry with shields, spears and large knives. They fought very well and won much acclaim.
1421	New wars with the Irish, the latter being defeated in Leinster and Oriel.
1422	<i>HENRY VI</i> .

<sup>115</sup> *Coyne*—livery—taxes in kind the rank-and-file members of Irish clans paid to their chiefs in the form of food and equipment for the troops.

<sup>116</sup> A reference to the participation of Irish troops in the Hundred Years' War between England and France, which lasted, with interruptions, from 1337 to 1453. At the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century only a few strongholds in France remained in English hands, but in 1415 King Henry V launched a new invasion, beating the French knights at Agincourt and capturing the entire north-western part of the country. In the course of a stubborn struggle, attended by a great upsurge of patriotic feeling (Joan of Arc), the French halted the advance of the English and gradually drove them from their land.



1432	Sir Thomas Stanley, Lord Lieutenant, repulsed unusually strong Irish attacks.
1438	For the second time an Act was passed in English Parliament that all people born in Ireland (except beneficed clergymen, English estate holders and a few others) must at once return to the country of their birth. A similar act was passed in Irish Parliament to curb the exodus to England.
1449	Duke of York, heir of Earl March and as such Earl of Ulster and Cork, Lord of Connaught, Clare, Trim and Meath, hence nominally Lord of 1/3 of Ireland, was appointed Lord Lieutenant <i>for ten years</i> . As usual, wars and feuds continued. Throughout the hundred years, the government contended with financial difficulties. Ireland's annual deficit was about £1,500.
1450	York returned to contest the English throne.
1460	York defeated and killed at Wakefield, <sup>117</sup> where he was accompanied by "the flower of all the English colonies (in Ireland), specially of Ulster and Meath, whereof many noblemen and gentlemen were slain at Wakefield" (Davies).
1460	<i>EDWARD IV.</i>
1463–67	Earl of Desmond became Lord Lieutenant; ascendancy of the Geraldines. Carlow, Ross, Dunbar's Island and Dungarvan bestowed to Desmond; he was also made beneficiary of a large annuity chargeable on the principal seigniories belonging to the Crown in the Pale. But Desmond was too Irish and too popular, and hence.

<sup>117</sup> At Wakefield, the army of Richard, Duke of York, claimant to the English crown, was beaten on December 27, 1460, by the supporters of the ruling house of Lancaster. The battle was one of the episodes in the Wars of the Roses (1455–85), caused by the struggle for the English throne between the houses of York and Lancaster. The war was so called after the white and red roses, that were the emblems of the Yorkist and Lancastrian parties respectively. The war was attended by the destruction of the feudal nobility and ended in the accession of the new, Tudor dynasty.

1467	Lord Worcester became his successor, imprisoning Desmond, indicting him under the Statute of Kilkenny for alliance and intermarriage with the Irish. (It was through this marital connection with the Irish that Desmond was able to uphold the King's authority in Munster; as for the Statute, it was long out of use in the south.) Parliament of Drogheda found Desmond attainted of treason for "alliance, fostering, and alterage with the King's enemies, for furnishing them with horses, harness, and arms, and supporting them against the King's subjects." He was beheaded in Drogheda on February 5, 1468.
1468	Worcester recalled, while Earl Kildare, the Geraldine, though also attainted, was restored and even made Lord Lieutenant.
1476	John, Earl of Ormond (attainted under Edward as follower of Henry VI), restored to all his possessions and in high favor. The Butlers rose, the Geraldines fell, but regained favor in 1478.
1478	Thomas, Earl Kildare, died. His son, Gerald Fitz-Thomas, Earl Kildare, was made Lord Deputy (of the Duke of Clarence, who was Lord Lieutenant).
1483	<i>EDWARD V</i> and <i>RICHARD III</i> .
1485	HENRY VII. Confirmed the Yorkists (the Geraldines and others) in their Irish offices, and installed no Lancasterites beside them. However, Thomas, Earl Ormond (attainted by Edward IV), was reinstated in his Irish and English estates and made member of the English Privy Council (he was brother of James).
1486	In Dublin, posing as young Earl of Warwick, son of the Duke of Clarence, Lambert Simnel was crowned King Edward VI. Kildare and the Pale, excluding Waterford, the Butlers and a few foreign bishops, swore allegiance, and the Duchess of Burgundy, sister of Edward IV, sent 2,000 German mercenaries under Martin Schwarz, to support him. These and Irish levies were then sent to England, landed in Furness, and pushed forward...

1487	...to <i>Stoke</i> (Nottinghamshire) on June 6, where they were annihilated. “The Iryshemen, and these although they fought hardely and stuck to it were mostly valiantly, yet because they were after the <i>degenerate</i> manner of their country almost naked, English!” <sup>118</sup> without harneys or armor, they were stricken down and slain like dull and brute beasts” (Hall). Simnel was captured and sent to the royal kitchen as scullion ( <i>Spiessdreher</i> ) (Gordon). <sup>119</sup> <i>Kildare</i> , whose power the King feared, was pardoned and remained Lord Deputy-Dubliners, however, were penalized and their ships, goods and merchandise given by the King to the Waterforders.
1488	Sir Richard Edgecomb sent to Ireland with 500 men to receive the new oath and proclaim the official pardon for the rebellion.
1489	Henry invited the Irish lords to Greenwich and chastised them; they would have crowned apes if he had stayed away much longer, he said, and made ex-King Simnel serve them at table. Continuous wars among the natives.
1492	Kildare suddenly deposed and W. Fitz-Symons, Archbishop of Dublin, made Lord Deputy. Thereupon the border Irish rebelled and raided the Pale. <i>Perkin Warbeck</i> , the false Richard of York, landed in Cork; the city took his side, but Warbeck left at once, going to the court of the French King.
1494	Sir Edward Poynings sent to Ireland as Lord Deputy with 1,000 men and diverse English jurists. Parliament of Drogheda. Re The Poynings’s Act: no parliament in Poynings’s Ireland may convene in council (English Act see Privy Council) without approval of the Butt. King. Kildare, too, attainted of treason and sent to England as prisoner,...

<sup>118</sup> *Degenerate English*—the name given to members of the Anglo-Irish families, who had long since settled in Ireland, become related to the clan elite, and assimilated many Irish customs.

<sup>119</sup> James Bentley Gordon, *A History of Ireland, from the Earliest Account to the Accomplishment of the Union With Great Britain* in 1801, 2 Volumes, Oxford, 1805.

1496	...but regains favor and is appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. From then on Kildare was loyal to the King and waged violent wars against the Irish.
1497	Warbeck, who returned to Ireland (Cork) from Scotland, was joined by Earl Desmond, but, after unsuccessfully besieging Waterford, went to Cornwall. (This is now contested by virtue of a letter by Henry VII, according to which Warbeck landed “in the wylde Irisherie” in difficult circumstances and would have been captured by Kildare and Desmond if he had not made a hasty escape.)
1496–1500	Kildare’s wars against the Irishry in Ulster, Connaught and Munster (Davies says <sup>120</sup> those were his “private quarrels,” which is confirmed in detail by Gordon), all of them victorious, until finally Ulick Burke, Lord Clanricarde, called MacWilliam, a son-in-law of Kildare, chief of a mighty troop of “degenerate English,” placed himself at the head of a general uprising in the south and west. Kildare set out with his entire Anglo-Irish force and a few Irish and On defeated the rebels in Axtberg (Knoc-tuadh), August 19, even miles off Galway; Galway and Athenry.
1504	surrendered, and the spirit of the Irish was thereby broken (!) (in the country where Black Rent <sup>121</sup> was paid until 1528!!). Kildare’s arrogance as first Irish lord was ever in evidence in government matters and wars.
1509	<i>HENRY VIII.</i> Kildare continued his campaigns against the Irish. In 1509, he undertook a big campaign against James, eldest son of Earl Desmond, O’Brian, etc.

<sup>120</sup> Sir John Davies, *Historical Tracts*, ed. 1786, p. 48.

<sup>121</sup> In the 15<sup>th</sup> century the power of the English colony in Ireland was at a low ebb. The English feudal lords were exhausted by the Hundred Years’ War, and later owing to their feuds in the Wars of the Roses, the settlers in Ireland had great difficulty in withstanding the onslaught of the Irish clan chiefs. In order to get the latter to refrain from raids into the Pale they paid them an annual tribute, which became known as the “Black Rent.”

1513	Kildare died. His son Gerald, Lord Deputy, warred on against the Irish until 1517, was mostly successful, yet as always the victories were not decisive, and he had to begin all over again after a few years. However, like his father, he was very popular among the Irish, who considered him “rather as the chief of a great leading sept than as acknowledged ruler of the whole kingdom” by virtue of his Irish nature and many family ties with the Irish. In 1519, Kildare fell out of favor through Wolsey and was recalled to England.
1520	Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, was appointed Lord Lieutenant. An Englishman, he held the Irish in check. He reconciled two old enemies, Earl Desmond, the assimilated Geraldine who often espoused the Irish cause, with Earl Ormond, follower of the English, but not for long. On the whole, he acted skillfully, though this did not prevent continuous wars. He resigned and was 1521 followed by Sir Piers Butler, eighth Earl of Ormond who, though married to the sister of Earl Kildare, 1522–23 destroyed a number of the latter’s castles. War between the two. At last, Ormond was dismissed and...
1524	... <i>Kildare</i> made Deputy. In 1523, Desmond entered into an alliance with Francis 1 of France, who intended to, but did not, invade Ireland. Desmond was persecuted, concealed himself and remained undiscovered.
1526	Kildare was again recalled to England and thrown into the Tower, then released upon security. (Ormond relinquished his title of Earl of Ormond in favor of Sir Thomas Boleyn and became Earl of Ossory.)
1528	O’Connor of Offaley treacherously captured a Deputy (of the Lord Lieutenant Richard Nugent, Lord of Delvin). This O’Connor was Kildare’s son-in-law. Violent strife followed among the Anglo-Irish.

1530	Kildare returned in the retinue of the new Lord Deputy, Sir William Skeffington. He extended his Irish family ties, giving his daughter away in marriage to Fergananym O'Carrol, and laid waste the estates of his rival, Ormond-Ossory.
1532	Kildare again made Lord Lieutenant. Prosecuted war against all his enemies as enemies of the Crown, and fortified and armed his castles to resist the King if the necessity arose; however, he was again recalled to England, and on his departure...
1534	<p>...his 21-year-old son Thomas (Lord Thomas Fitz-Gerald) stayed behind as his Deputy.</p> <p>The latter was led to believe that his father had been beheaded in the Tower and that he, too, and all his family, would suffer the same fate. He rode to the Council with 140 horsemen, laid down all his insignia of office and publicly withdrew his allegiance to the King. Then he started a rebellion.</p> <p>The Council took refuge in Dublin Castle, which Fitz-Gerald beleaguered. Fitz-Gerald also plundered Ossory's estates, but without marked success. In the meantime, Dublin townsmen captured the force besieging the Castle and Fitz-Gerald concluded an armistice with Ossory in order to take Dublin, but was defeated. Ossory meanwhile (though threatened in the south by the rebellious Desmond) laid waste Carlow and Kildare. Fitz-Gerald was excommunicated because his troops caused the death of the Archbishop of Dublin.-The war was fought half-heartedly by both sides, though most of the Pale was ravaged, until finally O'Connor (from Offaley) and then Lord Thomas Fitz-Gerald surrendered in 1535 and Fitz-Gerald was shipped to England. He surrendered on a solemn promise of pardon.<sup>122</sup></p>

<sup>122</sup> Gordon, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 238.

1536	The five uncles of Fitz-Gerald, of whom three <i>had opposed</i> the rebellion, and ten other lords were invited to a feast by Lord Grey and there put under guard <sup>123</sup> and sent to London. They and Lord Thomas Fitz-Gerald were executed in Tyburn (the elder Kildare died in London earlier). Thereby the power of the Geraldines was providentially terminated. Only a 12-year-old boy escaped abroad.
1536	Lord Leonard Grey, Lord Deputy, made war on the indigent population, especially the O'Connors.
1538	Peaceful expedition (hosting) by Grey to Galway through Offaley, Ely O'Carrol, Ormond, Arrah and Thornond. MacWilliam deposed as chief of Clanricarde and the captaincy given to Ulick de Burgh, later Earl of Clanricarde. All chiefs whose possessions Grey crossed, were made to swear allegiance, but, as Ormond wrote Cromwell, "neither from them nor any other from all the Irishry" could faith be expected once the troops departed.
1539	Large confederation of the northern chiefs and of Desmond and the Fitz-Geralds in the south to reinstate Gerald Fitz-Gerald, son of the executed Earl Kildare, in his rights. Gradually, the confederation expanded. The allies sought the help of the Emperor and of France, reviving the <i>idea of Ireland as an independent kingdom under O'Neill</i> . The confederates also contacted the King of Scotland, who was also against the Reformation, <sup>124</sup> now an issue against the King in Irish matters. (The confederation fell apart after the Battle of Ballahoe <sup>125</sup> , of which no details are available.)

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., Vol. I, p. 238.

<sup>124</sup> The Reformation begun in England under King Henry VIII (Act of Supremacy, which declared the King the head of the Church in place of the Pope, and other Acts) was completed under Elizabeth I (the adoption, in 1571, of the "39 articles" of the Anglican Church—a variety of Protestantism). The introduction of the Reformation to Catholic Ireland was a means of subjecting her to the English absolute monarchy and expropriating her population in favor of the English colonists on the pretext of struggle against Catholicism.

<sup>125</sup> O'Connor, *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

1539	<p>In the autumn, Lord Grey traversed the south once more at the head of his troop, but without any special success, though compelling Gerald Fitz-Gerald (and his friends) to flee to France and later to Italy.</p> <p>(Queen Mary reinstated him.) Otherwise, there was peace and order in Ireland, and only the bastard Geraldines (a completely assimilated family) were, “by the permission of God, killing one another” (Lord Grey’s letter). John Alen, Lord Chancellor, wrote Cromwell: “I never did see, in my time, so great a resort to law as there is this term, which is a good sign of quiet and obedience. This country was in no such quiet these many years.”</p>
1540	<p>Lord Grey recalled and soon executed. Some clashes with the Irish, though nothing of significance, for by and large the country was calm. Sir Anthony St. Leger, Lord Deputy, subdued the Cavenaghs of Carlow, the O’Moore’s of Leix and diverse other minor clans. O’Connor submitted too, and so did O’Donnell. As for O’Neill, the King entered into negotiations with him.</p>
1541	<p>By an Act of Parliament Henry was proclaimed <i>King</i> of Ireland. From now on <i>the Irish chiefs became vassals [of the King] and came under English law</i> (probably a consequence of the unsuccessful confederation of 1539).</p> <p>Turlogh O’toole of North Wicklow was the first to go to England of his own volition, followed by Earl Desmond, who was at once made member of the King’s Council. Irish lords and Irish nobles appeared in 1541 Parliament; they had not done so in many years or had never appeared there before. Ormond translated the English speeches to the Irish.</p>
1542	<p>O’Neill submitted and became Earl of Tyrone, while his son was made Lord Duncannon. This time the peace was real; Desmond even ordered the arrest of two other Geraldines engaged in a feud, Lord Roche and the White Knight, both were dispatched to Dublin and slept in the same bed, suffering each other quite well.</p>



1542	O'Brian became Earl Thomond and MacWilliam became eighth Earl of Clanricarde. These Irish chiefs were so lacking in money that the government had to provide them with clothes in which to come to Parliament (see <i>Davies</i> ). All these lords acknowledged the King's supremacy.
1544	Again, Irish kerns served in the English army in France.
1545	Likewise against the Scots, though actually they did not land in Scotland. England owed all these successes, the first real subjugation of Ireland, to St. <i>Leger</i> .
1547	<i>EDWARD VI.</i>
1550	French envoys went to O'Donnell and O'Neill in Ulster.
1550	New liturgy introduced in Ireland. Long debates among the clergy, while English soldiers plundered cloisters and churches, and destroyed sacred pictures. By and large, however, only among the higher classes were there a few converts to the new religion.
1552	War of succession between the sons of Earl Tyrone (O'Neill) in Ulster. In the south, feuds between Earl Thomond and his relatives, and in Connaught between Clanricarde and another de Burgh.
1553	<i>MARY.</i> St. Leger reappointed Lord Deputy in Ireland until 1558. Gerald Fitz-Gerald reinstated as eleventh Earl Kildare (and Baron of Offaley). Continued feuds between the chiefs.
1556?	After 13 years an Irish Parliament was finally reconvened, repealing all acts against the Pope and others passed since the Act of the 20 <sup>th</sup> year of Henry VIII.
1557	Leix was incorporated in the Pale as Queen's County and Offaley as King's County, <sup>126</sup> the Moores and O'Connors having been banished under Edward VI and now almost all annihilated (see Gordon).

<sup>126</sup> A reference to County Laoighis (Leix) in Central Ireland, which, in 1557, following the confiscation by the Tudors of the lands of local tribal communities (the clans), was renamed Queen's County in honor of Mary Tudor, the English Queen. The

1558	<p><i>ELIZABETH.</i> New oath of supremacy taken from which only two Irish bishops abstained; the entire Irish Parliament took the oath, making the Reformation in the Pale official and formalizing it on paper.</p> <p>All acts of 1556 (?) were declared null and void.</p>
1560	<p>Feud between Shane O'Neill ("The O'Neill") and the Dublin government, which would make Calwagh O'Donnell of Donegal Earl Tyrconnel if he agreed to help it, but O'Neill takes him prisoner. Finally, 1561 Shane submits directly to the Queen and goes to her in England, but encounters difficulties in obtaining an audience. When Matthew's son, then Earl of Tyrone, died, he returned to Ireland and in time claimed supremacy (independence) in all Ulster, but 1564 finally made peace and submitted to the Queen.</p>
1565	<p>Open war between Desmond and Ormond, with Desmond wounded and captured by the latter.</p>
1564	<p>To win the Queen's favor, O'Neill made war on the island Scots settled along the coast of Ulster (Antrim) and defeated them. But Elizabeth and her representatives did not keep their word and endeavored to trip up O'Neill. Again, a war broke out. Ulster was ravaged by an English army, but O'Neill withdrew to his unapproachable hills. Most of the chiefs of Ulster...</p>
1567	<p>...submitted, as did O'Neill's subjects, leaving O'Neill no choice but to flee to the Antrim Scots, where he was assassinated on the instigation of Piers, an English officer (see Gordon).</p>
1570	<p>Desmond captured and shipped to England.</p> <p>Rising of the Geraldines under James Fitz-Maurice, who took Kilmallock and turned to Spain for help. But order was soon restored by Sir John Perrot, Lord President of Munster, and Fitz-Maurice was compelled to submit.</p> <p>Excommunication of Elizabeth<sup>127</sup> is joyfully received in Ireland.</p>

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neighboring Offaley County, the population of which had also fallen victim to the expropriation policy of the English colonial authorities, was renamed King's County in honor of Mary's husband, Philip II of Spain.

1570	<p>Uprising of Clanricarde's sons.</p> <p>Thomond (who fled to France) plots to assassinate Sir Edward Fitton, Lord President of Connaught; later, Thomond regained the Queen's favor through the English Ambassador in France.</p>
1570	<p>Act of attainder against Shane O'Neill, whereby more than half of Ulster went to the Crown. The Lord Deputy in Council was also empowered to accept surrenders and re-grant under English tenure (see Gordon).</p> <p>Another Act declared the old clan system of chieftainship totally abolished, unless granted by the Crown. This reservation made the Act illusory, for the Crown had to tolerate what it could not hinder.</p> <p>Seven new counties with sheriffs (?) and other officials established (see Davies), but without assizes.</p>
1572	<p>Sir Thomas Smith tried to establish an English plantation in Ulster, but it was too weak and the indigenous population wiped out the colonists.</p>
1579	<p>Landing by James Fitz-Maurice, brother of Earl Desmond, in Smerwick, Kerry County, with three ships and 100 men, Catholics of different nationalities; but he and his Irish followers were killed when requisitioning in Tipperary. Thereupon, the invasion was soon defeated.</p> <p>Leix and Offaley still rebellious, especially Rory Oge O'Moore, who was killed in 1578.</p> <p>After the invasion of Smerwick was repulsed, a rising by Desmond followed, whose betrayal was now confirmed in captured papers. He was defeated, his castles were seized, but he escaped.</p>

<sup>127</sup> In view of the advance of the Reformation in England and the anti-Catholic policy of the government of Elizabeth I, Pope Pius V issued a special bull in February 1570, excommunicating Elizabeth and releasing her subjects from their oath of allegiance. Other acts of the Papal Curia against Elizabeth followed, and in 1576 she was deprived of her right to the Irish crown.

1580	<p>Rising in Wicklow under Lord Baltinglass.</p> <p>Setback for the English infantry, which ventured into the hills and valleys, in the Valley of Glendalough, says Gordon.<sup>128</sup></p> <p>Landing of 700 Spaniards in Smerwick with arms for 5,000. However, their fort was captured by Lord Grey de Wilton, the Lord Deputy, and all of them massacred after surrendering and placing themselves at the discretion of the victors.</p>
1583	<p>Desmond, who stalked undiscovered in the south escaping from pursuit, was killed by peasants whose cattle he seized. He was the last of the Fitz-Geralds to be Earl Desmond.</p>
1584	<p>Sir John Perrot was reappointed Lord Deputy. He was instructed, among other things, "to consider how Munster may be repeopled and how the forfeited lands in Ireland (Desmond and others) may be disposed of to the advantage of Queen and subject."</p>
1587	<p>As son of Matthew of Dungannon, heir of the earldom, Hugh O'Neill petitioned Irish Parliament to name him Earl of Tyrone and allow him possession of the estates. He led a troop of horsemen in the service of the Queen against Desmond, but had secret designs of becoming more than just Earl of Tyrone. He was granted the title and then from the Queen also his possessions on condition that he should claim no authority over the lords bordering on his county.</p>
1588	<p>Sir John Perrot returned to England, saying he found the Irish much more manageable than the Anglo-Irish and even the English Government. Fell into disfavor and died in the Tower. The government in Dublin-it was still Perrot-arrested Hugh O'Donnell, son of <i>the</i> O'Donnell, and two sons of Shane O'Neill by resorting to subterfuge (they were given drink aboard a ship), and brought them to Dublin as hostages to ensure the loyalty of the old O'Donnell; they were held in captivity for three years.</p>

<sup>128</sup> Gordon, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 271.

1591	<p>“Red Hugh” (O’Donnell) escaped and at home was (with his father’s consent) proclaimed chief of Tyrconnel; he concluded an alliance with O’Neill Tyrone (who had flirted with both sides, until he had reason to fear for his life). O’Neill taught his men war craft (he had a bodyguard of 600 infantry and introduced a system of short-term training [<i>Krumpersystem</i>]), and laid in equipment and ammunition.</p>
1597	<p>Sir John Norris sent to Ireland with troops as Lord General to restore the imperiled authority of the Queen, but died the same year.</p> <p>Tyrone declared himself <i>the</i> O’Neill, which amounted to high treason. He concluded an alliance with the other O’Neills, the Magennisses, M’Mahons and O’Donnells, and was appointed allied commander; when he heard that 2,000 fresh English troops were en route, he struck out, capturing and demolishing Fort Portmor on Blackwater, but was compelled by Bagenal (his brother-in-law), who was Marshal of Ireland, to lift the siege of Monaghan. However, on getting reinforcements he made Bagenal retreat.</p>
1592–1596	<p>When the English advanced with fresh forces, O’Neill set fire to his own town of Dungannon and many villages, withdrawing into his forests. It came to light that he had offered Ireland to the King of Spain in return for 3,000 troops and money subsidies.</p> <p>Meanwhile, the insurgents in the north, whom Sir John Perrot had armed against the Antrim Scots and who had many veteran soldiers among them, were now very strong. Hence,...</p>
1596	<p>...new negotiations were begun. Tyrone submitted, and the insurgents demanded religious freedoms, which were finally granted by the Queen. But again hopeful news arrived of munition shipments from Spain, prompting Tyrone to blockade...</p>
1598	<p>...Fort Blackwater; he decisively defeated Marshal Bagenal (whom he killed with his own hands), who had hurried to the rescue.</p> <p>Now, the rest of Ulster rose too.</p>

1599	<p>Devereux, Earl Essex, the Queen's favorite, was sent to Ireland with 20,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry. He wasted the summer in a march on Munster, his rearguard being defeated by the O'Moores on the return march, and finally, after his army was decimated by disease, went to Ulster, where O'Neill Tyrone inveigled him in parleys, and he lost more time. (Tyrone demanded freedom to practice Catholicism, confirmation of the Ulster chiefs in their possessions of the past 200 years, and all officials and judges and half the garrison to be Irish.)</p> <p>In the end Essex returned to England and Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, replaced him as Lord Deputy, with Sir George Carew (author of <i>Pacata Hibernia</i>) as Lord President of Munster.</p> <p>In the meantime, Tyrone went to Munster to incite the local chiefs, especially James Fitz-Thomas, Earl of Desmond, and Florence McCarthy. Mountjoy sent strong troops to the northern border forts of the Pale, Dundalk, Carlingford, and others, while marching on Ulster and issuing the order to cut off Tyrone's retreat at Athlone or Limerick. But Tyrone escaped by forced marches, whereupon Mountjoy deployed strong garrisons to Lough Foyle (Derry?) and Ballyshannon, which kept the Ulster people in check.</p> <p>A campaign against the O'Moores of Leix. The English totally destroyed the harvest.</p>
1600	<p>Carew planned to assassinate the Sutan Earl (straw rope earl) of Desmond and McCarthy. Mountjoy restored order in Kildare and Carlow, and all Ireland was subjugated <i>save Tyrone</i>.</p> <p>Coinage of Ireland embased by Elizabeth.</p>
1601	<p>Two Spanish ships dropped anchor at Kilbeg, Donegal, bringing arms, equipment and money for Tyrone.</p> <p>Twice, a price was set on Tyrone's head: £2,000 if alive and £1,000 if dead. But this was futile, as were the prices on the heads of the insurgent chiefs hiding in Munster.</p> <p>However, the Sutan Earl was finally captured. No one could be found for money to show the way through the forests to Tyrone's possessions.</p>

1601	<p>Attempt on Tyrone by an assassin hired by the English Government; it failed.</p> <p>On September 22, five thousand Spaniards landed at Kinsale and occupied the town.</p> <p>Mountjoy laid siege, with part of the southern Catholics declaring against the Spaniards or neutral, while the bulk sided with them. Tyrone, Tyrrell, O'Donnell, etc., marched against Mountjoy, and fortified themselves in a swampy area, cut off his supplies, but were prevailed upon by the Spaniards to give battle on December 23 and were totally defeated. O'Donnell escaped to Spain, Tyrone to his possessions, while the Spaniards surrendered on a promise to be allowed to depart freely.</p> <p>O'Donnell was active in Spain for Ireland.</p> <p>Mountjoy went north and laid waste all Tyrone.</p>
1602	<p>Fort Dunboy (at Bantry), the last fort of the Spanish (it belonged to Daniel O'sullivan), was captured and its Irish garrison massacred.</p>
1603	<p>Finally, peace was concluded between Mountjoy and Tyrone, whereupon the latter submitted, but was confirmed in his possessions. Then Elizabeth died. All Ireland was subjugated for the first time.</p>
1603	<p><i>JAMES I.</i> Everybody expected him to restore the Catholic religion. It was at once reintroduced in Waterford, Cashel, Clonmel and Limerick, but these were quickly brought to their senses by Mountjoy. James, however, demanded that all officials, barristers and graduates of universities gave the oath of supremacy and also restored the Act of Uniformity.<sup>129</sup> He at once purged the Dublin Council of Catholics. Although the penal laws against the Papists were upheld, they were not applied.</p>

<sup>129</sup> A reference to the restitution by James I of the Act of Uniformity passed in 1559 during the reign of Elizabeth I. The Act confirmed the principles of the Anglican Reformation and decreed that worship was to be conducted according to a Book of Common Prayer sanctioned by the sovereign, as the head of the Church of England.

1603	<p>But in 1605 all Catholic priests were banished on pain of death (Sir Arthur Chichester was now Deputy) and, according to O'Connor,<sup>130</sup> Catholic church services were banned by proclamation.</p> <p>Gavelkind and tanistry<sup>131</sup> were again repealed by a judgement of the King's Bench, the English inheritance law introduced, the land of Irish smallholders directly confirmed by the Crown and these placed directly under Crown protection, whereby clanship was visibly broken, while <i>all duties of the clan people were converted into money rent to their landlord</i>. Yet all this was done gradually. Tyrone and Roderic O'Donnell, brother of Red Hugh, went to England, where the former was confirmed in his possessions and the latter made Earl of Tyrconnel. Both of them were so closely watched by spies that Tyrone complained he could not drink a full carouse of sack, but the state was advertised thereof within a few hours after.</p>
1607	<p>Land litigation between O'Neill Tyrone and Sir Donogh (Donald Ballagh) O'shane (O'Cahan), a neighboring chief, before the Lord Deputy and an <i>English court</i>; this convinced Tyrone that he must either submit completely, or rebel again. But now there were English forts and garrisons in his possessions, and the clanship was weakened.</p>

<sup>130</sup> Matthew O'Connor, *The History of the Irish Catholics from the Settlement in 1691*, 1813.

<sup>131</sup> *Tanistry*—a system regulating the inheritance of chieftainship of the Celtic clans and septs (tribes) in Ireland. Like many other Irish customs, it was a relic of the tribal system. According to this custom, the successor of the clan chief, the *tanist*, was appointed during the lifetime of the chief from a definite family in the clan, whose members were considered the “eldest and worthiest.”

*Gavelkind*—a term borrowed from the common law of the inhabitants of Kent and applied by English jurists to the Irish rules regulating the passing of the lands of a deceased member of the clan or sept into other hands. Ever since the time when tribal relations prevailed, land was regarded by the indigenous Irish not as private property but as a temporary tenure. Thus, after the death of its owner it did not pass to his descendants but was distributed among all free male kinsmen, including his sons out of wedlock. Although the lands of the chiefs and members of the clan elite were by that time no longer parceled out after their death, they were not regarded as their private property and were not inherited by the family but passed to new ownership in accordance with the described tanistry principle.



1607	<p>Ireland herself was too weak, and salvation could come only from abroad. Hence a plot<sup>132</sup> by Tyrone, Tyrconnel and Richard Nugent, Baron Delvin, to rebel with Spanish help. The plot was betrayed by Earl Howth, who had just become Protestant. Tyrone and Tyrconnel were summoned before the Dublin Council, escaped to France and from there to Brussels. Introduction of English law and the many court charges instantly lodged against him brought home to Tyrone that it was all over <i>now</i> with chieftainship. Finally, he went to Rome, where he died in 1616. The main branch of the Hy Nials ended shortly with the assassination of his son in Brussels.</p> <p>James, meanwhile, found it necessary to declare publicly that the two earls did not flee religious persecutions, because never persecuted on religious grounds. <i>But who would believe that?</i></p>
1608	<p>Uprising by Sir Cahir O'Doherty, Chief of Irish-Owen, who captured Culmore Fort by a trick, attacked Derry, and held out for five months, until finally killed.</p> <p>Plantation of Ulster, where the Crown acquired 800,000 acres (English) or almost all Donegal, Tyrone, Coleraine, Fermanagh, Cavan and Armagh (supremacy converted into land holdings!) through the forfeiture of Tyrone, Tyrconnel, O'Doherty, etc. Each holding was divided into lots of three classes: 1) 2,000 English acres for servitors of the Crown, either the great officers of state or rich adventurers from England; 2) 1,500 acres for servitors of the Crown in Ireland with permission to take either English or Irish tenants; 3) 1,000 acres for the natives.</p>

<sup>132</sup> The existence of this plot is strongly doubted even by Smith (*Irish History...*, p. 100).

1608	<p>The City of London received large grants in Derry on the condition of spending £20,000 for building the towns of Derry and Coleraine. A standing army was formed to guard the Colony. Thus, six out of 32 counties were expropriated and thoroughly plundered.</p> <p>The Brehon Laws<sup>133</sup> were simultaneously completely abolished and replaced by English law, but, as if to render the state of outlawry of the Irish complete, while thus forbidden the use of their own country's law, they were still shut out as aliens and enemies from the law of their masters.</p>
1613	<p>The first Parliament in 27 years, and the first to represent more than just the Pale, opened in Dublin. Since the previous Parliament 17 new counties were constituted and 40 boroughs incorporated, of which most were mere villages consisting of a few houses built by Ulster undertakers.<sup>134</sup> Though the lords of the Pale remonstrated, new boroughs were constantly fabricated to assure a Protestant majority, the maneuver proving eminently successful. This caused recusant members to secede, but the matter was later settled. No anti-Catholic bills were tabled, but in recompense the Catholics voted for bills of attainder against Tyrone, etc.—This was a despicable thing to do, because nothing had been proved, but it justified the confiscations in Ulster.—Further, a bill was passed whereby all laws against Irish enemies were abolished and all put under the jurisdiction of English law.</p>
1623	<p>Royal proclamation that all Catholic priests secular and regular had to leave the Kingdom in 40 days, after which all persons were prohibited to converse with them.</p>

<sup>133</sup> The third volume of this publication, comprising the conclusion of the collection *Senchus Mor* (The Great Book of Old), appeared in 1873, after Engels had written the passage in this book. *Senchus Mor* is one of the most detailed written records of the laws of the Brehons, the guardians of and commentators on laws and customs in Celtic Ireland.

<sup>134</sup> The name given at that time to landowners among the colonists, and also to land speculators.

1613<sup>135</sup>

Commission instituted to inquire into defective titles to land in Ireland and escheated lands. It declared all land between Arklow and Slane rivers and many estates in Leitrim, Longford, Westmeath, King's and Queen's counties, totaling 82,500 acres, as Crown property. All was confiscated and granted to English and Irish colonists as in Ulster.

A feeling of general insecurity arises among landholders, because resumption by the Crown under Henry VII of all land granted since Edward I, as well as the land of absentees, and various other similar juridical discoveries were now used to contest everything. Besides, many titles to land had either been lost or defective. A whole class of "discoverers" (of flaws in titles) appeared, consisting of "needy adventurers from England"; whenever the jurymen decided against the King, they were locked up. The Attorney-General declared that, with all Irish having been expelled when possession was first taken of the Pale, no Irish could have even an acre of freehold<sup>136</sup> in the five counties.

Wholesale resettlement of clans followed.

Seven clans moved from Queen's County to Kerry; 25 landowners, mostly O'Ferrels, were expropriated without compensation.

Instructive was the case of Byrnes of Wicklow (from Carte's *Life of Ormonde* in Matthew O'Connor's *History of the Irish Catholics*).<sup>137</sup>

<sup>135</sup> A reference to Engels's work, published in 1948 in Russian in the *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. X, under the heading "Excerpts on the History of Ireland in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries." These excerpts are based on material contained in the book: Matthew O'Connor, *The History of the Irish Catholics from the Settlement in 1691 with a View of the State of Ireland from the Invasion by Henry II to the Revolution*, Dublin, 1813. Engels supplemented this material with facts from many other works.

In particular, the reference is to the following passage (Engels's own remark is italicized): "After the confiscation carried out in Ulster, the estates of the native Irish, in other parts of the kingdom, were invaded on the score of defective titles. [...] The confusion of the civil wars, and the uncertainty and fluctuation of Brehon tenures rendered them an easy prey to the rapacity of the administration; 66,000 acres between Dublin and Waterford, the properties of the Cavanaghs, Nolans, Byrnes, and O'tooles were by inquisitions of office found to be the King's, and although a considerable portion of these escheated lands was regranted to the natives, yet the establishment of an English Protestant colony

1625

*CHARLES I.* Very short of money, he lost no time in coming to terms with the Catholic lords and gentry in Ireland. For three years they paid him £40,000 annually, in return for which he granted the following “graces”: “Recusants<sup>138</sup> to be allowed to practice in courts of law, and sue the livery of their lands out of the Courts of Wards, on taking an oath of civil allegiance instead of the oath of supremacy; that the claims of the Crown (to defective titled lands) should be limited to the last 60 years; that the inhabitants of Connaught be permitted to make a new enrollment of their estates,” i.e., that their estates should be assured for them (etc., etc., 51 points in all), “and that a Parliament should be held to confirm these graces and establish every man in the undisturbed possession of his own land.” Further, reforms of all kinds, extortions through courts of law and soldiers, monopolies and penal laws against religion, and promise of an “act of oblivion and general pardon” (see O’Conor). Lord Falkland convened Parliament to confirm these graces, but not under the Great Seal of England (as required by the Acts of Henry VIII and Elizabeth); the English Council protested and Parliament did not take place. The Lords justices indulged in flagrant persecutions, confiscating 16 monasteries because the Carmelites had held public services.

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on 16,500 acres gave new vigor to old animosities, and inflamed the old proprietors with implacable hatred to the spoilers” (p. 22).

In 1614, “A commission issued to inquire into titles in the King’s and Queen’s counties, in Westmeath, Longford, and Leitrim, the counties of the O’Mulley’s, O’Carroll’s, M’Coughlan’s, O’Doyle’s M’Geoghegan’s, and O’Mallachlin’s, 385,000 acres were in those districts found in the King, and planted as Ulster had been” (p. 24).

<sup>136</sup> Freehold—a category of small landownership which had come down from medieval England. The freeholder paid the lord a comparatively small rent in cash and was allowed to dispose of his land as he saw fit.

<sup>137</sup> Engels is referring to the following place in his notes from O’Conor’s book (the latter having borrowed the facts from Th. Carte, *A History of the Life of James, Duke of Ormonde*, vols. I-III, London, 1736):

1633

*Sir Thomas Wentworth*,<sup>138</sup> later Earl of Strafford, Lord Deputy. At that time the Irish Channel teemed with pirates, and he could not cross without being escorted by a warship. He quickly alienated everybody.

Only a few members of the Privy Council were admitted to sittings. Ireland was ruled in accordance with the theory of the absolute royal prerogative. Catholics and Protestants alike were compelled by threats and cajolery jointly to pay £20,000 more in voluntary taxes. An order was issued that no one of any rank could leave Ireland without the permission of the Lord Deputy, and that no complaint could be lodged against him before the English royal court unless first submitted to him.

Finally, however, a Parliament was necessary to obtain money, however much Wentworth dreaded it due to the question of graces, and particularly the restriction of Crown claims to 60 years, which made a difference of £20,000 annually.

Wentworth saw to it that many army officers were chosen, which placed him in a position to tilt the scales between the Catholics and Protestants and thereby squeeze money out of both by threats.

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“The incident with Phelim Bearn and his sons Brian and Turlough is illustrative. They owned the place of Ranelagh in County Wicklow according to a grant by Elizabeth (after the death of old Feag Bearn it had been regranted to Phelim) and James had issued orders on two occasions, one after another, that their rights should be accordingly respected. Nevertheless, Sir Richard Graham used counterfeited documents and invoked his connections in Dublin to seize part of the land belonging to Phelim, while Sir James Fitzpearce Fitzgerald tried to seize Brian’s share for himself in like manner but did not succeed. At long last the case was submitted to a commission in England where Sir William Parsons, who had formerly in his capacity of judge in Dublin said that the contested land belonged to Phelim and not to any dummy freeholders of Graham, now asserted that the opposite was true. Since things still did not go smoothly enough, Graham and Parsons (who had by that time also become interested) declared that the land belonged to the crown. This put the matter in a new light. Lord Esmond gave evidence in their favor. A commission headed by Sir William Parsons was immediately appointed to investigate the matter. Although the King had ordered that the case should be heard in the last instance also by the English Council, Sir William Parsons succeeded in gaining possession of Phelim’s land. He did not succeed, however, in seizing Brian’s land. After all attempts had failed, Parsons, Esmond and others succeeded in having the two brothers, Brian and Turlough, gaoled in Dublin Prison on grounds of false evidence given by criminals and other persons who were forced to perjury by torture. The main accusation was that they had

1634	<p>Parliament opened. Wentworth insisted on subsidies at once for a number of years and the Commons foolishly conceded six subsidies, whereupon a convocation of the clergy also conceded eight subsidies of £3,000 each.</p> <p>The lords, however, demanded redress of grievances and confirmation of graces, to which Wentworth replied brazenly that he had never even sent them to the King (which was untrue).</p> <p>The same Parliament passed the two Statutes of Wills and Uses, whereby the Crown was allowed to interfere in the upbringing of the “heirs apparent” of big landowners, hoping thus gradually to convert them to Protestantism.</p>
1635	<p>Violation of graces begun in Connaught.</p> <p>Wentworth came before the Grand jury of Roscommon, where all landowners were gathered (“being anxious,” he said, “to have persons of such means as might answer the King a round fine in the castle chamber in case they should prevaricate”), and told them that the best means of enriching the county was a <i>plantation</i> like Ulster; hence, they should investigate the King’s title to the estates concerned. A proclamation was issued “that by an easy composition they should be allowed to buy indefeasible titles.”<sup>138</sup></p>

concealed several runaway Irish rebels. From 1625 to 1628 there were unceasing attempts to have them convicted by resorting to false evidence and by reshuffling, lie composition of the jury, until, finally, Sir Frances Ennesli later Lord of Mountnorris, and others came to their defense and a commission was appointed to investigate the charge. In December 1628, the commission found them not guilty and liberated them. However, the larger part of their possessions, notably Carrick Manor in Ranelagh, had by that time, by a grant of August 4, been handed over to Sir William Parsons, and they did not get it back!”

<sup>138</sup> Wentworth intended to drive out *all* Connaught landowners and recultivate the whole province. Leland, Vol. III, quoted by O’Conor.

1635	<p>The Justices of the Peace all being bribed (“more or less in the pound of the first year’s rent were bestowed by the King upon the Lord Chief Justice and Lord Chief Baron of Ireland”) while the juries were either packed or intimidated, the verdicts always favored the King, as in the case of Sligo and Mayo.</p> <p>In Galway, however, there was resistance and the juries decided against the King, but Wentworth importuned and harassed the landowners so that they finally transferred title to their estates to the King and pleaded for mercy. But Wentworth now wished the jury to announce it had judged falsely and admit perjury. This was rejected, whereupon the Sheriff was fined £1,000 and the members of the jury £4,000 each and were to be held in Dublin Castle until payment and remorse. Furthermore, people were imprisoned right and left for harmless speeches and brought before <i>military courts</i>, which naturally found them guilty.</p>
1636	<p>To protect the English wool trade Wentworth banned wool exports even to England, except against licenses sold by himself, pocketing much money in this way; he introduced <i>cultivation and weaving of flax</i> successfully in Ireland (but with profit for himself).</p> <p>Wentworth’s principle was to rule Ireland so that she could not exist without the Crown. Hence, a government <i>salt monopoly</i> was introduced.</p>
1640	<p>When the Scottish war broke out,<sup>139</sup> Wentworth was made Earl of Strafford and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, a title no one had held since Essex. A new Irish Parliament voted in four new subsidies.<sup>140</sup> Strafford recruited 8,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry to reinforce the troops in Ireland. However, these 9,000 were nearly all Catholics.</p>

<sup>139</sup> He reinforced the old Irish party, which primarily proposed to restore the Catholic religion to its full splendor, refused to trust the King, denounced the armistice, paid none of the subsidies demanded by the King and meant to fight the King and the English Parliament. the King was not to be trusted for had he not betrayed Strafford after promising that not a hair on his head would be touched.

<sup>140</sup> Each subsidy of about £40,000.

End of 1640 <sup>141</sup>	<p>In June, Parliament reconvened and since most officers were away, the Catholics were in the majority. It was now agreed 1) to reduce incomes of the priesthood, 2) to redistribute the subsidies for this reason, because the Lord Lieutenant's distribution was unlawful and unjust. Charles ordered the page on which these decisions were recorded to be torn out of the Journal of the Commons and Lords.</p>
February 1641 <sup>142</sup>	<p>But Parliament decided to send to Charles a deputation with a Remonstrance of Grievances. Despite Strafford's objections, the deputation arrived in England. Apart from the delay in confirming the graces, the grievances listed arbitrary interventions and decisions by the Lord Lieutenant; chicanery of the courts of law, heavy penalties to suppress freedom of speech and press; unlawful powers of special tribunals; insecurity of person and property, and monopoly; total of 16 items.</p> <p><i>Strafford</i> indicted by Long Parliament and executed. His various tyrannies in Ireland were held up against him, including the charge that he had established a tobacco monopoly for his own profit. As to the charge that he had collected taxes with military help and applied martial law, he maintained that this had always been so in Ireland and that the Provost Marshal had always hung people "who were going up and down the country and could not give a good accord of themselves" (what good was it, therefore, to introduce English law if it worked against the nation and could only be applied per martial law?).</p> <p>All that could be said for Strafford was that he had applied the Penal Code against Catholics solely to extort money (for the Crown).</p>

<sup>141</sup> Long Parliament convened, whose opposition began.



February 1641	<p>A new conspiracy in the north: Roger O'Moore, whose ancestors had been driven out of Offaley (in Edward's and Mary's reigns), Lord Maguire, Baron of Iniskillen, who still had remnants of his clan in Fermanagh, Hugh McMahon, Tyrone's grandson, Colonel Byrn and Sir Phelim O'Neill, strongly supported by Irish driven out by the plantation. Also supported by many Connaught chiefs recently expelled by Strafford. Earl Antrim plotted with them in the name of the King, who would, since the Irish Government gravitated towards Parliament, deal with them and the Lords of the Pale, and would depose that government.</p>
1641	<p>Dublin Castle was to be captured first, October 23, but the conspiracy was betrayed and Sir William Parsons, one of the Lords justices, had everyone within reach arrested (McMahon, Maguire, etc.), while O'Moore and others escaped. Meanwhile, fighting broke out in Ulster and Phelim O'Neill, <i>ass and pig</i> (see O'Connor<sup>143</sup>), captured Charlemount by treachery; all other castles in the eight northern counties were attacked and captured, or quickly starved out. In eight days everything was captured and Phelim had gathered 30,000 men.</p>

<sup>142</sup> Engels: "See O'Connor." A reference to the following passage Engels took from Matthew O'Connor's book: "1641. February. The deputies submitted to the King a remonstrance of grievances. There were complaints about fines, imprisonments and punishments in various shapes of torment and dishonor, for not joining in the established worship; the execution of martial law in the midst of profound peace; proclamations and acts of state made paramount to acts of the legislature; infringements of proclamations punished by imprisonment, by mutilation of members, and by confiscations, the constitution of Parliament subverted by the disfranchisement of cities and boroughs at the will of the court, the subversion of titles, and insecurity of all property by state inquisitions, by persecution of juries, etc."

1641	(The Lords Justices and generally the now dominant party in Ireland planned to exterminate all Irish and Anglo-Irish Catholics and replace them with English and Scottish Protestants—see Cromwell's plan.) After outbreak of the revolt in Ulster, a company was formed in London in February [1642], petitioning Parliament to sell the ten million acres to be confiscated in Ireland, using the proceeds to prosecute a war of annihilation; the company offered to be middleman.
The whole story sounds apocryphal, resting on the hearsay evidence of Dr. H. Jones;...	After outbreak of the rebellion in October, a large congregation of Catholics in Multifarnham Abbey, Westmeath County, debated the policy of whether to kill or simply drive out the Protestants. Phelim settled the issue by having Lord Charlemount and his other prisoners killed, and by letting all Englishmen and Scots be massacred in three parishes; furious over the fall of Newry he also ordered the burning of the town and cathedral of Armagh despite its surrender, and had 100 people killed. It is possible, however, that the killing of the Catholics of Island Magee at Carrickfergus by government troops occurred earlier and provoked the Catholics.

<sup>143</sup> Engels is referring to the following passage in his notes from Matthew O'Connor's book, which repudiates the slanderous inventions about "cruelty," "treachery," "conspiratorial tricks," etc., of the Irish rebels and their Ulster leader—Phelim O'Neill (Engels's own remarks are italicized):

"As regards the beating up of Protestants by Catholics, O'Connor maintains that the populous towns in the north remained in the hands of the English and thus served as refuges for the Protestant population of rural areas; many (Protestants) got safe to Derry, Enniskillen, Coleraine, and Carrickfergus, besides several thousands got safe to Dublin, 6,000 women and children were saved in Fermanagh, the Scots in Ulster did not come to harm, the capitulation of Bellyaghie was faithfully observed by the Catholics and generally at the commencement of the uprising no murders were committed" (p. 33).

"Sir Phelim O'Neill was no coward; this can be seen from his constancy and fortitude in his last moments, his rejection of life and pardon, proffered to him on the terms of heaping dishonor and infamy on the grave of the late King." (Carte, *Ormonde*, Vol. I.)

*"The fact that at first (in October-December 1641) only the Irish who had been deprived of their possessions by James and ousted by the English settlers participated in the rebellion shows how badly it had been prepared."*

<p>...the congregation seems never to have taken place, or to have been of a different nature.</p>	<p>Leitrim (the O'Rourkes), the O'Ferrells of Longford (where plantations were also laid out) and the O'Byrnes of Wicklow rebelled on October 12; Wexford and Carlow, the Tooles and Cavanaghs, that is, all the Irish clans driven out by James, joined the rising and advanced to the walls of Dublin.</p>
<p>Evidently, the rising was due to the refusal to convene Parliament.</p>	<p>All quiet in Munster until December, but Lord President Sir William St. Leger provoked the gentlemen to rise under Philip O'Dwyer by his arrogance and by calling them all rebels. They captured Cashel.</p> <p>In Connaught, where Lord Ranelagh was Lord President, the rising was also general, compelling Ranelagh to resign. Galway alone was saved for the government by Lord Clanricarde (the same Clanricarde whose property Wentworth and his tribunals had ravaged), but he, too, was put under restraint by the Lords Justices. The rising was just what the latter wanted; they wished no submission save in battle, for that entailed <i>forfeiture of lands</i>. Except Galway and a few castles in Roscommon all Connaught was engulfed by the insurrection.</p>
<p>Evidently, the rising was due to the refusal to convene Parliament.</p>	<p>Phelim O'Neill now beleaguered Drogheda; at Julian's Town Bridge, three miles from Drogheda, he drove a small force sent to relieve the besieged back to Dublin, causing much fear there; regiments went over to the rebels and Sir Charles Coote, then besieging Wicklow, was hastily recalled.</p> <p>The lords and gents of the Pale, whom the government had supplied with some arms but who were at once required to return them as Catholics and told to leave Dublin and go to their estates, where they could do nothing unarmed but submit to the insurgents and thereby become traitors, could not hold out any longer. Sir Charles Coote, Governor of Dublin, roamed up and down the Pale and did nothing but "kill, burn, and destroy" in accordance with his instructions.</p>

Evidently, the rising was due to the refusal to convene Parliament.	<p>Men of estate were taken along as prisoners to assure the King's escheats upon attainders, while the rest of the population were executed under martial law, including a Catholic priest, Father Higgins, who was under Earl Ormond's protection and had a safe-conduct.</p> <p>The Lords Justices ordered the prisoners, McMahon and others, to be tortured to determine whether the King was behind the rebellion, but in vain.</p> <p>Drogheda was bravely defended by Sir Henry Tichborne, a soldier of the Cromwell school. He repulsed an escalade. Whereupon the town was merely blockaded, its food stores running low. Finally in February [1642], after a three months' siege, Marquis Ormond with 3,000 infantry and 500 horsemen arrived to relieve the beleaguered town and the Irish withdrew at once.</p> <p>In view of the ravages inflicted by government troops in the Pale, even by Ormond, the Catholic Lords of the Pale arranged a meeting with Roger Moore, Byrn and McMahon, whereupon, following the Irish plea that they had risen for the King's rights and that his Irish subjects should be just as free as those in England, an alliance was concluded-the first between Irish and Anglo-Irish of the Pale-and the Pale revolted. This was followed by the desertion of those few Catholics outside the Pale who had hesitated.</p>
It appears that from March to October the clergy and gentry were dominant, and from October on the Commons were also represented.	<p>Catholic priests reappeared from hiding, holding synods in Kells on March 22, 1642, and particularly in Kilkenny in May 1642, deciding to send envoys to the Emperor, the King of France, and the Pope. Soon there then the after money, arms, equipment and officers clergy and (mostly Irish who had served in foreign armies) arrived from all parts of Europe to help the Irish. A General Assembly was then instituted in Kilkenny in October with two chambers: a Council of 12 persons to govern the judiciary, the judges, etc., and a Supreme Council, serving as the provisional government. Supreme Commanders were appointed for the provinces: Owen O'Neill, the Spanish colonel, in Ulster, Preston in Leinster, Garret Barry in Munster and Colonel John Burke in Connaught.</p>

The people of the Pale were still craving for peace with the government and made frequent approaches. The Irish also demanded a reversal of attainders.

An address was sent to the King, setting forth the grounds for the movement and the wishes of the Irish Catholics, in which they called themselves the National Assembly.

Owen O'Neill had been commander of Arras during the French siege in 1640 and in contrast to Sir Phelim O'Neill was closely enough related to the royal family to be declared The O'Neill. Besides, he was a good officer.

Thomas Preston, brother of Lord Gormanstown, Colonel in Imperial and Spanish service, had distinguished himself during the Dutch siege of Lowen. He brought three ships, cannon, small arms and equipment, with four colonels, several engineers and 500 other Irish officers.

At this time, Ormond defeated an Irish detachment under Lord Mountgarret in Kildare (at Kilrush). Thereafter, Preston was defeated at Tymahoo and some other (?) detachment at Raconell. In spite of this, the insurgents were doing well. Finally, Charles, who needed support against the English Parliament, authorized Ormond to negotiate a year's armistice. The negotiations began, and an armistice followed. Meanwhile, the Lords Justices continued to act in the spirit of the Parliament. "The parliament pamphlets were by them received as oracles, their commands obeyed as laws, and the extirpation preached as a gospel." And to leave the rebels no avenue of escape, submissions by individuals were turned down. Even the quietest Catholics of the Pale, Lord Dunsany, Sir J. Netterville, and others, were imprisoned, tortured and arraigned whole sale for high treason on the strength of thus obtained confessions. Estates were seized en masse and their owners flung into gaol. More than "1,000 indictments were found by a Grand jury against such men in two days," and another about 2,000 were "in reserve on the record."

Scarampi, the Pope's legate, arrived in Kilkenny with troops and military supplies.

	<p>He reinforced the old Irish party, which primarily proposed to restore the Catholic religion to its full splendor, refused to trust the King, denounced the armistice, paid none of the subsidies demanded by the King and meant to fight the King and the English Parliament. the King was not to be trusted for had he not betrayed Strafford after promising that not a hair on his head would be touched.</p>
1643	<p>The Anglo-Irish moderates were opposed to this, finally bringing about a year's armistice on the basis of previously negotiated articles (their content?). When billets had been arranged for the respective armies and the armistice ratified by the Lords Justices and the Council on September 19, 1643, the Irish agreed to pay the King £30,000, half in money and half in cattle.</p> <p>At once, five regiments were dispatched from Ireland to reinforce the King's army in England.</p> <p>Indignation ran high in Ireland, as in England, over this armistice (that is, among the Catholics in Ireland and the Parliament party in England). The Lords justices and the Council in Dublin, likewise opposed, obstructed it in every way they could. English Parliament pronounced Marquis Ormond "traitor against the three kingdoms." The Cavaliers,<sup>144</sup> too, were discontented. The 20,000 English and Scots in Ulster "vowed to live and die in opposition to the cessation."</p> <p>Meanwhile, a new Remonstrance to the King was drawn up by the Catholics in Trim, enumerating their grievances, demanding redress and then placing 10,000 troops at the King's disposal.</p> <p>That was the famous Remonstrance of Trim.</p>

<sup>144</sup> The *roundheads*—the name given to the supporters of Parliament during the English bourgeois revolution in the 17<sup>th</sup> century because of their puritan custom of cutting their hair close, while the cavaliers—supporters of the King—wore their hair long.

1643

However, simultaneously, Ormond marched on Rossa and defeated General Preston (what about the armistice?).

Four parties in Ireland: 1) Irish Catholic, 2) Anglo-Irish Catholic (the bulk of the Confederates was recruited from these two parties), 3) the King's party, and 4) the Puritans. While Ormond negotiated with the Confederates in Kilkenny to extort money for the King and, if possible, hoodwink them over the agreed points, the King invited Confederate delegates to Oxford. The delegates arrived with brusque demands: complete freedom of religion and repeal of the penal laws against Catholics; a free Parliament with suspension of Poynings's Law of 1494 while it sat (because it said nothing could be done without the English Council); repeal of all Irish Acts and Ordinances since August 1641; also a general amnesty and an Act of Limitation for Security of Estates; offices should be impartially granted to Catholics; passage of an Act establishing the independence of the Irish state and Parliament from the English; investigation of the massacres (committed by both sides during the war). The delegates of the Irish Protestants (who also came to Oxford) demanded, on the other hand, that all penal laws be preserved, the Catholic priests banned and Catholics excluded from all offices. The Solemn League and Covenant<sup>145</sup> was established at this time; Monroe and his Scots in the north accepted it at once, and so did most officers and men of the King's army under Ormond. English Parliament put Monroe in command of all troops in Ulster and he captured Belfast, where there were many Royalists, in a surprise attack.

Ormond, in the meantime, obtained the King's permission to amnesty "as to life and lands" all rebels returning into the King's service, as the chief means of breaking up the Confederation, which succeeded in many respects.

<sup>145</sup> Name of the agreement signed on September 25, 1643, between the Long Parliament and the Scottish Presbyterians; it reaffirmed the rights of the Scottish Calvinist

	<p>O'Neill was now so badly off in the north that he had to plead for arms and equipment in Kilkenny, which he received; he was also appointed commander in Connaught, while Lord Castlehaven was made Supreme Commander. Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, was now the Pope's nuncio, arriving with considerable arms and equipment.</p>
1645	<p>Charles commanded Ormond to conclude peace with the Irish at any cost, in order to release the army for England. He was quite willing to suspend Poyning's Act "for such bills as might be agreed upon" and to abolish the penal laws. But Ormond balked, possibly because he was too much a Protestant, but probably because he knew that it was farthest from Charles's mind to keep his word. (?) Hence,</p>
1646	<p>Lord Herbert, Earl of Glamorgan, was sent to Kilkenny, concluding a treaty with the Confederates whereby the latter remained in possession of all churches and church revenues that had not in fact passed into Protestant possession and were allowed to hold public church services; the Catholic clergy was not to be punished for exercising their jurisdiction over their parishes. In return, 10,000 men under Glamorgan were placed at the King's disposal and two-thirds of the church revenues for three years were allotted for the upkeep of this army. For this Glamorgan was empowered by Charles above his signature and private seal. The treaty consisted of two parts, one public and the other secret (which contained the stipulation on religion). It was farthest from Charles's mind ever to ratify the treaty. As Hallam said, "his want of faith was not to the Protestant but to the Catholic." But the secret was soon out. Sir Charles Coote, a Puritan, was sent to Connaught to capture Sligo, in which he succeeded, but M. O'Kelly, Catholic Archbishop of Tuam tried to recapture it, falling in battle.</p>

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Church and the freedoms and privileges of the Parliaments of both kingdoms; the terms of the agreement extended also to Scottish settlers in Ireland.



1646

A copy of the secret treaty was found in his belongings and made public at once.

The situation became extremely confused.

Limerick, for example, stood neutral, because preoccupied with internal conflicts. In Connaught, three Presidents: one for the King, another for English Parliament (Coote) and one more for the Supreme Council of the Confederation.

The King disavowed Glamorgan, the treaty therefore became null and void, and the peace earlier concluded by Ormond was ratified by the Irish Commissioners on March 28.

Naturally, this did not suit the Covenanters, and Monroe had 60 men and 18 women massacred in Newry. O'Neill with 5,000 infantry and 500 cavalry marched against Armagh towards the end of May and stationed himself at Benburb, where on June 5 he was attacked by Monroe, whom he totally defeated, whereupon Monroe, who had lost all his artillery, abandoned Portedown, Downpatrick and other places.<sup>146</sup>

<sup>146</sup> Owen Roe O'Neill's success at Benburb, which temporarily tipped the scale in the Irish Confederation in favor of radical elements who wanted to break not only with the Long Parliament but also with the King's party, was a major victory of the Irish rebels. However, as a result of the incessant quarrels and the clashes of interests in the Confederate camp, the moderate Anglo-Irish aristocrats soon gained the upper hand and signed a new agreement with Ormond, the commander of the Royalist forces. This enabled Cromwell and his followers (who had by now defeated the Royalist forces in England, proclaimed a republic and beheaded Charles I) to organize a punitive expedition to Ireland on the pretext of destroying a Royalist stronghold. The true aim of the expedition was the colonial subjugation of the country. On August 15, 1649, Cromwell's army landed in Ireland and commenced the brutal suppression of the Irish rebellion, which was continued by Cromwell's successors the Republican Generals Ireton and, later, Fleetwood. The last centers of resistance by the Irish, who had taken to guerrilla warfare, were subdued in 1852.

## **Varia on the History of the Irish Confiscations**<sup>147</sup>

*Engels, 1870*

### **16<sup>th</sup> Century. Henry VIII**

1536. Parliament in Dublin introduces the Oath of Supremacy and the King is given the privilege of taking the pick of all ecclesiastical livings. Quite different in the doing, however, for the subsequent insurrections were directed, among other things, against the Oath. Yet refusal to take the Oath of Supremacy was high treason in Ireland just as in England.<sup>148</sup>

### **16<sup>th</sup> Century. Edward VI and Mary**

*Confiscations in Queen's and King's Counties.* During the reign of Edward VI, as was usual in Ireland, the O'Moores of Leix and O'Connors of Offaley<sup>149</sup> carried on a feud with some lords of the Pale. The government qualified this as rebellion. General Bellingham, later Lord Deputy, was sent against them and forced them to submit. Advised to see the King and submit to him in person as O'Neill had done successfully in 1542. O'Moore and O'Connor, unlike O'Neill, were imprisoned and their estates were confiscated. But that was not the last of it. The inhabitants declared that the land belonged to the clans, not to the chiefs, who therefore could not forfeit it, and were, at most, liable to forfeiting their private domains. They declined to move out. The government sent troops, and had the land cleared after unintermittent fighting and extermination of the population.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Part of "Preparatory Materials for the 'History of Ireland'"

<sup>148</sup> John Nicolas Murphy, *Ireland. Industrial, Political and Social*, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1870, p. 249.

<sup>149</sup> A reference to County Laoighis (Leix) in Central Ireland, which, in 1557, following the confiscation by the Tudors of the lands of local tribal communities (the clans), was renamed Queen's County in honor of Mary Tudor, the English Queen. The neighboring Offaley County, the population of which had also fallen victim to the expropriation policy of the English colonial authorities, was renamed King's County in honor of Mary's husband, Philip II of Spain.

<sup>150</sup> Murphy, p. 255.

*This was the pattern [der ganze Grundriss] for all subsequent confiscations under Elizabeth and James. The Irish were denied all rights against the Anglo-Irish of the Pale, with resistance treated as rebellion. That sort of thing became usual.*

By Acts in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> years of the reign of Philip and Mary, c. 1 and 2, the Lord Deputy, the Earl of Sussex, was endowed with “full power and authority... to give and to grant to all and every Their Majesties’ subjects, English or Irish... at his election and pleasure, such estates in fee simple, fee tail,<sup>151</sup> leases for term of years, life or lives” in these two counties “as for the more sure planting or strength of the countries with good subjects shall be thought unto his wisdom and discretion meet and convenient.”<sup>152</sup>

## 16<sup>th</sup> Century. Elizabeth

*English policy* under Elizabeth: to keep Ireland in a state of division and strife. “Should we exert ourselves,” the English government averred, “in reducing Ireland to order and civility, it must soon acquire power, consequence and riches. *The inhabitants will be thus alienated from England;* they will cast themselves into the arms of some foreign power, or erect themselves into an independent and separate state. Let us rather connive at their disorders, for a weak and disordered people can never attempt to detach themselves from the Crown of England.” Thus Sir Henry Sidney and Sir John Perrot, successive Lord Deputies (the last-named the best that they ever had, in 1584–87), about the “horrid policy” against which they protest.<sup>153</sup> Perrot’s intention of granting the Irish equal rights with the Anglo-Irish and obviating confiscations was blocked by the English party in Dublin. (*Yet he it was who had O’Donnell’s son brought aboard a ship, filled with drink and borne away.*)

*Tyrone’s rebellion*, among other things, against religious persecution:

he and other lords of Ulster entered into a secret combination, about this time, that they would defend the Roman Catholic religion... that they would suffer no sheriffs nor garrisons

<sup>151</sup> *Fee tail*—an estate the use of which is limited to a category of heirs stipulated in the grant; in practice it means life tenancy.

<sup>152</sup> Murphy, *Op. cit.*, p. 256.

<sup>153</sup> Leland, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 292; Murphy, *Op. cit.*, p. 246.

to be within the compass of their territories, and that they would... jointly resist all invasions of the English.

The conduct of Deputy Mountjoy in this war is described by Camden:

He made incursions on all sides, spoiled the corn, burnt all the houses and villages that could be found, and did so gall the rebels, that, pent in with garrisons and straightened more and more every day, they were reduced to live like wild beasts, skulking up and down the woods and deserts.<sup>154</sup>

See *Holinshed Chronicles*<sup>155</sup> on how Ireland is laid waste in this war. Half the population is said to have been done in.

According to the returns for 1602 by John Tyrrell, the Mayor of Dublin, prices there climbed: wheat from 36/- to 180/- the quarter, barley malt from 10/- to 43/- and oat malt from 5/- to 22/- the barrel, peas from 5/- to 40/- the peck, oats from 3/4 to 20/the barrel, beef from 26/8 to 160/- the carcass, mutton ditto from 3/- to 26/-, veal ditto from 10/- to 29/-, lamb from 1/- to 6/-, and a pig from 8/- to 30/-.<sup>156</sup>

*Desmond* had estates confiscated in all counties of Munster except Clare, and also in Dublin. They were worth £7,000 per annum. Irish Parliament of 1586 expropriated 140 landowners by confiscation in Munster alone under the Act of the 28<sup>th</sup> year of Elizabeth's reign, c. 7 and 8. McGeoghegan lists the names of the grantees of Desmond's estates, with some families still nearly all in possession until 1847 (? *probably cum grano salis*).

The annual Crown rent on these estates was 2d to 3d per acre, with no indigenous Irish admitted as tenants and the government undertaking to keep adequate garrisons.

Neither provision was observed. Some estates were abandoned by the grantees and reoccupied by the Irish. Many of the undertakers stayed in England and appointed agents, who were "ignorant, negligent, and corrupt."<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> Murphy, *Op. cit.* p. 251.

<sup>155</sup> *Holinshed Chronicles*, 3 Volumes ("England," "Scotland," "Ireland"), 1577 (1<sup>st</sup> Ed.), p. 460.

<sup>156</sup> Leland, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 422.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III.

## 17<sup>th</sup> Century. James I

*Penal Laws against Catholics* (Elizabeth, in 2<sup>nd</sup> year of reign, 1560, c. 1) are applied more and more since the beginning of the reign of James I, it becoming dangerous to practice Catholicism.

Under Elizabeth 2 cl. 1, the fine of 12d was imposed for every non-attendance of a Protestant Church service and, in 1605, under James, imprisonment was added by Royal Proclamation and, hence, unlawfully. This did not help. Besides, in 1605 all Catholic priests were ordered out of Ireland in 40 days on pain of death.<sup>158</sup>

These followed the pronouncement of tanistry and gavelkind as unlawful by the Court of King's Bench in the Hilary Term in the third year of the reign of James I.<sup>159</sup> A Royal Proclamation stipulated surrender of estates and regrant under new valid titles. Most Irish chiefs came forward to receive incontestable title at last, but this was made conditional on their giving up the clan relationship in favor of the English landlord-tenant relationship.<sup>160</sup>

*Plantation of Ulster.* According to Leland, Irish undertenants and servants were tacitly exempted from the Oath of Supremacy, whereas all the

<sup>158</sup> Davies, *Surrenders of Estates and Regrants*. Engels is referring to the following passage he took from J. Davies, *Historical Tracts*, London, 1786. "Under Elizabeth only several Irish chiefs surrendered their estates and were regranted all their lands. However, the inferior chiefs and peasants as before held their several portions in course of tanistry and gavelkind, so that English law extended only to the lords. But James sent two special commissions (to Ireland)—'the one, for accepting surrenders and for regranting estates... the other, for strengthening of defective titles.' These commissions, in particular, took care to secure also the under tenants [to the lord]. Before accepting each surrendered estate the commission had to enquire: 1) of the limits of the land; 2) how much the lord himself holds in demesne and how much is possessed by his tenants and followers; 3) what customs, duties and services he receives. After that the owner was returned the ownership of his demesne, his duties however were valued and reduced into certain sums of money, to be paid yearly in lieu thereof as rents, but the lands were left to them. In the case of defective titles like steps were taken before the title was confirmed."

<sup>159</sup> *Tanistry*—a system regulating the inheritance of chieftainship of the Celtic clans and septs (tribes) in Ireland. Like many other Irish customs, it was a relic of the tribal system. According to this custom, the successor of the clan chief, the tanist, was appointed during the lifetime of the chief from a definite family in the clan, whose members were considered the "eldest and worthiest."

<sup>160</sup> Murphy, *Op. cit.*, p. 261.

other planters were compelled to take it. Carte says that all Irish settlers, especially natives, who were allowed part of their land, were exempted, *but this was irrelevant because trial for refusing to take the Oath was impracticable.*

The Scottish Presbyterians in Ulster also resisted taking the Oath of Supremacy, and *this was suffered* by the authorities.<sup>161</sup> That may have been useful for the Irish as well.—Carte estimates the number of English settlers in Ulster in 1641 at 20,000 and of Scottish settlers at 100,000.<sup>162</sup>

*Sir Arthur Chichester*, Lord Deputy, was rewarded for his services in this plantation with the territory of Innoshowen(?) “and all the lands possessed by O’Dogherty, a tract of country far exceeding the allotments generally made to northern undertakers.”<sup>163</sup> As early as 1633 these estates were valued at £10,000 per annum.<sup>164</sup> Chichester was the ancestor of Marquis of Donegal, who would have £300,000 per annum for his Belfast estate alone, if another of his ancestors had not surrendered it to others under long leases.<sup>165</sup>

The plantation of Ulster culminated the first period, with a new means discovered for confiscation: *defective titles*. This is effective under James and Charles until Cromwell renews the invasion. See extracts from Carte, 2a, b.<sup>166</sup>

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., p. 266.

<sup>162</sup> *Life of Ormonde*, Vol. I, p. 177.

<sup>163</sup> Leland, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 438.

<sup>164</sup> *Strafford’s State Letters*, Vol. II, p. 294.

<sup>165</sup> Murphy, *Op. cit.*, p. 265.

<sup>166</sup> Engels is referring to the following passage in his excerpts from the first volume of Carte’s book (Engels’s own remark is italicized):

“*Plantation in Leinster*. Around the year 1608, the king’s title had been found to ‘all the lands between the river of Arekloe and that of Slane in the County of Wexford, and the former possessors thereof had to make surrenders of their lands into his hands.’ They amounted in all to 66,000 acres, 16,500 of which lying near the sea, the King determined to dispose of to an English colony, which was to be *settled there*, and to regrant the rest, in certain proportions, to the old proprietors under the like regulations and covenants as had been imposed on and submitted to by the planters of Ulster.” (p. 22). After that came the turn of Longford and Leytrim, and also of the lands belonging to O’Carrols, O’Molloys, Mac-Coughlans, the Foxes, O’Doynes, Mac Geoghegans, and O’Mclaghlin in the Counties of the King, Queen and *Westmeath*. These regions became wild again and Irelandized; they caused a lot of trouble to [the English]—they were now safe receptacles of thieves and robbers. In 1614 it was decided ‘to take a view of the counties and to enquire into the title which the Crown had to them or any part thereof,’ that is, *to take away these lands and to appropriate their incomes*. All this was done by a special commission.... ‘It was

Another effective pretext for confiscation was that old Crown rents, long forgotten by Crown and landowners, were still due from many estates. These were now pulled out and, wherever unpaid, the estate was forfeited. No receipts existed, and that was enough.<sup>167</sup>

Concerning the attempt to confiscate Connaught (see “Chronology,” and O’Conor, *The History of the Irish Catholics*<sup>168</sup>), recall James’s dirty trick [*schöne Schweinerei*]:

When the people of Connaught surrendered their titles to a specially appointed Royal Commission in 1616 and had these reconveyed by new patents, they paying £3,000 for their enrollment in Chancery, the titles were not registered. A new commission was named *on this pretext* in 1623 to declare them null and void by reason of deliberate default, an oversight that depended not on the landowners but the government.<sup>169</sup> In the meantime, James died.

*A Court of Wards* for Ireland was established in 1614. Carte avers in *The Life of Ormonde*,<sup>170</sup> that no lawful basis existed for it as in England, being meant to bring up Catholic heirs in the Protestant religion and

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an age of adventurers and projectors; the *general taste* of the world ran in favor of new *discoveries and* plantings of countries; and such as were not hardy enough to *venture into* the remote parts of the earth, fancied they might make a fortune *nearer home* by settling and planting in Ireland. The *improvement* of the King’s revenues was the cover made use of by such projectors to obtain Commissions of enquiry into *defective titles*, and grants of concealed lands and rents belonging to the Crown, the great benefit of which was generally to accrue to the projector or discoverer, whilst the King was contented with an inconsiderable proportion of the concealment, or a small advance of the reserved rent.”

<sup>167</sup> Murphy, *Op. cit.*, p. 269.

<sup>168</sup> Engels is referring to the passage in his excerpts from M. O’Conor’s *The History of the Irish Catholics*, already referred to in his “Chronology of Ireland.” In addition to the quotation given in that note, the *relevant passage* contains data on confiscations made in 1614 in County Longford, neighboring on Connaught Province. These confiscations victimized the Irish aristocratic family of the O’Ferells and 25 clans, who lost their property which was *parceled out* to English colonists; the other clans of the county *were banished* to mountainous and unfertile lands. Of the attempts to confiscate land in one of the counties of Connaught Province itself (Leitrim) the following is said: “In Leitrim immense possessions of Bryan na Murtha O’Rourke had been granted to his son Teige by patent in the first year of King James’ reign *by the King himself*, and to the male heirs of his body. Teige died leaving several sons, their titles were clear, no plots or conspiracies could be urged to invalidate them. Then the commission declared them *all to be bastards* and confiscated their lands.”

<sup>169</sup> See Carte, *Life of Ormonde*, Vol. I, pp. 47 and 48.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 517.

English customs. Its president was the good Sir William Parsons, who had helped plan it.

### 17<sup>th</sup> Century. Charles I

That the Irish insisted in the graces that “three score years’ possession (of an estate) should conclude His Majesty’s title” was understandable, for this was the *law of England*,<sup>171</sup> enacted by the Act of the 21<sup>st</sup> year of James’s reign.<sup>172</sup> *Yet English law applied to the Irish only in so far as it suited the English government.*

Strafford wrote the English Secretary of State on December 16, 1634, that in his Irish Parliament

the Protestants are the majority, and this may be of great use to confirm and settle His Majesty’s title to the Plantations of Connaught and Ormond; for this you may be sure of, *all the Protestants are for Plantations, all the others are against them*; so as these, being the great number, you can want no help they can give you therein. Nay, in case there be no title to be made good to these countries in the Crown, yet should not I despair, forth of reasons of state, and for the strength and security of the Kingdom, to have them passed to the King by an immediate Act of Parliament.<sup>173</sup>

Outside Connaught, too, money was extorted continuously on pain of inquiry into titles. The O’Byrnes of Wicklow, for example, twice paid £15,000 to preserve a portion of their estates, while the City of London paid £70,000 to prevent confiscation of its plantations in Colrain and Derry for alleged breach of covenant.<sup>174</sup>

The Court of High Commission<sup>175</sup> [the Irish Star Chamber] established by Wentworth in the year 1633, after the English model, “with

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<sup>171</sup> *Op. cit.* (“Strafford’s State Letters”), Vol. I, p. 279.

<sup>172</sup> Murphy, *Op. cit.*, p. 274.

<sup>173</sup> *Op. cit.* (“Strafford’s State Letters”), Vol. I, p. 353.

<sup>174</sup> Leland, *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 40.

<sup>175</sup> *The Court of High Commission* was founded in England in 1559 by Elizabeth I to deal with cases of breaches of royal edicts and Acts of Parliament, instrumental in furthering the Reformation, and with *offences against* the Church of England. It



the same formality and the same tremendous powers,”<sup>176</sup> and this naturally without Parliament’s consent in order “to bring the people here to a conformity in religion, and, in the way to that, raise, perhaps, a good revenue to the Crown” (January 31, 1633).<sup>177</sup> The Court saw to it that all newly-appointed officials, doctors, barristers, etc., and all those who “sued out livery of their estates” should take the Oath of Supremacy, which, as McAuley observed, was a religious inquisition where that of the Star Chamber was political..

Then the Castle Chamber, called Star Chamber<sup>178</sup> as in England, which, Lord Deputy Chichester said, was “the proper court to punish jurors who will not find a verdict for the King upon good evidence” (oft-quoted passage from *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernicae*, Vol. I, p. 262).<sup>179</sup>

It is said therein [(in the Remonstrance of Trim) the agents complain] that the penalties there employed consisted in “imprisonment and loss of ears” and “fines, pillory, boring through the tongue, marking on the forehead with an iron and other infamous punishments,” as this is also indicated in the indictment of Strafford.<sup>180</sup>

When Strafford went to Connaught in 1635, he took with him 4,000 horse “as good lookers on, while the plantations were settling.”<sup>181</sup> In Galway he imposed fines not only on the jury that would not find a verdict for the

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was directed not only against the Catholics but also against the radical Protestant sects—the Puritans.

<sup>176</sup> Leland, *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 29.

<sup>177</sup> *Op. cit.* (“Strafford’s State Letters”), Vol. I, p. 188.

<sup>178</sup> *The Star Chamber* was founded in England in 1487 by Henry VII as a special court for judging local barons. Under Elizabeth I it became one of the *supreme judicial* bodies investigating political crimes, a weapon in the ruthless struggle conducted against the opponents of feudal reaction and absolutism. Like the Court of High Commission, it was abolished by the Long Parliament in 1641.

In Ireland, the introduction by Strafford of similar institutions (one of them was called the Castle Chamber *because it* convened in Dublin Castle, the residence of the Lord Deputy) mainly served the purpose of expropriation and colonization.

<sup>179</sup> *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernicae: [A Select Collection of State Papers; Consisting of Royal Instructions, Directions, Dispatches, and Letters. To which are added, some Historical Tracts. The Whole illustrating and opening the Political Systems of the Chief Governors and Government of Ireland during the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth, James the First, and Charles the First]*, Dublin, 1772.

<sup>180</sup> Murphy, *Op. cit.*, p. 279.

<sup>181</sup> *Op. cit.* (“Strafford, State Letters”), Vol. I, p. 454.

King, but also the sheriff “for returning so insufficient, indeed, we conceive, so packed a jury, in £1,000 to His Majesty” (August 1635).<sup>182</sup>

As, by the 28<sup>th</sup> Act of Henry VIII, c. 5, 6 and 13, all recourse to the Pope’s jurisdiction was prohibited and all Irish came under the Protestant ecclesiastical courts, whose verdict could be appealed against to the King alone. They took cognizance to all marriages, baptisms, burials, wills, and administrations, and punished recusants for not going to church under the 2<sup>nd</sup> Act of Elizabeth, c. 2, and also collected the tithes. Bishop Burnet (*Life of Dr. Bedel, Bishop of Kilmore*, p. 89)<sup>183</sup> said these courts were “often managed by a chancellor that bought his place and so thought he had a right to all the profits he could make out of it. And their whole business seemed to be nothing but oppression and extortion.... The officers of the court thought they had a sort of right to oppress the natives and that all was well got that was wrung from them... they made it their business to draw people into trouble by vexatious suits, and to hold them so long in that, for 3d. worth of the tithe of turf, they would be put to a £5 charge.” In the graces, which never materialized, Protestant clergymen were to have been forbidden “to keep private prisons of their own” for spiritual offences, so that offenders should be committed to the King’s public gaols.<sup>184</sup>

See Spencer, excerpt 51 about the Protestant clergy.<sup>185</sup>

Borlase and Parsons encouraged the rebellion everywhere. According to Lord Castlehaven’s Memoirs, they said: “The more rebels, the more

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., Vol. I, p. 451.

<sup>183</sup> Henry Joseph Monck Mason, *The Life of William Bedell, D.D., Lord Bishop of Kilmore*, 1843, p. 89.

<sup>184</sup> Murphy, *Op. cit.*, p. 281.

<sup>185</sup> Ed. Spencer, “A View of the State of Ireland,” in *Ancient Irish Histories*, Dublin, 1809. In Engels’s excerpts from Spencer’s book the following passage refers to the Irish clergy:

“ye may find there... gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshly incontinency, careless sloth, and generally all disordered life in the common clergyman. And besides... they do go and live like laymen, follow all kinds of husbandry and other worldly affairs as other Irishmen do. They neither read Scriptures, nor preach to the *people*, nor administer the Communion, but baptism they do,... they take the tithes and offerings, and gather what fruit else they may of their livings,... and some of them... pay, as due, tributes and shares of their livings to their bishops...” Engels added the following remark: “*All the above, apparently, refers to the Protestant priests of that time.*”

confiscations.” Leland,<sup>186</sup> too, observes that, as before, “extensive forfeitures were the favorite object of the chief governors and their friends.”

By that time, the Irish Royalist army was to have been 50,000 strong through reinforcement from England and Scotland.

See Carte, *The Life of Ormonde*,<sup>187</sup> for the instructions to the army.<sup>188</sup>

The motto of the Kilkenny Confederates was: *Pro deo, pro rege, et patria Hibernia unanimes* (for God, King and Ireland unanimous); so that is where the Prussians lifted it from!<sup>189</sup>

## 17<sup>th</sup> Century. Cromwell

Drogheda Massacre.<sup>190</sup> After a successful assault, “quarter had been promised to all who should lay down their arms—a promise observed until all resistance was at an end. But at the moment that the city was completely reduced, Cromwell... issued his fatal orders that the garrison should be put to the sword. His soldiers, many of them with reluctance, butchered the prisoners. The governor and all his gallant officers, betrayed to slaughter by the cowardice of some of their troops, were massacred without mercy. For five days this hideous execution was continued with every circumstance of horror.”<sup>191</sup> A number of Catholic ecclesiastics found within the walls were bayoneted. “Thirty persons only remained unslaughtered... and these were instantly transported as slaves to Barbadoes.”<sup>192</sup>

<sup>186</sup> Leland, *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 166.

<sup>187</sup> Carte, *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 61.

<sup>188</sup> A reference to the order given in 1641 by Lords justices Parsons and Borlase to the English Commander, which contained instructions on the treatment of Irish rebels. The order instructed “to wound, kill, slay, and destroy all the rebels and their adherents and relievers, and burn, spoil, waste, consume, destroy, and demolish all the places, towns, and houses where the rebels were or have been relieved or harbored, and all the corn and hay there, and *to kill and destroy all the men there inhabiting able to bear arms.*”

<sup>189</sup> Borlase, *Irish Rebellion*, p. 128.

<sup>190</sup> Drogheda, an ancient fortress in Eastern Ireland, was besieged on September 3, 1649, by Oliver Cromwell and taken by storm on September 12. In accordance with the order of the Commander-in-Chief to show no mercy to anyone caught with arms, the three-thousand-strong Irish garrison was annihilated, and many peaceful citizens were killed. Ruthless bloodshed by Cromwell’s troops also attended the capture of Wexford on October 11, 1649.

<sup>191</sup> Leland, *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 361.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 362.

Petty<sup>193</sup> estimates that 112,000 British and 504,000 Irish inhabitants of Ireland died in the war of 1641–52. In 1653, soldiers' debentures<sup>194</sup> were sold at 4/- to 5/- in the pound, so that with 20/- being the price [nominal] of two acres of land, and there being 8 million acres of good land in Ireland, all Ireland was purchasable for £1 million, though in 1641 it was worth £8 million. Petty estimates the value of livestock in Ireland in 1641 at £4 million, and in 1652 at less than £500,000, so that Dublin had to get meat from Wales. Corn was 12/- per barrel in 1641 and 50/- in 1652. Houses in Ireland worth £2 million in 1641, were worth less than £500,000 in 1653.

Leland, too, admits in Vol. III, p. 171, that "the favorite idea of both the Irish Government and the English Parliament (from 1642 onwards) was the utter extermination of all the Catholics of Ireland."

See Lingard (*History of England*, Vol. VII, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., p. 102, Note) on the *transportation of Irish* as slaves to the West Indies (figures vary from 6,000 to 100,000). Of the 1,000 boys and 1,000 girls to be sent to Jamaica, the commissioners wrote in 1655: "Although we must use force in taking them up, yet it is so *much for their own good and likely* to be of such great advantage to the public, that you may have such number of them as you shall think fit."<sup>195</sup>

"By the first Act of Settlement, the forfeiture of two-thirds of their estates had been pronounced against those who had borne arms against the Parliament and one-third of their estates against those who had resided in Ireland any time from October 1, 1649, to March 1, 1650, and had not manifested their constant good affection to Parliament. The Parliament had power to give them, in lieu thereof, other lands to the proportion of value thereof." The second Act concerned resettlement (see Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, Book of Excerpts VII, 1a).<sup>196</sup>

<sup>193</sup> Petty, *Political Anatomy of Ireland*, Dublin edition of Petty's tracts, 1769, pp. 312-15.

<sup>194</sup> Titles to plots of Irish land of definite size. They were given to soldiers of the Parliamentary army in lieu of wages. In many cases officers and speculators bought them from the soldiers for a song.

<sup>195</sup> John Thurloe, *Thurloe's Papers*, Vol. IV, p. 23.

<sup>196</sup> A reference to the *Act of Settlement* adopted by the Long Parliament on August 12, 1652, during the English bourgeois revolution, following the suppression of the 1641–52 national liberation uprising in Ireland. The Act legalized the reign of terror and violence established by the English colonialists in Ireland and sanctioned the wholesale plunder of Irish lands in favor of the English bourgeoisie and the "new"

Distribution of land to soldiers was limited to those who had served under Cromwell from 1649.<sup>197</sup>

See Carte, *Life of Ormonde*,<sup>198</sup> about some cases of land surveying, especially by adventurers.<sup>199</sup>

According to Leland,<sup>200</sup> the Commissioners in Dublin and Athlone kept considerable domains for themselves.

A plantation acre is equal to 1 acre, 2 roods, 19 perches, 5 yards, and 2 1/4 feet imperial statute measure, or 121 plantation acres may be taken as equal to 196 statute acres.<sup>201</sup>

### 17<sup>th</sup> Century. Charles II

As a result of confiscations under Cromwell and Charles II, the 7,708,238 statute acres confiscated by Cromwell were distributed *finally, by 1675*, as follows:

	Statute acres
1) <i>To Englishmen</i>	
Adventurers	787,326
Soldiers	2,385,915

bourgeoisified nobility. This Act declared the majority of Ireland's indigenous population "guilty of revolt." Even those Irishmen who had not been directly involved in the uprising but had failed to show the proper "loyalty" to the English Crown were considered "guilty." Those declared "guilty" were classified into categories, depending on the extent of their involvement in the uprising, and subjected to brutal reprisals: execution, deportation, confiscation of property. On September 26, 1653, the Act of Settlement was supplemented by the Act of Satisfaction which prescribed the forcible resettlement of Irish people whose property had been confiscated to the barren province of Connaught and to Clare County and defined the procedure for allotting the confiscated land to the creditors of Parliament, the officers and men of the English army. Both Acts consolidated and extended the economic foundations of English landlordism in Ireland.

<sup>197</sup> Murphy, *Op. cit.*, p. 302.

<sup>198</sup> Carte, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 301.

<sup>199</sup> The name given in the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries to merchants and bankers, including speculators from the City of London. During the English bourgeois revolution in the 17<sup>th</sup> century "adventurers" loaned Parliament considerable sums of money for the war against the Royalists on the security of lands in Ireland. They engaged in the looting of these lands and also in the buying up of soldiers' debentures. Among the "adventurers" were many statesmen, members of the gentry and civil servants.

<sup>200</sup> Leland, *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 410.

<sup>201</sup> Murphy, *Op. cit.*, p. 302.

"Forty-Nine" Officers	450,380
Duke of York	169,431
Provisors	477,873
Duke of Ormond and Colonel Butler	257,516
Bishops' Augmentations	31,596
Total	4,560,037
2) <i>To Irishmen</i>	
Decrees of Innocence	1,176,520
Provisors	491,001
King's Letters of Restitution	46,398
Nominees in Possession	68,360
Transplantation	541,530
Total	2,323,809
Remaining still unappropriated in 1675, being part of towns or land possessed by English or Irish without title or doubtful	824,392
Total in statute acres	7,708,238

On "Forty-Nine" officers see O'Connor and Notes.<sup>202</sup> The Duke of York received a grant of all the lands held by the regicides who had been attainted. Provisors were persons in whose favor provisoes had been made by the Acts of Settlement and of Explanation.<sup>203</sup> Nominees were

<sup>202</sup> Engels is referring to his notes from Matthew O'Connor's book, *The History of the Irish Catholics*, supplemented by excerpts from other sources. In this particular case the reference is to the passage dealing with the declaration made in 1660 by the government of Charles II at the outset of the Stuart Restoration. According to that declaration the "adventurers," the officers and men of the Parliamentary army retained their possessions in Ireland, while officers of Ormonde's Royalist army, who had served under him up to 1649 (hence the term "forty-nine officers"; in that year the majority of the defeated English Royalists left Ireland and the resistance to Cromwell's troops was continued mainly by the Irish rebels), received compensation out of the same fund of confiscated Irish lands. Indigenous Irishmen, who had fought under the King's banner during the Civil War and been deprived of their possessions because of it, received practically no compensation.

<sup>203</sup> The *Act of Settlement* was passed by the restored Stuart monarchy in 1662. The Act instituted a complicated procedure of enquiry into complaints and petitions for the return of lands to the Irish Catholics who had fought in civil war on the Royalist

the Catholics named by the King restored to their mansions and 2,000 acres contiguous.

At that time the profitable lands of Ireland were estimated at two-thirds of all land, or 12,500,000 statute acres. Of the rest, considerable tracts were occupied without title by soldiers and adventurers. In 1675, the *twelve and a half million acres of arable* were distributed as follows:

Granted to English Protestants of profitable land forfeited under the Commonwealth	4,560,037
Previously possessed by English Protestant Colonists and by the Church	3,900,000
Granted to the Irish	2,323,809
Previously possessed by "good affectioned" Irish	600,000
Unappropriated as above	824,391
Statute acres	12,208,237

This table was compiled by Murphy;

the figure of 3,900,000 acres was taken from the Account published by the Cromwellian proprietors and the rest on the basis of the *Grace Manuscript quoted by Lingard* and the Report of the Commissioners to the English House of Commons, December 15, 1699. It accords with Petty (*Political Anatomy*), who wrote: "Of the whole 7,500,000 plantation acres of good land (in Ireland) the English and Protestants and the Church have this Christmas (1672) 5,140,000 (= 8,352,500 statute acres and the Irish have near half as much."<sup>204</sup>

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side. The satisfaction of complaints was encumbered by a whole system of casuistic objections and provisos. As a result, only a small part was considered and a still smaller satisfied (those who in fact received compensation for their forfeited lands were designated in the documents as "provisors"). The Act of Explanation passed in 1665 under pressure from the Protestant colonists cancelled all complaints not hitherto considered. It was called the "Black Act" in Ireland.

<sup>204</sup> Murphy, pp. 314 and 315.

**17<sup>th</sup> Century. William III**<sup>205</sup>

By the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, 2,323,809 statute acres were granted to the Irish, they having 600,000 previously in their possession.

	<b>statute acres</b>
Totalling	2,923,809
Of these lands, 1,060,792 plantation acres were escheated under William worth £211,623 6s. 3d. per annum (Report, of the Commissioners of the House of Commons. 1699)	1,723,787
The rest	1,200,022
or as Murphy calculated (he probably erred when subtracting)	1,240,022
In addition, restituted by special favor of the King on pardoning (65 persons)	125,000
The Court of Claims restored (792 persons)	388,500
Total	513,500
Making the total possessed by the Irish	1,753,522

Compiled by Murphy on the basis of the Report of the Commissioners of the House of Commons (English) in December 1699.

<sup>205</sup> Given below are data on the confiscations of Irish lands carried out by William III after the suppression of the 1689–91 Irish uprising, in violation of the surrender terms signed with the insurgents at Limerick.



## Ancient Irish Literature<sup>206</sup>

*Engels, 1870*

Some Irish folk-music is very ancient, some has arisen in the last three to four hundred years, and some only in the last century. Especially much was written at the time by one of the last Irish bards, Carolan. In the past these bards or harpists—poets, composers and singers in one person—were quite numerous. Every Irish chieftain had his own bard in his castle. Many travelled the country as wandering singers, persecuted by the English, who correctly saw in them the main bearers of the national, anti-English tradition. Ancient songs about the victories of Finn Mac Cumhal (whom Macpherson stole from the Irish and turned into a Scot under the name Fingal in his *Ossian*, which is entirely based on Irish songs), about the magnificence of the ancient royal palace of Tara, the heroic deeds of King Brian Borumha, and later songs about the battles of Irish chieftains against the Sassenach (Englishmen) were all preserved in the living memory of the nation by the bards. And they also celebrated the exploits of contemporary Irish chieftains in their fight for independence. When in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, however, the Irish people were completely crushed by Elizabeth, James I, Oliver Cromwell and William of Orange, their landholdings robbed and given to English invaders, the Irish people outlawed in their own land and transformed into a nation of outcasts, the wandering singers were hounded in the same way as the Catholic priests, and had gradually died out by the beginning of this century. Their names are lost, of their poetry only fragments have survived, the most beautiful legacy they have left their enslaved, but unconquered people is their music.

Irish poems are all written in four-line verses. For this reason, a four-line rhythm always lies at the basis of most, especially the ancient, Irish melodies, though sometimes it may be a little hidden, and frequently a refrain or conclusion on the harp follows it. Some of these ancient songs are even now, when in the largest part of Ireland Irish is understood only by the old people or even not at all, known only by their Irish names or first words. But the greater, more recent part has English names or texts.

<sup>206</sup> Marx & Engels, *Op. cit.*, pp. 383-384.

The melancholy dominating most of these songs is still the expression of the national disposition today. How could it be otherwise amongst a people whose conquerors are always inventing new, up-to-date methods of oppression? The latest method, which was introduced forty years ago and pushed to the extreme in the last twenty years, consists in the mass eviction of Irishmen from their homes and farms—which, in Ireland, is the same as eviction from the country. Since 1841 the population has dropped by two and a half million, and over three million Irishmen have emigrated. All this has been done for the profit of the big landowners of English descent, and on their instigation. If it goes on like this for another thirty years, there will be Irishmen only in America.

**Anti-Dühring**<sup>207</sup>*Engels, 1878 (Excerpt)*

[...] If we confine ourselves to the cultivation of landed property in extensive tracts, what it boils down to is whose landed property it is. We find in the early history of all civilized peoples, not the “large landed proprietors” whom Herr Dühring interpolates here with the usual sleight of hand he calls “natural dialectics,” but tribal and village communities with common ownership of the land. From India to Ireland the cultivation of landed property in extensive tracts was originally carried on by such tribal and village communities; sometimes the arable land was tilled jointly for account of the community, and sometimes in separate plots temporarily allotted to families by the community, while woodland and pasture-land continued to be used in common. It is once again characteristic of Herr Dühring’s “most exhaustive specialized studies in the domain of politics and law” that he knows nothing of all this; that all his works breathe total ignorance of Maurer’s epoch-making writings on the primitive constitution of the German Mark,<sup>208</sup> the basis of all German law, and of the ever-increasing mass of literature, chiefly stimulated by Maurer, which is devoted to proving the primitive common ownership of the land among all the civilized peoples of Europe and Asia, and to showing the various forms of its existence and dissolution.

<sup>207</sup> Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Foreign Languages Press, Paris, 2021, pp. 190-191.

<sup>208</sup> The works of G. Maurer (in 12 volumes) deal with the economic and social role of the Mark, the ancient German village community, and with the organization of the agrarian and urban communities of medieval Germany.

## Owenite Communism<sup>209</sup>

*Engels, 1878*

Owenite communism arose in this purely business way, as the outcome, so to speak, of commercial calculation. Throughout, it maintained this practical character. Thus, in 1823, Owen proposed the relief of the distress in Ireland by communist colonies, and drew up complete estimates of initial costs, yearly expenditure, and probable revenue.<sup>210</sup> Similarly, in his definitive plan for the future, the technical working out of details is managed with such practical knowledge [—plan, elevation and bird’s-eye view all included—] that, once the Owenite method of social reform is accepted, there is little to be said against the actual arrangement of details even from a specialist’s point of view.

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<sup>209</sup> Part of *Anti-Dühring*, *Op. cit.*, pp. 290-290.

<sup>210</sup> Robert Owen, “Report of the Proceedings at the Several Public Meetings, Held in Dublin... on the 18<sup>th</sup> March, 12<sup>th</sup> April, 19<sup>th</sup> April and 3<sup>rd</sup> May,” Dublin, 1823.

## From the Preparatory Notes to *Anti-Dühring*<sup>211</sup>

*Engels, 1878*

When the Indo-Germanic people immigrated into Europe they ousted the original inhabitants by *force* and tilled the land which they held as communal property. The latter can be shown to have existed historically among Celts, Germans and Slavs, and it is still in existence—even in the form of direct bondage (Russia) or indirect bondage (Ireland) among Slavs, Germans and even Celts [*rundale*]. After the Lapps and Basques were driven out by force was no longer used. Equality, or alternatively, voluntarily conceded preferential treatment obtained within the community. Where communal ownership gave rise to private ownership of land by individual peasants, the division among the members of the community took place purely spontaneously up to the sixteenth century; it was mostly a very gradual process and remnants of communal property generally continued to exist. There was no question of using *force*, force was employed only against the remnants of communal property (in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in Germany chiefly in the nineteenth century). Ireland is a special case.

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<sup>211</sup> Marx & Engels, *Op. cit.*, p. 432.

## From Synopsis of J. B. Green's *History of the English People*<sup>212</sup>

*Marx, 1880s (Excerpt)*

1169–1171: *Leinster* (Ireland) in the hands of English “adventurers”; *Richard of Clare, Earl of Pembroke*, does homage for Leinster as an English lordship to *Henry II, who*, accompanied by Pembroke, visited his “new dominion which the adventurers had won.” [Fourteen years earlier, Pope *Adrian IV* had made him a present of Ireland. He (Henry) wanted to use the *trade in English slaves (with Bristol)* as a pretext for invasion, but nothing came of it at the time, because of the resistance of the English baronage.]...

After *Henry II* left Ireland, nothing indeed but the feuds and weakness of the Irish tribes enabled the adventurers to hold the *districts of Drogheda, Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, and Cork*, which now formed the so-called *English Pale*. For their part, the adventurers were compelled to preserve “*their fealty to the English Crown.*” John (Lackland) came with an army, stormed its strongholds and drove its leading barons into exile, divided the Pale into counties, ordered the observance of the English law; but the departure of John and his army to England was a signal for a return of disorder within *the Pale*.... Within the Pale itself, the English settlers were harried and oppressed by their own baronage as much as by the Irish marauders.... After their victory at *Bannockburn*, *Robert Bruce* sent a Scotch force to Ireland with his brother [Edward Bruce] at its head; general rising of Ireland welcomed him; but the danger united *pro nunc* [for a time] the *barons of the Pale*, and in 1316 *they emerged victors on the bloody field of Athenree* by the slaughter of 11,000 of their foes and almost complete annihilation of *the sept of the O’Connors*. Thereafter, the *barons of the Pale* sank more and more into Irish chieftains; the *Fitz-Maurices*, who became *Earls of Desmond* and whose vast territory in Munster was erected into a County Palatine, adopted the dress and manners of the natives around them.

*Kilkenny Statute of Edward III: this Statute forbade the adoption of the Irish language or name or dress by any man of English blood; it enforced*

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<sup>212</sup> Ibid., pp. 437–439.

within the Pale the exclusive use of the English law, and made the *use of the native or Brehon law*, which was gaining ground, *an act of treason*; it made treasonable any marriage of the Englishry with persons of *Irish race*, or any adoption of English children by Irish foster-fathers.... However, this did not prevent the fusion of the two races, with the lords of the Pale almost completely denying obedience to English government.... In 1394 Richard II landed with an army at Waterford and received the general submission of the native chiefs. But the lords of the Pale held aloof: no sooner Richard quitted the island, than the Irish in turn refused to carry out their promise of quitting Leinster, and engaged in a fresh contest with the *Earl of March*, whom the King had proclaimed as his heir and left behind him as his lieutenant in Ireland. In the summer of 1398 March was beaten and slain in battle; now Richard II was eager to avenge his cousin's death, and complete the work he had begun by a first invasion (with him as *hostage* was *Henry of Lancaster's son*, later Henry V). The Percies (*Earl of Northumberland and his son Henry Percy or Hotspur*) refused to serve in his army. He banished the Percies, who withdrew into Scotland.

*May 1399: Richard II* [went] to Ireland and left his uncle, *Duke of York*, as regent in his stead.

*June 1399: Henry of Lancaster* entered the Humber and landed at Ravenspur.

*In the beginning of August 1399* Henry of Lancaster master of the realm when Richard II at last sailed from Waterford and landed at *Milford Haven*. By the treacherous pledges of the Earl of Northumberland the ass Richard was lured to *Flint* for a meeting with Henry of Lancaster, who took him to London as prisoner, where he was coffered in the Tower.

# The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State<sup>213</sup>

*Engels, 1884 (Excerpt)*

## The Gens Among the Celts and Germans

The oldest Celtic laws which have been preserved show the gens still fully alive. In Ireland it still lives today, at least instinctively, in the consciousness of the people, after the English forcibly broke it up. In Scotland it was still in full strength in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and here again it succumbed only to the weapons, laws and courts of the English.

The old Welsh laws which were recorded in writing several centuries before the English Conquest,<sup>214</sup> at the latest in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, still show common tillage of the soil by whole villages, although only as an exceptional relic of a once general custom. Each family had five acres for its own cultivation; a piece of land was cultivated collectively as well and the yield shared. In view of the analogy of Ireland and Scotland, it cannot be doubted that these village communities represent gentes or subdivisions of gentes, even if further examination of the Welsh laws, which I cannot undertake for lack of time (my notes date from 1869),<sup>215</sup> should not provide direct proof. But what is directly proved by the Welsh sources and by the Irish is that among the Celts in the 11<sup>th</sup> century pairing marriage had not by any means been displaced by monogamy. In Wales a marriage only became indissoluble, or rather it only ceased to be terminable by notification, after seven years had elapsed. If the time was short of seven years by only three nights, husband and wife could separate. They then shared out their property between them; the woman divided and the man chose. The furniture was divided according to fixed and very funny rules.

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<sup>213</sup> Frederick Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Foreign Languages Press, Paris, 2020, pp. 117-120.

<sup>214</sup> The English conquest of Wales was completed in 1283, but Wales still preserved its autonomy. It was completely incorporated with England in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>215</sup> During 1869-70, Engels was engaged on a large work on the history of Ireland. The project remained unfinished. A fragment is published in Marx-Engels, *Werke*, Vol. 16, pp. 459-98 (Dietz Verlag, Berlin). In connection with his study of the Celts, Engels also studied ancient Welsh law.



If it was the man who dissolved the marriage, he had to give the woman back her dowry and some other things; if it was the woman, she received less. Of the children the man took two and the woman one, the middle child. If after the separation the woman took another husband and the first husband came to fetch her back again, she had to follow him even if she had already *one* foot in her new marriage bed. If, on the other hand, the man and woman had been together for seven years, they were husband and wife, even without any previous formal marriage. Chastity of girls before marriage was not at all strictly observed, nor was it demanded; the provisions in this respect are of an extremely frivolous character and not at all in keeping with bourgeois morality. If a woman committed adultery, the husband had the right to beat her (this was one of the three occasions when he was allowed to do so; otherwise he was punished), but not then to demand any other satisfaction, since “for the one offence there shall be either atonement or vengeance, but not both.”<sup>216</sup> The grounds on which the wife could demand divorce without losing any of her claims in the subsequent settlement were very comprehensive; if the husband had bad breath, it was enough. The money which had to be paid to the chief of the tribe or king to buy off the right of the first night (*gobr merch*, whence the medieval name, *marcheta*; French *marquette*) plays a large part in the code of laws. The women had the right to vote in the assemblies of the people. When we add that the evidence shows similar conditions in Ireland; that there, also, temporary marriages were quite usual and that at the separation very favorable and exactly defined conditions were assured to the woman, including even compensation for her domestic services; that in Ireland there was a “first wife” as well as other wives, and that in the division of an inheritance no distinction was made between children born in wedlock or outside it—we then have a picture of pairing marriage in comparison with which the form of marriage observed in North America appears strict. This, however, is not surprising in the 11th century among a people who even so late as Caesar’s time were still living in group marriage.

The existence of the Irish gens (*sept*; the tribe was called *clainne*, clan) is confirmed and described not only by the old legal codes, but also by the English jurists of the 17<sup>th</sup> century who were sent over to transform

<sup>216</sup> See *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, 1841, Vol. I, p. 93.

the clan lands into domains of the English crown. Until then, the land had been the common property of the clan or gens in so far as the chiefs had not already converted it into their private domains. When a member of the gens died and a household consequently came to an end, the gentile chief (the English jurists called him *caput cognationis*) made a new division of the whole territory among the remaining households. This must have been done, broadly speaking, according to the rules in force in Germany. Even today we still find some village fields held in so-called rundales, which were very numerous 40 or 50 years ago. The peasants of a rundale, now individual tenants on the soil that had been the common property of the gens till it was seized by the English conquerors, pay rent for their respective piece of land but put all their shares in arable and meadowland together, which they then divide according to position and quality into parcels, or *Gewanne*, as they are called on the Moselle, each receiving a share in each *Gewann*; moorland and pasture land are used in common. Only 50 years ago new divisions were still made from time to time, sometimes annually. The field-map of such a rundale village looks exactly like that of a German *Gehöferschaft* [peasant community] on the Moselle or in the Hochwald. The gens also lives on in the "factions." The Irish peasants often divide themselves into parties based seemingly on perfectly absurd or meaningless distinctions; to the English they are quite incomprehensible and seem to have no other purpose than the beloved ceremony of beating each other up. They are artificial revivals, modern substitutes for the destroyed gentes, manifesting in their own peculiar manner the persistence of the inherited gentile instinct. In some districts, by the way, the members of the gens still live pretty much together on the old territory; in the thirties the great majority of the inhabitants of County Monaghan still had only four family names, that is, they were descended from four gentes or clans.<sup>217</sup>

<sup>217</sup> During a few days spent in Ireland, I realized afresh to what an extent the country people still live in the conceptions of the gentile period. [Engels toured Scotland and Ireland in September 1891.] The landed proprietor, whose tenant the peasant is, is still regarded by the latter as a kind of chief of the clan whose duty it is to manage the land in the interests of all, while the peasant pays tribute in the form of rent, but has a claim upon him for assistance in times of necessity. Similarly, everyone who is well-off is considered under an obligation to assist his poorer neighbors when they fall on hard times. Such help is not charity; it is what the poorer member of the clan is entitled to receive from the wealthier member or the chief. One can understand the

In Scotland the decay of the gentile order dates from the suppression of the rising of 1745.<sup>218</sup> The precise function of the Scottish clan in this order still awaits investigation; but that the clan is a gentile body is beyond doubt. In Walter Scott's novels the Highland clan lives before our eyes. It is, says Morgan:

an excellent type of the gens in organization and in spirit, and an extraordinary illustration of the power of the gentile life over its members.... We find in their feuds and blood revenge, in their localization by gentes, in their use of lands in common, in the fidelity of the clansman to his chief and of the members of the clan to each other, the usual and persistent features of gentile society.... Descent was in the male line, the children of the males remaining members of the clan, while the children of its female members belonged to the clans of their respective fathers.<sup>219</sup>

But that formerly mother right prevailed in Scotland is proved by the fact that, according to Bede, in the royal family of the Picts succession was in the female line.<sup>220</sup> Among the Scots, as among the Welsh, a relic even of the *punaluan* family persisted into the Middle Ages in the form

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complaints of the political economists and jurists about the impossibility of making the Irish peasant grasp the idea of modern bourgeois property; the Irishman simply cannot get it into his head that there can be property with rights but no duties. But one can also understand that when Irishmen with these naïve gentile conceptions suddenly find themselves in one of the big English or American towns among a population with completely different ideas of morality and justice, they easily become completely confused about both morality and justice and lose all their bearings, with the result that often masses of them become demoralized. [*Note to the fourth edition.*]

<sup>218</sup> In 1745–46 Scotland was the scene of an uprising of the Highland clans against the oppression and evictions being carried out in the interest of the English-Scottish landed aristocracy and bourgeoisie. The Highlanders fought to preserve the traditional social structure based on the clans. Exploiting the people's dissatisfaction for their own ends, a section of the Scottish Highland nobility who wanted to preserve the feudal-patriarchal clan system put forward the aim of restoring the already overthrown Stuart dynasty to the English throne. After the uprising was suppressed the clan system in the Highlands was destroyed and the survivals of clan landownership eliminated. More and more Scottish peasants were driven from their land; the clan courts of law were abolished and certain clan customs forbidden.

<sup>219</sup> Lewis H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, 1877, pp. 368–69.

<sup>220</sup> See Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* [*Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*], Bk. I, Ch. 1.

of the right of the first night, which the head of the clan or the king, as last representative of the former community of husbands, was entitled to exercise with every bride, unless it was bought from him.

## **Dialectics of Nature**<sup>221</sup>

*Engels, 1883 (Excerpt)*

We mentioned the potato and the resulting spread of scrofula. But what is scrofula compared to the effects which the reduction of the workers to a potato diet had on the living conditions of the popular masses in whole countries, or compared to the famine the potato blight brought to Ireland in 1847, which consigned to the grave a million Irishmen, nourished solely or almost exclusively on potatoes, and forced the emigration overseas of two million more?

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<sup>221</sup> Marx & Engels, *Op. cit.*, p. 430.

# III. POLITICAL ECONOMY

# Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy<sup>222</sup>

*Engels, 1844 (Excerpt)*

The struggle of capital against capital, of labor against labor, of land against land, drives production to a fever-pitch at which production turns all natural and rational relations upside-down. No capital can stand the competition of another if it is not brought to the highest pitch of activity. No piece of land can be profitably cultivated if it does not continuously increase its productivity. No worker can hold his own against his competitors if he does not devote all his energy to labor. No one at all who enters into the struggle of competition can weather it without the utmost exertion of his energy, without renouncing every truly human purpose. The consequence of this over-exertion on the one side is, inevitably, slackening on the other. When the fluctuation of competition is small, when demand and supply, consumption and production, are almost equal, a stage must be reached in the development of production where there is so much superfluous productive power that the great mass of the nation has nothing to live on, that the people starve from sheer abundance. For some considerable time, England has found herself in this crazy position, in this living absurdity. When production is subject to greater fluctuations, as it is bound to be in consequence of such a situation, then the alternation of boom and crisis, overproduction and slump, sets in. The economist has never been able to find an explanation for this mad situation. In order to explain it, he invented the population theory, which is just as senseless—indeed even more senseless than the contradiction of coexisting wealth and poverty. The economist *could not afford* to see the truth; he could not afford to admit that this contradiction is a simple consequence of competition; for in that case his entire system would have fallen to bits.

[...] According to the most able economists and statisticians,<sup>223</sup> “over-populated” Great Britain can be brought within ten years to produce a corn yield sufficient for a population six times its present size. Capital increases daily; labor power grows with population; and day by day science

<sup>222</sup> French-German Annals.

<sup>223</sup> Cf. Alison's *Principles of Population*, Vol. I, Chapters. 1 and 2.

increasingly makes the forces of nature subject to man. This immeasurable productive capacity, handled consciously and in the interest of all, would soon reduce to a minimum the labor falling to the share of mankind. Left to competition, it does the same, but within a context of antitheses. One part of the land is cultivated in the best possible manner whilst another part—in Great Britain and Ireland thirty million acres of good land—lies barren. One part of capital circulates with colossal speed; another lies dead in the chest. One part of the workers works fourteen or sixteen hours a day, whilst another part stands idle and inactive, and starves. Or the partition leaves this realm of simultaneity: today trade is good; demand is very considerable; everyone works; capital is turned over with miraculous speed; farming flourishes; the workers work themselves sick. Tomorrow stagnation sets in. The cultivation of the land is not worth the effort; entire stretches of land remain untilled; the flow of capital suddenly freezes; the workers have no employment, and the whole country labors under surplus wealth and surplus population.

The economist cannot afford to accept this exposition of the subject as correct; otherwise, as has been said, he would have to give up his whole system of competition. He would have to recognize the hollowness of his antithesis of production and consumption, of surplus population and surplus wealth. To bring fact and theory into conformity with each other—since this fact simply could not be denied—the population theory was invented.

Malthus, the originator of this doctrine, maintains that population is always pressing on the means of subsistence; that as soon as production increases, population increases in the same proportion; and that the inherent tendency of the population to multiply in excess of the available means of subsistence is the root of all misery and all vice. For, when there are too many people, they have to be disposed of in one way or another: either they must be killed by violence or they must starve. But when this has happened, there is once more a gap which other multipliers of the population immediately start to fill up once more: and so the old misery begins all over again. What is more, this is the case in all circumstances—not only in civilized but also in primitive conditions. In New Holland<sup>224</sup>, with a

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<sup>224</sup> The old name for Australia.—*Ed.*



population density of *one* per square mile, the savages suffer just as much from over-population as England. In short, if we want to be consistent, we must admit *that the earth was already over-populated when only one man existed*. The implications of this line of thought are that since it is precisely the poor who are the surplus, nothing should be done for them except to make their dying of starvation as easy as possible, and to convince them that it cannot be helped and that there is no other salvation for their whole class than keeping propagation down to the absolute minimum. Or if this proves impossible, then it is after all better to establish a state institution for the painless killing of the children of the poor, such as “Marcus” has suggested, whereby each working-class family would be allowed to have two and a half children, any excess being painlessly killed. Charity is to be considered a crime, since it supports the augmentation of the surplus population. Indeed, it will be very advantageous to declare poverty a crime and to turn poor-houses into prisons, as has already happened in England as a result of the new “liberal” Poor Law. Admittedly it is true that this theory ill conforms with the Bible’s doctrine of the perfection of God and of His creation; but “it is a poor refutation to enlist the Bible against facts.”

Am I to go on any longer elaborating this vile, infamous theory, this hideous blasphemy against nature and mankind? Am I to pursue its consequences any further? Here at last we have the immorality of the economist brought to its highest pitch. What are all the wars and horrors of the monopoly system compared with this theory! And it is just this theory which is the keystone of the liberal system of free trade, whose fall entails the downfall of the entire edifice. For if here competition is proved to be the cause of misery, poverty and crime, who then will still dare to speak up for it?

## A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy. Introduction<sup>225</sup>

*Marx, 1859 (Excerpt)*

The question as to the relation between that form of distribution that determines production and production itself, belongs obviously to the sphere of production. If it should be said that in this case at least, since production must proceed from a specific distribution of the means of production, distribution is to this extent antecedent to and a prerequisite of production, then the reply would be as follows. Production has indeed its conditions and prerequisites which are constituent elements of it. At the very outset these may have seemed to be naturally evolved. In the course of production, however, they are transformed from naturally evolved factors into historical ones, and although they may appear as natural pre-conditions for any one period, they are the historical result of another period. They are continuously changed by the process of production itself. For example, the employment of machinery led to changes in the distribution of both the means of production and the product. Modern large-scale landed property has been brought about not only by modern trade and modern industry, but also by the application of the latter to agriculture.

The above-mentioned questions can be ultimately resolved into this: what role do general historical conditions play in production and how is production related to the historical development as a whole? This question clearly belongs to the analysis and discussion of production.

In the trivial form, however, in which these questions have been raised above, they can be dealt with quite briefly. Conquests may lead to either of three results. The conquering nation may impose its own mode of production upon the conquered people (this was done, for example, by the English in Ireland during this century, and to some extent in India); or it may refrain from interfering in the old mode of production and be content with tribute (e.g., the Turks and Romans); or interaction may take place between the two, giving rise to a new system as a synthesis (this occurred

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<sup>225</sup> Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Charles H. Kerr, Chicago, 1904, pp. 287-290.

partly in the Germanic conquests). In any case it is the mode of production—whether that of the conquering nation or of the conquered or the new system brought about by a merging of the two—that determines the new mode of distribution employed. Although the latter appears to be a pre-condition of the new period of production, it is in its turn a result of production, a result not simply occasioned by the historical evolution of production in general, but by a specific historical form of production.

The Mongols, for example, who caused devastation in Russia, acted in accordance with their mode of production, cattle-breeding, for which large uninhabited tracts are a fundamental requirement. The Germanic barbarians, whose traditional mode of production was agriculture with the aid of serfs and who lived scattered over the countryside, could the more easily adapt the Roman provinces to their requirements because the concentration of landed property carried out there had already uprooted the older agricultural relations.

It is a long-established view that over certain epochs, people lived by plunder. But in order to be able to plunder, there must be something to be plundered, and this implies production. Moreover, the manner of plunder depends itself on the manner of production, e.g., a stock-jobbing nation cannot be robbed in the same way as a nation of cowherds.

The means of production may be robbed directly in the form of slaves. But in that case it is necessary that the structure of production in the country to which the slave is abducted admits of slave-labor, or (as in South America, etc.) a mode of production appropriate to slave-labor has to be evolved.

Laws may perpetuate a particular means of production, e.g., land, in certain families. These laws acquire economic significance only if large-scale landed property is in keeping with the social mode of production, as for instance in Britain. Agriculture was carried on in France on a small scale, despite the existence of large estates, which were therefore parceled out by the Revolution. But is it possible, e.g., by law, to perpetuate the division of land into small lots? Landed property tends to become concentrated again despite these laws. The influence exercised by laws on the preservation of existing conditions of distribution, and the effect they thereby exert on production has to be examined separately.

## The Process of Production of Capital<sup>226</sup>

*Marx, 1867 (Excerpt)*

### F. Ireland

In concluding this section, we must travel for a moment to Ireland. First, the main facts of the case.

The population of Ireland had, in 1841, reached 8,222,664; in 1851, it had dwindled to 6,623,985; in 1861, to 5,850,309; in 1866, to 5½ millions, nearly to its level in 1801. The diminution began with the famine year, 1846, so that Ireland, in less than twenty years, lost more than 5/16<sup>ths</sup> of its people.<sup>227</sup> Its total emigration from May 1851 to July 1865, numbered 1,591,487: the emigration during the years 1861–1865 was more than half-a-million. The number of inhabited houses fell, from 1851 to 1861, by 52,990. From 1851 to 1861, the number of holdings of 15 to 30 acres increased 61,000, that of holdings over 30 acres, 109,000, whilst the total number of all farms fell 120,000, a fall, therefore, solely due to the suppression of farms under 15 acres—i.e., to their centralization.

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<sup>226</sup> Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1963.

<sup>227</sup> Population of Ireland, 1801, 5,319,867 persons; 1811, 6,084,996; 1821, 6,869,544; 1831, 7,828,347; 1841, 8,222,664.

## Livestock

Year	Horses		Cattle			Sheep			Pigs		
	Total Number	Decrease	Total Number	Decrease	Increase	Total Number	Decrease	Increase	Total Number	Decrease	Increase
1860	619,811	—	3,606,374	—	—	3,542,080	—	—	1,271,072	—	—
1861	614,232	5,579	3,471,688	134,686	—	3,556,050	—	13,970	1,102,042	169,030	—
1862	602,894	11,338	3,254,890	216,798	—	3,456,132	99,918	—	1,154,324	—	52,282
1863	579,978	22,916	3,144,231	110,659	—	3,308,204	147,982	—	1,067,458	86,866	—
1864	562,158	17,820	3,262,294	—	118,063	3,366,941	—	58,737	1,058,480	8,978	—
1865	547,867	14,291	3,493,414	—	231,120	3,688,742	—	321,801	1,299,893	—	241,413

The decrease in the population was naturally accompanied by a decrease in the mass of products. For our purpose, it suffices to consider the 5 years from 1861 to 1865 during which over half-a-million emigrated, and the absolute number of people sank by more than 1/3 of a million. From the above table it results:—

<i>Horses</i>	<i>Cattle</i>	<i>Sheep</i>	<i>Pigs</i>
Absolute Decrease	Absolute Decrease	Absolute Increase	Absolute Increase
71,944	112,960	146,662	28,821 <sup>228</sup>

Let us now turn to agriculture, which yields the means of subsistence for cattle and for men. In the following table is calculated the decrease or increase for each separate year, as compared with its immediate predecessor. The Cereal Crops include wheat, oats, barley, rye, beans, and peas; the Green Crops, potatoes, turnips, marigolds, beet-root, cabbages, carrots, parsnips, vetches, etc.

**Increase or decrease in the area under crops and grass in acreage**

Year	Cereal Crops	Green Crops		Grass and Clover		Flax		Total Cultivated Land	
	<i>Decrease (Acres)</i>	<i>Decrease (Acres)</i>	<i>Increase (Acres)</i>	<i>Decrease (Acres)</i>	<i>Increase (Acres)</i>	<i>Decrease (Acres)</i>	<i>Increase (Acres)</i>	<i>Decrease (Acres)</i>	<i>Increase (Acres)</i>
1861	15,701	36,974	—	47,969	—	—	19,271	81,373	—
1862	72,734	74,785	—	—	6,623	—	2,055	138,841	—
1863	144,719	19,358	—	—	7,724	—	63,922	92,431	—
1864	122,437	2,317	—	—	47,486	—	87,761	—	10,493
1865	72,450	—	25,241	—	68,970	50,159	—	28,398	—
1861–65	428,041	108,193	—	—	82,834	—	122,8501	330,350	—

In the year 1865, 127,470 additional acres came under the heading “grass land,” chiefly because the area under the heading of “bog and waste unoccupied,” decreased by 101,543 acres. If we compare 1865 with 1864, there is a decrease in cereals of 246,667 qrs., of which 48,999 were wheat,

<sup>228</sup> The result would be found yet more unfavorable if we went further back. Thus: Sheep in 1865, 3,688,742, but in 1856, 3,694,294. Pigs in 1865, 1,299,893, but in 1858, 1,409,883.

160,605 oats, 29,892 barley, etc.: the decrease in potatoes was 446,398 tons, although the area of their cultivation increased in 1865.

From the movement of population and the agricultural produce of Ireland, we pass to the movement in the purse of its landlords, larger farmers, and industrial capitalists. It is reflected in the rise and fall of the Income-tax. It may be remembered that Schedule D. (profits with the exception of those of farmers), includes also the so-called, “professional” profits—i.e., the incomes of lawyers, doctors, etc.; and the Schedules C. and E., in which no special details are given, include the incomes of employees, officers, State sinecurists, State fundholders, etc.

**Increase or decrease in the area under cultivation;  
Product per acre and total product of 1865 compared with 1864**

Product	Acres of Cultivated Land			Product per Acre			Total Product		
	1864	1865	Increase or Decrease, 1865	1864	1865	Increase or Decrease, 1865	1864	1865	Increase or Decrease, 1865
Wheat	276,483	266,989	—	cwt., 13.3	13.0	—	875,782 Qrs.	826,783 Qrs.	—
Oats	1,814,886	1,745,228	—	cwt., 12.1	12.3	0.2	7,826,332 Qrs.	7,659,727 Qrs.	—
Barley	172,700	177,102	—	cwt., 15.9	14.9	—	761,909 Qrs.	732,017 Qrs.	—
Bere				cwt., 16.4	14.8	—	15,160 Qrs.	13,989 Qrs.	—
Rye	8,894	10,091	—	cwt., 8.5	10.4	1.9	12,680 Qrs.	18,314 Qrs.	—
Potatoes	1,039,724	1,066,260	—	tons, 4.1	3.6	—	4,312,388 ts.	3,865,990 ts.	—
Turnips	337,355	334,212	—	tons, 10.3	9.9	—	3,467,659 ts.	3,301,683 ts.	—
Mangold- wurzels	14,073	14,389	—	tons, 10.5	13.3	2.8	147,284 ts.	191,937 ts.	—
Cabbages	31,821	33,622	—	tons, 9.3	10.4	1.1	297,375 ts.	350,252 ts.	—
Flax	301,693	251,433	—	st. (14 lb.) 34.2	25.2	—	64,506 st.	39,561 st.	—
Hay	1,609,569	1,678,493	—	tons, 1.6	1.8	0.2	2,607,153 ts.	3,068,707 ts.	—



**The income-tax on the subjoined incomes in Pounds Sterling  
(Tenth Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, Lond. 1866.)**

	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865
<i>Schedule A. Rent of Land</i>	13,893,829	13,003,554	13,398,938	13,494,091	13,470,700	13,801,616
<i>Schedule B. Farmers' Profits.</i>	2,765,387	2,773,644	2,937,899	2,938,923	2,930,874	2,946,072
<i>Schedule D. Industrial, etc., Profits</i>	4,891,652	4,836,203	4,858,800	4,846,497	4,546,147	4,850,199
<i>Total Schedules A to E</i>	22,962,885	22,998,394	23,597,574	23,658,631	23,236,298	23,930,340

Under Schedule D., the average annual increase of income from 1853 to 1864 was only 0.93; whilst, in the same period, in Great Britain, it was 4.58. The following table shows the distribution of the profits (with the exception of those of farmers) for the years 1864 and 1865:—

**Income from profits (over £60) in Ireland**

	1864 (£)	1865 (£)
<i>Total yearly income of</i>	4,368,610 divided among 17,467 persons.	4,669,979 divided among 18,081 persons.
<i>Yearly income over £60 and under £100</i>	238,726 divided among 5,015 persons.	222,575 divided among 4,703 persons.
<i>Of the yearly total income</i>	1,979,066 divided among 11,321 persons.	2,028,571 divided among 12,184 persons.
<i>Remainder of the total yearly income</i>	2,150,818 divided among 1,131 persons.	2,418,833 divided among 1,194 persons.
<i>Of these</i>	1,073,906 divided among 1,010 persons.	1,097,927 divided among 1,044 persons.
	1,076,912 divided among 121 persons.	1,320,906 divided among 150 persons.
	430,535 divided among 95 persons.	584,458 divided among 2 persons.
	646,377 divided among 26	736,448 divided among 28
	262,819 divided among 3	274,528 divided among 3

England, a country with fully developed capitalist production, and pre-eminently industrial, would have bled to death with such a drain of population as Ireland has suffered. But Ireland is at present only an agricultural district of England, marked off by a wide channel from the country to which it yields corn, wool, cattle, industrial and military recruits.

The depopulation of Ireland has thrown much of the land out of cultivation, has greatly diminished the produce of the soil,<sup>229</sup> and, in spite of the greater area devoted to cattle breeding, has brought about, in some of its branches, an absolute diminution, in others, an advance scarcely worthy of mention, and constantly interrupted by retrogressions. Nevertheless, with the fall in numbers of the population, rents and farmers' profits rose, although the latter not as steadily as the former. The reason for this is easily comprehensible. On the one hand, with the throwing of small holdings into large ones, and the change of arable into pasture land, a larger part of the whole produce was transformed into surplus-produce. The surplus-produce increased, although the total produce, of which it formed a fraction, decreased. On the other hand, the money value of this surplus-produce increased yet more rapidly than its mass, in consequence of the rise in the English market price of meat, wool, etc., during the last 20, and especially during the last 10, years.

The scattered means of production that serve the producers themselves as means of employment and of subsistence, without expanding their own value by the incorporation of the labor of others, are no more capital than a product consumed by its own producer is a commodity. If, with the mass of the population, that of the means of production employed in agriculture also diminished, the mass of the capital employed in agriculture increased, because a part of the means of production that were formerly scattered, was concentrated and turned into capital.

The total capital of Ireland outside agriculture, employed in industry and trade, accumulated during the last two decades slowly, and with great and constantly recurring fluctuations; so much the more rapidly did the concentration of its individual constituents develop. And, however small

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<sup>229</sup> If the product also diminishes relatively per acre, it must not be forgotten that for a century and a half England has indirectly exported the soil of Ireland, without as much as allowing its cultivators the means for making up the constituents of the soil that had been exhausted.

its absolute increase, in proportion to the dwindling population it had increased largely.

Here, then, under our own eyes and on a large scale, a process is revealed, than which nothing more excellent could be wished for by orthodox economy for the support of its dogma: that misery springs from absolute surplus population, and that equilibrium is re-established by depopulation. This is a far more important experiment than was the plague in the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century so belauded of Malthusians. Note further: If only the naïveté of the schoolmaster could apply, to the conditions of production and population of the nineteenth century, the standard of the 14<sup>th</sup>, this naïveté, into the bargain, overlooked the fact that whilst, after the plague and the decimation that accompanied it, followed on this side of the Channel, in England, enfranchisement and enrichment of the agricultural population, on that side, in France, followed greater servitude and more misery.<sup>230</sup>

The Irish famine of 1846 killed more than 1,000,000 people, but it killed poor devils only. To the wealth of the country it did not the slightest damage. The exodus of the next 20 years, an exodus still constantly increasing, did not, as, e.g., the Thirty Years' War, decimate, along with the human beings, their means of production. Irish genius discovered an altogether new way of spiriting a poor people thousands of miles away from the scene of its misery. The exiles transplanted to the United States send home sums of money every year as travelling expenses for those left behind. Every troop that emigrates one year draws another after it the next. Thus, instead of costing Ireland anything, emigration forms one of the most lucrative branches of its export trade. Finally, it is a systematic process, which does not simply make a passing gap in the population, but sucks out of it every year more people than are replaced by the births, so that the absolute level of the population falls year by year.<sup>231</sup>

<sup>230</sup> As Ireland is regarded as the promised land of the "principle of population," Th. Sadler, before the publication of his work on population, issued his famous book, *Ireland, its Evils and their Remedies*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, London, 1829. Here, by comparison of the statistics of the individual provinces, and of the individual counties in each province, he proves that the misery there is not, as Malthus would have it, in proportion to the number of the population, but in inverse ratio to this.

<sup>231</sup> Between 1851 and 1874, the total number of emigrants amounted to 2,325,922.

What were the consequences for the Irish laborers left behind and freed from the surplus population? That the relative surplus population is today as great as before 1846; that wages are just as low, that the oppression of the laborers has increased, that misery is forcing the country towards a new crisis. The facts are simple. The revolution in agriculture has kept pace with emigration. The production of relative surplus population has more than kept pace with the absolute depopulation. A glance at table C. shows that the change of arable to pasture land must work yet more acutely in Ireland than in England. In England the cultivation of green crops increases with the breeding of cattle; in Ireland, it decreases. Whilst a large number of acres, that were formerly tilled, lie idle or are turned permanently into grass-land, a great part of the waste land and peat bogs that were unused formerly, become of service for the extension of cattle-breeding. The smaller and medium farmers—I reckon among these all who do not cultivate more than 100 acres—still make up about 8/10<sup>ths</sup> of the whole number.<sup>232</sup> They are one after the other, and with a degree of force unknown before, crushed by the competition of an agriculture managed by capital, and therefore they continually furnish new recruits to the class of wage laborers. The one great industry of Ireland, linen-manufacture, requires relatively few adult men and only employs altogether, in spite of its expansion since the price of cotton rose in 1861–1866, a comparatively insignificant part of the population. Like all other great modern industries, it constantly produces, by incessant fluctuations, a relative surplus population within its own sphere, even with an absolute increase in the mass of human beings absorbed by it. The misery of the agricultural population forms the pedestal for gigantic shirt-factories, whose armies of laborers are, for the most part, scattered over the country. Here, we encounter again the system described above of domestic industry, which in underpayment and overwork, possesses its own systematic means for creating supernumerary laborers. Finally, although the depopulation has not such destructive consequences as would result in a country with fully developed capitalistic production, it does not go on without constant reaction upon the home-market. The gap which emigration causes here, limits not only the local demand for labor, but also the incomes of small shopkeepers, arti-

<sup>232</sup> According to a table in Murphy's *Ireland Industrial, Political and Social*, 1870, 94.6 percent of the holdings do not reach 100 acres, 5.4 exceed 100 acres.

sans, tradespeople generally. Hence the diminution in incomes between £60 and £100 in Table E.

A clear statement of the condition of the agricultural laborers in Ireland is to be found in the Reports of the Irish Poor Law Inspectors (1870).<sup>233</sup> Officials of a government which is maintained only by bayonets and by a state of siege, now open, now disguised, they have to observe all the precautions of language that their colleagues in England disdain. In spite of this, however, they do not let their government cradle itself in illusions. According to them the rate of wages in the country, still very low, has within the last 20 years risen 50-60 percent., and stands now, on the average, at 6s. to 9s. per week. But behind this apparent rise, is hidden an actual fall in wages, for it does not correspond at all to the rise in price of the necessary means of subsistence that has taken place in the meantime. For proof, the following extract from the official accounts of an Irish workhouse.

**Average weekly cost per head**

<i>Year ended.</i>	<i>Provisions and Necessaries.</i>	<i>Clothing.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
29 <sup>th</sup> Sept., 1849.	1s. 3 1/4d.	3d.	1s. 6 1/4d.
29 <sup>th</sup> Sept., 1869.	2s. 7 1/4d.	6d.	3s. 1 1/4d.

The price of the necessary means of subsistence is therefore fully twice, and that of clothing exactly twice, as much as they were 20 years before.

Even apart from this disproportion, the mere comparison of the rate of wages expressed in gold would give a result far from accurate. Before the famine, the great mass of agricultural wages were paid in kind, only the smallest part in money; today, payment in money is the rule. From this it follows that, whatever the amount of the real wage, its money rate must rise.

Previous to the famine, the laborer enjoyed his cabin... with a rood, or half-acre or acre of land, and facilities for... a crop of potatoes. He was able to rear his pig and keep fowl.... But they now have to buy bread, and they have no refuse upon which they can feed a pig or fowl, and they have consequently no benefit from the sale of a pig, fowl, or eggs.

<sup>233</sup> *Reports from the Poor Law Inspectors on the Wages of Agricultural Laborers in Dublin, 1870.* See also *Agricultural Laborers (Ireland). Return, etc.*, 8 March, 1861, London, 1862.

In fact, formerly, the agricultural laborers were but the smallest of the small farmers, and formed for the most part a kind of rear-guard of the medium and large farms on which they found employment. Only since the catastrophe of 1846 have they begun to form a fraction of the class of purely wage laborers, a special class connected with its wage-masters only by monetary relations.

We know what were the conditions of their dwellings in 1846. Since then they have grown yet worse. A part of the agricultural laborers, which, however, grows less day by day, dwells still on the holdings of the farmers in over-crowded huts, whose hideousness far surpasses the worst that the English agricultural laborers offered us in this way. And this holds generally with the exception of certain tracts of Ulster; in the south, in the counties of Cork, Limerick, Kilkenny, etc.; in the east, in Wicklow, Wexford, etc.; in the center of Ireland, in King's and Queen's County, Dublin, etc.; in the west, in Sligo, Roscommon, Mayo, Galway, etc.

The agricultural laborers' huts, [an inspector cries out,] are a disgrace to the Christianity and to the civilization of this country.

In order to increase the attractions of these holes for the laborers, the pieces of land belonging thereto from time immemorial, are systematically confiscated.

The mere sense that they exist subject to this species of ban, on the part of the landlords and their agents, has... given birth in the minds of the laborers to corresponding sentiments of antagonism and dissatisfaction towards those by whom they are thus led to regard themselves as being treated as... a proscribed race.

The first act of the agricultural revolution was to sweep away the huts situated on the field of labor. This was done on the largest scale, and as if in obedience to a command from on high. Thus many laborers were compelled to seek shelter in villages and towns. There they were thrown like refuse into garrets, holes, cellars and corners, in the worst back slums. Thousands of Irish families, who according to the testimony of the English, eaten up as these are with national prejudice, are notable for their rare attachment to the domestic hearth, for their gaiety and the purity of

their home-life, found themselves suddenly transplanted into hotbeds of vice. The men are now obliged to seek work of the neighboring farmers and are only hired by the day, and therefore under the most precarious form of wage. Hence

they sometimes have long distances to go to and from work, often get wet, and suffer much hardship, not unfrequently ending in sickness, disease and want.

The towns have had to receive from year to year what was deemed to be the surplus-labor of the rural division; [and then people still wonder] there is still a surplus of labor in the towns and villages, and either a scarcity or a threatened scarcity in some of the country divisions. [The truth is that this want only becomes perceptible] in harvest-time, or during spring, or at such times as agricultural operations are carried on with activity; at other periods of the year many hands are idle; [that] from the digging out of the main crop of potatoes in October until the early spring following... there is no employment for them; [and further, that during the active times they] are subject to broken days and to all kinds of interruptions.

These results of the agricultural revolution—i.e., the change of arable into pasture land, the use of machinery, the most rigorous economy of labor, etc., are still further aggravated by the model landlords, who, instead of spending their rents in other countries, condescend to live in Ireland on their demesnes. In order that the law of supply and demand may not be broken, these gentlemen draw their

labor-supply... chiefly from their small tenants, who are obliged to attend when required to do the landlord's work, at rates of wages, in many instances, considerably under the current rates paid to ordinary laborers, and without regard to the inconvenience or loss to the tenant of being obliged to neglect his own business at critical periods of sowing or reaping.

The uncertainty and irregularity of employment, the constant return and long duration of gluts of labor, all these symptoms of a relative surplus population, figure therefore in the reports of the Poor Law administration,

as so many hardships of the agricultural proletariat. It will be remembered that we met, in the English agricultural proletariat, with a similar spectacle. But the difference is that in England, an industrial country, the industrial reserve recruits itself from the country districts, whilst in Ireland, an agricultural country, the agricultural reserve recruits itself from the towns, the cities of refuge of the expelled agricultural laborers. In the former, the supernumeraries of agriculture are transformed into factory operatives; in the latter, those forced into the towns, whilst at the same time they press on the wages in towns, remain agricultural laborers, and are constantly sent back to the country districts in search of work.

The official inspectors sum up the material condition of the agricultural laborer as follows:

Though living with the strictest frugality, his own wages are barely sufficient to provide food for an ordinary family and pay his rent and he depends upon other sources for the means of clothing himself, his wife, and children.... The atmosphere of these cabins, combined with the other privations they are subjected to, has made this class particularly susceptible to low fever and pulmonary consumption.

After this, it is no wonder that, according to the unanimous testimony of the inspectors, a sombre discontent runs through the ranks of this class, that they long for the return of the past, loathe the present, despair of the future, give themselves up "to the evil influence of agitators," and have only one fixed idea, to emigrate to America. This is the land of Cockaigne, into which the great Malthusian panacea, depopulation, has transformed green Erin.

What a happy life the Irish factory operative leads, one example will show:

On my recent visit to the North of Ireland, [says the English Factory Inspector, Robert Baker,] I met with the following evidence of effort in an Irish skilled workman to afford education to his children; and I give his evidence verbatim, as I took it from his mouth. That he was a skilled factory hand, may be understood when I say that he was employed on goods for the Manchester market. "Johnson.—I am a beetler and work from 6 in the morning till 11 at night, from Monday to



Friday. Saturday we leave off at 6 p. m., and get three hours of it (for meals and rest). I have five children in all. For this work I get 10s. 6d. a week; my wife works here also, and gets 5s. a week. The oldest girl who is 12, minds the house. She is also cook, and all the servant we have. She gets the young ones ready for school. A girl going past the house wakes me at half past five in the morning. My wife gets up and goes along with me. We get nothing (to eat) before we come to work. The child of 12 takes care of the little children all the day, and we get nothing till breakfast at eight. At eight we go home. We get tea once a week; at other times we get stirabout, sometimes of oat-meal, sometimes of Indian meal, as we are able to get it. In the winter we get a little sugar and water to our Indian meal. In the summer we get a few potatoes, planting a small patch ourselves; and when they are done we get back to stirabout. Sometimes we get a little milk as it may be. So we go on from day to day, Sunday and week day, always the same the year round. I am always very much tired when I have done at night. We may see a bit of flesh meat sometimes, but very seldom. Three of our children attend school, for whom we pay 1d. a week a head. Our rent is 9d. a week. Peat for firing costs 1s. 6d. a fortnight at the very lowest.”<sup>234</sup>

Such are Irish wages, such is Irish life!

In fact the misery of Ireland is again the topic of the day in England. At the end of 1866 and the beginning of 1867, one of the Irish land magnates, Lord Dufferin, set about its solution in *The Times*. “Wie menschlich von solch grossem Herrn!”

From Table E. we saw that, during 1864, of £4,368,610 of total profits, three surplus-value makers pocketed only £262,819; that in 1865, however, out of £4,669,979 total profits, the same three virtuosi of “abstinence” pocketed £274,528; in 1864, 26 surplus-value makers reached to £646,377; in 1865, 28 surplus-value makers reached to £736,448; in 1864, 121 surplus-value makers, £1,076,912; in 1865, 150 surplus-value makers, £1,320,906; in 1864, 1,131 surplus-value makers £2,150,818,

<sup>234</sup> Robert Baker, *Rept. of Insp. of Fact., 31<sup>st</sup> Oct., 1866*, p. 96.

nearly half of the total annual profit; in 1865, 1,194 surplus-value makers, £2,418,833, more than half of the total annual profit. But the lion's share, which an inconceivably small number of land magnates in England, Scotland and Ireland swallow up of the yearly national rental, is so monstrous that the wisdom of the English State does not think fit to afford the same statistical materials about the distribution of rents as about the distribution of profits. Lord Dufferin is one of those land magnates. That rent-rolls and profits can ever be "excessive," or that their plethora is in any way connected with the plethora of the people's misery is, of course, an idea as "disreputable" as "unsound." He keeps to facts. The fact is that, as the Irish population diminishes, the Irish rent-rolls swell; that depopulation benefits the landlords, therefore also benefits the soil, and, therefore, the people, that mere accessory of the soil. He declares, therefore, that Ireland is still over-populated, and the stream of emigration still flows too lazily. To be perfectly happy, Ireland must get rid of at least one-third of a million of laboring men. Let no man imagine that this lord, poetic into the bargain, is a physician of the school of Sangrado, who as often as he did not find his patient better, ordered phlebotomy and again phlebotomy, until the patient lost his sickness at the same time as his blood. Lord Dufferin demands a new blood-letting of one-third of a million only, instead of about two millions; in fact, without the getting rid of these, the millennium in Erin is not to be. The proof is easily given.

#### Number and extent of farms in Ireland in 1864<sup>235</sup>

	<i>No.</i>	<i>Acres</i>
(1) Farms not over 1 acre.	48,653	25,394
(2) Farms over 1, not over 5 acres.	82,037	288,916
(3) Farms over 5, not over 15 acres.	176,368	1,836,310
(4) Farms over 15, not over 30 acres.	136,578	3,051,343
(5) Farms over 30, not over 50 acres.	71,961	2,906,274
(6) Farms over 50, not over 100 acres.	54,247	3,983,880
(7) Farms over 100 acres.	31,927	8,227,807
(8) Total area.	—	26,319,924

<sup>235</sup> The total area includes also peat, bogs, and waste land.

Centralization has from 1851 to 1861 destroyed principally farms of the first three categories, under 1 and not over 15 acres. These above all must disappear. This gives 307,058 “supernumerary” farmers, and reckoning the families the low average of 4 persons, 1,228,232 persons. On the extravagant supposition that, after the agricultural revolution is complete one-fourth of these are again absorbable, there remain for emigration 921,174 persons. Categories 4, 5, 6, of over 15 and not over 100 acres, are, as was known long since in England, too small for capitalistic cultivation of corn, and for sheep-breeding are almost vanishing quantities. On the same supposition as before, therefore, there are further 788,761 persons to emigrate; total, 1,709,532. And as *l'appétit vient en mangeant*,<sup>236</sup> Rentroll's eyes will soon discover that Ireland, with 3½ millions, is still always miserable, and miserable because she is overpopulated. Therefore her depopulation must go yet further, that thus she may fulfil her true destiny, that of an English sheep-walk and cattle-pasture.<sup>237</sup>

<sup>236</sup> “Appetite comes with eating.”

<sup>237</sup> How the famine and its consequences have been deliberately made the most of, both by the individual landlords and by the English legislature, to forcibly carry out the agricultural revolution and to thin the population of Ireland down to the proportion satisfactory to the landlords, I shall show more fully in Vol. III. of this work, in the section on landed property. There also I return to the condition of the small farmers and the agricultural laborers. At present, only one quotation. Nassau W. Senior says, with other things, in his posthumous work, *Journals, Conversations and Essays relating to Ireland*, 2 vols. London, 1868; Vol. II., p. 282. “Well,” said Dr. G., “we have got our Poor Law and it is a great instrument for giving the victory to the landlords. Another, and a still more powerful instrument is emigration.... No friend to Ireland can wish the war to be prolonged [between the landlords and the small Celtic farmers]—still less, that it should end by the victory of the tenants. The sooner it is over—the sooner Ireland becomes a grazing country, with the comparatively thin population which a grazing country requires, the better for all classes.” The English Corn Laws of 1815 secured Ireland the monopoly of the free importation of corn into Great Britain. They favored artificially, therefore, the cultivation of corn. With the abolition of the Corn Laws in 1846, this monopoly was suddenly removed. Apart from all other circumstances, this event alone was sufficient to give a great impulse to the turning of Irish arable into pasture land, to the concentration of farms, and to the eviction of small cultivators. After the fruitfulness of the Irish soil had been praised from 1815 to 1846, and proclaimed loudly as by Nature herself destined for the cultivation of wheat, English agronomists, economists, politicians, discover suddenly that it is good for nothing but to produce forage. M. Léonce de Lavergne has hastened to

Like all good things in this bad world, this profitable method has its drawbacks. With the accumulation of rents in Ireland, the accumulation of the Irish in America keeps pace. The Irishman, banished by sheep and ox, re-appears on the other side of the ocean as a Fenian, and face to face with the old queen of the seas rises, threatening and more threatening, the young giant Republic:

*Acerba fata Romanos agunt*

*Scelusque fraternae necis.*

*[A cruel fate torments the Romans,  
and the crime of fratricide.]*

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repeat this on the other side of the Channel. It takes a “serious” man, à la Lavergne, to be caught by such childishness.

## Primitive Accumulation<sup>238</sup>

*Marx, 1867 (Excerpt)*

The last process of wholesale expropriation of the agricultural population from the soil is, finally, the so-called clearing of estates, i.e., the sweeping men off them. All the English methods hitherto considered culminated in “clearing.” As we saw in the picture of modern conditions given in a former chapter, where there are no more independent peasants to get rid of, the “clearing” of cottages begins; so that the agricultural laborers do not find on the soil cultivated by them even the spot necessary for their own housing. But what “clearing of estates” really and properly signifies, we learn only in the promised land of modern romance, the Highlands of Scotland. There the process is distinguished by its systematic character, by the magnitude of the scale on which it is carried out at one blow (in Ireland landlords have gone to the length of sweeping away several villages at once; in Scotland areas as large as German principalities are dealt with), finally by the peculiar form of property, under which the embezzled lands were held.

The Highland Celts were organized in clans, each of which was the owner of the land on which it was settled. The representative of the clan, its chief or “great man,” was only the titular owner of this property, just as the Queen of England is the titular owner of all the national soil. When the English government succeeded in suppressing the intestine wars of these “great men,” and their constant incursions into the Lowland plains, the chiefs of the clans by no means gave up their time-honored trade as robbers; they only changed its form. On their own authority they transformed their nominal right into a right of private property, and as this brought them into collision with their clansmen, resolved to drive them out by open force. “A king of England might as well claim to drive his subjects into the sea,” says Professor Newman.<sup>239</sup> This revolution, which began in Scotland after the last rising of the followers of the Pretender, can

<sup>238</sup> K. Marx, *Op. cit.* (“Capital,” Vol. I.)

<sup>239</sup> Loc. cit., p. 132.

be followed through its first phases in the writings of Sir James Steuart<sup>240</sup> and James Anderson.<sup>241</sup> In the 18<sup>th</sup> century the hunted-out Gaels were forbidden to emigrate from the country, with a view to driving them by force to Glasgow and other manufacturing towns.<sup>242</sup> As an example of the method<sup>243</sup> obtaining in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the “clearing” made by the Duchess of Sutherland will suffice here. This person, well instructed in economy, resolved, on entering upon her government, to effect a radical cure, and to turn the whole country, whose population had already been, by earlier processes of the like kind, reduced to 15,000, into a sheep-walk. From 1814 to 1820 these 15,000 inhabitants, about 3,000 families, were systematically hunted and rooted out. All their villages were destroyed and burnt, all their fields turned into pasturage. British soldiers enforced this eviction, and came to blows with the inhabitants. One old woman was burnt to death in the flames of the hut, which she refused to leave. Thus this fine

<sup>240</sup> Steuart says: “If you compare the rent of these lands” (he erroneously includes in this economic category the tribute of the taskmen to the clanchief) “with the extent, it appears very small. If you compare it with the numbers fed upon the farm, you will find that an estate in the Highlands maintains, perhaps, ten times as many people as another of the same value in a good and fertile province.” (Loc. cit., Vol. I, ch. XVI., p. 104.)

<sup>241</sup> James Anderson, *Observations on the Means of Exciting a Spirit of National Industry*, etc., Edinburgh, 1777.

<sup>242</sup> In 1860 the people expropriated by force were exported to Canada under false pretenses. Some fled to the mountains and neighboring islands. They were followed by the police, came to blows with them and escaped.

<sup>243</sup> “In the Highlands of Scotland,” says Buchanan, the commentator on Adam Smith, 1814, “the ancient state of property is daily subverted.... The landlord, without regard to the hereditary tenant (a category used in error here), now offers his land to the highest bidder, who, if he is an improver, instantly adopts a new system of cultivation. The land, formerly overspread with small tenants or laborers, was peopled in proportion to its produce, but under the new system of improved cultivation and increased rents, the largest possible produce is obtained at the least possible expense: and the useless hands being, with this view, removed, the population is reduced, not to what the land will maintain, but to what it will employ. “The dispossessed tenants either seek a subsistence in the neighboring towns,” etc. (David Buchanan, *Observations on... etc.*; A. Smith’s *Wealth of Nations*, Edinburgh, 1814, Vol. IV., p. 144.) “The Scotch grandees dispossessed families as they would grub up coppice-wood, and they treated villages and their people as Indians harassed with wild beasts do, in their vengeance, a jungle with tigers.... Man is bartered for a fleece or a carcase of mutton, nay, held cheaper.... Why, how much worse is it than the intention of the Moguls, who, when they had broken into the northern provinces of China, proposed in council to exterminate the inhabitants, and convert the land into pasture. This proposal many Highland proprietors have effected in their own country against their own countrymen.” (George Ensor, *An Inquiry Concerning the Population of Nations*, London, 1818, pp. 215, 216.)

lady appropriated 794,000 acres of land that had from time immemorial belonged to the clan. She assigned to the expelled inhabitants about 6,000 acres on the sea-shore—2 acres per family. The 6,000 acres had until this time lain waste and brought in no income to their owners. The Duchess, in the nobility of her heart, actually went so far as to let these at an average rent of 2s. 6d. per acre to the clansmen, who for centuries had shed their blood for her family. The whole of the stolen clanland she divided into 29 great sheep farms, each inhabited by a single family, for the most part imported English farm-servants. In the year 1835 the 15,000 Gaels were already replaced by 131,000 sheep. The remnant of the aborigines flung on the sea-shore tried to live by catching fish. They became amphibious and lived, as an English author says, half on land and half on water, and withal only half on both.<sup>244</sup>

But the brave Gaels must expiate yet more bitterly their idolatry, romantic and of the mountains, for the “great men” of the clan. The smell of their fish rose to the noses of the great men. They scented some profit in it, and let the sea-shore to the great fishmongers of London. For the second time the Gaels were hunted out.<sup>245</sup>

But, finally, part of the sheep-walks are turned into deer preserves. Everyone knows that there are no real forests in England. The deer in the parks of the great are demurely domestic cattle, fat as London aldermen. Scotland is therefore the last refuge of the “noble passion.”

In the Highlands, [says Somers in 1848,] new forests are springing up like mushrooms. Here, on one side of Gaick, you have the new forest of Glenfeshie; and there on the other you have the new forest of Ardverikie. In the same line you have

<sup>244</sup> When the present Duchess of Sutherland entertained Mrs. Beecher Stowe, authoress of “Uncle Tom’s Cabin,” with great magnificence in London to show her sympathy for the Negro slaves of the American republic—a sympathy that she prudently forgot, with her fellow-aristocrats, during the civil war, in which every “noble” English heart beat for the slave-owner—I gave in the *New York Tribune* the facts about the Sutherland slaves. (Epitomized in part by Carey in *The Slave Trade*, Philadelphia, 1853, pp. 203-204.) My article was reprinted in a Scotch newspaper, and led to a pretty polemic between the latter and the sycophants of the Sutherlands.

<sup>245</sup> Interesting details on this fish trade will be found in Mr. David Urquhart’s Portfolio, new series.—Nassau W. Senior, in his posthumous work, already quoted, terms “the proceedings in Sutherlandshire one of the most beneficent clearings since the memory of man.” (Loc. cit.)

the Black Mount, an immense waste also recently erected. From east to west—from the neighborhood of Aberdeen to the crags of Oban—you have now a continuous line of forests; while in other parts of the Highlands there are the new forests of Loch Archaig, Glengarry, Glenmoriston, etc. Sheep were introduced into glens which had been the seats of communities of small farmers; and the latter were driven to seek subsistence on coarser and more sterile tracks of soil. Now deer are supplanting sheep; and these are once more dispossessing the small tenants, who will necessarily be driven down upon still coarser land and to more grinding penury. Deer-forests<sup>246</sup> and the people cannot co-exist. One or other of the two must yield. Let the forests be increased in number and extent during the next quarter of a century, as they have been in the last, and the Gaels will perish from their native soil... This movement among the Highland proprietors is with some a matter of ambition... with some love of sport... while others, of a more practical cast, follow the trade in deer with an eye solely to profit. For it is a fact, that a mountain range laid out in forest is, in many cases, more profitable to the proprietor than when let as a sheep-walk.... The huntsman who wants a deer-forest limits his offers by no other calculation than the extent of his purse.... Sufferings have been inflicted in the Highlands scarcely less severe than those occasioned by the policy of the Norman kings. Deer have received extended ranges, while men have been hunted within a narrower and still narrower circle.... One after one the liberties of the people have been cloven down.... And the oppressions are daily on the increase.... The clearance and dispersion of the people is pursued by the proprietors as a settled principle, as an agricultural necessity, just as trees and brushwood are cleared from

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<sup>246</sup> The deer-forests of Scotland contain not a single tree. The sheep are driven from, and then the deer driven to, the naked hills, and then it is called a deer-forest. Not even timber-planting and real forest culture.



the wastes of America or Australia; and the operation goes on in a quiet, business-like way, etc.<sup>247</sup>

The spoliation of the church's property, the fraudulent alienation of the State domains, the robbery of the common lands, the usurpation of feudal and clan property, and its transformation into modern private property under circumstances of reckless terrorism, were just so many idyllic methods of primitive accumulation. They conquered the field for capitalistic agriculture, made the soil part and parcel of capital, and created for the town industries the necessary supply of a "free" and outlawed proletariat.

<sup>247</sup> Robert Somers, *Letters from the Highlands: or the Famine of 1847*, London, 1848, pp. 12-28 passim. These letters originally appeared in *The Times*. The English economists of course explained the famine of the Gaels in 1847, by their over-population. At all events, they "were pressing on their food-supply." The "clearing of estates," or as it is called in Germany, "Bauernlegen," occurred in Germany especially after the 30 years' war, and led to peasant-revolts as late as 1790 in Kursachsen. It obtained especially in East Germany. In most of the Prussian provinces, Frederick II. for the first time secured right of property for the peasants. After the conquest of Silesia he forced the landlords to rebuild the huts, barns, etc., and to provide the peasants with cattle and implements. He wanted soldiers for his army and taxpayers for his treasury. For the rest, the pleasant life that the peasant led under Frederick's system of finance and hodge-podge rule of despotism, bureaucracy and feudalism, may be seen from the following quotation from his admirer, Mirabeau: "Flax represents one of the greatest sources of wealth for the peasant of North Germany. Unfortunately for the human race, this is only a resource against misery and not a means towards well-being. Direct taxes, forced labor service, obligations of all kinds crush the German peasant, especially as he still has to pay indirect taxes on everything he buys, ... and to complete his ruin he dare not sell his produce where and as he wishes; he dare not buy what he needs from the merchants who could sell it to him at a cheaper price. He is slowly ruined by all those factors, and when the direct taxes fall due, he would find himself incapable of paying them without his spinning-wheel; it offers him a last resort, while providing useful occupation for his wife, his children, his maids, his farm-hands, and himself; but what a painful life he leads, even with this extra resource! In summer, he works like a convict with the plough and at harvest; he goes to bed at nine o'clock and rises at two to get through all his work; in winter he ought to be recovering his strength by sleeping longer; but he would run short of corn for his bread and next year's sowing if he got rid of the products that he needs to sell in order to pay the taxes. He therefore has to spin to fill up this gap... and indeed he must do so most assiduously. Thus the peasant goes to bed at midnight or one o'clock in winter and gets up at five or six; or he goes to bed at nine and gets up at two, and this he does every day of his life except Sundays. These excessively short hours of sleep and long hours of work consume a person's strength and hence it happens that men and women age much more in the country than in the towns." (Mirabeau, loc. cit., Vol. III. pp. 212 sqq.)

## Transformation of Surplus-Profit into Ground-Rent<sup>248</sup>

*Marx, 1867 (Excerpt)*

We are not speaking now of conditions in which ground-rent, the manner of expressing landed property in the capitalist mode of production, formally exists without the existence of the capitalist mode of production itself, i.e., without the tenant himself being an industrial capitalist, nor the type of his management being a capitalist one. Such is the case, e.g., in *Ireland*. The tenant there is generally a small farmer. What he pays to the landlord in the form of rent frequently absorbs not merely a part of his profit, that is, his own surplus labor (to which he is entitled as possessor of his own instruments of labor), but also a part of his normal wage, which he would otherwise receive for the same amount of labor. Besides, the landlord, who does nothing at all for the improvement of the land, also expropriates his small capital, which the tenant for the most part incorporates in the land through his own labor. This is precisely what a usurer would do under similar circumstances, with just the difference that the usurer would at least risk his own capital in the operation. This continual plunder is the core of the dispute over the Irish Tenancy Rights Bill. The main purpose of this Bill is to compel the landlord when ordering his tenant off the land to indemnify the latter for his improvements on the land, or for his capital incorporated in the land. Palmerston used to wave this demand aside with the cynical answer;

“The House of Commons is a house of landed proprietors.”

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<sup>248</sup> K. Marx, *Op. cit.* (“Capital,” Vol. I.)

## Unplaced footnote on the Irish Question and Emigration<sup>249</sup>

*Marx, 1867*

In so far as the real increase or reduction in the working population during the ten-year industrial cycle can exert a perceptible influence on the labor market, this could only be in England, and we take it as a model, because here the capitalist mode of production is [highly] developed, and does not, unlike on the European continent, operate largely on the basis of a peasant economy which does not correspond to it. Here we can only speak of the impact of capital's need for valorization on the extension or contraction of emigration. It should first be remarked that the emigration of capital, i.e. the part of the annual income which is invested abroad as capital, particularly in the colonies and in the United States of America, is far larger in proportion to the annual fund for accumulation than the number of emigrants in proportion to the annual increase in population. Some of these emigrants are in fact merely following capital abroad. Furthermore, the emigration from England, if we consider its main component, the agricultural one, consists for the most part not of workers but of tenant farmers' sons, etc. This has so far been more than replaced by immigration from Ireland. The periods of stagnation and crisis, when the pressure to emigrate is at its strongest, are the same periods as those during which more excess capital is sent abroad, and the periods of declining emigration are the same as those of declining emigration of superfluous capital. The absolute proportion between capital *employed* in the country and labor power is therefore little affected by the fluctuations of emigration. If emigration from England were to take on serious dimensions, in relation to the annual increase of the population, it would lose its position on the world market. The Irish emigration since 1848 has given the lie to all the expectations and prophecies of the Malthusians. First of all, they had declared an emigration exceeding the increase of population to be an impossibility. The Irish solved that problem despite their poverty. Those who have emigrated send back every year most of the resources needed to

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<sup>249</sup> Footnote supposed to be included in Marx' *Capital*, Volume I.

finance the emigration of those left behind. Secondly, however, the same gentlemen had made the prophecy that the famine which swept away one million people, and the subsequent exodus, would have the same effect in Ireland as the black death had had in England in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century. Precisely the opposite has occurred. Production has fallen more quickly than the population, and the decline in the means of employing the agricultural workers has been quicker too, although their wages are no higher today, taking into account the changes in the price of the means of subsistence, than in 1847. The population has fallen in 15 years from 8 million to approximately 4 1/2 million. To be sure, cattle production has increased to a certain extent, and Lord Dufferin, who wants to convert Ireland into a mere sheep pasture, is quite right to say that the population is still far too high. In the meantime, the Irish have taken not only their bones but themselves to America, and the cry "*exoriare aliquis ultor*" [rise some avenger] resounds threateningly on the other side of the Atlantic.

[...] This does not prevent individual persons from "enriching themselves during the rapid ruin of the country as a whole."

[...] Lord Dufferin, who is himself one of these "supernumeraries," notes correctly that Ireland still has far too many inhabitants.



## **IV. INTERVIEWS AND SPEECHES**

## Letters from London<sup>250</sup>

*Engels, 1843 (Excerpt)*

### IV

One hears nothing now but talk about O'Connell and the Irish *Repeal* (abolition of the Union of Ireland and England). O'Connell, the cunning old lawyer, who during the Whig government sat calmly in the House of Commons and helped to pass "liberal" measures in order to be rejected by the House of Lords, O'Connell has suddenly left London and absented himself from the parliamentary debates and is now raising again his old question of repeal. No one was thinking about it anymore; and then Old Dan [Daniel O'Connell] turns up in Dublin and is again raking up the stale obsolete lumber. It is not surprising that the old yeast is now producing remarkable air-bubbles. The cunning old fox is going from town to town, always accompanied by a bodyguard such as no king ever had—two hundred thousand people always surround him! How much could have been done if a sensible man possessed O'Connell's popularity or if O'Connell had a little more understanding, and a little less egoism and vanity! Two hundred thousand men—and what men! People who have nothing to lose, two-thirds of whom are clothed in rags, genuine proletarians and *sans-culottes* and, moreover, Irishmen, wild, headstrong, fanatical Gaels. One who has never seen Irishmen cannot know them. Give me two hundred thousand Irishmen and I will overthrow the entire British monarchy. The Irishman is a carefree, cheerful, potato-eating child of nature. From his native heath, where he grew up, under a broken-down roof, on weak tea and meagre food, he is suddenly thrown into our civilization. Hunger drives him to England. In the mechanical, egoistic, ice-cold hurly-burly of the English factory towns, his passions are aroused. What does this raw young fellow—whose youth was spent playing on moors and begging at the roadside—know of thrift? He squanders what he earns, then he starves until the next pay-day or until he again finds work. He is accustomed to going hungry. Then he goes back, seeks out the members of his family on the road where they had scattered in order to beg, from

<sup>250</sup> Originally published in *Der Schweizerischer Republikaner*, No. 51, June 27, 1843.

time to time assembling again around the teapot, which the mother carries with her. But in England the Irishman saw a great deal, he attended public meetings and workers' associations, he knows what Repeal is and what Sir Robert Peel stands for, he quite certainly has often had fights with the police and could tell you a great deal about the heartlessness and disgraceful behavior of the "Peelers" (the police). He has also heard a lot about Daniel O'Connell. Now he once more returns to his old cottage with its bit of land for potatoes. The potatoes are ready for harvesting, he digs them up, and now he has something to live on during the winter. But here the principal tenant appears, demanding the rent. Good God, where's the money to come from? The principal tenant is responsible to the landowner for the rent and therefore has his property attached. The Irishman offers resistance and is thrown into gaol. Finally, he is set free, again, and soon afterwards the principal tenant or someone else who took part in the attachment of the property is found dead in a ditch.

That is a story from the life of the Irish proletarians which is of daily occurrence. The half-savage upbringing and later the completely civilized environment bring the Irishman into contradiction with himself, into a state of permanent irritation, of continually smoldering fury, which makes him capable of anything. In addition he bears the burden of five centuries of oppression with all its consequences. Is it surprising that, like any other half-savage, he strikes out blindly and furiously on every opportunity, that his eyes burn with a perpetual thirst for revenge, a destructive fury, for which it is altogether a matter of indifference what it is directed against, so long as it can strike out and destroy? But that is not all. The violent national hatred of the Gaels against the Saxons, the orthodox Catholic fanaticism fostered by the clergy against Protestant-episcopal arrogance—with these elements anything can be accomplished. And all these elements are in O'Connell's hands. And what a multitude of people are at his disposal! The day before yesterday in Cork—150,000 men, yesterday in Nenagh—200,000, today in Kilkenny—400,000, and so it goes on. A triumphal procession lasting a fortnight, a triumphal procession such as no Roman emperor ever had. And if O'Connell really had the welfare of the people in view, if he were really concerned to abolish poverty—if his miserable, petty *juste-milieu* aims were not behind all the clamor and the agitation for Repeal—I should truly like to know what Sir Robert Peel could



refuse him if he demanded it while at the head of such a force as he now has. But what does he achieve with all millions of valiant and desperate Irishmen? accomplish even the wretched Repeal of the solely because he is not serious about it, because he is misusing the impoverished, oppressed Irish people in order to embarrass the Tory Ministers and to put back into office his *juste-milieu* friends. Sir Robert Peel, too, knows this well enough, and hence 25,000 soldiers are quite enough to keep all Ireland in check. If O'Connell were really the man of the people, if he had sufficient courage *and were not himself afraid of the people*, i.e., if he were not a double-faced Whig, but an upright, consistent democrat, then the last English soldier would have left Ireland long since, there would no longer be any idle Protestant priest in purely Catholic districts, or any Old-Norman baron in his castle. But there is the rub. If the people were to be set free even for a moment, then Daniel O'Connell and his moneyed aristocrats would soon be just as much left high and dry as he wants to leave the Tories high and dry. That is the reason for Daniel's close association with the Catholic clergy, that is why he warns his Irishmen against dangerous socialism, that is why he rejects the support offered by the Chartists, although for appearance's sake he now and again talks about democracy—just as Louis Philippe in his day talked about Republican institutions—and that is why he will never succeed in achieving anything but the political education of the Irish people, which in the long run is to no one more dangerous than to himself.

## The Commercial Crisis in England.—The Chartist Movement.—Ireland<sup>251</sup>

*Engels, 1847*

The commercial crisis to which England finds itself exposed at the moment is, indeed, more severe than any of the preceding crises. Neither in 1837 nor in 1842 was the depression as universal as at the present time. All the branches of England's vast industry have been paralyzed at the peak of its development; everywhere there is stagnation, everywhere one sees nothing but workers thrown out on the streets. It goes without saying that such a state of affairs gives rise to extreme unrest among the workers who, exploited by the industrialists during the period of commercial prosperity, now find themselves dismissed en masse and abandoned to their fate. Consequently meetings of discontented workers are rapidly increasing. *The Northern Star*, the organ of the Chartist workers, uses more than seven of its large columns to report on meetings held in the past week<sup>252</sup>; the list of meetings announced for the present week fills another three columns. The same newspaper mentions a brochure published by a worker, Mr. John Noakes,<sup>253</sup> in which the author makes an open and direct attack on the right of the aristocracy to own its lands.

English soil, [he says,] is the property of the people, from whom our aristocrats seized it either by force or by trickery. The people must see that their inalienable right to property prevails; the proceeds of the land should be public property and used in the interest of the public. Perhaps I shall be told that these are revolutionary remarks. Revolutionary or not, it is of no concern; if the people cannot obtain that which they need in a law, they must get it without law.

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<sup>251</sup> Originally published in *La Réforme*, October 26, 1847. Marx & Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. VI, Lawrence & Wishart, 2010, pp. 307-309.

<sup>252</sup> Reports on the Chartist meetings in *The Northern Star*, No. 521, October 16, 1847.—*Ed.*

<sup>253</sup> John Noakes, *The Right of the Aristocracy to the Soil, considered*. The report on its publication appeared in *The Northern Star*, No. 522, October 23, 1847.—*Ed.*

It will not seem surprising that in these circumstances the Chartists should have recourse to most unusual measures; their leader, the famous Feargus O'Connor, has just announced that he is shortly to leave for Scotland, where he will call meetings in all the towns and collect signatures for the national petition for the People's Charter, which will be sent to the next Parliament. At the same time, he announced that before the opening of Parliament, the Chartist press is to be increased by the addition of a daily newspaper, the *Democrat*.

It will be recalled that at the last elections Mr. Harney, editor-in-chief of *The Northern Star*, was put forward as the Chartist candidate for Tiverton, a borough which is represented in Parliament by Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary. Mr. Harney, who won on the show of hands, decided to retire when Lord Palmerston demanded a poll. Now something has happened which shows how the feelings of the inhabitants of Tiverton differ from those of the small number of parliamentary electors. There was a vacancy to fill on the borough council; the municipal electors, a far more numerous class than that of the parliamentary electors, gave the vacant seat to Mr. Rowcliffe, the person who had proposed Mr. Harney at the elections. Moreover, the Chartists are preparing all over England for the municipal elections which will take place throughout the country at the beginning of November.

But let us turn now to England's greatest manufacturing district, Lancashire, a part of the country which has suffered under the burden of industrial stagnation more than any other. The situation in Lancashire is alarming in the highest degree. Most of the factories have already stopped work entirely, and those which are still operating employ their workers for only two or at the most three days a week. But this is still not all: the industrialists of Ashton, a very important town for the cotton industry, have announced to their workers that in a week's time they are going to reduce wages by 10 percent. This news, which is causing alarm among the workers, is spreading across the country. A few days later a meeting of workers' delegates from all over the county was held in Manchester; this meeting resolved to send a deputation to the owners to induce them not to carry out the threatened reduction and, if this deputation achieved no results, to announce a strike of all workers employed in the Lancashire cotton industry. This strike, together with the strike of the Birmingham iron-workers

and miners which has already started, would not fail to assume the same alarming dimensions which signaled the last general strike, that of 1842. It could quite well become even more menacing for the government.

In the meantime starving Ireland is writhing in the most terrible convulsions. The workhouses are overflowing with beggars, the ruined property owners are refusing to pay the Poor Tax, and the hungry people gather in their thousands to ransack the barns and cattle-sheds of the farmers and even of the Catholic priests, who were still sacred to them a short time ago.

It looks as though the Irish will not die of hunger as calmly next winter as they did last winter. Irish immigration to England is getting more alarming each day. It is estimated that an average of 50,000 Irish arrive each year; the number so far this year is already over 220,000. In September, 345 were arriving daily and in October this figure increased to 511. This means that the competition between the workers will become stronger, and it would not be at all surprising if the present crisis caused such an uproar that it compelled the government to grant reforms of a most important nature.

## Chartist Agitation<sup>254</sup>

*Engels, 1847*

Since the opening of Parliament, Chartist agitation has developed enormously. Petitions are being prepared, meetings held and Chartist agents are travelling everywhere. Besides the great *National* Petition for the People's Charter which this time, it is hoped, will collect four million signatures, two other petitions for the Chartist Land Company have just been submitted to the people; the first, edited by O'Connor and published in *The Northern Star* this week, can be summarized as follows:

To the Honorable, the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland  
in Parliament assembled, Gentlemen:

We, the undersigned, members of the Chartist Land Company and all workmen, considering that excessive speculation in the products of our work, the unlimited competition—And the continual increase in the mechanical means of production have everywhere closed outlets for our work;

that as the mechanical means of production increase, manual labor decreases and workers are sacked;

that your recent decision about the temporary suspension of work on the railways will throw thousands of workers out of work, which will flood the labor market and will make the employers again reduce the wages already reduced so many times;

that, nevertheless, we shall ask no more than to live from the products of our work;

that we reject all poor rates as an insult, serving only to give the capitalists a reserve to throw at any moment on the labor market in order to reduce wages by means of competition between the workers themselves;

that while manufacturing industry no longer knows how to employ the masses of proletarians which it has produced, agri-

<sup>254</sup> Originally published in *La Réforme*, December 30, 1847. Here: Marx & Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. VI, Lawrence & Wishart, 2010, pp. 412-414.

cultural industry still offers a vast field for our work, for it is sure that by the use of labor the yield of the land of our country can be at least quadrupled;

that therefore we have formed a company for purchasing land whereby each may be enabled to earn a livelihood for himself and family without being at the expense of the parish or of individual charity, and without reducing the wages of other workers by competition.

In this way we therefore pray you, gentlemen, to pass such a law which releases and enfranchises the *Land Company* from paying the Stamp duties, as well as the duty on bricks, timber and other building materials and to pass the *Bill* which will be placed before you to this end.

The Bill has also been drafted by Feargus O'Connor, who is soon going to present it to Parliament.

The second petition demands the return to the people of the uncultivated land that is the property of the parishes. This land, which for thirty years has been sold in blocks to great landowners, ought, as the petition requests, to be divided into small fields to be leased or sold on easy terms of payment to the laborers of this land. This petition was adopted in London at a great meeting where Messrs Harney and Jones, editors of *The Northern Star*, supported it in the absence of O'Connor, who was kept in Parliament. It was also adopted at a large meeting in Norwich where Mr. Jones, who is one of the best speakers in England, again gave it his brilliant and irresistible support.

The National Petition has finally been adopted by a large meeting in London. The principal speakers here were Messrs Keen, Schapper (German) and Harney. The address by the latter, above all, was marked by its democratic strength.

What is our entire political and social system, [he said,] but a gigantic fraud, erected and maintained for the benefit of idlers and impostors.

Behold the Church! The bishops and archbishops appropriate to themselves enormous salaries while leaving the hard-work-

ing clergy only a few pounds a year. Millions of pounds, in the shape of tithes, are taken annually from the people; these tithes were originally destined mainly for the upkeep of the churches and the support of the poor; now there are separate rates for that, and the Church 'sacks' all the tithes. I ask, is not such a Church an organized imposture? (Cheers.)

Behold our House of Commons, representing not the common people, but the aristocracy and the middle class, and dooming six-sevenths of the adult males of this country to political slavery by denying them the right to vote. Is not this house a legalized imposture? (Loud cheers.)

Behold those venerable peers who, whilst the wail of distress is heard through the land, can sit, evening after evening, waiting for the Coercion Bill coming up from the Commons. Will anyone be good enough to show me the utility of the Hospital of Incurables—will anyone attempt to defend this hereditary imposture? (Cheers.)

Of course, the respect I entertain for that blessed specimen of the wisdom of our ancestors—the monarchy—forbids me to speak in other than the most loyal terms of so interesting a sovereign as Queen Victoria, who regularly, once a year, is delivered of a royal speech and a royal baby. (Laughter.) We have just had the speech, and I see an announcement that in March next we are to have the baby. Her most gracious Majesty expresses great concern for her people's sufferings, admires their patience, and promises them another baby—and when it comes to babies, she has never yet promised in vain. (Bursts of laughter.) Then, there is Prince Albert, a celebrated hatmaker, a capital breeder of pigs, and a distinguished Field Marshal and who, for all his services, is paid thirty thousand pounds a year. No, citizens, the monarchy is no imposture. (Laughter and applause.)

The speaker, having contrasted with this picture of official society the picture of the people's sufferings, concluded by demanding the adoption of the National Petition for the Charter. The petition was adopted

unanimously. Mr. Duncombe will place it on the table in the House of Commons, when it has toured the country. I shall send you the translation of it as soon as I have obtained a Copy.



## The Coercion Bill For Ireland and the Chartists”<sup>255</sup>

*Engels, 1848*

The Irish Coercion Bill came into force last Wednesday. The Lord Lieutenant was not slow in taking advantage of the despotic powers with which this new law invests him; the act has been applied all over the counties of Limerick and Tipperary and to several baronies in the counties of Clare, Waterford, Cork, Roscommon, Leitrim, Cavan, Longford and *King's County*.

It remains to be seen what the effect of this odious measure will be. In this connection we already have the opinion of the class in whose interests the measure was taken, namely, the Irish landowners. They announce to the world in their organs that the measure will have no effect whatsoever. And in order to achieve this a whole country is being placed in a state of siege! To achieve this nine-tenths of the Irish representatives have deserted their country!

This is a fact. The desertion has been a general one. During the discussion of the Bill, the O'Connell family itself became divided: John and Maurice, two of the deceased "Liberator's" [Daniel O'Connell] sons, remained faithful to their homeland, whereas their brother Morgan O'Connell, not only voted for the Bill, but also spoke in its support on several occasions. There were only eighteen members who voted for the outright rejection of the Bill, and only twenty supported the amendment put forward by Mr. Wakley, the Chartist member for a borough on the outskirts of London, who demanded that the Coercion Bill should also be accompanied by measures aimed at reducing the causes of the crimes which it was proposed to repress. And among these eighteen and twenty voters there were also four or five English Radicals and two Irishmen representing English boroughs, meaning that out of the hundred members which Ireland has in Parliament there were only a dozen who put up serious opposition to the Bill.

This was the first discussion on an important question affecting Ireland which had been held since the death of O'Connell. It was to decide

<sup>255</sup> Originally published in *La Réforme*, January 8, 1848. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 55-57.

who would take the place of the great agitator in leading Ireland. Up to the opening of Parliament Mr. John O'Connell had been tacitly acknowledged in Ireland as his father's successor. But it soon became evident after the debate had begun that he was not capable of leading the party and, what is more, that he had found a formidable rival in Feargus O'Connor. This democratic leader about whom Daniel O'Connell said, "We are happy to make the English Chartists a present of Mr. F. O'Connor," put himself at the head of the Irish party in a single bound. It was he who proposed the outright rejection of the Coercion Bill; it was he who succeeded in rallying all the opposition behind him; it was he who opposed each clause, who held up the voting whenever possible; it was he who in his speeches summed up all the arguments of the opposition against the Bill; and finally it was he who, for the first time since 1835, reintroduced the motion for *Repeal of the Union*, a motion which none of the Irish members would have put forward.

The Irish members accepted this leader with a bad grace. As simple Whigs in their heart of hearts they fundamentally detest the democratic energy of Mr. O'Connor. He will not allow them to go on using the campaign for repeal as a means for overthrowing the Tories in favor of the Whigs and to forget the very word "repeal" when the latter come to power. But the Irish members who support repeal cannot possibly do without a leader like O'Connor and, although they are trying to undermine his growing popularity in Ireland, they are obliged to submit to his leadership in Parliament.

When the parliamentary session is over O'Connor will probably go on a tour of Ireland to revive the agitation for repeal and to found an Irish Chartist party. There can be no doubt that if O'Connor is successful in doing this, he will be the leader of the Irish people in less than six months. By uniting the democratic leadership of the three kingdoms in his hands, he will occupy a position which no agitator, not even O'Connell, has held before him.

We will leave it to our readers to judge the importance of this future alliance between the peoples of the two islands. British democracy will advance much more quickly when its ranks are swelled by two million brave and ardent Irish, and poverty-stricken Ireland will at last have taken an important step towards her liberation.

## The Chartist Movement. (The Fraternal Democrats to the Working Classes of Great Britain and Ireland.)<sup>256</sup>

*Engels, 1848*

The Society of Fraternal Democrats at its last meeting adopted an address to the workers of Great Britain and Ireland. This address, edited by Mr. Harney, of *The Northern Star*, is published in the latest number of this newspaper.

After recalling, in a portrayal as rapid as eloquent, the sufferings of the working class today, this address calls on the workers of the two islands to complete their party organization:

On all sides the middle class has laid traps for you. In order to divert you from the People's Charter, the only goal important to you, they spawn all sorts of projects for superficial reforms. But within a few years you have twice had to learn the hard lesson that any scheme of reform emanating from the *bourgeoisie* must be for you "like Dead Sea fruits that tempt the eye, but turn to ashes on the lips." Remember the agitation for the Reform Bill, and that for the repeal of the Corn Laws.

...Nonetheless, you are asked to support a "National League for the Reform of Abuses," an "Anti-State Church Association," an "Anti-Bribery Society," and societies for the reform of the currency, and the abolition of certain taxes, etc., etc. The one design of the projectors of these schemes is to perfect the already dominant power of the middle class. They all combine to resist your rightful claim to the privileges of citizenship: they are therefore your enemies. Were they desirous, as they profess to be, of promoting your welfare, they would aid you to obtain sovereign power. They well know that if you controlled the legislature, all the reforms they seek—and reforms of much greater importance—would be forthwith effected. How then can they call themselves your friends, while refusing you the suffrage?

<sup>256</sup> Originally published in *La Réforme*, January 10, 1848. Here: Marx & Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. VI, Lawrence & Wishart, 2010, pp. 466-467.

Let this great truth be impressed upon every working man, that it is from the hut and the hovel, the garret and the cellar, that must come the regenerators of his order and the social saviors of the human race. Receive with joy and fraternal love every man who, belonging to the privileged orders, shall renounce class distinctions, and ally himself with you, but look to no class above your own for your emancipation.... Practically outlawed by the other classes of the state, you must find in your own clear heads, courageous hearts, and powerful arms the means of effecting your regeneration.

...We must call your serious attention to a wicked and abominable conspiracy against your interests, the conspiracy both by the enemies of all reform, and by many of the middle-class sham-reformers. These conspirators seek to revive those national prejudices, now all but extinct, which formerly made the working men of these countries the willing butchers of their fellow men of other lands. They desire to inflame the people of these islands with a dread and hatred of the people of France, under the pretext that the French contemplate the invasion and subjugation of England.

Working men of Great Britain and Ireland, your country is already invaded and subjugated by enemies within—enemies who have reduced you politically and socially to the condition of Helots. You will not dislodge these enemies by increasing the physical power of your rulers. We believe that the veritable people of France—the proletarians—have learnt by experience that, like yourselves, their enemies are not to be found on any foreign shore, but in their own country. In France, as in England, a triumphant moneyocracy rules supreme and grinds the sons of labor to the dust. As in England, the people in France fights against this enemy and for the advent of liberty, equality and fraternity.

Even supposing this country were menaced by aggression from without, England would have nothing to apprehend if her people were freemen. It is not armies, navies or fortresses that constitute the true defense of nations; a nation's best defense consists in a people which is truly free....

Let the privileged classes renounce their unjust usurpations and establish political equality and social justice, and England will have nothing to fear against a world in arms. On the contrary, the people of all coun-

tries would hail with joy the march of England's power, if that power were arrayed on the side of the liberty and social emancipation of mankind.

Working men of Great Britain and Ireland, why should you arm yourselves and fight for the preservation of institutions in the privileges of which you have no share? For the maintenance of laws made not to protect, but to constrain you? For the protection of property which you can regard only as the accumulated plunder of the fruits of your labor? You are deprived of the produce of your industry; and then your poverty is made the pretext for withholding from you your citizens' rights! Subjected to plunder, wrong, and insult by the possessors of property, you are asked to pour out your blood in defense of property! Let the privileged and the property-holders fight their own battles! And if they are too weak to do so, let them give the do so, the whole nation will form a rampart round these islands which no foreign invader could ever break through!

Your great want is political power as the means to effect your social emancipation; and until that political power is yours, let your resolve be: No vote, no musket! Give us the suffrage, or we will not fight!

Working men of Great Britain and Ireland! Hold in abhorrence the conspirators who would set nation against nation, in the name of that wicked lie, that men of different countries are "natural enemies." Rally round the banner of democracy, with its motto: "All men are brothers!"

Signed on behalf of the Society of Fraternal Democrats: *G. Julian Harney, Ernest Jones, Thomas Clark, Charles Keen* (Great Britain); *J. A. Michelot, H. Bernard* (France); *Carl Schapper, J. Moll* (Germany); *J. Schabelitz, H. Krell* (Switzerland); *Peter Holm, Luntberg* (Scandinavia); *Louis Oborski* (Poland); *C. Pohse, P. Bluhm* (Russia).

## Feargus O'Connor and the Irish People<sup>257</sup>

*Engels, 1848*

The first issue of *The Northern Star* for 1848 contains an address to the Irish people by *Feargus O'Connor*, the well-known leader of the English Chartists and their representative in Parliament. This address deserves to be read from beginning to end and carefully considered by every democrat, but our restricted space prevents us from reproducing it in full.

We would, however, be remiss in our duty if we were to pass it over in silence. The consequences of this forceful appeal to the Irish people will very soon be strongly felt and seen. Feargus O'Connor, himself of Irish descent, a Protestant and for over ten years a leader and main pillar of the great labor movement in England, must henceforth be regarded as the virtual chief of the Irish Repealers and advocates of reform. His speeches in the House of Commons against the recently published disgraceful Irish Coercion Bill have given him the first claim to this status, and the subsequently continued agitation for the Irish cause shows that Feargus O'Connor is just the man Ireland needs.

*O'Connor* is indeed seriously concerned about the well-being of the millions in Ireland. Repeal—the abolition of the Union, that is, the achievement of an independent Irish Parliament—is not an empty word, not a pretext for obtaining posts for himself and his friends and for making profitable private business transactions.

In his address he shows the Irish people that Daniel O'Connell, that political juggler, led them by the nose and deceived them for thirteen years by means of the word "Repeal."

He shows in its true light the conduct of John O'Connell, who has taken up his father's political heritage and who, like his father, is prepared to sacrifice millions of credulous Irishmen for the sake of his personal ventures and interests. All O'Connell's speeches at the Dublin Conciliation Hall and all his hypocritical protestations and beautiful phrases will not obliterate the disrepute he has brought upon himself earlier and in par-

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<sup>257</sup> Originally published in *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, January 9, 1848. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp.58-60.

ticular now in the House of Commons during the debates on the Irish Coercion Bill.

The Irish people must and will see how things stand, and then it will kick out the entire gang of so-called Repealers, who under cover of this cloak laugh up their sleeves and in their purses, and John O'Connell, the fanatical papist and political rogue, will be kicked out first of all.

If this were all the address contained, we should not have especially mentioned it.

But it is of much wider importance. For Feargus O'Connor speaks in it not only as an Irishman but also, and primarily, as an English democrat, as a Chartist.

With a lucidity which cannot escape even the most obtuse mind, O'Connor shows that the Irish people must fight with all their might and in close association with the English working classes and the Chartists in order to win the six points of the People's Charter—annual parliaments, universal suffrage, vote by ballot, abolition of the property qualification for members of Parliament, payment of MPs and the establishment of equal electoral districts. Only after these six points are won will the achievement of the Repeal have any advantages for Ireland.

Furthermore O'Connor points out that justice for Ireland has already been demanded earlier by the English workers in a petition which received 3 1/2 million signatures, and that now the English Chartists have again protested against the Irish Coercion Bill in numerous petitions and that the oppressed classes in England and Ireland must at last fight together and conquer together or continue to languish under the same oppression and live in the same misery and dependence on the privileged and ruling capitalist class.

There can be no doubt that henceforth the mass of the Irish people will unite ever more closely with the English Chartists and will act with them according to a common plan. As a result, the victory of the English democrats, and hence the liberation of Ireland, will be hastened by many years. That is the significance of O'Connor's address to the Irish people.

## Cologne in Danger<sup>258</sup>

*Engels, 1848 (Excerpt)*

The lovely holiday of Whitsuntide had arrived, the fields were green, the trees were blossoming [Goethe's "Reineke Fuchs," paraphrased] and as far as there are people who confuse the dative with the accusative [allusion to a grammatical mistake commonly made by people speaking the Berlin dialect], preparations were made to pour out the holy spirit of reaction over all lands in a *single* day.

The moment is well chosen. In Naples guard lieutenants and Swiss mercenaries have succeeded in drowning the young liberty in the people's blood. In France, an Assembly of capitalists fetters the Republic by means of Draconic laws<sup>259</sup> and appoints General Perrot, who ordered the shooting at the Hôtel Guizot on February 23, commandant of Vincennes. In England and Ireland masses of Chartists and Repealers<sup>260</sup> are thrown into gaol and unarmed meetings are dispersed by dragoons. In Frankfurt the National Assembly itself now appoints the triumvirate which the blessed Federal Diet proposed and the Committee of Fifty rejected.<sup>261</sup> in Berlin

<sup>258</sup> Originally published in *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, June 10, 1848. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, p. 62.

<sup>259</sup> Following the unsuccessful revolutionary action of the Paris workers on May 15, 1848, the Constituent Assembly adopted a decree on the reorganization of national workshops, and steps were taken to abolish them altogether; a law was passed banning gatherings in the streets, a number of democratic clubs were closed and other police measures taken.

<sup>260</sup> *Repealers*—supporters of the repeal of the Anglo-Irish Union of 1801, which abrogated the autonomy of the Irish Parliament. Ever since the 1820s, the demand for the repeal of the Union became a mass issue in Ireland. In 1840, a Repeal Association was founded whose leader, Daniel O'Connell, proposed a compromise with the English ruling circles. In January 1847 its radical elements broke away from the Association and formed an Irish Confederation; representatives of its Left revolutionary wing stood at the head of the national liberation movement and in 1848 were subjected to severe repression

<sup>261</sup> The *Committee of Fifty* was elected by the Pre-parliament in April 1848, mainly from among the representatives of its constitutional-monarchist majority, with moderate republicans receiving only 12 seats.

The *Pre-parliament* which met in Frankfurt am Main from March 31 to April 4, 1848, consisted of representatives from the German states, most of its delegates being constitutional monarchists. The Pre-parliament passed a resolution to convoke an all-German National Assembly and produced a draft of the "Fundamental Rights



the Right is winning blow by blow through numerical superiority and drumming, and the Prince of Prussia declares the revolution null and void by moving back into the “property of the entire nation.”<sup>262</sup>

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and Demands of the German People.” Although this document proclaimed certain rights and liberties, including the right of all-German citizenship for the residents of any German state, it did not touch the basis of the semi-feudal absolutist system prevalent in Germany at the time.

The Committee rejected the proposal of the Federal Diet to create a directory of three men to constitute a provisional Central Authority of the German Confederation. At the beginning of June 1848, a similar proposal was submitted to the Frankfurt National Assembly. As a result of the debate, the Assembly decided on June 28 to form a provisional Central Authority composed of an Imperial Regent and an Imperial Ministry.

<sup>262</sup> The “*property of the entire nation*”—the words inscribed by armed workers in Berlin on the walls of the palace of the Prince of Prussia, who had fled to England during the March revolution of 1848

## Speech on the Polish Question<sup>263</sup>

*Marx, 1848 (Excerpt)*

The men at the head of the revolutionary movement in Krakow were most deeply convinced that only a democratic Poland could be independent, and that a Polish democracy was impossible without an abolition of feudal rights, without an agrarian movement that would transform the feudally obligated peasants into modern owners. Put Russian autocrats over Polish aristocrats; thereby you have merely naturalized the despotism. In exactly the same way, in their war against foreign rule, the Germans have exchanged one Napoleon for 36 Metternichs.

If the Polish feudal lord no longer has a Russian feudal lord over him, the Polish peasant has not a less feudal lord over him—indeed, a free, in place of an enslaved, lord. The political change has changed nothing in the peasant's social position.

The Krakow revolution has set all of Europe a glorious example, because it identified the question of nationalism with democracy and with the liberation of the oppressed class.

Even though this revolution has been strangled with the bloody hands of paid murderers, it now nevertheless rises gloriously and triumphantly in Switzerland and in Italy. It finds its principles confirmed in Ireland, where O'Connell's party [the Irish Confederation, founded January 1847] with its narrowly restricted nationalistic aims has sunk into the grave, and the new national party is pledged above all to reform and democracy.

Again it is Poland that has seized the initiative, and no longer a feudal Poland but a democratic Poland; and from this point on its liberation has become a matter of honor for all the democrats of Europe.

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<sup>263</sup> Marx & Engels, *Op. cit.*, ("Ireland and the Irish Question") p. 61.

## Defense.—Finances.—Decrease of the Aristocracy Politics<sup>264</sup>

*Marx, 1853 (Excerpt)*

The deaths of Viscount Melbourne and the Earl of Tyrconnel, with that of the Earl of Oxford, make no less than three peerages, that have become extinct within the last fortnight. If there be any class exempt from the Malthusian law of procreation in a geometrical progression, it is that of the hereditary aristocracy. Take, for instance, the peers and baronets of Great Britain. Few, if any, of the Norman nobility exist at this time and not much more of the original baronet families of King James I. The great majority of the House of Lords were created in 1760. The order of baronets commenced in 1611, under James I. There are at present only thirteen surviving out of the number of baronet families then created, and of those created in 1625 there remain but 39. The extraordinary decrease of the Venetian nobility affords another instance of the prevalence of the same law, notwithstanding that *all* the sons were ennobled by birth. *Amelot* counted in his time 2,500 nobles at Venice, possessing the right of voting in the council.<sup>265</sup> At the commencement of the 18<sup>th</sup> century there remained only 1,500, in spite of a later addition of several families. From 1583–1654, the sovereign council of Berne admitted into the hereditary patricia 487 families, of which 399 became extinct within the space of two centuries while in 1783 there survived only 108. To recur to remoter periods of history, Tacitus informs us that the Emperor Claudius created a new stock of patricians, “*exhaustis etiam quas dictator Caesar lege Cassia et princeps Augustus lege Saenia sublegere.*”<sup>266</sup> It is evident from these facts, that nature does not like hereditary aristocracy, and it may safely be asserted but that for a continual infusion of new blood, and an artificial system of propping up, the English House of Lords would ere this have died its

<sup>264</sup> Originally published in the *New York Daily Tribune*, February 23, 1853. Here: Marx & Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. IX, Lawrence & Wishart, 2010, pp. 502–505.

<sup>265</sup> Amelot de la Houssaye, *Histoire du gouvernement de Venise*.—Ed.

<sup>266</sup> “For even those had died out who had been added by the dictator Caesar under the law of Cassius and by the princeps Augustus under the law of Saenius,” Publius Cornelius Tacitus, *Annales*, XI, 25.—Ed.

natural death. Modern physiology has ascertained the fact, that fertility decreases among the higher animals, inversely with the development of the nervous system, especially with the growing bulk of the brain. But no one will venture to affirm that the extinction of the English aristocracy has anything to do with an exuberance of brain.

It appears that the “millennium” is already considered as broken down by the same parties who predicted and originated it, even before the House of Commons has taken place. *The Times*, in its number of Feb. 4, says:

While Manchester has been fulminating her indignation against the Government of Lord Aberdeen,... Irish Popery and *Socialism* (?) are bestowing their questionable praises on Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli.

As to the *Irish Socialism* alluded to in *The Times*, this term applies, of course, to the Tenant-Right agitation. On a future occasion I intend to show that the theories of all modern English bourgeois economists are in perfect accordance with the principle of Tenant-Right. How little the tenor of *The Times* article just quoted is shared in by other newspapers, may be seen from the following contained in *The Morning Advertiser*:

We should despise the Irishmen, could we believe them capable of deserting the principle of Tenant-Right.<sup>267</sup>

The wrath of the Aberdeen organ is explained by the fact of the Millenarian Ministry being completely disappointed. Messrs. Sadleir and Keogh were the acknowledged leaders of the Brigade the one in the Cabinet, the other in the field. Mr. Sadleir directed and managed, while Mr. Keogh made the speeches. It was supposed that the purchase of these two would bring over the whole lot. But the members of the Brigade were sent to parliament pledged to stand in opposition to, and to remain independent of every Government that would not establish perfect religious equality, and realize the principle of Sharman Crawford's bill on the rights of the Irish tenants. *The Times*, therefore, is indignant at these men being unwilling to break their faith. The immediate cause of the outbreak of this angry feeling was given by a meeting and banquet at Kells, County of Meath. The circular invited those to whom it was addressed, to express

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<sup>267</sup> Quoted from the leading article in *The Morning Advertiser*, February 5, 1853.—Ed.

their indignation at "the recent desertion from the Irish Parliamentary party," and a resolution was passed in that sense.

This failure in the calculations of the Ministry with regard to the Brigade could have been anticipated: but a transformation is now going on in the character and position of Irish parties, of the deep bearing of which neither they nor the English press appear yet to be aware. The bishops and the mass of the clergy approve of the course taken by the Catholic members, who have joined the Administration. At Carlow, the clergy afforded their entire support to Mr. Sadleir, who would not have been defeated but for the efforts of the Tenant-Leaguers. In what light this schism is viewed by the true Catholic party, may be seen from an article in the French *Univers*, the European organ of Jesuitism. It says:

The only reproach which can, with good foundation, be objected to Messrs. Keogh and Sadleir, is, that they suffered themselves to be thrown into connection with two Associations (the Tenant-League and the Religious Equality Association) which have no other object than to make patent the anarchy which consumes Ireland.

In its indignation, the *Univers* betrays its secret:

We deeply regret to see the two Associations put themselves in open opposition to the bishops and clergy, in a country where the prelates and dignitaries of the Church have hitherto been the safest guides of popular and national organization.

We may infer that, should the Tenant-Leaguers happen to be in France, the *Univers* would cause them to be transported to Cayenne. The Repeal agitation was a mere political movement, and therefore, it was possible for the Catholic clergy to make use of it, for extorting concessions from the English Government while the people were nothing but the tools of the priests. The Tenant-Right agitation is a deep-rooted social movement which, in its course, will produce a downright scission between the Church and the Irish Revolutionary party, and thus emancipate the people from that mental thralldom which has frustrated all their exertions, sacrifices, and struggles for centuries past.

## Forced Emigration.—Kossuth and Mazzini.— The Refugee Question.—Election Bribery in England.—Mr. Cobden<sup>268</sup>

*Marx, 1853 (Excerpt)*

From the accounts relating to trade and navigation for the years 1851 and 1852, published in Feb. last, we see that the total declared value of *exports* amounted to £68,531,601 in 1851, and to £71,429,548 in 1852; of the latter amount, £47,209,000 go to the export of cotton, wool, linen and silk manufactures. The quantity of *imports* for 1852 is below that for the year 1851. The proportion of imports entered for home consumption not having diminished, but rather increased, it follows that England has reexported, instead of the usual quantity of colonial produce, a certain amount of gold and silver.<sup>269</sup> The Colonial Land Emigration Office gives the following return of the emigration from England, Scotland and Ireland to all parts of the world, from Jan. 1, 1847, to June 30, 1852<sup>270</sup>:

<i>Year</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Scotch</i>	<i>Irish</i>	<i>Total</i>
1847	34,685	8,616	214,969	258,270
1848	58,865	11,505	177,719	248,089
1849	73,613	17,127	208,758	299,498
1850	57,843	15,154	207,852	280,849
1851	69,557	18,646	247,763	335,966
1852 (till June)	40,767	11,562	143,375	195,704
Total	335,330	82,610	1,200,436	1,618,376

Nine-tenths, [remarks the Office,] of the emigrants from Liverpool are assumed to be Irish. About three-fourths of the

<sup>268</sup> Originally published in the *New York Daily Tribune*, March 22, 1853. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 64-68.

<sup>269</sup> This paragraph is omitted in *The People's Paper*.—*Ed.*

<sup>270</sup> The returns are quoted from the article "Effects of Emigration on Production and Consumption" published in *The Economist*, No. 494, February 12, 1853 (the comments quoted below are from this article).—*Ed.*

emigrants from Scotland are Celts, either from the Highlands or from Ireland through Glasgow.

Nearly four-fifths of the whole emigration are, accordingly, to be regarded as belonging to the Celtic population of Ireland and of the Highlands and islands of Scotland. *The London Economist* says of this emigration:

It is consequent on the breaking down of the system of society founded on small holdings and potato cultivation; [and adds:] The departure of the redundant part of the population of Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland is an indispensable preliminary to every kind of improvement.... The revenue of Ireland has not suffered in any degree from the famine of 1846–47, or from the emigration that has since taken place. On the contrary, her net revenue amounted in 1851 to £4,281,999, being about £184,000 greater than in 1843.

Begin with pauperizing the inhabitants of a country, and when there is no more profit to be ground out of them, when they have grown a burden to the revenue, drive them away, and sum up your Net Revenue! Such is the doctrine laid down by Ricardo, in his celebrated work, *The Principle of Political Economy*. The annual profits of a capitalist amounting to £2,000, what does it matter to him whether he employs 100 men or 1,000 men? “Is not,” says Ricardo, “the real income of a nation similar?” The net real income of a nation, rents and profits, remaining the same, it is no subject of consideration whether it is derived from 10 millions of people or from 12 millions. Sismondi, in his *Nouveaux Principes d’Économie Politique*, answers that, according to this view of the matter, the English nation would not be interested at all in the disappearance of the whole population, the King<sup>271</sup> (at that time it was no Queen, but a King) remaining alone in the midst of the island, supposing only that automatic machinery enabled him to procure the amount of *Net Revenue* now produced by a population of 20 millions. Indeed, that grammatical entity “the national wealth” would in this case not be diminished.

<sup>271</sup> The reference is to King George III.—*Ed.*

In a former letter I have given an instance of the clearing of estates in the Highlands of Scotland.<sup>272</sup> That emigration continues to be forced upon Ireland by the same process, you may see from the following quotation from *The Galway Mercury*:

The people are fast passing away from the land in the West of Ireland. The landlords of Connaught are tacitly combined to weed out all the smaller occupiers, against whom a regular systematic war of extermination is being waged.... The most heart-rending cruelties are daily practiced in this province, of which the public are not at all aware.<sup>273</sup>

But it is not only the pauperized inhabitants of Green Erin and of the Highlands of Scotland that are swept away by agricultural improvements, and by the “breaking down of the antiquated system of society.” It is not only the able-bodied agricultural laborers from England, Wales, and Lower Scotland whose passages are paid by the Emigration Commissioners. The wheel of “improvement” is now seizing another class, the most stationary class in England. A startling emigration movement has sprung up among the smaller English farmers, especially those holding heavy clay soils, who, with bad prospects for the coming harvest, and in want of sufficient capital to make the great improvements on their farms which would enable them to pay their old rents, have no other alternative but to cross the sea in search of a new country and of new lands. I am not speaking now of the emigration caused by the gold mania, but only of the compulsory emigration produced by landlordism, concentration of farms, application of machinery to the soil, and introduction of the modern system of agriculture on a great scale.

In the ancient states, in Greece and Rome, compulsory emigration, assuming the shape of the periodical establishment of colonies, formed a regular link in the structure of society. The whole system of those states was founded on certain limits to the numbers of the population, which could not be surpassed without endangering the condition of antique civilization itself. But why was it so? Because the application of science to

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<sup>272</sup> See Elections. Financial Clouds. The Duchess of Sutherland and Slavery—*Ed.*

<sup>273</sup> “State of the Country,” *The Galway Mercury*, February 5, 1853. This quotation and the paragraph directly preceding it are omitted in *The People’s Paper*.—*Ed.*



material production was utterly unknown to them. To remain civilized they were forced to remain few. Otherwise they would have had to submit to the bodily drudgery which transformed the free citizen into a slave. The want of productive power made citizenship dependent on a certain proportion in numbers not to be disturbed. Forced emigration was the only remedy.

It was the same pressure of population on the powers of production that drove the barbarians from the high plains of Asia to invade the Old World. The same cause acted there, although under a different form. To remain barbarians they were forced to remain few. They were pastoral, hunting, war-waging tribes, whose manner of production required a large space for every individual, as is now the case with the Indian tribes in North America. By augmenting in numbers they curtailed each other's field of production. Thus the surplus population was forced to undertake those great adventurous migratory movements which laid the foundation of the peoples of ancient and modern Europe.

But with modern compulsory emigration the case stands quite opposite. Here it is not the want of productive power which creates a surplus population; it is the increase of productive power which demands a diminution of population, and drives away the surplus by famine or emigration. It is not population that presses on productive power; it is productive power that presses on population.

Now I share neither in the opinions of Ricardo, who regards "Net Revenue" as the Moloch to whom entire populations must be sacrificed, without even so much as complaint, nor in the opinion of Sismondi, who, in his hypochondriacal philanthropy, would forcibly retain the superannuated methods of agriculture and proscribe science from industry, as Plato expelled poets from his Republic.<sup>274</sup> Society is undergoing a silent revolution, which must be submitted to, and which takes no more notice of the human existences it breaks down than an earthquake regards the houses it subverts. The classes and the races, too weak to master the new conditions of life, must give way. But can there be anything more puerile, more shortsighted, than the views of those economists who believe in all earnest that this woeful transitory state means nothing but adapting society to the

<sup>274</sup> Plato, *Politeia*, X.—Ed.

acquisitive propensities of capitalists, both landlords and money lords? In Great Britain the working of that process is most transparent. The application of modern science to production clears the land of its inhabitants, but it concentrates people in manufacturing towns.

No manufacturing workmen, [says *The Economist*,] have been assisted by the Emigration Commissioners, except a few Spitalfields and Paisley hand-loom weavers, and few or none have emigrated at their own expense.

*The Economist* knows very well that they could not emigrate at their own expense, and that the industrial middle class would not assist them in emigrating. Now, to what does this lead? The rural population, the most stationary and conservative element of modern society, disappears, while the industrial proletariat, by the very working of modern production, finds itself gathered in mighty centers, around the great productive forces, whose history of creation has hitherto been the martyrology of the laborers. Who will prevent them from going a step further and appropriating these forces, to which they have been appropriated before? Where will be the power of resisting them? Nowhere! Then, it will be of no use to appeal to the "rights of property." The modern changes in the art of production have, according to the bourgeois economists themselves, broken down the antiquated system of society and its modes of appropriation. They have *expropriated* the Scotch clansman, the Irish cottier and tenant, the English yeoman, the hand-loom weaver, numberless handicrafts, whole generations of factory children and women; they will expropriate, in due time, the landlord and the cotton lord.

On the Continent heaven is fulminating, but in England the earth itself is trembling. England is the country where the real revulsion of modern society begins.<sup>275</sup>

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<sup>275</sup> The paragraph that follows is omitted in *The People's Paper*.—Ed.

## The Indian Question.—Irish Tenant Right<sup>276</sup>

*Marx, 1853*

The debate on Lord Stanley's motion with respect to India commenced on the 23<sup>rd</sup>, continued on the 24<sup>th</sup>, and adjourned to the 27<sup>th</sup> inst., has not been brought to a close. When that shall at length have arrived, I intend to resume my observations on the Indian question.<sup>277</sup>

As the Coalition Ministry<sup>278</sup> depends on the support of the Irish party, and as all the other parties composing the House of Commons so nicely balance each other that the Irish may at any moment turn the scales which way they please, some concessions are at last about to be made to the Irish tenants. The "Leasing powers (Ireland) Bill," which passed the House of Commons on Friday last, contains a provision that for the improvements made on the soil and separable from the soil, the tenant shall have, at the termination of his lease, a compensation in money, the incoming tenant being at liberty take them at the valuation, while with respect to improvements in the soil, compensation for them shall be arranged by contract between the landlord and the tenant.<sup>279</sup>

A tenant having incorporated his capital, in one form or another, in the land, and having thus effected an improvement of the soil, either directly by irrigation, drainage, manure, or indirectly by construction of buildings for agricultural purposes, in steps the landlord with demand for increased rent. If the tenant concedes, he has to pay the interest for his own money to the landlord. If he resist, he will be very unceremoniously ejected, and supplanted by a new tenant, the latter being enabled to pay a

<sup>276</sup> Originally published in the *New York Daily Tribune*, July 11, 1853. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 69-75.

<sup>277</sup> Marx realized this intention in the article "The Future Results of the British Rule in India," printed in *The New York Daily Tribune* on August 8, 1853.

<sup>278</sup> The *Coalition Ministry* (1852-55), headed by Aberdeen, consisted of representatives of both ruling parties: the Whigs and the Tories and a group of Peelites (moderate Tories), to whom the Premier himself belonged. Whigs predominated in the Ministry. Aberdeen's Government was ironically called the "ministry of all talents."

<sup>279</sup> A draft Bill submitted by Aberdeen's Government to the House of Commons in June 1853. The government expected to normalize the relations between landlords and tenants by giving the latter some rights and thereby mitigating the class struggle in the country. After more than two years of debates Parliament rejected the Bill.

higher rent by the very expenses incurred by his predecessors, until he also, in his turn, has become an improver of the land, and is replaced in the same way, or put on worse terms. In this easy way a class of absentee landlords has been enabled to pocket, not merely the labor, but also the capital, of whole generations, each generation of Irish peasants sinking a grade lower in the social scale, exactly in proportion to the exertions and sacrifices made for the raising of their condition and that of their families. If the tenant was industrious and enterprising, he became taxed in consequence of his very industry and enterprise. If, on the contrary, he grew inert and negligent, he was reproached with the “aboriginal faults of the Celtic race.” He had, accordingly, no other alternative left but to become a pauper—to pauperize himself by industry, or to pauperize by negligence. In order to oppose this state of things, “Tenant Right” was proclaimed in Ireland—a right of the tenant, not in the soil but in the improvements of the soil effected at his cost and charges. Let us see in what manner *The Times*, in its Saturday’s leader, attempts to break down this Irish “Tenant Right”<sup>280</sup>:

There are two general systems of farm occupation. Either a tenant may take a lease of the land for a fixed number of years, or his holding may be terminable at any time upon certain notice. In the first of these events, it would be obviously his course to adjust and apportion his outlay so that all, or nearly all the benefit would find its way to him before the expiration of his term. In the second case it seems equally obvious that he should not run the risk of the investment without a proper assurance of return.

Where the landlords have to deal with a class of large capitalists who may, as they please, invest their stock in commerce, in manufactures or in farming, there can be no doubt but that these capitalist farmers, whether they take long leases or no time leases at all, know how to secure the proper return of their outlays. But with regard to Ireland the supposition is quite fictitious. On the one side you have there a small class of land monopolists, on the other, a very large class of tenants with very petty fortunes, which they have no chance to invest in different ways, no other field of production opening to them, except the soil. They are, therefore, forced to

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<sup>280</sup> The article referred to was printed in *The Times* on June 25, 1853.

become tenants-at-will. Being once tenants-at-will, they naturally run the risk of losing their revenue, provided they do not invest their small capital. Investing it, in order to secure their revenue, they run the risk of losing their capital, also.

Perhaps, [continues *The Times*,] it maybe said, that in any case a tenantry could hardly expire without something being left upon the ground, in some shape or another, representing the tenant's own property, and that for this compensation should be forthcoming. There is some truth in the remark, but the demand thus created ought, under proper conditions of society,—to be easily adjusted between landlord and tenant, as it might, at any rate, be provided for in the original contract. We say that the conditions of society should regulate these arrangements, because we believe that no Parliamentary enactment can be effectually substituted for such an agency.

Indeed, under “proper conditions of society,” we should want no more Parliamentary interference with the Irish land-tenant, as we should not want, under “proper conditions of society,” the interference of the soldier, of the policeman, and of the hangman. Legislature, magistracy and armed force, are all of them but the offspring of improper conditions of society, preventing those arrangements among men which would make useless the compulsory intervention of a third supreme power. Has, perhaps, *The Times* been converted into a social revolutionist? Does it want a *social* revolution, reorganizing the “conditions of society,” and the “arrangements” emanating from them, instead of “Parliamentary enactments?” England has subverted the conditions of Irish society. At first it confiscated the land, then it suppressed the industry<sup>281</sup> by “Parliamentary enactments,” and lastly, it broke the active energy by armed force. And thus England created those abominable “conditions of society” which enable a small *caste* of rapacious lordlings to dictate to the Irish people the terms

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<sup>281</sup> With the introduction of the Union in 1801 the English Parliament abolished the tariffs which had protected the emergent Irish industry against European competition since the end of the eighteenth century. The abrogation of the tariffs dealt a mortal blow to Irish manufacture, which was unable to compete with the far more powerful English industry. Cotton and wool manufacture died out altogether and Ireland became an agrarian appendage of England.

on which they shall be allowed to hold the land and to live upon it. Too weak yet for revolutionizing those “social conditions,” the people appeal to Parliament, demanding at least their mitigation and regulation. But “No,” says *The Times*; if you don’t live under proper conditions of society, Parliament can’t mend that. And if the Irish people, on the advice of *The Times*, tried tomorrow to mend their conditions of society, *The Times* would be the first to appeal to bayonets, and to pour out sanguinary denunciations of the “aboriginal faults of the Celtic race,” wanting the Anglo-Saxon taste for pacific progress and legal amelioration.

If a landlord, [says *The Times*,] deliberately injures one tenant, he will find it so much the harder to get another, and whereas his occupation consists in letting land, he will find his land all the more difficult to let.

The case stands rather differently in Ireland. The more a landlord injures one tenant, the easier he will find it to oppress another. The tenant who comes in, is the means of injuring the ejected one, and the ejected one is the means of keeping down the new occupant. That, in due course of time, the landlord, beside injuring the tenant, will injure himself and ruin himself, is not only a probability, but the very fact, in Ireland—a fact affording, however, a very precarious source of comfort to the ruined tenant.

The relations between the landlord and tenant are those between two traders [says *The Times*].

This is precisely the *petitio principii* which pervades the whole leader of *The Times*. The needy Irish tenant belongs to the soil, while the soil belongs to the English lord. As well you might call the relation between the robber who presents his pistol, and the traveler who presents his purse, a relation between two traders.

But, [says *The Times*,] in point of fact, the relation between Irish landlords and tenants will soon be reformed by an agency more potent than that of legislation. The property of Ireland is fast passing into new hands, and, if the present rate of emigration continues, its cultivation must undergo the same transfer.

Here, at least, *The Times* has the truth. British Parliament does not interfere at a moment when the worked-out old system is terminating in the common ruin, both of the thrifty landlord and the needy tenant, the former being knocked down by the hammer of the *Encumbered Estates* Commission, and the latter expelled by compulsory emigration. This reminds us of the old Sultan of Morocco. Whenever there was a case pending between two parties, he knew of no more “potent agency” for settling their controversy, than by killing both parties.

Nothing could tend, [concludes *The Times* with regard to Tenant Right,] to greater confusion than such a communistic distribution of ownership. The only person with any right in the land, is the landlord.

*The Times* seems to have been the sleeping Epimenides of the past half century, and never to have heard of the hot controversy going on during all that time upon the claims of the landlord, not among social reformers and Communists, but among the very political economists of the British middle class. Ricardo, the creator of modern political economy in Great Britain, did not controvert the “right” of the landlords, as he was quite convinced that their claims were based upon fact, and not on right, and that political economy in general had nothing to do with questions of right; but he attacked the land-monopoly in a more unassuming, yet more scientific, and therefore more dangerous manner. He proved that private proprietorship in land, as distinguished from the respective claims of the laborer, and of the farmer, was a relation quite superfluous in, and incoherent with, the whole framework of modern production; that the economical expression of that relationship and the rent of land, might, with great advantage, be appropriated by the State; and finally that the interest of the landlord was opposed to the interest of all other classes of modern society. It would be tedious to enumerate all the conclusions drawn from these premises by the Ricardo School against the landed monopoly. For my end, it will suffice to quote three of the most recent economical authorities of Great Britain.

*The London Economist*, whose chief editor, Mr. J. Wilson, is not only a Free Trade oracle,<sup>282</sup> but a Whig one, too, and not only a Whig, but also an inevitable Treasury-appendage in every Whig or composite ministry, has contended in different articles that exactly speaking there can exist no title authorizing any individual, or any number of individuals, to claim the exclusive proprietorship in the soil of a nation.

Mr. Newman, in his *Lectures on Political Economy*, London, 1851, professedly written for the purpose of refuting socialism, tells us:

No man has, or can have, a natural right to land, except so long as he occupies it in person. His right is to the use, and to the use only. All other right is the creation of artificial law [or Parliamentary enactments as *The Times* would call it] [...] If, at any time, land becomes needed to live upon, the right of private possessors to withhold it comes to an end.

This is exactly the case in Ireland, and Mr. Newman expressly confirms the claims of the Irish tenantry, and in lectures held before the most select audiences of the British aristocracy.

In conclusion let me quote some passages from Mr. Herbert Spencer's work, *Social Statics*, London, 1851, also, purporting to be a complete refutation of communism, and acknowledged as the most elaborate development of the Free Trade doctrines of modern England.

No one may use the earth in such a way as to prevent the rest from similarly using it. Equity, therefore, does not permit property in land, or the rest would live on the earth by sufferance only. The landless men might equitably be expelled from the earth altogether [...]. It can never be pretended, that the existing titles to such property are legitimate. Should anyone think so let him look in the Chronicles. The original deeds were written with the sword, rather than with the pen. Not lawyers but

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<sup>282</sup> *Free traders*—*champions* of unencumbered trade and non-intervention by the state in the economy. The center of the free traders was in Manchester, where the so-called Manchester School emerged—a trend in economic thought reflecting the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. The movement was headed by the textile manufacturers Cobden and Bright, who in 1838 organized the Anti-Corn Law League. In the forties and fifties the free traders were a separate political grouping of bourgeois radicals, who at the end of the fifties amalgamated with the emerging English Liberal Party.



soldiers were the conveyancers: blows were the current coin given in payment; and for seals blood was used in preference to wax. Could valid claims be thus constituted? Hardly. And if not, what becomes of the pretensions of all subsequent holders of estates so obtained? Does sale or bequest generate a right where it did not previously exist? [...] If one act of transfer can give no title, can many? [...] At what rate per annum do invalid claims become valid? [...] The right of mankind at large to the earth's surface is still valid, all deeds, customs and laws notwithstanding. It is impossible to discover any mode in which land can become private property. [...] We daily deny landlordism by our legislation. Is a canal, a railway, or a turnpike road to be made? We do not scruple to seize just as many acres as may be requisite. We do not wait for consent. [...] The change required would simply be a change of landlords. [...] Instead of being in the possession of individuals, the country would be held by the great corporate body—society. Instead of leasing his acres from an isolated proprietor, the farmer would lease them from the nation. Instead of paying his rent to the agent of Sir John, or His Grace, he will pay to an agent, or deputy-agent of the community. Stewards would be public officials, instead of private ones, and tenantry the only land tenure. [...] Pushed to its ultimate consequences, a claim to exclusive possession of the soil involves landowning despotism.

Thus, from the very point of view of modern English political economists, it is not the usurping English landlord but the Irish tenants and laborers, who have the only right in the soil of their native country, and *The Times*, in opposing the demands of the Irish people, places itself into direct antagonism to British middle-class science.

**From Financial Failure of Government.—  
Cabs.—Ireland.—The Russian Question**<sup>283</sup>

*Marx, 1853*

Like the world in general, we are assured that Ireland in particular is becoming a paradise for the laborer, in consequence of famine and exodus. Why then, if wages really are so high in Ireland, is it that Irish laborers are flocking in such masses over to England to settle permanently on this side of the “pond,”<sup>284</sup> while they formerly used to return after every harvest? If the social amelioration of the Irish people is making such progress, how is it that, on the other hand, insanity has made such terrific progress among them since 1847, and especially since 1851? Look at the following data from “the Sixth Report on the District Criminal and Private Lunatic Asylums in Ireland”:

<i>1851</i>	Sum total of admissions in Lunatic Asylums.	2,584	(1,301 males and 1,283 females.)
<i>1852</i>	— — — — —	2,662	(1,276 males and 1,386 females.)
<i>March 1853</i>	— — — — —	2,870	(1,447 males and 1,423 females.)

And this is the same country in which the celebrated Swift, the founder of the first Lunatic Asylum in Ireland,<sup>285</sup> doubted whether 90 madmen could be found.

<sup>283</sup> Originally published in the *New York Daily Tribune*, August 12, 1853. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, p. 76.

<sup>284</sup> Marx means the Irish Sea.

<sup>285</sup> Jonathan Swift bequeathed his entire fortune to the building of a lunatic asylum in Dublin. It was opened in 1757.

## The War Question.—British Population and Trade Returns.—Doings of Parliament<sup>286</sup>

*Marx, 1853 (Excerpt)*

In its sitting of Aug. 9, the House of Lords had to decide on the fate of three Ireland Bills, carried through the Commons after ten months' deliberation, viz.: the *Landlord and Tenant Bill*, removing the laws concerning mortgages, which form at present an insuperable bar to the effective sale of the smaller estates not falling under the *Encumbered Estates Act*<sup>287</sup>; the *Leasing Powers Bill*, amending and consolidating more than sixty acts of Parliament which prohibit leases to be entered into for 21 years regulating the tenant's compensation for improvements in all instances where contracts exist, and preventing the system of sub-letting; lastly, the *Tenant's Improvement Compensation Bill*, providing compensation for improvements effected by the tenant in the absence of any contract with the landlord, and containing a clause for the retrospective operation of this provision. The House of Lords could, of course, not object to parliamentary interference between landlord and tenant, as it has laden the statute book from the time of Edward IV to the present day, with acts of legislation of landlord and tenant, and as its very existence is founded on laws meddling with landed property, as for instance the *Law of Entail*. This time, the noble lords sitting as Judges on their own cause, allowed themselves to run into a passion quite surprising in that hospital of invalids.

Such a bill, [exclaimed the Earl of Claonricarde,] as the Tenants' Compensation Bill, such a total violation and disregard of all contracts, was never before, he believed, submitted to Parliament, nor had he ever heard of any government having

<sup>286</sup> Originally published in the *New York Daily Tribune*, August 24, 1853. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 77-79.

<sup>287</sup> The *Encumbered Estates Act* was adopted by the Irish Parliament in 1849 and was later supplemented by the Acts of 1852-53 and others. The Act provided for the sale of mortgaged estates by auction if their owners were proved to be insolvent. It resulted in the lands of ruined landlords passing into the hands of usurers, middlemen and rich tenants.

ventured to propose such a measure as was carried out in the retrospective clauses of the bill.

The Lords went as far as to threaten the Crown with the withdrawal of their feudal allegiance<sup>288</sup> and to hold out the prospect of a landlord rebellion in Ireland.

The question, [remarked the same nobleman,] touched nearly [...] the *whole question of the loyalty* and confidence of the landed proprietors in Ireland in the Government of this country.[...] If they saw landed property in Ireland treated in such a way, he would like to know what was to *secure their attachment to the Crown and their obedience to its supremacy?*

Gently, my lord, gently! What was to secure their obedience to the supremacy of the Crown? One magistrate and two constables. A landlord rebellion in Great Britain! Has there ever been uttered a more monstrous anachronism? But for a long time the poor Lords have only lived upon anachronisms. They naturally encourage themselves to resist the House of Commons and public opinion.

Let not their lordships, [said old Lord St. Leonards,] for the sake of preventing what was called a *collision* with the other House, or for the sake of popularity, or on account of a pressure from without, pass imperfect measures like these. [...] I do not belong to any party, [exclaimed the Earl of Roden,] but I am highly interested in the welfare of Ireland.

That is to say, his lordship supposes Ireland to be highly interested in the welfare of the Earl of Roden. "This is no party question, but a Lords' question." was the unanimous shout of the House; and so it was. But between both parties, Whig Lords and Tory Lords, Coalition Lords and Opposition Lords, there has existed from the beginning a secret understanding to throw the bills out, and the whole impassioned discussion was a mere farce, performed for the benefit of the newspaper reporters.

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<sup>288</sup> By a tradition dating back to the Middle Ages, the members of the House of Lords are obliged to swear a solemn oath (the oath of allegiance) to the Crown. At the same time, the medieval *Magna Carta Libertatum* (1215) gave English feudal lords the right to revolt against the throne in cases of infringement of their feudal privileges.

This will be evident when we remember that the bills which formed the subject of so hot a controversy were originated, not by the Coalition Cabinet, but by Mr. Napier, the Irish Attorney-General under the Derby Ministry, and that the Tories at the last elections in Ireland appealed to the testimony of these bills introduced by them. The only substantial change made by the House of Commons in the measures introduced by the Tory Government was the excluding of the growing crops from being distrained upon. "The bills are not the same," exclaimed the Earl of Malmesbury, asking the Duke of Newcastle whether he did not believe him. "Certainly not," replied the Duke. "But whose assertion would you then believe?" "That of Mr. Napier," answered the Duke. "Now," said the Earl, "here is a letter of Mr. Napier, stating that the bills are not the same." "There," said the Duke, "is another letter of Mr. Napier, stating that they are."

If the Tories had remained in, the Coalition Lords would have opposed the Ireland Bills. The Coalition being in on the Tories fell the task of opposing their own measures. The Coalition having inherited these bills from the Tories and having introduced the Irish party into their own cabinet, could, of course, not oppose the bills in the House of Commons; but they were sure of their being burked in the House of Lords. The Duke of Newcastle made a faint resistance, but Lord Aberdeen declared himself contented with the bills passing formally through a second reading, and being really thrown out for the session. This accordingly was done. Lord Derby the chief of the late Ministry, and Lord Lansdowne, the nominal President of the present Ministry, yet at the same time one of the largest proprietors of land in Ireland, managed, wisely, to be absent from indisposition.

## Lord Palmerston<sup>289</sup>

*Marx, 1853 (Excerpt)*

Let us now look at his exertions for Catholic Emancipation, one of his great “claims” on the gratitude of the Irish people. I shall not dwell upon the circumstances, that, having declared himself for Catholic Emancipation when a member of the Canning Ministry, he entered, nevertheless, the Wellington Ministry, avowedly hostile to that emancipation. Did Lord Palmerston consider religious liberty as one of the rights of man, not to be intermeddled with by legislature? He may answer for himself:

Although I wish the Catholic claims to be considered, I never will admit these claims to stand upon the ground of right. [...] If I thought the Catholics were asking for their right, I, for one, would not go into the committee.<sup>290</sup>

And why is he opposed to their demanding their right?

Because the legislature of a country has the right to impose such political disabilities upon any class of the community, as it may deem necessary for the safety and the welfare of the whole. [...] This belongs to the fundamental principles on which civilized government is founded.<sup>291</sup>

There you have the most cynical confession ever made, that the mass of the people have no rights at all, but that they may be allowed that amount of immunities the legislature—or, in other words, the ruling class—may deem fit to grant them. Accordingly Lord Palmerston declared, in plain words, “Catholic Emancipation to be a measure of grace and favor.”—(*House of Commons, February 10, 1829.*)

It was then entirely upon the grounds of expediency that he condescended to discontinue the Catholic disabilities. And what was lurking behind this expediency?

Being himself one of the great Irish landed proprietors, he wanted to entertain the delusion that “other remedies for Irish evils than Cath-

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<sup>289</sup> Originally published in *People's Paper*, October 22, 1853. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 80-81.

<sup>290</sup> *House of Commons, March 1, 1813.*

<sup>291</sup> *House of Commons, March 1, 1813.*

olic Emancipation are impossible,” that it would cure absenteeism, and prove a cheap substitute for Poor-laws.—(*House of Commons, March 19, 1829.*)

The great philanthropist, who afterwards cleared his Irish estates of their Irish natives, could not allow Irish misery to darken, even for a moment, with its inauspicious clouds, the bright sky of the landlords and moneylords.

It is true, [he said,] that the peasantry of Ireland do not enjoy all the comforts which are enjoyed by all the peasantry of England [only think of all the comforts enjoyed by a family at the rate of 7s. a week]. Still, [he continues,] still, however, the Irish peasant has his comforts. He is well supplied with fuel, and is seldom [only four days out of six] at a loss for food. [What a comfort!] But this is not all the comfort he has—he has a greater cheerfulness of mind than his English fellow-sufferer!<sup>292</sup>

As to the extortions of Irish landlords, he deals with them in as pleasant a way as with the comforts of the Irish peasantry.

It is said that the Irish landlord insists on the highest possible rent that can be extorted. Why, sir, I believe that is not a singular circumstance; certainly in England the landlord does the same thing.<sup>293</sup>

Are we then to be surprised that this man, so deeply initiated into the mysteries of the “glories of the English Constitution,” and the “comforts of her free institutions,” should aspire to spread them all over the Continent?

<sup>292</sup> *House of Commons, May 7, 1829.*

<sup>293</sup> *House of Commons, March 7, 1829.*

## From The Blue Books.—Parliamentary Debates of February 6...—The Irish Brigade<sup>294</sup>

Marx, 1854

Mr. I. Butt, in yesterday's sitting of the Commons, gave notice

that to-morrow he should move that there should be read by the clerk, at the table of the House, an article published in *The Times* of to-day, and the previous statements of *The Dublin Freeman's Journal*, imputing to the (*Irish*) members of the House a trafficking in places for money. He should also move for a Select Committee to inquire into the allegations of such trafficking as contained in these publications.

Why Mr. Butt is indignant only at the trafficking for money will be understood by those who remember that the legality of any other mode of trafficking was settled during last session. Since 1830 Downing-st. has been placed at the mercy of the Irish Brigade.<sup>295</sup> It is the Irish members who have created and kept in place the Ministers to their mind. In 1834 they drove from the Cabinet Sir J. Graham and Lord Stanley. In 1835 they compelled William IV to dismiss the Peel Ministry and to restore the Melbourne Administration. From the general election of 1837 down to that of 1841, while there was a British majority in the Lower House opposed to that Administration, the votes of the Irish Brigade were strong enough to turn the scale and keep it in office. It was the Irish Brigade again who installed the Coalition Cabinet. With all this power of Cabinet-making,

<sup>294</sup> Originally published in the *New York Daily Tribune*, February 21, 1854. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 82-83.

<sup>295</sup> *The Irish Brigade*—the name given by Marx to the faction of Irish deputies in the British Parliament. In the 1830s-1850s it was made up mainly of representatives of the Right wing in the national movement, who were reflecting the interests of the elite of the Irish bourgeoisie, the landlords and the Catholic clergy. Among them there were also Irish liberal functionaries who were relying on support from well-to-do tenants. Owing to the balance between the Tories and the Whigs in the House of Commons, the Irish Brigade, alongside with representatives of the free trader bourgeoisie, was able to tip the scale in the House of Commons and to influence the struggle in it, sometimes even to decide the fate of the government.



the Brigade have never prevented any infamies against their own country nor any injustice to the English people. The period of their greatest power was at the time of O'Connell, from 1834 to 1841. To what account was it turned? The Irish agitation was never anything but a cry for the Whigs against the Tories, in order to extort places from the Whigs. Nobody who knows anything about the so-called Lichfield-House Contract,<sup>296</sup> will differ from this opinion—that contract by which O'Connell was to vote for, but licensed to spout against, the Whigs on condition that he should nominate his own Magistrates in Ireland. It is time for the Irish Brigade to put off their patriotic airs. It is time for the Irish people to put off their dumb hatred of the English and call their own representatives to an account for their wrongs.

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<sup>296</sup> In February 1835, Daniel O'Connell, the leader of the Irish bourgeois nationalists, signed an agreement with representatives of the Whigs according to which he was to support them in the House of Commons in return for some concessions; in particular, Irish political leaders were promised posts in the administrative apparatus after the Whigs came to office. For his part, O'Connell undertook to stop the Repeal of the Union campaign. The agreement was negotiated in Lord Lichfield's London house and became known as the Lichfield-House Contract. It meant that the liberal circles of the Irish bourgeoisie and the medium landowners had reached a compromise with the English politicians and had renounced consistent struggle for Ireland's independence.

## Ireland's Revenge<sup>297</sup>

*Marx, 1855*

*London*, March 13. Ireland has revenged herself upon England, *socially*—by bestowing an *Irish quarter* on every English industrial maritime or commercial town of any size, and *politically*—by presenting the English Parliament with an “Irish Brigade.”<sup>298</sup> In 1833, Daniel O’Connell decried the Whigs as “base, bloody and brutal.” In 1835, he became the most efficient tool of the Whigs; although the English majority was opposed to the Melbourne Administration, it remained in office from April 1835 to August 1841 because of the support it received from O’Connell and his Irish Brigade. What transformed the O’Connell of 1833 into the O’Connell of 1835? It was an agreement, known as the *Lichfield-House Contract*, according to which the Whig Cabinet granted government patronage in Ireland to O’Connell and O’Connell promised the Whig Cabinet the votes of the Irish Brigade in Parliament.<sup>299</sup> “King Dan’s” Repeal<sup>300</sup> agitation<sup>301</sup>

<sup>297</sup> Originally published in *Neue Oder Zeitung*, March 16, 1855. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 84–86.

<sup>298</sup> The *Irish Brigade* was the name given to the Irish faction in the British Parliament from the 1830s to 1850s. Up to 1847, the Irish Brigade was led by Daniel O’Connell. As neither the Tories nor the Whigs had a decisive majority the Brigade was able to tip the balance in Parliament and sometimes even decide the fate of the government.

In the early fifties, a number of MPs belonging to this faction formed an alliance with the radical Irish Tenant-Right League and set up what they called an Independent Opposition in the House of Commons. However, the leaders of the Irish Brigade soon made a deal with the British ruling circles, securing some secondary posts in Aberdeen’s Coalition Government and refusing to support the League’s demands. This demoralized the Independent Opposition and ultimately led to its collapse (1859).

<sup>299</sup> A reference to the agreement concluded in February 1835 by Daniel O’Connell, leader of the liberal wing of the Irish national movement, with the leaders of the Whig party. The negotiations had been held in the house of Lord Lichfield in London. Under the agreement, Irish liberals were to get certain administrative posts. O’Connell, for his part, promised to call off the mass campaign for the repeal of the Anglo-Irish Union of 1801 which abolished the autonomy of the Irish Parliament, and to support the Whigs in the British Parliament.

<sup>300</sup> Marx uses the English word “Repeal” here and below.—*Ed.*

<sup>301</sup> The repeal of the Anglo-Irish Union of 1801. In the 1820s repeal became the most popular slogan in Ireland. In 1840 the Repeal Association was set up. Its leader, Daniel O’Connell, sought a compromise with the British ruling circles. In January 1847 a group of radicals broke away from the Association and formed the Irish Confederation.

began immediately the Whigs were overthrown, but as soon as the Tories were defeated “King<sup>302</sup> Dan” sank again to the level of a common advocate. The influence of the Irish Brigade by no means came to an end with O’Connell’s death. On the contrary, it became evident that this influence did not depend on the talent of one person, but was a result of the general state of affairs. The Tories and Whigs, the big traditional parties in the English Parliament, were more or less equally balanced. It is thus not surprising that the new, numerically small factions, the Manchester School<sup>303</sup> and the Irish Brigade, which took their seats in the reformed Parliament, should play a decisive role and be able to turn the scale. Hence the importance of the “Irish quarter” in the English Parliament. After O’Connell left the scene it was no longer possible to stir the Irish masses with the “Repeal” slogan. The “Catholic” problem,<sup>304</sup> too, could be used only occasionally. Since the Catholic Emancipation it could no longer serve as a permanent propaganda theme. Thus the Irish politicians were compelled to do what O’Connell had always avoided and refused to do, that is, to explore the real cause of the Irish malady and to make landed property relations and their reform the election slogan, that is to say a slogan that would help them to get into the House of Commons. But having taken their seats in the House, they used the rights of the tenants, etc.—just as formerly the Repeal—as a means to conclude a new Lichfield-House Contract.

The Irish Brigade had overthrown the Derby ministry and had obtained a seat, even though a minor one, in the coalition government.

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Its left, revolutionary wing led the national liberation movement and became the target of severe reprisals in 1848. Eventually, the Repeal Association broke up completely.

<sup>302</sup> Marx uses the English word here.—*Ed.*

<sup>303</sup> The *Manchester School*—a trend in political economy reflecting the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. It favored free trade and non-interference by the state in the economy. The Free Traders’ stronghold was Manchester, where the movement was led by Cobden and Bright, two textile manufacturers who founded the Anti-Corn Law League in 1838. In the 1840s and 1850s the Free Traders were an independent political group which later formed the Left wing of the Liberal Party.

<sup>304</sup> *Emancipation of the Catholics*—in 1829 the British Parliament, under pressure of a mass movement in Ireland, lifted some of the restrictions curtailing the political rights of the Catholic population. Catholics were granted the right to be elected to Parliament and hold certain government posts. Simultaneously the property qualification for electors was increased fivefold. With the aid of this maneuver the British ruling classes hoped to win over to their side the upper crust of the Irish bourgeoisie and Catholic landowners and thus split the Irish national movement.

How did it use its position? It helped the coalition to burke measures designed to reform landed ownership in Ireland. The Tories themselves, having taken the patriotism of the Irish Brigade for granted, had decided to propose these measures in order to gain the support of the Irish MPs. Palmerston, who is an Irishman by birth and knows his “Irish quarter,” has renewed the Lichfield-House Contract of 1835 and has broadened its scope. He has appointed Keogh, the chief of the Brigade, Attorney-General<sup>305</sup> of Ireland, Fitzgerald, also a liberal Catholic MP for Ireland, has been made Solicitor-General, and a third member of the Brigade<sup>306</sup> has become legal counsel to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, so that the judicial general staff of the Irish government is now composed entirely of Catholics and Irishmen. Monsell, the Clerk of Ordnance in the coalition government, has been reappointed by Palmerston after some hesitation, although—as Muntz, deputy for Birmingham and an arms manufacturer, rightly observed—Monsell cannot distinguish a musket from a needle-gun. Palmerston has advised the lieutenants of the counties always to give preference to the protégés of Irish priests close to the Irish Brigade when nominating colonels and other high-ranking officers in the Irish militia. The fact that Sergeant *Shee* has gone over to the government side, and also that the Catholic Bishop of Athlone has pushed through the re-election of Keogh and that moreover the Catholic clergy has promoted the re-election of Fitzgerald shows that Palmerston’s policy is already producing an effect. Wherever the lower ranks of the Catholic clergy have taken their “Irish patriotism” seriously and have stood up to those members of the Irish Brigade who deserted to the government, they have been rebuked by their bishops who are well aware of the diplomatic secret.

A protestant Tory newspaper<sup>307</sup> exclaims in distress:

It is perfectly understood between Lord Palmerston [...] and [...] the Irish priests, that if Lord Palmerston hands over Ireland to the priests, the priests will return members who will hand over England to Lord Palmerston.

<sup>305</sup> Here and below Marx gives the titles in English: Attorney-General, Solicitor-General, Lord Lieutenant, Clerk of Ordnance, Sergeant.—*Ed.*

<sup>306</sup> G. W. F. Howard.—*Ed.*

<sup>307</sup> *The Morning Herald*, No. 22378, March 13, 1855.—*Ed.*

The Whigs use the Irish Brigade to dominate the British Parliament and they toss posts and salaries to the Brigade; the Catholic clergy permits one side to buy and the other to sell on condition that both sides acknowledge the power of the clergy and help to extend and strengthen it. It is, however, a very remarkable phenomenon that in the same measure as the Irish influence in the *political* sphere grows in England, the Celtic influence in the *social* sphere decreases in Ireland. Both the "Irish quarter" in Parliament and the Irish clergy seem to be equally unaware of the fact that behind their back the Irish society is being radically transformed by an Anglo-Saxon revolution. In the course of this revolution the *Irish agricultural system is being replaced by the English system, the system of small tenures by big tenures, and the modern capitalist is taking the place of the old landowner.*

The chief factors which prepared the ground for this transformation are: 1847, the year of famine, which killed nearly one million Irishmen; emigration to America and Australia, which removed another million from the land and still carries off thousands; the unsuccessful insurrection of 1848, which finally destroyed Ireland's faith in herself; and lastly the Act of Parliament which exposed the estates of the debt-ridden old Irish aristocrats to the hammer of the auctioneer or bailiff, thus driving them from the land just as starvation swept away their small tenants, subtenants and cottagers.<sup>308</sup>

<sup>308</sup> Between 1845 and 1847 potato blight was the occasion of widespread famine in Ireland. The poverty of the small tenants ruthlessly exploited by the big landowners made the mass of the population almost entirely dependent on a diet of potatoes grown on their own little patches. Meanwhile the British Government not only withheld any effective form of relief, but exported large quantities of grain and other agricultural products from Ireland to England. About one million people starved to death, and the wave of emigration caused by the famine swept away another million. Large areas of Ireland were depopulated. The abandoned land was turned by English and Irish landlords into pasture.

In 1848 a popular national liberation uprising was being prepared in Ireland by the revolutionary wing of the Irish Confederation (Mitchel, Lalor, Reilly and others). In May 1848 the British authorities took severe reprisals against the movement, leaving it virtually leaderless. The vacillating Confederation leaders (Smith O'Brien and others) missed the right moment for action. Instead of a country-wide insurrection, isolated and often unprepared uprisings occurred in a number of towns and agricultural areas in late July 1848, which were quickly put down by troops.

In 1849 Parliament passed the Encumbered Estates Act for Ireland, which was supplemented by a series of other Acts in 1852 and 1853. The 1849 Act provided for the sale of mortgaged estates by auction if their owners were proved to be insolvent.

## From Parliament<sup>309</sup>

*Marx, 1855 (Excerpt)*

For two years Parliament, as is well known, has been considering three bills designed to regulate the relations of Irish landowners and tenants. One of the bills determines the amount of compensation which the tenant should be entitled to claim for the improvements he made on the land, in the event of the landowner terminating the lease. Hitherto, all improvements made by Irish tenants—most of whom hold a temporary lease concluded for one year—have merely enabled the landowner to demand a higher rent on the expiration of the existing lease. Thus the tenant either loses the farm, if he does not wish to renew the lease under less favorable conditions, and with the farm he loses the capital he has invested in the improvements, or he is compelled to pay the landlord, in addition to the original rent, interest on the improvements made with his (the tenant's) capital. Support for the earlier mentioned bills was one of the arrangements with which the coalition cabinet purchased the votes of the Irish Brigade. In 1854, therefore, they were passed by the House of Commons, but the House of Lords with the connivance of the Ministers shelved them till the next session (in 1855) and then amended them in such a way that their point was blunted, sending them back to the House of Commons in this distorted form. There the main clause of the Compensation Bill was sacrificed on the altar of landed property last Thursday, and the Irish were astonished to see that the scales had been turned against them partly by the votes of members of the government and partly by the votes of those directly associated with them. Sergeant Shee's furious attack on Palmerston threatened to unleash a riot in the "Irish quarter" which at this moment could have serious consequences. Palmerston therefore negotiated with the help of Sadleir, an ex-member of the coalition and middleman of the Irish Brigade. He arranged for a deputation of 18 Irish MPs to visit him the day before yesterday to enquire whether he was

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As a result, the lands of many ruined landlords passed into the hands of usurers, middlemen and rich tenants.

<sup>309</sup> Originally published in *Neue Oder Zeitung*, July 16, 1855. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 87-88.

willing to use his influence to have the parliamentary vote rescinded and to carry the clause through the House of Commons in another division. Palmerston, of course, is ready to promise anything in order to secure the support of the Irish Brigade during the vote on the no-confidence motion. The premature exposure of this intrigue in the House of Commons gave rise to one of those scandalous scenes typical of the decline of the oligarchic parliament. The Irish have 105 votes, but it became known that the majority of MPs had not authorized the deputation of 18. Altogether, Palmerston is no longer able to use the Irish during government crises in quite the same way as in O'Connell's time. Along with the dissolution of the old established parliamentary factions, the "Irish quarter," too, crumbles and disintegrates. In any case, the incident shows how Palmerston makes use of the time won to influence the various cliques. At the same time, he waits for some favorable news from the theatre of war, some small incident which can be exploited in the parliamentary sphere, if not in the military. The submarine telegraph has wrenched the direction of the war from the hands of the generals and made it dependent on the amateurish astrological whims of Bonaparte and on parliamentary and diplomatic intrigues. Hence the inexplicable and quite unparalleled character of the second Crimean campaign.<sup>310</sup>

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<sup>310</sup> Marx is referring to the new offensive begun by the English and French troops in the spring of 1855 during the Crimean War (1853–56). Marx and Engels believed that it could have led to the rout of tsarism if the Allied troops had taken energetic action. Marx sharply censured the foreign policy pursued by the English and French governments, who were striving to consolidate their positions in the Balkans and oust Russia while simultaneously trying to preserve the tsarist autocracy as an instrument for the suppression of revolutionary and national liberation movements. In the articles describing the war, Marx and Engels paid tribute to the skill of the Russian soldiers who defended Sevastopol.

## Lord John Russell<sup>311</sup>

*Marx, 1855 (Excerpt)*

On the outbreak of the Anti-Jacobin War, the influence of the Whigs in *England* entered a period of decline, and continued to sink lower and lower. On account of this they turned their eyes on *Ireland*, resolving to use it to tip the balance, and inscribed on their party banners *Irish Emancipation*. When they came into office for an instant in 1806 they did, in fact, bring a minor Irish Emancipation Bill before the House of Commons, carrying it through its second reading, only to withdraw it voluntarily in order to flatter the bigot idiocy of George III. In 1812 they attempted to foist themselves on the Prince Regent (later George IV) as the only possible instruments of reconciliation with Ireland, albeit in vain.<sup>312</sup> Before and during the reform agitation they fawned on O'Connell, and the "hopes of Ireland" served as powerful engines of war on their behalf. Yet the first act of the Reform Ministry at the first sitting of the first reformed Parliament was a declaration of war against Ireland with the "brutal and bloody" measure of the "Coercion Bill," subjecting Ireland to martial law.<sup>313</sup> The Whigs fulfilled their old pledges "with fire, imprisonment, transportation and even death." O'Connell was persecuted and convicted of sedition. The Whigs, however, had only introduced and carried the Coercion Bill against Ireland by expressly committing themselves to present another bill, a bill concerning the *Church of England in Ireland*. Furthermore, they had also promised that this bill should contain a clause placing certain *surplus funds* from the revenues of the Established Church in Ireland at the disposal of Parliament. Parliament, in its turn, was to employ them in the interests of Ireland. The importance of this clause lay in the recognition of the principle that Parliament possessed the power to expropriate

<sup>311</sup> Originally published in *Neue Oder Zeitung*, August 3, 1855. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 89-92.

<sup>312</sup> This sentence does not occur in the *New York Daily Tribune*.—Ed.

<sup>313</sup> In the *New York Daily Tribune* this sentence reads: "...a declaration of civil war against Ireland, a 'brutal and bloody measure,' the Irish Coercion 'Red-Coat Tribunal bill,' according to which men were to be tried in Ireland by military officers, instead of by Judges and Juries." (The phrase "brutal and bloody measure" was used by Daniel O'Connell in the House of Commons on February 5, 1833.)—Ed.



the Established Church—a principle of which Lord John Russell ought to have been convinced all the more firmly as the entire immense fortune of his family consists of former Church estates. The Whigs promised to stand or fall by the Church Bill. But as soon as the Coercion Bill had been passed they withdrew the above clause, the only one of any value in the Church Bill, on the pretext of avoiding a collision with the House of Lords. They voted against and defeated their own motion. This occurred in 1834. Towards the end of that year, however, an electric shock seemed to have revived the Irish sympathies of the Whigs. The fact of the matter is that they had to relinquish the Cabinet in the autumn of 1834 to Sir Robert Peel. They had been hurled back into the Opposition benches. And straightaway we find our John Russell eagerly engaged in his work of reconciliation with Ireland.<sup>314</sup> He was the main agent in negotiating the *Lichfield House compact*, which was concluded in January 1835. The Whigs hereby left patronage (the allocation of offices, etc.) in Ireland to O'Connell, while O'Connell secured them the Irish vote both inside and outside Parliament. But a *pretext* was needed to drive the Tories out of Downing Street.<sup>315</sup> With characteristic “impudence,” Russell chose the *Church revenues* of Ireland as his battlefield, and as his battle cry the very same *clause*—notorious under the name of the *Appropriation Clause*—which he and his colleagues in the Reform Ministry had *themselves* withdrawn and abandoned shortly before. Peel was indeed beaten with the slogan of the “Appropriation Clause.” The Melbourne Cabinet was formed and Lord John Russell installed himself as Home Secretary and Leader of the House of Commons.<sup>316</sup> Now he began to sing his own praises: on the one hand for his intellectual constancy, because although now in office he continued to adhere to *his opinions* about the Appropriation Clause; on the other hand for his moral moderation in refraining to *act* on these opinions. He never translated them from words into action. When he was Prime Minister, in 1846, his moral moderation triumphed so emphatically over his intellectual constancy that he even repudiated his “opinion.” He knew of

<sup>314</sup> The last two sentences do not occur in the *New York Daily Tribune*.—*Ed.*

<sup>315</sup> 10 Downing Street is the official residence of the British Prime Minister.—*Ed.*

<sup>316</sup> The *New York Daily Tribune* has: “and Lord Russell became leader in the House of Commons.”—*Ed.*

no measures more fatal, he exclaimed, than those threatening the Established Church in its fundamental root, its revenues.<sup>317</sup>

In February 1833 John Russell, in the name of the Reform Ministry, denounced the Irish *Repeal agitation*.

Its real object, [he exclaimed to the Commons,] is to overturn at once the United Parliament, and to establish, in place of King, Lords and Commons of the United Kingdom, some parliament of which Mr. O'Connell was to be the leader and the chief.<sup>318</sup>

In February 1834 the Repeal agitation was again denounced in the Speech from the Throne, and the Reform Ministry proposed an address

to record in the most solemn manner the fixed determination of Parliament to maintain unimpaired and undisturbed the legislative union of the three realms.<sup>319</sup>

But hardly had John Russell been cast up on the Opposition sandbanks when he declared:

with respect to the *repeal of the union*, the subject was open to amendment or question, just as any other act of the Legislature, that is no more and no less than any beer Bill.<sup>320</sup>

In March 1846 John Russell brought down Peel's administration by means of a coalition with the Tories, who were burning with desire to punish their leader for his disloyalty over the Corn Laws. Peel's Irish "*Arms Bill*" served as a pretext, and Russell, full of moral outrage, lodged an unconditional protest against it. He becomes Prime Minister. His first act is to move the very same "*Arms Bill*."<sup>321</sup> However, he made a fool of himself to

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<sup>317</sup> The *New York Daily Tribune* has: "he could not conceive a more fatal measure than the disestablishment of the Church, and he declined to take any further notice of the project of 1835."—*Ed.*

<sup>318</sup> Russell's speech in the House of Commons on February 6, 1833.—*Ed.*

<sup>319</sup> "Address in Answer to the King's Speech," House of Commons, February 4, 1834.—*Ed.*

<sup>320</sup> The words "i.e. no more and no less than any beer Bill" do not occur in the *New York Daily Tribune*.—*Ed.*

<sup>321</sup> The following text up to the words "In 1844 Russell charged Sir Robert Peel..." does not occur in the *New York Daily Tribune*.—*Ed.*

no avail. O'Connell had just been calling monster meetings against Peel's Bill; he had organized petitions with 50,000 signatures; he was in Dublin, whence he was manipulating all the springs of agitation. King Dan (the popular nickname of Daniel O'Connell)<sup>322</sup> would have lost all if he had appeared to be Russell's accomplice at this juncture. He therefore served notice on the little man in threatening terms to withdraw his Arms Bill at once. Russell withdrew it. O'Connell, despite his secret dealings with the Whigs, then heaped humiliation on top of defeat, an art he has brought to perfection. So as to leave no doubt *at whose behest* the retreat had been sounded, he announced the withdrawal of the Arms Bill to the repealers in Conciliation Hall in Dublin on August 17, the *same* day John Russell announced it to the Commons. In 1844 Russell charged Sir Robert Peel with "having filled Ireland with troops, and with not governing but militarily occupying that country."<sup>323</sup> In 1848 Russell occupied Ireland militarily, imposed the felony acts, proclaimed the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Acts and boasted of the "energetic measures" of Clarendon.<sup>324</sup> This energy, too, was a false pretense. In Ireland there were on the one hand the O'Connellites and the priests, in secret agreement with the Whigs; on the other, Smith O'Brien and his supporters. The latter were simply dupes<sup>325</sup> who took the repeal game seriously and thus came to a comical end. The "energetic measures" taken by the Russell government and the brutalities they committed were thus not called for by circumstances. Their object was not the maintenance of English supremacy in Ireland, but rather the prolongation of the Whig regime in England.

### [Section] V<sup>326</sup>

*London*, August 6. The *Corn Laws* were introduced in England in 1815, the Tories and the Whigs having agreed to raise their rent of land by means of a tax on the nation. This object was attained not only because the Corn Laws—laws against the import of corn from abroad—artificially raised the price of grain in some years. Taking the period 1815–1846 as

<sup>322</sup> Marx uses the English nickname and gives a German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

<sup>323</sup> Russell's speech in the House of Commons on February 13, 1844.—*Ed.*

<sup>324</sup> The rest of the paragraph does not occur in the *New York Daily Tribune*.—*Ed.*

<sup>325</sup> Marx uses the English word.—*Ed.*

<sup>326</sup> *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, No. 369, August 10, 1855.

a whole, what was perhaps even more important was the illusion of the tenant-farmers that the Corn Laws were able to maintain the price of corn at an *a priori* determined level in all circumstances. This illusion had an effect on leases. We find that in order to revive this illusion time and again, Parliament was constantly occupied with new, improved versions of the Corn Laws of 1815. If corn prices proved unruly, and fell despite the dictates of the Corn Laws, parliamentary committees were appointed to investigate the reasons for “agricultural distress.”<sup>327</sup> In so far as it was the object of these parliamentary investigations, “agricultural distress” was in reality limited to the disproportion between the prices paid by the tenant to the landowner for his land and the prices at which he sold the products of his land to the public—the *disproportion between rent of land and grain prices*. The problem therefore could be solved by simply reducing rent, the landed aristocracy’s source of income. Instead of this, the latter naturally preferred to “reduce” corn prices by legislative means; one Corn Law was succeeded by another, slightly modified; failure was blamed on insignificant details which could be corrected by a new Act of Parliament. Though the price of corn was thus kept above the natural level under certain conditions, *rent* was kept above its natural level under all conditions. As this was a matter of the “holiest interests” of the landed aristocracy, of their cash income, both their factions, Tories and Whigs, were equally ready to revere the Corn Laws as a lodestar elevated *above* their party struggles. The Whigs even withstood the temptation of entertaining liberal “views” on this matter—especially as at that time there seemed little prospect of covering any losses on land tenure by winning back their hereditary tenure of government posts. In order to secure the vote of the finance aristocracy both factions voted for the Bank Act of 1819, whereby the interest on national debts contracted in depreciated money should be paid at full value. Having borrowed, say, £50, the nation had to repay £100. In this way the assent of the finance aristocracy to the Corn Laws was obtained. A fraudulent increase of the national interest rates in return for a fraudulent increase of rent this was the gist of the agreement between finance aristocracy and landed aris-

<sup>327</sup> Here and below Marx uses the English expression. In the first case he gives a German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

ocracy.<sup>328</sup> It is not then surprising that Lord *John Russell* branded any *Corn Law reform* as mischievous, absurd, impracticable and unnecessary in the parliamentary elections of 1835 and 1837. From the start of his ministerial career he rejected every such proposal, at first politely, then passionately. In his defense of high corn duties he was a long way ahead of Sir Robert Peel. The prospect of famine in 1838 and 1839 did not succeed in shaking either him or the other members of the Melbourne Cabinet. What the distress of the nation could not do, the distress of the Cabinet could.<sup>329</sup> A deficit in the exchequer of £7,500,000 and Palmerston's foreign policy, which threatened to cause a war with France, led the House of Commons to pass a vote of no confidence in the Melbourne Cabinet proposed by Peel. This occurred on June 4, 1841. The Whigs, always as eager to chase posts as unable to fill them and reluctant to give them up, attempted in vain to sidestep fate by dissolving Parliament. Then there awoke in John Russell's profound soul the idea of conjuring away the Anti-Corn-Law agitation just as he had helped to conjure away the reform movement. So he suddenly advocated a "moderate fixed duty" instead of the sliding tariff<sup>330</sup>—friend that he is of "moderate" political chastity and "moderate" reforms. He had the audacity to parade through the streets of London in a procession of government candidates accompanied by banner-bearers with two loaves impaled on their poles in blatant contrast to each other, one being a two-penny loaf with the inscription "*Peel loaf*," the other a shilling loaf inscribed "*Russell loaf*." The nation, however, refused to be misled this time. It knew from experience that the Whigs promised bread and paid out stones. Despite Russell's ridiculous carnival capers the general election left the Whigs with a minority of 76. They were at last forced to decamp. Russell avenged himself for the disservice which the moderate fixed duty of 1841 had done him by calmly letting Peel's "sliding scale" crystallize into

<sup>328</sup> Instead of the preceding text of installment [V] the *New York Daily Tribune* has: "Let us now look at his Free-trade pretenses. The Corn Laws had been enacted in 1815, by the concurrence of Tories and Whigs."—*Ed.*

<sup>329</sup> Instead of the preceding two sentences, the *New York Daily Tribune* has: "During the prospect of dearth (1838–1839) he and Melbourne did not contemplate any alteration in the existing duties."—*Ed.*

<sup>330</sup> Russell's speech in the House of Commons on June 7, 1841.—*Ed.*

law in 1842. He now despised the “moderate fixed duty”; he turned his back on it; he dropped it without expending a single word on it.<sup>331</sup>

During the years 1841–45 the *Anti-Corn-Law League* grew to colossal dimensions. The old alliance between landed aristocracy and finance aristocracy could no longer safeguard the Corn Laws, for the industrial bourgeoisie had increasingly supplanted the finance aristocracy as the chief element of the middle class. For the industrial bourgeoisie, however, the abolition of the Corn Laws was a matter of survival. Repeal of the Corn Laws meant for the industrial bourgeoisie reduced production costs, expansion of foreign trade, increase in profits, a reduction of the main source of revenue, and hence of the power, of the landed aristocracy, and the enhancement of their own political power. In the autumn of 1845 they found fearsome allies in the potato blight in Ireland, the high corn prices in England and the failure of the harvest in most of Europe.<sup>332</sup> Intimidated by the menacing economic outlook, Sir Robert Peel therefore held a series of Cabinet meetings at the end of October and the first weeks of November 1845 at which he proposed the suspension of the Corn Laws and even hinted at the necessity of a definitive repeal. There was a delay in the decisions of the Cabinet owing to the stubborn resistance of his colleague Stanley (now Lord Derby).

At that time, during the Parliamentary recess, John Russell was on holiday in Edinburgh, where he got wind of the proceedings in Peel's Cabinet. He decided to exploit the delay caused by Stanley and forestall Peel in this popular position, giving himself the appearance of having forced Peel's hand<sup>333</sup> and thus robbing any prospective moves by him of their moral weight. Accordingly, on November 22, 1845 he addressed a letter from Edinburgh to his City voters full of angry and malicious references to Peel, on the pretext that the ministers were delaying too long coming to a decision about the emergency in Ireland. The periodical famines in Ireland in 1831, '35, '37 and '39 had never been able to shake the faith of Russell

<sup>331</sup> The last two sentences do not occur in the *New York Daily Tribune*.—Ed.

<sup>332</sup> In the *New York Daily Tribune* the preceding part of this paragraph is condensed as follows: “During the years 1841–45, the Anti-Corn-Law League became formidable. In the autumn of 1845, it found new and terrible allies in the famine in Ireland, the corn-dearth in England, and the failure of the harvest all over Europe.”—Ed.

<sup>333</sup> Instead of the words “the appearance of having forced Peel's hand” the *New York Daily Tribune* has: “the appearance of having forced Free trade upon Peel.”—Ed.

and his colleagues in the Corn Laws. But now he was all fire. Even such an appalling disaster as the famine of two nations conjured up before the eyes of the little man nothing but visions of mousetraps for his rival “in office.” In his letter he tried to conceal the real motive for his sudden conversion to Free Trade with the following wretched confession:

I confess that on the general subject my views have, in the course of twenty years, undergone a great alteration. I used to be of opinion that corn was an exception to the general rules of political economy; but observation and experience have convinced me that we ought to abstain from *all interference* with the supply of food.<sup>334</sup>

In the *same* letter he reproached Peel for *not* yet having interfered with the supply of food to Ireland.<sup>335</sup> Peel caught the little man in his own trap. He resigned, leaving a note with the Queen<sup>336</sup> pledging Russell his support should he undertake to carry out the abolition of the Corn Laws. The Queen summoned Russell and asked him to form a new Cabinet. He came, saw—and declared that he was *unable* to do so, even *with* the support of his rival. That was not what he had intended. For him it was merely a *false pretense*, and they were threatening to take him at his word! Peel stepped in again and repealed the Corn Laws. As a result of his act the Tory party collapsed and disintegrated. Russell allied himself with it in order to defeat Peel. So much for his claim to the title of “Free Trade Minister” of which he was still boasting in Parliament only a few days ago.

<sup>334</sup> “Lord John Russell to the Electors of the City of London. Edinburgh, Nov. 22,” *The Times*, No. 19092, November 27, 1845.—*Ed.*

<sup>335</sup> The rest of this paragraph does not occur in the *New York Daily Tribune*.—*Ed.*

<sup>336</sup> Victoria.—*Ed.*

## O'Connor's Funeral<sup>337</sup>

*Marx, 1855*

Yesterday afternoon the funeral of O'Connor, the late Chartist leader, took place. A procession of 20,000 people, practically all of them from the working class, moved from Finsbury Square and Smithfield to *Notting Hill*, from where the coffin was taken to Kensal Green Cemetery (one of the most magnificent burial-grounds in London).

Four-horse hearses, decorated with enormous plumes in the English fashion, took their place at the head of the procession. Hard on their heels followed flag-bearers and standard-bearers. In letters of white the black flags bore the inscription "He lived and died for us."<sup>338</sup> A gigantic red flag magnificently displayed the inscription "Alliance des peuples." A red liberty cap was swaying at the top of the main standard.<sup>339</sup> When the service in the beautiful, cloistered cemetery chapel was over, William Jones made a funeral oration at the grave of the deceased. The singing of a hymn concluded the ceremony. All the requirements for a great demonstration were at hand, but the finishing touch was missing because Ernest Jones was prevented from appearing and speaking by the fatal illness of his wife. As the procession moved back into the city at about half past five in the afternoon it had the ironic satisfaction of meeting five detachments of constables marching out, and greeted them each in turn with a "too late."<sup>340</sup> Since O'Connor died as a pauper in the true sense of the word, the burial expenses were met by the working class of London.

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<sup>337</sup> Originally published in *Neue Oder Zeitung*, September 15, 1855. Here: Marx & Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. I, Lawrence & Wishart, 2010, p. 524.

<sup>338</sup> Marx quotes the English text of the inscription and gives the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*

<sup>339</sup> The *Red Cap* was the headgear of the ancient Phrygians. During the French Revolution it was adopted by the Jacobins and came to symbolise freedom.

<sup>340</sup> Marx uses the English words and gives the German translation in brackets.—*Ed.*



## The Question of the Ionian Islands<sup>341</sup>

*Marx, 1859 (Excerpt)*

According to his oracle in Printing-House Square,<sup>342</sup> he grasps after colonies only in order to educate them on the principles of public liberty; but, if we adhere to facts, the Ionian-Islands, like India and Ireland, prove only that to be free at home, John Bull must enslave abroad. Thus, at this very moment, while giving vent to his virtuous indignation against Bonaparte's spy system at Paris, he is himself introducing it at Dublin.

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<sup>341</sup> Originally published in *New York Daily Tribune*, January 6, 1859. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, p. 96.

<sup>342</sup> The editorial offices of *The Times* are on Printing-House Square in London.

## The Excitement in Ireland<sup>343</sup>

*Marx, 1859*

A Government, representing, like the present British Ministry, a party in decay, will always better succeed in getting rid of its old principles, than of its old connections. When installing himself at Downing street, Lord Derby, doubtless, made up his mind to atone for the blunders which in times past had converted his name into a byword in Ireland; and his versatile Attorney-General for Ireland, Mr. Whiteside, would not one moment hesitate flinging to the wind the oaths that bound him to the Orange Lodges.<sup>344</sup> But, then, Lord Derby's advent to power gave, simultaneously, the signal for one coterie of the governing class to rush in and fill the posts just vacated by the forcible ejection of the other coterie. The formation of the Derby Cabinet involved the consequence that all Government places should be divided among a motley crew still united by a party name which has become meaningless, and still marching under a banner torn to tatters, but in fact having nothing in common save reminiscences of the past, club intrigues, and, above all, the firm resolution to share together the loaves and fishes of office. Thus, Lord Eglinton, the Don Quixote who wanted to resuscitate the tournaments of chivalry in money-mongering England, was to be enthroned Lord Lieutenant at Dublin Castle,<sup>345</sup> and Lord Naas, notorious as a reckless partisan of Irish landlordism, was to be made his First Minister. The worthy couple, *arcades ambo*, on leaving London, were, of course, seriously enjoined by their superiors to have done with their crotchets, to behave properly, and by no capricious pranks to upset their

<sup>343</sup> Originally published in *New York Daily Tribune*, January 11, 1859. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 97-101.

<sup>344</sup> *Orange Lodges or Orangemen* (the Orangeist Order), named after William III, Prince of Orange—a terrorist organization, set up by the landlords and Protestant clergy in Ireland in 1795 to fight against the national liberation movement of the Irish people. The Order united ultra-reactionary English and Irish elements from all layers of society and systematically incited Protestants against the Irish Catholics. The Orangemen had a particularly great influence in Northern Ireland, where the majority of the population were Protestants.

<sup>345</sup> *Dublin Castle* was built by the English conquerors in the thirteenth century and became the scat of the English authorities, a stronghold against the Irish population. Dublin Castle was a symbol of English colonial rule.

own employers. Lord Eglinton's path across the channel was, we do not doubt, paved with good intentions, the vista of the Vice-royal baubles dancing before his childish mind; while Lord Naas, on his arrival at Dublin Castle, was determined to satisfy himself that the wholesale clearance of estates, the burning down of cottages, and the merciless unhousing of their poor inmates were proceeding at the proper ratio. Yet as party necessities had forced Lord Derby to install wrong men in the wrong place, party necessities falsified at once the position of those men, whatever their individual intentions might be. Orangeism had been officially snubbed for its intruding loyalty, the Government itself had been compelled to denounce this organization as illegal, and very unceremoniously it was told that it was no longer good for any earthly purpose, and that it must vanish. The mere advent of a Tory Government, the mere occupancy of Dublin Castle by an Eglinton and a Naas revived the hopes of the chopfallen Orangemen. The sun shone again on the "true blues"; they would again lord it over the land as in the days of Castlereagh, and the day for taking their revenge had visibly dawned. Step by step, they led the bungling, weak, and, therefore, temerarious representatives of Downing street from one false position to the other, until one fine morning at last, the world was startled by a proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant, placing Ireland (so to say) in a state of siege, and turning, through the means of £100 and £50 rewards, the trade of the spy, the informer, the perjurer, and the *agent provocateur* into the most profitable trade in Green Erin. The placards announcing rewards for the detection of secret societies were hardly posted, when an infamous fellow, named O'sullivan, an apothecary's apprentice at Killarney, denounced his own father and some boys of Killarney, Kenmare, Bantry, Skibbereen, as members of a formidable conspiracy which, in secret understanding with filibusters from the other side of the Atlantic, intended not only, like Mr. Bright, to "Americanize English institutions," but to annex Ireland to the model Republic. Consequently, detectives busied themselves in the Counties of Kerry and Cork, nocturnal arrests took place, mysterious informations went on; from the south-west the conspiracy hunting spread to the north-east, farcical scenes occurred in the County of Monaghan, and alarmed Belfast saw some dozen of schoolmasters, attorneys' clerks and merchants' clerks paraded through the streets and locked up in the jails. What rendered the thing worse was the veil of mystery thrown over

the judicial proceedings. Bail was declined in all cases, midnight surprises became the order of the day, all the inquisitions were kept secret, copies of the informations on which the arbitrary arrests had been made were regularly refused, the stipendiary magistrates were whirling up and down from their judicial seats to the ante-chambers of Dublin Castle, and of all Ireland might be said, what Mr. Rea, the counsel for the defendants at Belfast, remarked with respect to that place, "I believe the British Constitution has left Belfast this last week."

Now, through all this hubbub and all this mystery, there transpires more and more the anxiety of the Government, that had given way to the pressure of its credulous Irish agents, who, in their turn, were mere play-things in the hands of the Orangemen, how to get out of the awkward fix without losing at once their reputation and their places. At first, it was pretended that the dangerous conspiracy, extending its ramifications from the south-west to the north-east over the whole surface of Ireland, issued from the Americanizing Phoenix Club.<sup>346</sup> Then it was a revival of Ribbonism<sup>347</sup>; but now it is something quite new, quite unknown, and the more awful for all that. The shifts the Government is driven to may be judged from the maneuvers of *The Dublin Daily Express*, the Government organ, which day by day treats its readers to false rumors of murders committed, armed men marauding, and midnight meetings taking place. To its intense disgust, the men killed return from their graves, and protest in its own columns against being so disposed of by the editor.

There may exist such a thing as a Phoenix Club, but at all events, it is a very small affair, since the Government itself has thought fit to stifle this Phoenix in its own ashes. As to Ribbonism, its existence never depended upon secret conspirators. When, at the end of the eighteenth century, the

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<sup>346</sup> *Phoenix Club*—an Irish secret society formed of the revolutionary clubs smashed after 1848, and uniting mainly small employees, sales-assistants and workers. The society was connected with Irish revolutionary emigres in the USA. In 1858, most of the club members joined the secret Fenian society, and shortly after the Phoenix Club was broken up by the English police.

<sup>347</sup> *Ribbonism*—an Irish peasant movement that emerged in Northern Ireland at the end of the eighteenth century. Its members were united in secret societies and wore a green ribbon as an emblem. The Ribbonmen movement was a form of popular resistance to the arbitrary rule of the English landlords and the forcible eviction of tenants from the land. The Ribbonmen attacked estates, organized attempts on the lives of hated landlords and managers. The activities of the Ribbonmen had a purely local, decentralized character and they had no common program of action.

Protestant Peep-o'-Day boys combined to wage war against the Catholics in the north of Ireland, the opposing society of the Defenders<sup>348</sup> sprang up. When, in 1791, the Peep-o'-Day boys merged into Orangeism, the Defenders transformed themselves into Ribbonmen. When, at last, in our own days, the British Government disavowed Orangeism, the Ribbon Society, having lost its condition of life, dissolved itself voluntarily. The extraordinary steps taken by Lord Eglinton may, in fact, revive Ribbonism, as may the present attempts of the Dublin Orangemen to place English officers at the head of the Irish Constabulary, and fill its inferior ranks with their own partisans. At present there exist no secret societies in Ireland except agrarian societies. To accuse Ireland of producing such societies would be as judicious as to accuse woodland of producing mushrooms. The landlords of Ireland are confederated for a fiendish war of extermination against the cotters; or, as they call it, they combine for the economical experiment of clearing the land of useless mouths. The small native tenants are to be disposed of with no more ado than vermin is by the housemaid. The despairing wretches, on their part, attempt a feeble resistance by the formation of secret societies, scattered over the land, and powerless for effecting anything beyond demonstrations of individual vengeance.

But if the conspiracy hunted after in Ireland is a mere invention of Orangeism, the premiums held out by the Government may succeed in giving shape and body to the airy nothing. The recruiting sergeant is no more sure to press with his shilling and his gin some of the Queen's mob into the Queen's service, than a reward for the detection of Irish secret societies is sure to create the societies to be detected. From the entrails of every county there rise immediately blacklegs who, transforming themselves into revolutionary delegates, travel through the rural districts, enroll members, administer oaths, denounce the victims, swear them to the gallows, and pocket the blood-money. To characterize this race of Irish

<sup>348</sup> The English ruling circles and reactionary Irish landlords did everything they could to foment religious strife between Catholic and Protestant Irishmen, which substantially weakened the national liberation movement in Ireland. In the 1780s they helped to set up secret terrorist Protestant organizations in Northern Ireland, the "Peep-o'-Day Boys" society among them. The members of these societies generally broke into the houses of Catholics at daybreak and, pretending to search for arms, which Catholics were not allowed to possess, destroyed their property.

*Defenders*—the members of an organization of Irish Catholics, which emerged in the 1780s in defense against the "Peep-o'-Day Boys."

informers and the effect on them of Government rewards, it will suffice to quote one passage from a speech delivered by Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons:

When I was Chief Secretary of Ireland, a murder was committed between Carrick-on-Suir and Clonmel. A Mr.—had a deadly revenge toward a Mr.—, and he employed four men at two guineas each to murder him. There was a road on each side of the River Suir, from Carrick to Clonmel; and placing two men on each road, the escape of his victim was impossible. He was, therefore, foully murdered, and the country was so shocked by this heinous crime, that the Government offered a reward of £500 for the discovery of each of the murderers. And can it be believed, the miscreant who bribed the four murderers was the very man who came and gave the information which led to their execution, and with these hands I paid in my office in Dublin Castle the sum of £2,000 to that monster in human shape.

## Population, Crime and Pauperism<sup>349</sup>

*Marx, 1859 (Excerpt)*

There must be something rotten in the very core of a social system which increases its wealth without diminishing its misery, and increases in crimes even more rapidly than in numbers. It is true enough that, if we compare the year 1855 with the preceding years, there seems to have occurred a sensible decrease of crime from 1855 to 1858. The total number of people committed for trial, which in 1854 amounted to 29,359, had sunk down to 17,855 in 1858; and the number of convicted had also greatly fallen off, if not quite in the same ratio. This apparent decrease of crime, however, since 1854, is to be exclusively attributed to some technical changes in British jurisdiction; to the Juvenile Offenders' Act<sup>350</sup> in the first instance, and, in the second instance, to the operation of the Criminal Justice Act of 1855, which authorizes the Police Magistrates to pass sentences for short periods, with the consent of the prisoners. Violations of the law are generally the offspring of economical agencies beyond the control of the legislator, but, as the working of the Juvenile Offenders' Act testifies, it depends to some degree on official society to stamp certain violations of its rules as crimes or as transgressions only. This difference of nomenclature, so far from being indifferent, decides on the fate of thousands of men, and the moral tone of society. Law itself may not only punish crime, but improvise it, and the law of professional lawyers is very apt to work in this direction. Thus, it has been justly remarked by an eminent historian, that the Catholic clergy of the medieval times, with its dark views of human nature, introduced by its influence into criminal legislation, has created more crimes than forgiven sins.

Strange to say, the only part of the United Kingdom in which crime has seriously decreased, say by 50, and even by 75 percent, is Ireland. How can we harmonize this fact with the public-opinion slang of England,

<sup>349</sup> Originally published in *New York Daily Tribune*, September 16, 1859. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 102-104.

<sup>350</sup> The reference is to the setting up in England in 1854 of corrective schools to which juvenile delinquents, aged from 12 to 16, were sent for crimes which according to former laws were punishable by short-term imprisonment.

according to which Irish nature, instead of British misrule, is responsible for Irish shortcomings? It is, again, no act on the part of the British ruler, but simply the consequence of a famine,<sup>351</sup> an exodus, and a general combination of circumstances favorable to the demand for Irish labor, that has worked this happy change in Irish nature. However that may be, the significance of the following tabular statements cannot be misunderstood:

**I.—Crimes in Ireland.—Committed for Trial.**

<i>Years</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Convicted</i>
1844	14,799	4,649	19,448	8,042
1845	12,807	3,889	16,696	7,101
1846	14,204	4,288	18,492	8,639
1847	23,552	7,657	31,209	15,233
1848	28,765	9,757	38,522	18,206
1849	31,340	10,649	41,989	21,202
1850	22,682	3,644	31,326	17,108
1851	17,337	7,347	24,684	14,377
1852	12,444	5,234	17,678	10,454
1853	10,260	4,884	15,144	8,714
1854	7,937	3,851	11,788	7,051
1855	6,019	2,993	9,012	5,220
1856	5,097	2,002	7,099	4,024
1857	5,458	1,752	7,210	3,925
1858	4,708	1,600	6,308	3,350

<sup>351</sup> In 1845–47 a grievous famine blighted Ireland due to the ruin of farms and the pauperization of the peasants, who were cruelly exploited by the English landlords. Although there was a great dearth of potatoes, the principal diet of the Irish peasants, the English landlords continued to export food from the country, condemning the poorest sections of the population to starvation. About a million people starved to death and the new wave of emigration caused by the famine carried away another million. As a result large districts of Ireland were depopulated and the abandoned land was turned into pastures by the Irish and English landlords.



**II.—Paupers in Ireland.**

<i>Years</i>	<i>No. of Parishes</i>	<i>Paupers</i>	<i>Years</i>	<i>No. of Parishes</i>	<i>Paupers</i>
1849	880	82,357	1854	883	78,929
1850	880	79,031	1855	883	79,887
1851	881	76,906	1856	883	79,973
1852	882	75,111	1857	883	79,217
1853	882	75,437	1858	883	79,199

## The British Cotton Trade<sup>352</sup>

*Marx, 1861 (Excerpt)*

From the outbreak of the American war the prices of cotton were steadily rising, but the ruinous disproportion between the prices of the raw material and the prices of yarns and cloth was not declared until the last weeks of August. Till then, any serious decline in the prices of cotton manufactures, which might have been anticipated from the considerable decrease of the American demand, had been balanced by an accumulation of stocks in first hands, and by speculative consignments to China and India. Those Asiatic markets, however, were soon overdone.

Stocks, [says *The Calcutta Mice Current* of Aug. 7, 1861,] are accumulating, the arrivals since our last being no less than 24,000,000 yards of plain cottons. Home advices show a continuation of shipments in excess of our requirements, and *so* long as this *is* the case, improvement cannot be looked for [...]. The Bombay market, also, has been greatly oversupplied.

Some other circumstances contributed to contract the Indian market. The late famine in the north-western provinces has been succeeded by the ravages of the cholera, while throughout Lower Bengal an excessive fall of rain, laying the country under water, seriously damaged the rice crops.

[...] The consumption of Indian cotton is rapidly growing, and with a further rise in prices, the Indian supply will come forward at increasing ratios; but still it remains impossible to change, at a few months' notice, all the conditions of production and turn the current of commerce. England pays now, in fact, the penalty for her protracted misrule of that vast Indian empire. The two main obstacles she has now to grapple with in her attempts at supplanting American cotton by Indian cotton, is the want of means of communication and transport throughout India, and the miserable state of the Indian peasant, disabling him from improving favorable circumstances. Both these difficulties the English have themselves to thank for. English modern industry, in general, relied upon two pivots equally monstrous. The

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<sup>352</sup> Originally published in *New York Daily Tribune*, October 14, 1861. Here: Marx & Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, Lawrence & Wishart, 2010, pp. 18-20.

one was the potato as the only means of feeding Ireland and a great part of the English working class. This pivot was swept away by the potato disease and the subsequent Irish catastrophe. A larger basis for the reproduction and maintenance of the toiling millions had then to be adopted. The second pivot of English industry was the slave-grown cotton of the United States. The present American crisis forces them to enlarge their field of supply and emancipate cotton from slave-breeding and slave-consuming oligarchies. As long as the English cotton manufactures depended on slave-grown cotton, it could be truthfully asserted that they rested on a twofold slavery, the indirect slavery of the white man in England and the direct slavery of the black men on the other side of the Atlantic.

## The Crisis in England<sup>353</sup>

*Marx, 1861 (Excerpt)*

Today, as fifteen years ago, England faces a catastrophe which threatens to undermine the foundation of her entire economic system. Potatoes as is known were almost the only food of the Irish and of a considerable part of the English working population when the potato blight of 1845 and 1846 struck the Irish root of life with rot. The results of that big catastrophe are well known. The Irish population decreased by two millions, some of whom starved, while others fled across the Atlantic. At the same time, this enormous calamity promoted the victory of the English Free-Trade party; the English landed aristocracy was compelled to sacrifice one of its most profitable monopolies, and the Repeal of the Corn Laws ensured a wider and sounder basis for the reproduction and maintenance of the working millions.

What the potato was to Irish agriculture, cotton is to the dominant branch of Great Britain's industry. On its processing depends the subsistence of a mass of the population which is greater than the whole population of Scotland or two-thirds of the present population of Ireland. According to the 1861 census, the population of Scotland was 3,061,117, and that of Ireland only 5,764,543, while more than four million people in England and Scotland live directly or indirectly on the cotton industry. True, the cotton plant has not contracted any disease. Neither is its production the monopoly of a few areas of the world. On the contrary, no other plant providing material for clothing thrives on such extensive areas in America, Asia and Africa. The cotton monopoly of the slave-owning states of the American Union is not natural, but historically shaped. It grew and developed simultaneously with the monopoly of the English cotton industry on the world market....

Suddenly the American Civil War threatens this mainstay of English industry. While the Union blockades the ports of the Southern States to prevent the export of this year's cotton harvest and thereby cut off the secessionists' main source of income, the Confederation imparts compul-

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<sup>353</sup> Originally published in *Die Presse*, November 6, 1861. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 105-106.

sive force to this blockade merely by its decision not to export a single bale of cotton voluntarily and, moreover, to force England to come and fetch cotton herself from the southern ports. England is to be driven to break through the blockade by force, to declare war on the Union, and thus to throw her sword on the scales in favor of the slave-owning states.

## English Humanism and America<sup>354</sup>

*Marx, 1862 (Excerpt)*

Humanity in England, like liberty in France, has now become an export article for the traders in politics. We recollect the time when Tsar Nicholas had Polish ladies flogged by soldiers and when Lord Palmerston found the moral indignation of some parliamentarians over the event “impolitic.” We recollect that about a decade ago a revolt took place on the Ionian Islands... which gave the English governor there occasion to have a fairly considerable number of Grecian women flogged. *Probatum est*, said Palmerston and his Whig colleagues who at that time were in office. Just a few years ago proof was furnished to Parliament from official documents that the tax collectors in India employed means of coercion against the wives of the *ryots*,<sup>355</sup> the infamy of which forbids giving further details. Palmerston and his colleagues did not, it is true, dare to justify these atrocities, but what an outcry they would have raised, had a foreign government dared to publicly proclaim its indignation over these English infamies and distinctly indicate that it would step in if Palmerston and colleagues did not at once disavow the Indian tax officials. But Cato the Censor himself could not watch over the morals of the Roman citizens more anxiously than the English aristocrats and their ministers over the “humanity” of the war-waging Yankees!

The ladies of New Orleans, yellow beauties, tastelessly bedecked with jewels and comparable, perhaps, to the women of the old Mexicans, save that they do not devour their slaves in natura, are this time—previously it was the harbors of Charleston—the occasions for the British aristocrats’ display of humanity. The English women who are starving in Lancashire (they are, however, not ladies, nor do they possess any slaves), have inspired no parliamentary utterance hitherto; the cry of distress from the Irish women, who, with the progressive eviction of the small tenant farmers in green Erin, are flung half naked on the street and driven from house and home quite as if the Tartars had descended upon them, has

<sup>354</sup> Originally published in *Die Presse*, June 20, 1862. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 107-108.

<sup>355</sup> Ryots: Indian peasants—*Ed.*

hitherto called forth only one echo from the Lords, the Commons, and Her Majesty's government—homilies on the absolute rights of landed property. But the ladies of New Orleans! That, to be sure, is another matter. These ladies were far too enlightened to participate in the tumult of war, like the goddesses of Olympus, or to cast themselves into the flames, like the women of Saguntum. They have invented a new and safe mode of heroism, a mode that could have been invented only by female slaveholders and, what is more, only by female slaveholders in a land where the free part of the population consists of shopkeepers by vocation, tradesmen in cotton or sugar or tobacco, and does not keep slaves, like the cives of the ancient world. After their men had run away from New Orleans or had crept into their back closets, these ladies rushed into the streets in order to spit in the faces of the victorious Union troops or to stick out their tongues at them or, like Mephistopheles, to make in general “an unseemly gesture,” accompanied by insulting words. “These Magaeras imagined they could be ill-mannered—with impunity.”

This was their heroism. General Butler issued a proclamation in which he notified them that they should be treated as streetwalkers, if they continued to act as street-walkers. Butler has, indeed, the makings of a lawyer, but does not seem to have undertaken the requisite study of English statute law. Otherwise, by analogy with the laws imposed on Ireland under Castlereagh, he would have prohibited them from setting foot on the streets at all. Butler's warning to the “ladies” of New Orleans has aroused such moral indignation in Earl Carnarvon, Sir. J. Walsh (who played so ridiculous and odious a role in Ireland) and Mr. Gregory, who was already demanding recognition of the Confederacy a year ago, that the Earl in the Upper House, the knight and the man “without a handle to his name in the Lower House, interrogated the Ministry to learn what steps it intended to take in the name of outraged “humanity.” Russell and Palmerston both castigated Butler, both expected that the government at Washington would disavow him; and the so very tender-hearted Palmerston, who behind the Queen's back and without the foreknowledge of his colleagues recognized the coup d'état of December 1851 (on which occasion “ladies” were actually shot dead, whilst others were violated by Zouaves) merely out of “human admiration”—the same tender-hearted Viscount declared Butler's warning to be an “infamy.” Ladies, indeed, who

actually own slaves—such ladies were not even to be able to vent their anger and their malice on common Union troops, peasants, artisans and other rabble with impunity! It is “infamous.”



## The Situation in North America<sup>356</sup>

*Marx and Engels, 1862 (Excerpt)*

Thus, the Confederate campaign for the reconquest of the lost border slave states which was undertaken on a large scale, with military skill and with the most favorable chances, has come utterly to grief. Apart from the immediate military results, these battles contribute in another way to the removal of the main difficulty. The hold of the slave states proper on the border states naturally rests on the slave element of the latter, the same element that enforces diplomatic and constitutional considerations on the Union government in its struggle against slavery. However, in the border states, the principal theatre of the Civil War, this element is in practice being destroyed by the Civil War itself. A large section of the slaveholders, with their “black chattels,” are constantly migrating to the South in order to bring their property to a place of safety. With each defeat of the Confederates this migration is renewed on a larger scale.

One of my friends [Joseph Weydemeyer], a German officer, who fought under the star-spangled banner in Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky and Tennessee in turn, writes to me that this migration is wholly reminiscent of the exodus from Ireland in 1847 and 1848.

Furthermore, the energetic sections of the slaveholders, the young people, on the one hand, and the political and military leaders, on the other, separate themselves from the bulk of their class, since they either form guerilla bands in their own states and, as guerilla bands, are annihilated, or they leave home and join the army or the administration of the Confederacy. Hence the result: on the one hand, a tremendous dwindling of the slave element in the border states, where it had always to contend with the “encroachments” of its competitor, free labor; on the other hand, removal of the energetic section of the slaveholders and its white following. Only a sediment of “moderate” slaveholders is left, who will soon grasp greedily at the pile of money offered them by Washington for the redemption of their “black chattels,” whose value will in any case be lost as soon as the Southern market is closed to their sale. Thus, the war itself brings

<sup>356</sup> Originally published in *Die Presse*, November 10, 1862. Here: Marx & Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, Lawrence & Wishart, 2010, pp. 256-259.

about a solution by, in fact, radically changing the form of society in the border states.

[...] It is a noteworthy fact that during the present year Europe supplied the United States with an emigrant contingent of approximately 100,000 souls and that half of these emigrants consist of Irishmen and Britons. At the recent congress of the English Association for the Advancement of Science at Carnbridge, the economist Merivale was obliged to remind his countrymen of a fact that *The Times*, *The Saturday Review*, *The Morning Post* and *The Morning Herald*, not to mention the *dii minorium gentium*, have so completely forgotten, or want to make England forget, namely, that the majority of the English surplus Population finds a new home in the United States.

# The English Government and the Fenian Prisoners<sup>357</sup>

Marx, 1870

## I

The silence which is observed in the European press concerning the disgraceful acts committed by this oligarchical bourgeois government is due to a variety of reasons. Firstly, the English Government *is rich* and the press, as you know, is *immaculate*. Moreover, the English Government is the model government, recognized as such by the landlords, by the capitalists on the Continent and even by Garibaldi (see his book<sup>358</sup>): consequently we should not revile this ideal government. Finally, the French Republicans are narrowminded and selfish enough to reserve all their anger for the Empire. It would be an insult to free speech to inform their fellow countrymen that in the *land of bourgeois freedom* sentences of 20 years' hard labor are given for offences which are punished by 6 months in prison in the *land of barracks*. The following information on the treatment of Fenian prisoners has been taken from English journals:

*Mulcahy*, sub-editor of the newspaper *The Irish People*,<sup>359</sup> sentenced for taking part in the Fenian conspiracy, was harnessed to a cart loaded with stones with a metal band round his neck at Dartmoor.

*O'Donovan Rossa*, owner of *The Irish People*, was shut up for 35 days in a pitch-black dungeon with his hands tied behind his back day and night. They were not even untied to allow him to eat the miserable slops which were left for him on the earthen floor.

*Kickham*, one of the editors of *The Irish People*, although he was unable to use his right arm because of an abscess, was forced to sit with his fellow prisoners on a heap of rubble in the November cold and fog and break up

<sup>357</sup> Originally published in *L'internationale*, February 27, 1870. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 256-261.

<sup>358</sup> The reference is to the book: Garibaldi, *The Rule of the Monk, or Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1870.

<sup>359</sup> *The Irish People*—an Irish weekly, the main organ of the Fenians, appearing in Dublin between 1863 and 1865. It was banned by the English Government, the members of its editorial board were arrested and sentenced to long terms of hard labor. O'Donovan Rossa, its publisher, was sentenced to penal servitude for life.

stones and bricks with his left hand. He returned to his cell at night and had nothing to eat but 6 ounces of bread and a pint of hot water.

*O'Leary*, an old man of sixty or seventy who was sent to prison, was put on bread and water for three weeks because he would not renounce *paganism* (this, apparently, is what a jailer called free thinking) and become either Papist, Protestant, Presbyterian or even Quaker, or take up one of the many religions which the prison governor offered to the heathen Irish.

*Martin H. Carey* is incarcerated in a lunatic asylum at Millbank. The silence and the other bad treatment which he has received have made him lose his reason.

Colonel *Richard Burke* is in no better condition. One of his friends writes that his mind is affected, he has lost his memory and his behavior, manners and speech are those of a madman.

The political prisoners are dragged from one prison to the next as if they were wild animals. They are forced to keep company with the vilest knaves; they are obliged to clean the pans used by these wretches, to wear the shirts and flannels which have previously been worn by these criminals, many of whom are suffering from the foulest diseases, and to wash in the same water. Before the arrival of the Fenians at Portland all the criminals were allowed to talk with their visitors. A visiting cage was installed for the Fenian prisoners. It consists of three compartments divided by partitions of thick iron bars; the jailer occupies the central compartment and the prisoner and his friends can only see each other through this double row of bars.

In the docks you can find prisoners who eat all sorts of slugs, and frogs are considered dainties at Chatham. General Thomas Burke said he was not surprised to find a dead mouse floating in the soup. The convicts say that it was a bad day for them when the Fenians were sent to the prisons. (The prison regime has become much more severe.)

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I should like to add a few words to these extracts.

Last year *Mr. Bruce*, the Home Secretary, a great liberal, great policeman and great mine owner in Wales who cruelly exploits his workers, was questioned on the bad treatment of Fenian prisoners and O'Donovan Rossa in particular. At first he denied everything, but was later compelled

to confess. Following this Mr. Moore, an Irish member in the House of Commons, demanded an enquiry into the facts. This was flatly refused by the *radical ministry* of which the head is that demigod Mr. Gladstone (he has been compared to Jesus Christ publicly) and that old bourgeois demagogue, John Bright, is one of the most influential members.

The recent wave of reports concerning the bad treatment of the Fenians led several members of Parliament to request Mr. Bruce for permission to visit the prisoners *in order to be able to verify the falseness of these rumors*. Mr. Bruce refused this permission on the grounds that the prison governors were afraid that the prisoners would be too excited by visits of this kind.

Last week the Home Secretary was again submitted to questioning. He was asked whether it was true that O'Donovan Rossa received corporal punishment (i.e., whipping) after his election to Parliament as the member for Tipperary. The Minister confirmed that he had not received such treatment since 1868 (which is tantamount to saying that the political prisoner had been given the whip over a period of two to three years).

I am also sending you extracts (which we are going to publish in our next issue) concerning the case of Michael Terbert, a Fenian sentenced as such to forced labor, who was serving his sentence at Spike Island Convict Prison in the county of Cork, Ireland. You will see that the coroner himself attributes this man's death to the torture which was inflicted on him. This investigation was held last week.

In the course of two years *more than twenty* Fenian workers have died or gone insane thanks to the philanthropic natures of these honest bourgeois souls, backed by the honest landlords.

You are probably aware that the English press professes a chaste distaste for the dreadful general security laws which grace "la belle France." With the exception of a few short intervals, it is security laws which formed the Irish Charter. Since 1793 the English Government has taken advantage of any pretext to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act (which guarantees the liberty of the individual)<sup>360</sup> regularly and periodically, in fact all laws, except

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<sup>360</sup> *Habeas Corpus Act* was adopted by the English Parliament in 1679; it was a guarantee against police arbitrariness, for it required that the authorities should state reasons for taking persons into custody and release them if they were not brought before a court within a limited period. However, Parliament was entitled to suspend the Act, and the English ruling classes constantly abused it in Ireland.

that of brute force. In this way thousands of people have been arrested in Ireland on *being suspected of Fenianism* without ever having been tried, brought before a judge or court, or even charged. Not content with depriving them of their liberty, the English Government has had them tortured in the most savage way imaginable. The following is but one example.

One of the prisons where persons suspected of being Fenians were buried alive is *Mountjoy Prison* in Dublin. The prison inspector, Murray, is a despicable brute who maltreated the prisoners so cruelly that some of them went mad. The prison doctor, an excellent man called M'Donnell (who also played a creditable part in the enquiry into Michael Terbert's death), spent several months writing letters of protest which he addressed in the first instance to Murray himself. When Murray did not reply he sent accusing letters to higher authorities, but being an expert jailer Murray intercepted these letters.

Finally M'Donnell wrote directly to Lord Mayo who was then Viceroy of Ireland. This was during the period when the Tories were in power (Derby and Disraeli). What effect did his actions have? The documents relating to the case were published by order of Parliament and... Dr. M'Donnell was dismissed from his post!!! Whereas Murray retained his.

Then the so-called radical government of Gladstone came to power, the warm-hearted, unctuous, magnanimous Gladstone who had wept so passionately and so sincerely before the eyes of the whole of Europe over the fate of Poerio and other members of the bourgeoisie who were badly treated by King Bomba.<sup>361</sup> What did this idol of the progressive bourgeoisie do? While insulting the Irish by his insolent replies to their demands for an amnesty, he not only confirmed the monster Murray in his post, but endowed the position of chief jailer with a nice fat sinecure as a token of his personal satisfaction! There's the apostle of the philanthropic bourgeoisie for you!

But something had to be done to pull the wool over the eyes of the public. It was essential to appear to be doing something for Ireland, and

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<sup>361</sup> A reference to Gladstone's pamphlet *Two Letters to the Earl of Aberdeen on the State Persecution of the Neapolitan Government*, published in London in 1851, in which Gladstone exposed the cruel treatment by the Government of the Neapolitan King Ferdinand II (nicknamed "Bomba" for the bombardment of Messina in 1848) of political prisoners arrested for their part in the 1848–49 revolutionary movement.

the Irish Land Bill<sup>362</sup> was proclaimed with a great song and dance. All this is nothing but a pose with the ultimate aim of deceiving Europe, winning over the Irish judges and advocates with the prospect of endless disputes between landlords and farmers, conciliating the landlords with the promise of financial aid from the state and deluding the more prosperous farmers with a few mild concessions.

In the long introduction to his grandiloquent and confused speech Gladstone admits that even the “benevolent” laws which liberal England bestowed on Ireland over the last hundred years have always led to the country’s further decline.<sup>363</sup> And after this naïve confession the same man persists in torturing those who want to put an end to this harmful and stupid legislation.

## II

The following is an account taken from an English newspaper of the results of an enquiry into the death of Michael Terbert, a Fenian prisoner who died at Spike Island Prison due to the bad treatment which he had received.

On Thursday last Mr. John Moore, Coroner of the Middleton district, held an inquest at Spike Island Convict Prison, on the body of a convict [...] named Michael Terbert, who had died in hospital.

Peter Hay, governor of the prison, was called first. He deposed “The deceased, Michael Terbert, came to this prison in June 1866; I can’t say how his health was at the time; he had been convicted on the 12<sup>th</sup> of January, 1866, and his sentence was

<sup>362</sup> The Land Bill for Ireland was discussed in the English Parliament in the first half of 1870. Submitted by Gladstone on behalf of the English Government on the pretext of assisting Irish tenants, it contained so many provisos and restrictions that it actually left the basis of big landownership by the English landlords in Ireland intact. It also preserved their right to raise rents and to drive tenants off the land, stipulating only that the landlords pay a compensation to the tenants for land improvement, and instituting a definite judicial procedure for this. The Land Act was passed in August 1870. The landlords sabotaged the implementation of the Act in every way and found various ways round it. The Act greatly promoted the concentration of farms in Ireland into big estates and the ruination of small Irish tenants.

<sup>363</sup> Marx is referring to Gladstone’s speech in the House of Commons on February 15, 1870, which was published in *The Times* on February 16, 1870.

seven years' penal servitude; he appeared delicate for some time past, as will appear from one of the prison books, which states that he was removed on the recommendation of medical officers, as being unfit for cellular discipline." Witness then went into a detail of the frequent punishments inflicted on the deceased for breach of discipline, many of them for the use "of disrespectful language to the medical officer."

Jeremiah Hubert Kelly deposed—"I remember when Michael Terbert came here from Mountjoy Prison; it was then stated that he was unfit for cellular discipline—that means being always confined to a cell; certificate to the effect was signed by Dr. M'Donnell; [...] I found him, however, to be in good health, and I sent him to work; I find by the record that he was in hospital from the 31<sup>st</sup> January, 1869, until the 6<sup>th</sup> February, 1869; he suffered then from increased affection of the heart, and from that time he did not work on the public works, but in-doors, at oakum; from the 19<sup>th</sup> 1869, until the 24<sup>th</sup> March, 1869, he was in hospital, suffering from the same affection of heart; from the 24<sup>th</sup> April till the 5<sup>th</sup> May he was also in hospital from spitting of blood; from the 19<sup>th</sup> May till the 1<sup>st</sup> June he was in hospital for heart disease; from the 21<sup>st</sup> June till the 22<sup>nd</sup> June he was under hospital treatment for the same; he was also in hospital from the 22<sup>nd</sup> July till the 15<sup>th</sup> August, for the same—from 9<sup>th</sup> November till the 13<sup>th</sup> December for debility, and from 20<sup>th</sup> December to the 8<sup>th</sup> February when he died from acute dropsy; on the 13<sup>th</sup> November he first appeared to suffer from dropsy, and it was then dissipated; I visit the cells every day, and I must have seen him when under punishment from time to time; it is my duty to remit, by recommendation, that punishment, if I consider the prisoner is not fit to bear it; I think I did so twice in his case."

"As a medical man, did you consider that five days on bread and water per day was excessive punishment for him, notwithstanding his state of health in Mountjoy and here?"—"I did



not; the deceased had a good appetite; I don't think that the treatment induced acute dropsy, of which he died" [...]

Martin O'Connell, resident apothecary of Spike Island, was next examined—Witness mentioned to Dr. Kelly last July that while the deceased was laboring under heart disease, he should not have been punished; [...] he was of opinion that such punishment as the deceased got was prejudicial to his health, considering that he was an invalid for the past twelve months [...] he could not say that invalids were so punished, as he only attended cells in Dr. Kelly's absence; he was certain, considering the state of the deceased man's health, that five days continuously in cells would be injurious to his health; [...] The Coroner then [...] dealt forcibly with the treatment which the prisoner had received [...] alternating between the hospital and the punishment cell.

The jury returned the following verdict: "We find that Michael Terbert died in hospital at Spike Island Convict Prison, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of February, 1870, of dropsy; he was twenty-five years of age, and unmarried. We have also to express in the strongest terms our total disapproval of the frequent punishment he suffered in cells on bread and water for several days in succession during his imprisonment in Spike Island, where he had been sent in June 1866, from Mountjoy Prison, for the reason that in Dr. M'Donnell's opinion he was unfit for cellular discipline at Mountjoy; and we express our condemnation of such treatment."<sup>364</sup>

<sup>364</sup> The report on the coroner's inquest on the body of Michael Terbert was published in *The Irishman* on February 19, 1870.

## Articles on the Irish Question<sup>365</sup>

*Jenny and Karl Marx, 1870 (Excerpt)*

### III

*London, March 16, 1870*

The main event of the past week has been O'Donovan Rossa's letter which I communicated to you in my last report.

The *Times* printed the letter without comment, whereas the *Daily News* published a commentary without the letter.

As one might have expected, [it says,] Mr. O'Donovan Rossa takes as his subject the prison rules to which he has been subjected for a while.

How atrocious this "*for a while*" is in speaking of a man who has already been imprisoned for five years and condemned to hard labor *for life*.

Mr. O'Donovan Rossa complains among other things "of being harnessed to a cart with a rope tied round his neck" in such a way that his life depended on the movements of English convicts, his fellow prisoners.

[But, exclaims the *Daily News*,] is it really unjust to put a man in a situation where his life depends on the acts of others? When a person is in a car or on a steamer does not his life also depend on the acts of others?

After this brilliant piece of arguing, the pious casuist reproaches O'Donovan Rossa for not loving the *Bible* and preferring the *Irish People*, a comparison which is sure to delight its readers.

Mr. O'Donovan, [it continues,] seems to imagine that prisoners serving sentences for seditious writing should be supplied with cigars and daily newspapers, and that they should above all have the right to correspond freely with their friends.

Ho, ho, virtuous Pharisee! At last you have admitted that O'Donovan Rossa has been sentenced to hard labor for life for *seditious writing* and not

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<sup>365</sup> Originally published in *La Marseillaise*, March 19, 1870. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 503-511.

for an attempted *assassination* of Queen Victoria, as you vilely insinuated in your first address to the French press.

After all, [this shameless newspaper concludes,] O'Donovan Rossa is simply being treated for what he is, that is, an ordinary convict.

After Mr. Gladstone's special newspaper, here is a different angle from the "liberal" press, the *Daily Telegraph*, which generally adopts a rougher manner.

If we condescend, [it says,] to take note of O'Donovan Rossa's letter, it is not because of the Fenians who are incorrigible, but exclusively for the well-being of France.

Let it be known that only a few days ago in the House of Commons Mr. Gladstone made a formal denunciation of all these outrageous lies, and there cannot be any intelligent Frenchmen of whatever party and class who would dare doubt the word of an English gentleman.

But if, contrary to expectation, there were parties or people in France perverse enough not to believe the word of an English gentleman such as Mr. Gladstone, France could not at least resist the well-meant advice of Mr. Levy who is not a gentleman and who addresses you in the following terms:

We advise our neighbors, the Parisians, to treat all the stories of cruelties committed on political prisoners in England as 80 many insolent lies.

With Mr. Levy's permission, I will give you a new example of the value of the words of the gentlemen who make up Gladstone's Cabinet.

You will remember that in my first letter I mentioned Colonel *Richard Burke*, a Fenian prisoner who has gone insane thanks to the humanitarian methods of the English government. The *Irishman* was the first to publish this news, after which Mr. Underwood sent a letter to Mr. Bruce, the Home Secretary, asking him for an enquiry into the treatment of political prisoners.

Mr. Bruce replied in a letter which was published in the English press and which contained the following sentence:

With regard to Richard Burke at Woking Prison, Mr. Bruce is bound to refuse to make an enquiry on the grounds of such ill-founded and extravagant insinuations as those contained in the extracts from the *Irishman* which you have sent me.

This statement by Mr. Bruce is dated January 11, 1870. Now in one of its recent issues the *Irishman* has published the same Minister's reply to a letter from Mrs. Barry, Richard Burke's sister, who asked for news about her brother's "alarming" condition. The ministerial reply of *February* 24 contains an official report dated January 11 in which the prison doctor and Burke's special guard state that he has become insane. Thus, the very day when Mr. Bruce publicly declared the information published by the *Irishman* to be false and ill-founded, he was concealing the irrefutable official proof in his pocket! It should be mentioned incidentally that Mr. Moore, an Irish member in the House of Commons, is to question the Minister on the treatment of Colonel Burke.

The *Echo*, a recently founded newspaper, takes an even stronger liberal line than its companions. It has its own principle which consists of selling for one penny, whereas all the other newspapers cost twopence, fourpence or sixpence. This price of one penny forces it on the one hand to make pseudo-democratic professions of faith so as not to lose its working-class subscribers, and on the other hand to make constant reservations in order to win over respectable subscribers from its competitors.

In its long tirade on O'Donovan Rossa's letter it finished up by saying that "perhaps even those Fenians who have received an amnesty will refuse to believe the exaggerations of their compatriots," as if Mr. Kickham, Mr. Costello and others had not already published information on their suffering in prison totally in accordance with Rossa's letter! But after all its subterfuge and senseless evasions the *Echo* touches on the sore point.

[The] publications by the Marseillaise, [it says,] will cause a scandal and this scandal will spread all round the world. The continental mind is perhaps too limited to be able to discern the difference between the crimes of a Bomba and the severity of a Gladstone! So it would be better to hold an enquiry [and so on].

The *Spectator*, a “liberal” weekly which supports Gladstone, is governed by the principle that all genres are bad except the boring one.<sup>366</sup> This is why it is called in London the journal of the seven wise men. After giving a brief account of O’Donovan Rossa and scolding him for his aversion to the Bible, the journal of the seven wise men pronounces the following judgment:

The Fenian O’Donovan Rossa does not appear to have suffered anything more than the ordinary sufferings of convicts, but we confess that we should like to see changes in this regime. It is very right and often most advisable to shoot rebels. It is also right to deprive them of their liberty as the most dangerous type of criminals. But it is neither right nor wise to degrade them.

Well said, Solomon the Wise!

Finally we have the *Standard*, the main organ of the Tory party, the Conservatives. You will be aware that the English oligarchy is composed of two factions: the landed aristocracy and the plutocracy. If in their family quarrels one takes the side of the plutocrats against the aristocrats, one is called a liberal or even radical. If, on the contrary, one side with the aristocrats against the plutocrats, one is called a Tory.

The *Standard* calls O’Donovan Rossa’s letter an apocryphal story probably written by A. Dumas.

Why, [it says,] did the Marseillaise refrain from adding that Mr. Gladstone, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Mayor were present each morning while O’Donovan Rossa was being tortured?

In the House of Commons a certain member once referred to the Tory party as the “stupid party.” Is it not a fact that the *Standard* well deserves its title as the main organ of the stupid party!

Before closing I must warn the French not to confuse the newspaper rumors with the voice of the English proletariat which, unfortunately for the two countries, Ireland and England, has no echo in the English press.

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<sup>366</sup> The author paraphrases Voltaire’s words: “All genres are good except the boring one.”

Let it suffice to say that more than 200,000 men, women and children of the English working class raised their voices in Hyde Park to demand freedom for their Irish brothers, and that the General Council of the *International Working Men's Association*, which has its headquarters in London and includes well-known English working-class leaders among its members, has severely condemned the treatment of Fenian prisoners and come out in defense of the rights of the Irish people against the English government.<sup>367</sup>

P.S. As a result of the publicity given by the *Marseillaise* to O'Donovan Rossa's letter, Gladstone is afraid that he may be forced by public opinion to hold a parliamentary public enquiry into the treatment of political prisoners. In order to avoid this again (we know how many times his corrupt conscience has opposed it already) this diplomat has just produced an official, but anonymous denial of the facts quoted by Rossa.<sup>368</sup>

Let it be known in France that this denial is nothing more than a copy of the statements made by the prison jailer, police magistrates Knox and Pollock, etc., etc. These gentlemen know full well that Rossa cannot reply to them. He will be kept under stricter supervision than ever, but... I shall reply to them in my next letter with facts the verification of which does not depend on the goodwill of jailers.

#### IV

*London, March 18, 1870*

As I announced in my last letter Mr. Moore, an Irish member of the House of Commons, yesterday questioned the government on the treatment of Fenian prisoners. He referred to the request made by Richard Burke and four other prisoners held in Mountjoy Prison (in Dublin) and asked the government whether it considered it honorable to hold the bodies of these men after having deprived them of their senses. Finally, he insisted on a "full, free and public enquiry."

So here was Mr. Gladstone with his back to the wall. In 1868 he gave an insolent, categorical refusal to a request to hold an enquiry made

<sup>367</sup> The demonstration demanding an amnesty for the Fenians detained in English prisons was held in Hyde Park on October 24, 1869.

<sup>368</sup> An anonymous article in *The Times* of March 16, 1870, written by Henry Bruce, Home Secretary in the Liberal Government, attempted to disprove the facts adduced by O'Donovan Rossa.

by the same Mr. Moore. Since then he has always replied in the same fashion to repeated demands for an enquiry.

Why give way now? Perhaps it would not be a bad idea to admit to being alarmed by the uproar on the other side of the Channel. As to the charges levelled against our governors of prisons, we have asked them to give a full explanation in this connection.

The latter have unanimously replied that all this is sheer nonsense. Thus, our ministerial conscience is naturally satisfied. But after the explanations given by Mr. Moore (these are his exact words) it appears

that the point in question is not exactly satisfaction. That the satisfaction of the minds of the government derives from its confidence in its subordinates and, therefore, it would be both political and just to conduct an enquiry into the truth of the jailers' statements.<sup>369</sup>

*One day he says this, and the next day says that,  
His yesterday's views today he will shelve,  
He now wears a helmet, and now a top hat,  
A nuisance to others, a bore to himself.*

But he does not give way at last without making reservations.

Mr. Moore demanded a "full, free and public enquiry." Mr. Gladstone replied that he was responsible for the "form" of the enquiry, and we already know that this will not be a "parliamentary enquiry," but one conducted by means of a Royal Commission. In other words the judges in this great trial, in which Mr. Gladstone appears as the main defendant, are to be selected and appointed by Mr. Gladstone himself.

As for Richard Burke, Mr. Gladstone states that the government had learnt of his insanity as early as January 9. Consequently, his honorable colleague Mr. Bruce, the Home Secretary, lied outrageously by declaring in his open letter of January 11 that this information was untrue. But, Mr. Gladstone continues, Mr. Burke's mental disturbance had not reached a sufficiently advanced stage to justify his release from prison. It must not be forgotten that this man was an accessory to the blowing up of Clerkenwell

<sup>369</sup> George Moore's speech in the House of Commons and Gladstone's reply on March 17, 1870, were published in *The Times* on March 18, 1870.

Prison.<sup>370</sup> Really? But Richard Burke was already detained in Clerkenwell Prison when a number of other people took it into their heads to blow up the prison in order to free him. Thus he was an accessory to this ridiculous attempt which, it is thought, was instigated by the police and which, if it had succeeded, would have buried him under the ruins! Moreover, concludes Mr. Gladstone, we have already released two Fenians who went mad in our English prisons. But, interrupts Mr. Moore, I was talking about the four insane men detained in Mountjoy Prison in Dublin. Be that as it may, replies Mr. Gladstone. There are still two madmen less in our prisons.

Why is Mr. Gladstone so anxious to avoid all mention of Mountjoy Prison? We shall see in a moment. This time the facts are verified not by letters from the prisoners, but in a Blue Book published in 1868 by order of Parliament.

After the Fenian skirmish<sup>371</sup> the English government declared a state of general emergency in Ireland. All guarantees of the freedom of the individual were suspended. Any person "being suspected of Fenianism" could be thrown into prison and kept there without being brought to court as long as it pleased the authorities. One of the prisons full of suspects was Mountjoy Convict Prison in Dublin, of which John Murray was the

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<sup>370</sup> On December 13, 1867, a group of Fenians set off an explosion in London's Clerkenwell Prison in an unsuccessful attempt to free the gaol'd Fenian leaders. The explosion destroyed several neighboring houses causing the death of several people and wounding 120. The Fenian attempt was used by the bourgeois press to incite chauvinistic anti-Irish feelings among the English population.

<sup>371</sup> Before they assumed office in December 1868, when the election campaign was in full swing, Gladstone and the Liberals sharply criticized in the House of Commons the Conservative Government's policy in Ireland, especially the reprisals against the participants in the Fenian movement. The Liberals compared the actions of the Conservatives with the conquest of England by William the Conqueror in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The *Fenian uprising* was prepared by the Fenian Irish Revolutionary (republican) Brotherhood early in 1867 with the aim of winning independence for Ireland. It was to start on March 5. The organizers planned to form several mobile columns of insurgents who were to conduct guerilla warfare from bases in woods and mountainous areas. However, weak military leadership and the fact that the authorities got to know the insurgents' intentions prevented the plan from being brought to fruition. Armed revolt broke out only in some eastern and southern counties. The insurgents seized several police barracks and stations and for a short time gained control of the town of Killmallock (County Limerick). There were also clashes with the police in the suburbs of Dublin and Cork. The uprising failed because of the conspiratorial tactics of the Fenians and their weak ties with the masses. Half of the 169 participants in the uprising brought to trial were sentenced to hard labor.



inspector and Mr. M'Donnell the doctor. Now what do we read in the *Blue Book* published in 1868 by order of Parliament?

For several months Mr. M'Donnell wrote to Inspector Murray protesting against the cruel treatment of suspects. Since the inspector did not reply, Mr. M'Donnell then sent three or four reports to the prison governor. In one of these letters he referred to

certain persons who show unmistakable signs of insanity. [He went on to add:] I have not the slightest doubt that this insanity is the consequence of the prison regime. Quite apart from all humane considerations, it would be a serious matter if one of these prisoners, who have not been sentenced by a court of law but are merely suspects, should commit suicide.

All these letters addressed by Mr. M'Donnell to the governor were intercepted by John Murray. Finally, Mr. M'Donnell wrote direct to Lord Mayo, the First Secretary for Ireland. He told him for example:

There is no one, my Lord, as well informed as you yourself are on the harsh discipline to which the 'suspect' prisoners have been subjected for a considerable time, a more severe form of solitary confinement than that imposed on the convicts.

What was the result of these revelations published by order of Parliament? The doctor, Mr. M'Donnell, was dismissed!!! Murray kept his post.

All this took place during the Tory ministry. When Mr. Gladstone finally succeeded in unseating Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli by fiery speeches in which he denounced the English government as the true cause of Fenianism, he not only confirmed the savage Murray in his functions but also, as a sign of his special satisfaction, conferred a large sinecure, that of "Registrar of habitual criminals," on his post of inspector.

In my last letter I stated that the anonymous reply to Rossa's letter, circulated by the London newspapers, emanated directly from the Home Office. It is now known to be the work of the Home Secretary, Mr. Bruce. Here is a sample of his "ministerial conscience!"

[As to Rossa's complaint that he is obliged] to wash in water which has already been used for the convicts' ablutions, the police magistrates Knox and Pollock have declared that after

their careful enquiry it would be superfluous to consider such nonsense [says Mr. Bruce].

Luckily the report by police magistrates Knox and Pollock has been published by order of Parliament. What do they say on page 23 of their report? That in accordance with the prison regime a certain number of convicts use the same bath one after the other and that “the guard cannot give priority to O’Donovan Rossa without offending the others. It would, therefore, be superfluous to consider such nonsense.” Thus, according to the report by Knox and Pollock, it is not O’Donovan Rossa’s allegation that he was forced to bathe in water which had been used by convicts which is nonsense, as Mr. Bruce would have them say. On the contrary, these gentlemen find it absurd that O’Donovan Rossa should have complained about such a disgrace.

During the same meeting in the House of Commons in which Mr. Gladstone declared himself ready to hold an enquiry into the treatment of Fenian prisoners, he introduced a new Coercion Bill for Ireland, that is to say, the suppression of constitutional freedoms and the proclamation of a state of emergency.

Theoretical fiction has it that constitutional liberty is the rule and its suspension an exception, but the whole history of English rule in Ireland shows that a state of emergency is the rule and that the application of the constitution is the exception. Gladstone is making agrarian crimes the pretext for putting Ireland once more in a state of siege. His true motive is the desire to suppress the independent newspapers in Dublin. From henceforth the life or death of any Irish newspaper will depend on the goodwill of Mr. Gladstone. Moreover, this Coercion Bill is a necessary complement to the Land Bill recently introduced by Mr. Gladstone which consolidates landlordism in Ireland whilst appearing to come to the aid of the tenant farmers.<sup>372</sup> It should suffice to say of this law that it bears the mark of Lord

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<sup>372</sup> The *Land Bill for Ireland* was discussed in the English Parliament in the first half of 1870. Submitted by Gladstone on behalf of the English Government on the pretext of assisting Irish tenants, it contained so many provisos and restrictions that it actually left the basis of big landownership by the English landlords in Ireland intact. It also preserved their right to raise rents and to drive tenants off the land, stipulating only that the landlords pay a compensation to the tenants for land improvement, and instituting a definite judicial procedure for this. The Land Act was passed in August 1870. The landlords sabotaged the implementation of the Act in every way

Dufferin, a member of the Cabinet and a large Irish landowner. It was only last year that this Dr. Sangrado published a large tome<sup>373</sup> to prove that the Irish population has not yet been sufficiently bled, and that it should be reduced by a third if Ireland is to accomplish its glorious mission to produce the highest possible rents for its landlords and the largest possible quantities of meat and wool for the English market.

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and found various ways round it. The Act greatly promoted the concentration of farms in Ireland into big estates and the ruination of small Irish tenants. The *Coercion Bill* was submitted by Gladstone to the House of Commons on March 17, 1870. Aimed against the national liberation movement, the Bill provided for the suspension of constitutional guarantees in Ireland, the introduction of a state of siege and the granting of extraordinary powers to the English authorities for the struggle against Irish revolutionaries. The Bill was passed by the English Parliament.

<sup>373</sup> A reference to the book: F. T. H. Blackwood, *Mr. Mill's Plan for the Pacification of Ireland Examined*, London, 1868.

## Letters from London.—III

### Meeting in Hyde Park<sup>374</sup>

*Engels, 1872*

The *Liberal* English Government has at the moment no less than 42 Irish political prisoners in its prisons and treats them with quite exceptional cruelty, far worse than thieves and murderers. In the good old days of King Bomba, the head of the present *Liberal* cabinet, Mr. Gladstone, travelled to Italy and visited political prisoners in Naples; on his return to England he published a pamphlet which disgraced the Neapolitan Government before Europe for its unworthy treatment of political prisoners.

This does not prevent this selfsame Mr. Gladstone from treating in the very same way the Irish political prisoners, whom he continues to keep under lock and key.

The Irish members of the International in London decided to organize a *giant* demonstration in Hyde Park (the largest public park in London, where all the big popular meetings take place during political campaigns) to demand a general amnesty. They contacted all London's democratic organizations and formed a committee which included MacDonnell (an Irishman), Murray (an Englishman) and Lessner (a German)—all members of the last General Council of the International.

A difficulty arose: at the last session of Parliament the government passed a law which gave it the right to regulate public meetings in London's parks. It made use of this and had the regulation posted up to warn those who wanted to hold such a public meeting that they must give a written notification to the police two days prior to calling it, indicating the names of the speakers. This regulation carefully kept hidden from the London press destroyed with one stroke of the pen one of the most precious rights of London's working people—the right to hold meetings in parks when and how they please. To submit to this regulation would be to sacrifice one of the people's rights.

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<sup>374</sup> Originally published in *La plèbe*, November 17, 1872. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 423-425.

The Irish, who represent the most revolutionary element of the population, were not men to display such weakness. The committee unanimously decided to act as if it did not know of the existence of this regulation and to hold their meeting in defiance of the government's decree.

Last Sunday at about three o'clock in the afternoon two enormous processions with bands and banners marched towards Hyde Park. The bands played Irish songs and the *Marseillaise*; almost all the banners were Irish (green with a gold harp in the middle) or red. There were only a few police agents at the entrances to the park and the columns of demonstrators marched in without meeting with any resistance. They assembled at the appointed place and the speeches began.

The spectators numbered at least thirty thousand and at least half had a green ribbon or a green leaf in their buttonhole to show they were Irish; the rest were English, German and French. The crowd was too large for all to be able to hear the speeches, and so a second meeting was organized nearby with other orators speaking on the same theme. Forceful resolutions were adopted demanding a general amnesty and the repeal of the coercion laws which keep Ireland under a permanent state of siege. At about five o'clock the demonstrators formed up into files again and left the park, thus having flouted the regulation of Gladstone's Government.

This is the first time an Irish demonstration has been held in Hyde Park; it was very successful and even the London bourgeois press cannot deny this. It is also the first time the English and Irish sections of our population have united in friendship. These two elements of the working class, whose enmity towards each other was so much in the interests of the government and wealthy classes, are now offering one another the hand of friendship; this gratifying fact is due principally to the influence of the last General Council of the International,<sup>375</sup> which has always directed all its efforts to unite the workers of both peoples on a basis of complete equality. This meeting, of the 3<sup>rd</sup> November, will usher in a new era in the history of London's working-class movement.

<sup>375</sup> By the "last" General Council Engels means the London Council that existed before the Hague Congress of the International at which a decision was adopted to transfer the seat of the General Council to New York.

You might ask: “What is the government doing? Can it be that it is willing to reconcile itself to this slight? Will it allow its regulation to be flouted with impunity?”

Well, this is what it has done: it placed two police inspectors and two agents by the platforms in Hyde Park and they took down the names of the speakers. On the following day, these two inspectors brought a suit against the speakers before the *Justice of the Peace*. The justice sent them a summons and they have to appear before him next Saturday. This course of action makes it quite clear that they don’t intend to undertake extensive proceedings against them. The government seems to have admitted that the Irish or, as they say here, the Fenians have beaten it and will be satisfied with a small fine. The debate in court will certainly be interesting and I shall inform you of it in my next letter.<sup>376</sup>

Of one thing there can be no doubt: the Irish, thanks to their energetic efforts, have saved the right of the people of London to hold meetings in parks when and how they please.

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<sup>376</sup> In the fourth article of the Letters from London series: “Meeting in Hyde Park.—The Position in Spain,” written on December 11, 1872, Engels reported that the Justice of the Peace could do no more than impose the smallest possible fine, and since his decision anyway ran contrary to the rules governing behavior in Hyde Park the accused demanded that the case be brought before a court of appeal.

## The English Elections<sup>377</sup>

*Engels, 1874*

The English Parliamentary elections are now over. The brilliant Gladstone, who could not govern with a majority of sixty-six, suddenly dissolved Parliament, ordered elections within eight to fourteen days, and the result was—a majority of fifty *against* him. The second Parliament elected under the Reform Bill of 1867 and the first by secret ballot has yielded a *strong conservative majority*. And it is particularly the big industrial cities and factory districts, where the workers are now absolutely in the majority, that send Conservatives to Parliament. How is this?

This is primarily the result of Gladstone's attempt to effect a coup d'état by means of the elections. The election writs were issued so soon after the dissolution that many towns had hardly five days, most of them hardly eight, and the Irish, Scotch and rural electoral districts at most fourteen days for reflection. Gladstone wanted to stampede the voters, but coup d'état simply won't work in England and attempts to stampede rebound upon those who engineer them. In consequence, the entire mass of apathetic and wavering voters voted solidly against Gladstone.

Moreover, Gladstone had ruled in a way that directly flouted John Bull's traditional usage. There is no denying that John Bull is dull-witted enough to consider his government to be not his lord and master, but his servant, and at that the only one of his servants whom he can discharge forthwith without giving any notice. Now, if the party in office time and again allows its ministry, for very practical reasons, to spring a big surprise with theatrical effect on occasions when taxes are reduced or other financial measures instituted, it permits this sort of thing only by way of exception in case of important legislative measures. But Gladstone had made these legislative stage tricks the rule. His major measures were mostly as much of a surprise to his own party as to his opponents. These measures were practically foisted upon the Liberals, because if they did not vote for them they would immediately put the opposition party in power. And if the contents of many of these measures, e.g., the Irish Church Bill

<sup>377</sup> Originally published in *Der Volksstaat*, March 4, 1874. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 427-429.

and the Irish Land Bill, were for all their wretchedness an abomination to many old liberal-conservative Whigs, so to the whole of the party was the manner in which these bills were forced upon it. But this was not enough for Gladstone. He had secured the abolition of the purchase of army commissions by appealing without the slightest need to the authority of the Crown instead of Parliament, thereby offending his own party. In addition he had surrounded himself with a number of importunate mediocrities who possessed no other talent than the ability to make themselves needlessly obnoxious. Particular mention must be made here of Bruce, Minister of Home Affairs, and Ayrton, the real head of the London local government. The former was distinguished for his rudeness and arrogance towards workers' deputations; the latter ruled London in a wholly Prussian manner, for instance, in the case of the attempt to suppress the right to hold public meetings in the parks. But since such things simply can't be done here, as is shown by the fact that the Irish immediately held a huge mass meeting in Hyde Park right under Mr. Ayrton's nose in spite of the Park ordinance, the Government suffered a number of minor defeats and increasing unpopularity in consequence.

Finally, the secret ballot has enabled a large number of workers who usually were politically passive to vote with impunity against their exploiters and against the party in which they rightly see that of the big barons of industry, namely, the Liberal Party. This is true even where most of these barons, following the prevailing fashion, have gone over to the Conservatives. If the Liberal Party in England does not represent large-scale industry as opposed to big landed property and high finance, it represents nothing at all.

Already the previous Parliament ranked below the average in its general intellectual level. It consisted mainly of the rural gentry and the sons of big landed proprietors, on the one hand, and of bankers, railway directors, brewers, manufacturers and sundry other rich upstarts, on the other; in between, a few statesmen, jurists and professors. Quite a number of the last-named representatives of the "intelligentsia" failed to get elected this time, so that the new Parliament represents big landed property and the money-bags even more exclusively than the preceding one. It differs, however, from the preceding one in comprising two new elements: two workers and about fifty Irish Home Rulers.



As regards the workers it must be stated, to begin with, that no separate political working-class party has existed in England since the downfall of the Chartist Party in the fifties. This is understandable in a country in which the working-class has shared more than anywhere else in the advantages of the immense expansion of its large-scale industry. Nor could it have been otherwise in an England that ruled the world market; and certainly not in a country where the ruling classes have set themselves the task of carrying out, parallel with other concessions, one point of the Chartists' program, the People's Charter, after another. Of the six points of the Charter, two have already become law: the secret ballot and the abolition of property qualifications for the suffrage. The third, universal suffrage, has been introduced, at least approximately; the last three points are still entirely unfulfilled: annual parliaments, payment of members, and, most important, equal electoral areas.

Whenever the workers lately took part in general politics in particular organizations, they did so almost exclusively as the extreme left wing of the "great Liberal Party" and—in this role they were duped at each election according to all the rules of the game by the great Liberal Party. Then all of a sudden came the Reform Bill which at one blow changed the political status of the workers. In all the big cities they now form the majority of the voters and in England the Government as well as the candidates for Parliament are accustomed to court the electorate. The chairmen and secretaries of Trade Unions and political working-men's societies, as well as other well-known labor spokesmen who might be expected to be influential in their class, had overnight become important people. They were visited by Members of Parliament, by lords and other well-born rabble, and sympathetic enquiry was suddenly made into the wishes and needs of the working-class. Questions were discussed with these "labor leaders" which formerly evoked a supercilious smile or the mere posture of which used to be condemned; and one contributed to collections for working-class purposes. It thereupon quite naturally occurred to the "labor leaders" that they should get themselves elected to Parliament, to which their high-class friends gladly agreed in general, but of course only for the purpose of frustrating as far as possible the election of workers in each particular case. Thus the matter got no further.

Nobody holds it against the “labor leaders” that they would have liked to get into Parliament. The shortest way would have been to proceed at once to form anew a strong workers’ party with a definite program, and the best political program they could wish for was the People’s Charter. But the Chartists’ name was in bad odor with the bourgeoisie precisely because theirs had been an outspokenly proletarian party, and so, rather than continue the glorious tradition of the Chartists, the “labor leaders” preferred to deal with their aristocratic friends and be respectable,” which in England means acting like a *bourgeois*. Whereas under the old franchise the workers had to a certain extent been compelled to figure as the tail of the radical bourgeoisie, it was inexcusable to make them go on playing that part after the Reform Bill had opened the door of Parliament to at least sixty working-class candidates.

This was the turning point. In order to get into Parliament, the “labor leaders” had recourse, in the first place, to the votes and money of the bourgeoisie and only in the second place to the votes of the workers themselves. But by doing so they ceased to be workers’ candidates and turned themselves into bourgeois candidates. They did not appeal to a working-class party that still had to be formed but to the bourgeois “great Liberal Party.” Among themselves they organized a mutual election assurance society, the Labor Representation League,<sup>378</sup> whose very slender means were derived in the main from bourgeois sources. But this was not all. The radical bourgeois has sense enough to realize that the election of workers to Parliament is becoming more and more inevitable; it is therefore in their interest to keep the prospective working-class candidates under their control and thus postpone their actual election as long, as possible. For that purpose they have their Mr. *Samuel Morley*, a London millionaire, who does not mind spending a couple of thousand pounds in order, on the one hand, to be able to act as the commanding general of this sham labor general staff and, on the other, with its assistance to let himself be hailed by the masses as a friend of labor, out of gratitude for his duping the workers. And then, about a year ago, when it became ever more likely that Parliament would be dissolved, Morley called his faithful together in the London Tavern.

<sup>378</sup> *Labor Representation League*: Founded in November 1869 by the London trade-union leaders who stood on the platform of “liberal labor politics.” It stopped functioning at the end of the seventies.

They all appeared, the Potters, Howells, Odgers, Haleses, Mottersheads, Cremers, Eccariuses and the rest of them—a conclave of people, every one of whom had served, or at least had offered to serve, during the previous Parliamentary elections, in the pay of the bourgeoisie, as an agitator for the “great Liberal Party.” Under Morley’s chairmanship this conclave drew up a “labor program” to which any bourgeois could subscribe and which was to form the foundation of a mighty movement to chain the workers politically still more firmly to the bourgeoisie and, as these gentry thought, to get the “founders” into Parliament. Besides, dangling before their lustful eyes, these “founders” already saw a goodly number of Morley’s five-pound notes with which they expected to line their pockets before the election campaign was over. But the whole movement fell through before it had fairly started. Mr. Morley locked his safe and the founders once more disappeared from the scene.

Four weeks ago, Gladstone suddenly dissolved Parliament. The inevitable “labor leaders” began to breathe again: either they would get themselves elected or they would again become well-paid itinerant preachers of the cause of the “great Liberal Party.” But alas! the day appointed for the elections was so close that they were cheated out of both chances. True enough, a few did stand for Parliament; but since in England every candidate, before he can be voted upon, must contribute two hundred pounds (1,240 thaler) towards the election expenses and the workers had almost nowhere been organized for this purpose, only such of them could stand as candidates seriously as obtained this sum from the bourgeoisie, i.e., as acted *with its gracious permission*. With this the bourgeoisie had done its duty and in the elections themselves allowed them all to suffer a complete fiasco.

Only two workers got in, both miners from coal pits. This trade is very strongly organized in three big unions, has considerable means at its disposal, controls an undisputed majority of the voters in some constituencies and has worked systematically for direct representation in Parliament ever since the Reform Acts were passed. The candidates put up were the secretaries of the three *Trade Unions*. The one, Halliday, lost out in Wales; the other two came out on top: *MacDonald* in *Stafford* and *Burt* in *Morpeth*. Burt is little known outside of his constituency. MacDonald, however, betrayed the workers of his trade when, during the negotiations on the last mining law, which he attended as the representative of his trade, he sanctioned an

amendment which was so grossly in the interests of the capitalists that even the government had not dared to include it in the draft.

At any rate, the ice has been broken and two workers now have seats in the most fashionable debating club of Europe, among those who have declared themselves the first gentlemen of Europe.

Alongside of them sit at least fifty Irish Home Rulers. When the Fenian (Irish-republican) rebellion of 1867 had been quelled and the military leaders of the Fenians had either gradually been caught or driven to emigrate to America, the remnants of the Fenian conspiracy soon lost all importance. Violent insurrection had no prospect of success for many years, at least until such time as England would again be involved in serious difficulties abroad. Hence a legal movement remained the only possibility, and such a movement was undertaken under the banner of the Home Rulers, who wanted the Irish to be “masters in their own house.” They made the definite demand that the Imperial Parliament in London should cede to a special Irish Parliament in Dublin the right to legislate on all purely Irish questions; very wisely nothing was said meanwhile about what was to be understood as a purely Irish question. This movement, at first scoffed at by the English press, has become so powerful that Irish MP’s of the most diverse party complexions—Conservatives and Liberals, Protestants and Catholics (Butt, who leads the movement, is himself a Protestant) and even a native-born Englishman sitting for Galway—have had to join it. For the first time since the days of O’Connell, whose repeal movement collapsed in the general reaction about the same time as the Chartist movement, as a result of the events of 1848—he had died in 1847—a well-knit Irish party once again has entered Parliament, but under circumstances that hardly permit it constantly to compromise *à la* O’Connell with the Liberals or to have individual members of it sell themselves retail to Liberal governments, as after him has become the fashion.

Thus both motive forces of English political development have now entered Parliament: on the one side the workers, on the other the Irish as a compact national party. And even if they may hardly be expected to play a big role in this Parliament—the workers will certainly not—the elections of 1874 have indisputably ushered in a new phase in English political development.

## American Food and the Land Question<sup>379</sup>

*Engels, 1881 (Excerpt)*

Since autumn 1837 we have been quite accustomed to see money panics and commercial crises imported from New York into England. At least one out of every two of the decennial revulsions of industry broke out in America. But that America should also upset the time-honored relations of British agriculture, revolutionize the immemorial feudal relations between landlord and tenant at will, smash up English rents, and lay waste English farms, was a sight reserved for the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

[...] This American revolution in farming, together with the revolutionized means of transport as invented by the Americans, sends over to Europe wheat at such low prices that no European farmer can compete with it—at least not while he is expected to pay rent. Look at the year 1879, when this was first felt. The crop was bad in all Western Europe; it was a failure in England. Yet, thanks to American corn, prices remained almost stationary. For the first time the British farmer had a bad crop and low prices of wheat at the same time. Then the farmers began to stir, the landlords felt alarmed. Next year, with a better crop, prices went lower still. The price of corn is now determined by the cost of production in America, plus the cost of transport. And this will be the case more and more every year, in proportion as new prairie-land is put under the plough. The agricultural armies required for that operation—we find them ourselves in Europe by sending over emigrants.

Now, formerly there was this consolation for the farmer and the landlord, that if corn did not pay, meat would. The plough-land was turned into grass-land, and everything was pleasant again. But now that resource is cut off too. American meat and American cattle are sent over in ever-increasing quantities. And not only that. There are at least two great cattle-producing countries which are on the alert for methods permitting them to send over to Europe, and especially to England, their immense excess of meat, now wasted. With the present state of science and the rapid progress made in its application, we may be sure that in a very few, years—

<sup>379</sup> Originally published in *The Labor Standard*, July 2, 1881. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 433-434.

at the very latest—Australian and South American beef and mutton will be brought over in a perfect state of preservation and in enormous quantities. What is then to become of the prosperity of the British farmer, of the long rent-roll of the British landlord? It is all very well to grow gooseberries, strawberries, and so forth—that market is well enough supplied as it is. No doubt the British workman could consume a deal more of these delicacies—but then first raise his wages.

It is scarcely needful to say that the effect of this new American agricultural competition is felt on the Continent too. The small peasant proprietor mostly mortgaged over head and ears and paying interest and law expenses where the English and Irish farmer pays rent, he feels it quite as much. It is a peculiar effect of this American competition that it renders not only large landed property, but also small landed property useless, by rendering both unprofitable.

It may be said that this system of land exhaustion, as now practiced in the Far West, cannot go on forever, and things must come right again. Of course, it cannot last forever; but there is plenty of unexhausted land yet to carry on the process for another century. Moreover, there are other countries offering similar advantages. There is the whole South Russian steppe, where, indeed, commercial men have bought land and done the same thing. There are the vast pampas of the Argentine Republic, there are others still; all lands equally fit for this modern system of giant farming and cheap production. So that before this thing is exhausted it will have lived long enough to kill all the landlords of Europe, great and small, at least twice over.

## Bismarck and the German Working Men's Party<sup>380</sup>

*Engels, 1881 (Excerpt)*

Then Bismarck succeeded in passing an Act by which Social-Democracy was outlawed. The Working Men's newspapers more than fifty, were suppressed, their societies and clubs broken up, their funds seized, their meetings dissolved by the police, and, to crown all, it was enacted that whole towns and districts might be "proclaimed," just as in Ireland. But what even English Coercion Bills<sup>381</sup> have never ventured upon in Ireland, Bismarck did in Germany. In every "proclaimed" district the police received the right to expel any man whom it might "reasonably suspect" of Socialistic propaganda. Berlin was, of course, at once proclaimed, and hundreds (with their families, thousands) of people were expelled. For the Prussian police always expel men with families; the young unmarried men are generally let alone; to them expulsion would be no great punishment, but to the heads of families it means, in most cases, a long career of misery if not absolute ruin. Then Hamburg elected a working man member of Parliament,<sup>382</sup> and was immediately proclaimed. The first batch of men expelled from Hamburg was about a hundred, with families amounting, besides, to more than three hundred. The Working Men's party, within two days, found the means to provide for their travelling expenses and other immediate wants. Now Leipzig has also been proclaimed,<sup>383</sup> and without any other pretext but that otherwise the Government cannot

<sup>380</sup> Originally published in *The Labor Standard*, July 23, 1881. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 435-436.

<sup>381</sup> *Coercion Bills* were passed by the British Parliament several times throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century with a view to suppressing the revolutionary and national liberation movement in Ireland. Under them a state of siege was declared on Irish territory, and the English authorities were granted extraordinary powers.

<sup>382</sup> On April 27, 1880 Georg Wilhelm Hartmann won the mandate at the supplementary elections to the Reichstag in the second district of Hamburg. From September 9, 1879 to June 15, 1881, the deputies to the Reichstag from the Social-Democratic faction were: August Bebel, Wilhelm Bracke, Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsche, Wilhelm Hasselmann, Max Kayser, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Klaus Peter Reinders, Julius Vahlteich and Philipp Wiemer. After the death of Bracke and Reinders, their seats were filled by Ignaz Auer and Wilhelm Hasenclever.

<sup>383</sup> A minor state of siege was declared in Leipzig on June 27, 1881. Earlier, it had been introduced in Berlin and on October 28, 1880, in Hamburg-Altona and the environs.

break up the organization of the party. The expulsions of the very first day number thirty-three, mostly married men with families. Three members of the German Parliament head the list; perhaps Mr. Dillon will send them a letter of congratulation, considering that they are not yet quite so badly off as himself.<sup>384</sup>

But this is not all. The Working Men's party once being outlawed in due form, and deprived of all those political rights which other Germans are supposed to enjoy, the police can do with the individual members of that party just as they like. Under the pretext of searching for forbidden publications, their wives and daughters are subjected to the most indecent and brutal treatment. They themselves are arrested whenever it pleases the police, are remanded from week to week, and discharged only after having passed some months in prison. New offences, unknown to the criminal code, are invented by the police, and that code stretched beyond all possibility. And often enough the police finds magistrates and judges corrupt or fanatical enough to aid and abet them; promotion is at this price! What this all comes to the following astounding figures will show. In the year from October 1879 to October 1880, there were in Prussia alone imprisoned for high treason, treason felony, insulting the Emperor, etc., not less than 1,108 persons; and for political libels, insulting Bismarck, or defiling the Government, etc., not less than 10,094 persons. Eleven thousand two hundred and two political prisoners. That beats even Mr. Forster's Irish exploits!

And what has Bismarck attained with all his coercion? Just as much as Mr. Forster in Ireland. The Social-Democratic party is in as blooming a condition, and possesses as firm an organization, as the Irish Land League.<sup>385</sup> A few days ago there were elections for the Town Council of

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<sup>384</sup> Using the Coercion Act, in May-October 1881 the English authorities arrested prominent Irish deputies, members of the Irish National Land League headed by Charles Parnell, who opposed the introduction of the Land Bill of 1881. Among the prisoners was John Dillon, an Irish political leader, member of the British Parliament, one of the League's leaders.

<sup>385</sup> The *Irish National Land League*—a mass organization founded in 1879 by the petty-bourgeois democrat Michael Davitt. The League united large sections of the Irish peasantry and the urban poor, and was supported by the progressive section of the Irish bourgeoisie. Its agrarian demands mirrored the spontaneous protest of the Irish masses against the landlords' and national oppression. However, some of the League's leaders adopted an inconsistent stand, and this was used by bourgeois nationalists (Parnell and others), who sought to reduce the activity of the League to the campaign for Home Rule, i.e. for the granting to Ireland of limited self-government within



Mannheim. The working-class party nominated sixteen candidates, and carried them all by a majority of nearly three to one. Again, Bebel, member of the German Parliament for Dresden, stood for the representation of the Leipzig district in the Saxon Parliament. Bebel is himself a working man (a turner), and one of the best, if not the best speaker in Germany. To frustrate his being elected, the Government expelled all his committee. What was the result? That even with a limited suffrage, Bebel was carried by a strong majority. Thus, Bismarck's coercion avails him nothing; on the contrary, it exasperates the people. Those to whom all legal means of asserting themselves are cut off will one fine morning take to illegal ones, and no one can blame them. How often have Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Forster proclaimed that doctrine? And how do they act now in Ireland?

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the framework of the British Empire. They did not advocate the abolition of English landlordism, a demand advanced by the revolutionary democrats. In 1881 the Land League was banned, but in actual fact it continued its activity until the late 1880s.

## Jenny Longuet, Née Marx<sup>386</sup>

*Engels, 1883*

Jenny, the eldest daughter of Karl Marx, died at Argenteuil near Paris on January 11. About eight years ago she married Charles Longuet, a former member of the Paris Commune and, at present, co-editor of the *Justice*.

Jenny Marx was born on May 1, 1844, grew up in the midst of the international proletarian movement and most closely together with it. Despite a reticence that could almost be taken for shyness, she displayed when necessary a presence of mind and energy which could be envied by many a man.

When the Irish press disclosed the infamous treatment that the Fenians sentenced in 1866 and later had to suffer in jail, and the English papers stubbornly ignored the atrocities; and when the Gladstone Government, despite the promises it made during the election campaign, refused to amnesty them or even to ameliorate their conditions, Jenny Marx found a means to make the pious Mr. Gladstone take immediate steps. She wrote two articles for Rochefort's *Marseillaise* vividly describing how political prisoners are treated in free England. This had an effect. The disclosures in a big Paris newspaper could not be endured. A few weeks later O'Donovan Rosa and most of the others were free and on their way to America.

In the summer of 1871 Jenny, together with her youngest sister, visited their brother-in-law Lafargue at Bordeaux. Lafargue, his wife, their sick child and the two girls went from there to Bagnères-de-Luchon, a spa in the Pyrenees. Early one morning a gentleman came to Lafargue and said: "I am a police officer, but a Republican; an order for your arrest has been received; it is known that you were in charge of communications between Bordeaux and the Paris Commune. You have one hour to cross the border."

Lafargue with his wife and child succeeded in getting over the pass into Spain, for which the police took revenge by arresting the two girls. Jenny had a letter in her pocket from Gustave Flourens, the leader of the

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<sup>386</sup> Originally published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 4, January 18, 1883. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 440-441.

Commune who was killed near Paris; had the letter been discovered, a journey to New Caledonia was sure to follow for the two sisters. When she was left alone in the office for a moment, Jenny opened a dusty old account book, put the letter inside and closed the book again. Perhaps the letter is still there. When the two girls were brought to his office, the prefect, the noble Count of Keratry, well remembered as a Bonapartist, closely questioned them. But the cunning of the former diplomat and the brutality of the former cavalry officer were of no avail when faced with Jenny's calm circumspection. He left the room in a fit of rage about "the energy that seems peculiar to the women of this family." After the dispatch of numerous cables to and from Paris, he finally had to release the two girls, who had been treated in a truly Prussian way during their detention.

These two incidents are characteristic of Jenny. The proletariat has lost a valiant fighter in her. But her mourning father has at least the consolation that hundreds of thousands of workers in Europe and America share his sorrow.

Fr. Engels

London, January 13, 1883

## England in 1845 and in 1885<sup>387</sup>

*Engels, 1885 (Excerpt)*

Free Trade meant the readjustment of the whole home and foreign, commercial and financial policy of England in accordance with the interests of the manufacturing capitalists—the class which now represented the nation. And they set about this task with a will. Every obstacle to industrial production was mercilessly removed. The tariff and the whole system of taxation were revolutionized. Everything was made subordinate to one end, but that end of the utmost importance to the manufacturing capitalist: the cheapening of all raw produce, and especially of the means of living of the working-class; the reduction of the cost of raw material, and the keeping down—if not as yet the *bringing down*—of wages. England was to become the “workshop of the world”; all other countries were to become for England what Ireland already was—markets for her manufactured goods, supplying her in return with raw materials and food. England, the great manufacturing center of an agricultural world, with an ever-increasing number of corn and cotton-growing Irelands revolving around her, the industrial sun. What a glorious prospect!

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<sup>387</sup> Originally published in *The Commonwealth*, March 1, 1885. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 461–462.

## The Peasant Question in France and Germany.—Preface<sup>388</sup>

*Engels, 1894*

The bourgeois and reactionary parties greatly wonder why everywhere among Socialists the peasant question has now suddenly been placed upon the order of the day. What they should be wondering at, by rights, is that this has not been done long ago. From Ireland to Sicily, from Andalusia to Russia, and Bulgaria, the peasant is a very essential factor of the population, production and political power. Only two regions of Western Europe form an exception. In Great Britain proper, big, landed estates and large-scale agriculture have totally displaced the self-supporting peasant; in Prussia east of the Elbe, the same process has been going on for centuries; here, too, the peasant is being increasingly “turned out,” or at least economically and politically forced into the background.

The peasant has so far largely manifested himself as a factor of political power only by his apathy, which has its roots in the isolation of rustic life. This apathy on the part of the great mass of the population is the strongest pillar not only of the parliamentary corruption in Paris and Rome but also Russian despotism. Yet it is by no means insuperable. Since the rise of the working-class movement in Western Europe, particularly in those parts where small peasant holdings predominate, it has not been particularly difficult for the bourgeoisie to render the socialist workers suspicious and odious in the minds of the peasants as *partageux*, as people who want to “divide up,” as lazy, greedy, city dwellers who have an eye on the property of the peasants. The hazy socialist aspirations of the revolution of February 1848 were rapidly disposed of by the reactionary ballots of the French peasantry; the peasant, who wanted peace of mind, dug up from his treasured memories the legend of Napoleon, the emperor of the peasants, and created the Second Empire. We all know what this one feat of the peasants cost the people of France; it is still suffering from its aftermath.

<sup>388</sup> Originally published in *Die Neue Zeit*, November 15 and 22, 1894. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishing, Moscow, 1971, pp. 463-464.

But much has changed since then. The development of the capitalist form of production has cut the life-strings of small production in agriculture; small production is irretrievably going to rack and ruin. Competitors in North and South America and in India have swamped the European market with their cheap grain, so cheap that no domestic producer can compete with it. The big landowners and small peasants alike can see ruin staring them in the face. And since they are both owners of land and country folk, the big landowners assume the role of champions of the interests of the small peasants, and the small peasants by and large accept them as such.

Meanwhile, a powerful socialist workers' party has sprung up and developed in the West. The obscure presentiments and feelings dating back to the February Revolution have become clarified and acquired the broader and deeper scope of a program that meets all scientific requirements and contains definite tangible demands; and a steadily growing number of Socialist deputies fight for these demands in the German, French, and Belgian parliaments. The conquest of political power this party must first go from the towns to the country, must become a power in the countryside. This party, which has an advantage over all others in that it possesses a clear insight into the interconnections between economic causes and political effects and long ago descried the wolf in the sheep's clothing of the big landowner, that importunate friend of the peasant—may this party calmly leave the doomed peasant in the hands of his false protectors until he has been transformed from a passive into an active opponent of the industrial workers? This brings us right into the thick of the peasant question.



# **V. THE INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION**



# Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association<sup>389</sup>

*Marx, 1864*

Workingmen:

It is a great fact that the misery of the working masses has not diminished from 1848 to 1864, and yet this period is unrivaled for the development of its industry and the growth of its commerce. In 1850 a moderate organ of the British middle class, of more than average information, predicted that if the exports and imports of England were to rise 50 percent, English pauperism would sink to zero. Alas! On April 7, 1864, the Chancellor of the Exchequer delighted his parliamentary audience by the statement that the total import and export of England had grown in 1863 "to 443,955,000 pounds! That astonishing sum about three times the trade of the comparatively recent epoch of 1843!" With all that, he was eloquent upon "poverty." "Think," he exclaimed, "of those who are on the border of that region," upon "wages... not increased"; upon "human life... in nine cases out of ten but a struggle of existence!" He did not speak of the people of Ireland, gradually replaced by machinery in the north and by sheepwalks in the south, though even the sheep in that unhappy country are decreasing, it is true, not at so rapid a rate as the men. He did not repeat what then had been just betrayed by the highest representation of the upper ten thousand in a sudden fit of terror. When garrote panic had reached a certain height, the House of Lords caused an inquiry to be made into, and a report to be published upon, transportation and penal servitude. Out came the murder in the bulky Blue Book of 1863 and proved it was, by official facts and figures, that the worst of the convicted criminals, the penal serfs of England and Scotland, toiled much less and fared far better than the agricultural laborers of England and Scotland. But this was not all. When, consequent upon the Civil War in America, the operatives of Lancashire and Cheshire were thrown upon the streets, the

<sup>389</sup> Printed as a pamphlet in *Inaugural Address and Provisional Rules of the International Working Men's Association*, along with the "General Rules," London. Here: Marx & Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX, Lawrence & Wishart, 2010, pp. 5-13.

same House of Lords sent to the manufacturing districts a physician commissioned to investigate into the smallest possible amount of carbon and nitrogen, to be administered in the cheapest and plainest form, which on an average might just suffice to “avert starvation diseases.” Dr. Smith, the medical deputy, ascertained that 28,000 grains of carbon and 1,330 grains of nitrogen were the weekly allowance that would keep an average adult... just over the level of starvation diseases, and he found furthermore that quantity pretty nearly to agree with the scanty nourishment to which the pressure of extreme distress had actually reduced the cotton operatives.<sup>390</sup> But now mark! The same learned doctor was later on again deputed by the medical officer of the Privy Council to enquire into the nourishment of the poorer laboring classes. The results of his research are embodied in the “Sixth Report on Public Health,” published by order of Parliament in the course of the present year. What did the doctor discover? That the silk weavers, the needlewomen, the kid glovers, the stock weavers, and so forth, received on an average, not even the distress pittance of the cotton operatives, not even the amount of carbon and nitrogen “just sufficient to avert starvation diseases.”

Moreover: [we quote from the report] as regards the examined families of the agricultural population, it appeared that more than a fifth were with less than the estimated sufficiency of carbonaceous food, that more than one-third were with less than the estimated sufficiency of nitrogenous food, and that in three counties (Berkshire, Oxfordshire, and Somersetshire) insufficiency of nitrogenous food was the average diet.

It must be remembered, [adds the official report,] that privation of food is very reluctantly borne, and that, as a rule, great poorness of diet will only come when other privations have preceded it. [...] Even cleanliness will have been found costly or difficult, and if there still be self-respectful endeavors

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<sup>390</sup> We need hardly remind the reader that, apart from the elements of water and certain inorganic substances, carbon and nitrogen form the raw materials of human food. However, to nourish the human system, these simple chemical constituents must be supplied in the form of vegetable or animal substances. Potatoes, for instance, contain mainly carbon, while wheat bread contains carbonaceous and nitrogenous substances in a due proportion.—K.M.

to maintain it, every such endeavor will represent additional pangs of hunger.

These are painful reflections, especially when it is remembered that the poverty to which they advert is not the deserved poverty of idleness; in all cases it is the poverty of working populations. Indeed the work which obtains the scanty pittance of food is for the most part excessively prolonged.

The report brings out the strange and rather unexpected fact:

That of the division of the United Kingdom, [England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland,] the agricultural population of England, [the richest division,] is considerably the worst fed; [but that even the agricultural laborers of Berkshire, Oxfordshire, and Somersetshire fare better than great numbers of skilled indoor operatives of the East of London.]

Such are the official statements published by order of Parliament in 1864, during the millennium of free trade, at a time when the Chancellor of the Exchequer told the House of Commons that

the average condition of the British laborer has improved in a degree we know to be extraordinary and unexampled in the history of any country or any age.

Upon these official congratulations jars the dry remark of the official Public Health Report:

The public health of a country means the health of its masses, and the masses will scarcely be healthy unless, to their very base, they be at least moderately prosperous.

Dazzled by the "Progress of the Nation" statistics dancing before his eyes, the Chancellor of the Exchequer exclaims in wild ecstasy:

From 1842 to 1852, the taxable income of the country increased by 6 percent; in the eight years from 1853 to 1861, it has increased from the basis taken in 1853, 20 percent! The fact is so astonishing to be almost incredible! [...] This intox-

icating augmentation of wealth and power, [adds Mr. Gladstone,] is entirely confined to classes of property.

If you want to know under what conditions of broken health, tainted morals, and mental ruin that “intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power... entirely confined to classes of property” was, and is, being produced by the classes of labor, look to the picture hung up in the last Public Health Report of the workshops of tailors, printers, and dressmakers! Compare the “Report of the Children’s Employment Commission” of 1863, where it states, for instance, that

the potters as a class, both men and women, represent a much degenerated population, both physically and mentally, [that] the unhealthy child is an unhealthy parent in his turn, [that] a progressive deterioration of the race must go on, [and that] the degenerescence of the population of Staffordshire would be even greater were it not for the constant recruiting from the adjacent country, and the intermarriage with more healthy races.

Glance at Mr. Tremenheere’s Blue Book of the “Grievances Complaind of by the Journeymen Bakers”! And who has not shuddered at the paradox made by the inspectors of factories, and illustrated by the Registrar General, that the Lancashire operatives, while put upon the distress pittance of food, were actually improving in health, because of their temporary exclusion by the cotton famine from the cotton factory, and the mortality of the children was decreasing, because their mothers were now at last allowed to give them, instead of Godfrey’s cordial, their own breasts.

Again, reverse the medal! The income and property tax returns laid before the House of Commons on July 20, 1864, teach us that the persons with yearly incomes valued by the tax gatherer of 50,000 pounds and upwards had, from April 5, 1862, to April 5, 1863, been joined by a dozen and one, their number having increased in that single year from 67 to 80. The same returns disclose the fact that about 3,000 persons divide among themselves a yearly income of about 25,000,000 pounds sterling, rather more than the total revenue doled out annually to the whole mass of the agricultural laborers of England and Wales. Open the census of 1861 and you will find that the number of male landed proprietors of England and Wales has decreased from 16,934 in 1851 to 15,066 in 1861, so that the

concentration of land had grown in 10 years 11 percent. If the concentration of the soil of the country in a few hands proceeds at the same rate, the land question will become singularly simplified, as it had become in the Roman Empire when Nero grinned at the discovery that half of the province of Africa was owned by six gentlemen.

We have dwelt so long upon these facts "so astonishing to be almost incredible" because England heads the Europe of commerce and industry. It will be remembered that some months ago one of the refugee sons of Louis Philippe publicly congratulated the English agricultural laborer on the superiority of his lot over that of his less florid comrade on the other side of the Channel. Indeed, with local colors changed, and on a scale somewhat contracted, the English facts reproduce themselves in all the industrious and progressive countries of the Continent. In all of them there has taken place, since 1848, an unheard-of development of industry, and an unheard-of expansion of imports and exports. In all of them, as in England, a minority of the working classes got their real wages somewhat advanced; while in most cases the monetary rise of wages denoted no more a real access of comforts than the inmate of the metropolitan poorhouse or orphan asylum, for instance, was in the least benefited by his first necessities costing £9 15s. 8d. in 1861 against £7 7s. 4d. in 1852. Everywhere the great mass of the working classes were sinking down to a lower depth, at the same rate at least that those above them were rising in the social scale. In all countries of Europe it has now become a truth demonstrable to every unprejudiced mind, and only decried by those whose interest it is to hedge other people in a fool's paradise, that no improvement of machinery, no appliance of science to production, no contrivances of communication, no new colonies, no emigration, no opening of markets, no free trade, not all these things put together, will do away with the miseries of the industrious masses; but that, on the present false base, every fresh development of the productive powers of labor must tend to deepen social contrasts and point social antagonisms. Death of starvation rose almost to the rank of an institution, during this intoxicating epoch of economical progress, in the metropolis of the British empire. That epoch is marked in the annals of the world by the quickened return, the widening compass, and the deadlier effects of the social pest called a commercial and industrial crisis.

After the failure of the Revolution of 1848, all party organizations and party journals of the working classes were, on the Continent, crushed by the iron hand of force, the most advanced sons of labor fled in despair to the transatlantic republic, and the short-lived dreams of emancipation vanished before an epoch of industrial fever, moral *marasme*,<sup>391</sup> and political reaction. The defeat of the continental working classes, partly owed to the diplomacy of the English government, acting then as now in fraternal solidarity with the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, soon spread its contagious effects to this side of the Channel. While the rout of their continental brethren unmanned the English working classes, and broke their faith in their own cause, it restored to the landlord and the money lord their somewhat shaken confidence. They insolently withdrew concessions already advertised. The discoveries of new gold lands led to an immense exodus, leaving an irreparable void in the ranks of the British proletariat. Others of its formerly active members were caught by the temporary bribe of greater work and wages, and turned into "political blacks." All the efforts made at keeping up, of remodeling, the Chartist movement failed signally; the press organs of the working class died one by one of the apathy of the masses, and in point of fact never before seemed the English working class so thoroughly reconciled to a state of political nullity. If, then, there had been no solidarity of action between the British and the continental working classes, there was, at all events, a solidarity of defeat.

And yet the period passed since the Revolutions of 1848 has not been without its compensating features. We shall here only point to two great factors.

After a 30 years' struggle, fought with almost admirable perseverance, the English working classes, improving a momentaneous split between the landlords and money lords, succeeded in carrying the Ten Hours' Bill. The immense physical, moral, and intellectual benefits hence accruing to the factory operatives, half-yearly chronicled in the reports of the inspectors of factories, are now acknowledged on all sides. Most of the continental governments had to accept the English Factory Act in more or less modified forms, and the English Parliament itself is every year compelled to enlarge its sphere of action. But besides its practical import, there was something

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<sup>391</sup> "Stalemate."

else to exalt the marvelous success of this workingmen's measure. Through their most notorious organs of science, such as Dr. Ure, Professor Senior, and other sages of that stamp, the middle class had predicted, and to their heart's content proved, that any legal restriction of the hours of labor must sound the death knell of British industry, which, vampire-like, could but live by sucking blood, and children's blood, too. In olden times, child murder was a mysterious rite of the religion of Moloch, but it was practiced on some very solemn occasions only, once a year perhaps, and then Moloch had no exclusive bias for the children of the poor. This struggle about the legal restriction of the hours of labor raged the more fiercely since, apart from frightened avarice, it told indeed upon the great contest between the blind rule of the supply and demand laws which form the political economy of the middle class, and social production controlled by social foresight, which forms the political economy of the working class. Hence the 'Ten Hours' Bill was not only a great practical success; it was the victory of a principle; it was the first time that in broad daylight the political economy of the middle class succumbed to the political economy of the working class.

But there was in store a still greater victory of the political economy of labor over the political economy of property. We speak of the co-operative movement, especially the co-operative factories raised by the unassisted efforts of a few bold "hands." The value of these great social experiments cannot be overrated. By deed instead of by argument, they have shown that production on a large scale, and in accord with the behests of modern science, may be carried on without the existence of a class of masters employing a class of hands; that to bear fruit, the means of labor need not be monopolized as a means of dominion over, and of extortion against, the laboring man himself; and that, like slave labor, like serf labor, hired labor is but a transitory and inferior form, destined to disappear before associated labor plying its toil with a willing hand, a ready mind, and a joyous heart. In England, the seeds of the co-operative system were sown by Robert Owen; the workingmen's experiments tried on the Continent were, in fact, the practical upshot of the theories, not invented, but loudly proclaimed, in 1848.

At the same time the experience of the period from 1848 to 1864 has proved beyond doubt that, however, excellent in principle and how-

ever useful in practice, co-operative labor, if kept within the narrow circle of the casual efforts of private workmen, will never be able to arrest the growth in geometrical progression of monopoly, to free the masses, nor even to perceptibly lighten the burden of their miseries. It is perhaps for this very reason that plausible noblemen, philanthropic middle-class spouters, and even keep political economists have all at once turned nauseously complimentary to the very co-operative labor system they had vainly tried to nip in the bud by deriding it as the utopia of the dreamer, or stigmatizing it as the sacrilege of the socialist. To save the industrious masses, co-operative labor ought to be developed to national dimensions, and, consequently, to be fostered by national means. Yet the lords of the land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defense and perpetuation of their economic monopolies. So far from promoting, they will continue to lay every possible impediment in the way of the emancipation of labor. Remember the sneer with which, last session, Lord Palmerston put down the advocated of the Irish Tenants' Right Bill. The House of Commons, cried he, is a house of landed proprietors. To conquer political power has, therefore, become the great duty of the working classes. They seem to have comprehended this, for in England, Germany, Italy, and France, there have taken place simultaneous revivals, and simultaneous efforts are being made at the political organization of the workingmen's party.

One element of success they possess—numbers; but numbers weigh in the balance only if united by combination and led by knowledge. Past experience has shown how disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workmen of different countries, and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggles for emancipation, will be chastised by the common discomfiture of their incoherent efforts. This thought prompted the workingmen of different countries assembled on September 28, 1864, in public meeting at St. Martin's Hall, to found the International Association.

Another conviction swayed that meeting.

If the emancipation of the working classes requires their fraternal concurrence, how are they to fulfill that great mission with a foreign policy in pursuit of criminal designs, playing upon national prejudices, and squandering in piratical wars the people's blood and treasure? It was not



the wisdom of the ruling classes, but the heroic resistance to their criminal folly by the working classes of England, that saved the west of Europe from plunging headlong into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and propagation of slavery on the other side of the Atlantic. The shameless approval, mock sympathy, or idiotic indifference with which the upper classes of Europe have witnessed the mountain fortress of the Caucasus falling a prey to, and heroic Poland being assassinated by, Russia: the immense and unresisted encroachments of that barbarous power, whose head is in St. Petersburg, and whose hands are in every cabinet of Europe, have taught the working classes the duty to master themselves the mysteries of international politics; to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective governments; to counteract them, if necessary, by all means in their power; when unable to prevent, to combine in simultaneous denunciations, and to vindicate the simple laws or morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount to the intercourse of nations.

The fight for such a foreign policy forms part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working classes.

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

## Notes for an Undelivered Speech on Ireland<sup>392</sup>

*Marx, 1867*

### I. Exordium. The Execution

Since our last meeting the object of our discussion, Fenianism, has entered a new phase. It has been baptized in blood by the English Government. The Political Executions at Manchester remind us of the fate of John Brown at Harpers Ferry. They open a new period in the struggle between Ireland and England. The whole Parliament and liberal press responsible. Gladstone.

Reason: to keep up the hypocrisy that this was no political; but a common criminal affair. The effect produced upon Europe quite the contrary. They seem anxious to keep up the Act of the Long Parliament.<sup>393</sup>

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<sup>392</sup> These notes were written by Marx as a conspectus for his speech to be made at the meeting of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on November 26, 1867, when the discussion on the Irish question begun on November 19 was to continue. In view of the immense excitement caused by the execution of the three condemned Fenians (Larkin, Allen and O'Brien) on November 23, Marx considered this speech as no longer suitable. Feeling that at such a moment it would be more appropriate for one of the English members of the General Council to express sympathy with the Irish revolutionaries, he gave the floor to Peter Fox, who was known for his support of the Irish national liberation movement. Marx described the meeting in great detail in his letter to Engels of November 30, 1867. Later, preparing for a report on the Irish question in the German Workers' Educational Association in London (see *Outline of a report...*), Marx used this draft and the materials he had compiled for it.

Published: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 130-135.

<sup>393</sup> A reference to the *Act of Settlement* adopted by the Long Parliament on August 12, 1652, during the English bourgeois revolution, following the suppression of the 1641-52 national liberation uprising in Ireland. The Act legalized the reign of terror and violence established by the English colonialists in Ireland and sanctioned the wholesale plunder of Irish lands in favor of the English bourgeoisie and the "new" bourgeoisified nobility. This Act declared the majority of Ireland's indigenous population "guilty of revolt." Even those Irishmen who had not been directly involved in the uprising but had failed to show the proper "loyalty" to the English Crown were considered "guilty." Those declared "guilty" were classified into categories, depending on the extent of their involvement in the uprising, and subjected to brutal reprisals: execution, deportation, confiscation of property. On September 26, 1653, the Act of Settlement was supplemented by the Act of Satisfaction which prescribed the forcible resettlement of Irish people whose property had been confiscated to the barren province of Connaught and to Clare County and defined the procedure for allotting the

English [have] a divine right to fight the Irish on their native soil, but every Irish fighting against the British Government in England to be treated as an outlaw. Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.<sup>394</sup> State of siege. Facts from the *Chronicle*. Governmental organization of "Assassination and Violence"<sup>395</sup> Case of Bonaparte.<sup>396</sup>

## II. The Question

What is Fenianism?

## III. The Land Question

### Decrease of population

1841:	8,222,664	2,650,693 in 25 years	
1866:	5,571,971		
	<hr/>		
	2,650,693		
	1855:	6,604,665	1,032,694 in 11 years
	1866:	5,571,971	
		<hr/>	
		1,032,694	

confiscated land to the creditors of Parliament, the officers and men of the English army., Both Acts consolidated and extended the economic foundations of English landlordism in Ireland.

<sup>394</sup> *Habeas Corpus Act* was adopted by the English Parliament in 1679; it was a guarantee against police arbitrariness, for it required that the authorities should state reasons for taking persons into custody and release them if they were not brought before a court within a limited period. However, Parliament was entitled to suspend the Act, and the English ruling classes constantly abused it in Ireland.

<sup>395</sup> Marx uses an appraisal of the Fenian movement from Queen Victoria's address to Parliament of November 19, 1867, to describe the brutal policy of the English Government towards the Irish Fenians.

<sup>396</sup> During an abortive coup in Boulogne in 1840, Prince Louis Bonaparte wounded an officer of the government troops. This crime did not stop the English Government from obsequiously recognizing the Bonapartist regime after the usurpation of power by Louis Bonaparte in 1851. In 1867, however, three Irish Fenians were sent to the gallows only on the suspicion of having made an attempt on the life of a policeman while attacking a prison van in Manchester.

Population not only decreased, but the number of the deaf-mutes, the blind, the decrepit, the lunatic, and idiotic increased relatively to the numbers of the population.

### **Increase of Live-Stock from 1855 to 1866**

In the same period from 1855 to 1866 the number of the live-stock increased as follows: cattle by 178,532, sheep by 667,675, pigs by 315,918. If we take into account the simultaneous decrease of horses by 20,656, and equalize 8 sheep to 1 horse *total increase of livestock*: 996,877, about one million.

Thus 1,032,694 Irishmen have been displaced by about one million cattle, pigs, and sheep. What has become of them? The *emigration list* answers.

### **Emigration**

*From 1<sup>st</sup> May 1851 to 31 December 1866*: 1,780,189. Character of that emigration.

The process has been brought about and is still functioning upon an always enlarging scale by the *throwing together* or *consolidation of farms* (eviction) and by the simultaneous conversion of tillage into pasture.

*From 1851 to 1861 the total number of farms* decreased by 120,000, while simultaneously the number of farms of 15-30 acres increased by 61,000, that of 30 acres by 109,000 (together 170,000). The decrease was almost exclusively owed to the extinction of farms from less than one to less than 15 acres. Lord Dufferin. The increase means only that amongst the decreased number of farms there is a larger portion of farms of large dimension.

### **How the Process Works**

#### *a) The People.*

The situation of the *mass of the people* has deteriorated, and their state is verging to a crisis similar to that of 1846. The relative surplus population now as great as before the famine.

*Wages* have not risen more than 20%, since the potato famine. The price of potatoes has risen nearly 200%; the necessary means of life on an

average by 100%. *Professor Cliffe Leslie*, in the *London Economist* dated February 9, 1867, says:

“After a loss of 2/5 of the population in 21 years, throughout most of the island, the rate of wages is now only a day; a shilling does not go further than 6d. did 21 years ago. Owing to this rise in his ordinary food the laborer is worse off than he was 10 years ago.”

*b) The Land.*

1) *Decrease of land under crops.*

Decrease in cereal crops:	Decrease in green crops:
1861–66: 470,917 acres	1861–66: 128,061 acres

2) *Decrease per statute acre of every crop.* There has been decrease of *yield* in wheat, but greater 1847 to 1865 percent; the exact decrease: oats 16.3, flax 47.9, turnips 36.1, potatoes 50%. Some years would show a greater decrease, but on the whole it has been *gradual* since 1847:

Since the exodus, the land has been underfed and overworked, partly from the injudicious consolidation of farms, and, partly, because, under the corn-acre system,<sup>397</sup> the farmer in a great measure trusted to his laborers to manure the land for him. Rents and profits may increase, although the profit of the soil decreases. The total produce may diminish, but that part of it, which is converted into surplus produce, falling to landlord and greater farmers, instead of to the laborer. And the price of the surplus produce has risen.

So result: gradual expulsion of the natives, gradual deterioration and exhaustion of the source of national life, the soil.

## Process of Consolidation

This process has only begun; it is going on in rapid strides. The consolidation has first attacked the farms of under one to under 15 acres. It will be far from having reached the English point of consolidation, if all farms under 100 acres have disappeared. Now the state was this in 1864:

<sup>397</sup> The *corn-acre system*—the subletting to the poorest peasants of small plots (of an area of up to half an acre) by middlemen on fettering terms, which was extensively practiced in Ireland. The term came into use in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, after the adoption of a law decreeing that corn be sown on these small holdings.

The *total area of Ireland*, including *bogs and waste lands*: 20,319,924 acres. Of those  $3/5 = 12,092,117$  acres, form, still farms from *under 1 to under 100 acres*, and are in the hands of 569,844 farmers;  $2/5 = 8,227,807$ , form farms from *100 till over 500 acres*, and are in the hands of 31,927 persons. Thus to be cleared off 2,847,220, if we number only the farmers and their families.

This system [is a] natural offspring of the famine of 1846, accelerated by the abolition of corn-laws<sup>398</sup> and the rise in the price of meat and wool, now systematic.

*Clearing of the estate of Ireland*, transforming it in an English agricultural district, minus its resident lords and their retainers, separated from England by a broad water ditch.

## Change of Character of the English Rule in Ireland

State only tool of the landlords. *Eviction*, also employed as means of political punishment. (*Lord Abercorn*. England. *Gaels: in the Highlands, of Scotland*.<sup>399</sup>) Former English policy: displacing the Dish by English (Elizabeth), roundheads<sup>400</sup> (Cromwell). Since Anne, 18<sup>th</sup> century politico-economical character only again in the protectionist measures of England against her own Irish colony; within that colony making *religion* a proprietary title. After the *Union*<sup>401</sup> [the] system of rack-renting and middle-

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<sup>398</sup> Following the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, which led to a drop in grain prices due to the fall in the demand for Irish grain in England, and the rise in the demand for wool and other stock-breeding products from Ireland, landlords and rich farmers switched to extensive pasture farming which led to the mass eviction of small Irish tenants from the land ("clearing of estates") in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>399</sup> A reference to the forcible eviction from the land of the population of the Scottish Highlands (the Gaels) by the Anglo-Scottish nobility in the 18<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, a process similar to the "clearing of estates" in Ireland. Marx describes this process in Chapter XXVII of the first volume of *Capital*.

<sup>400</sup> The *roundheads*—the name given to the supporters of Parliament during the English bourgeois revolution in the 17<sup>th</sup> century because of their puritan custom of cutting their hair close, while the *cavaliers*—supporters of the King—wore their hair long.

<sup>401</sup> The *Anglo-Irish Union* was imposed on Ireland by the English Government after the suppression of the Irish rebellion of 1798. The Union, which became valid as of January 1, 1801, abrogated the autonomous Irish Parliament and made Ireland even more dependent on England: In the 1820s Repeal of the Union became the most popular slogan in Ireland. However, the Irish bourgeois liberals (O'Connell and others) who headed the national movement wanted to use the agitation for Repeal of the Union solely as means for exerting pressure on the English Government to make it grant small concessions to the Irish bourgeoisie and landowners. In 1835, O'Connell

men, but left the Irish, however ground to the dust, holder of their native soil. Present system, quiet business-like extinction, and government only instrument of landlords (and usurers).

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From this altered state:

- 1) *Distinguishing character of Fenianism: Socialist, lower-class movement.*
- 2) *Not Catholic movement.* Priests leaders as long as Catholic Emancipation and their leader, Daniel O'Connell, remained leader of the Irish movement. Ridiculous Popishism of the English. High Catholic priests against Fenianism.
- 3) *No representative leader in the British Parliament.* Character of O'Connell's physical force movement.<sup>402</sup> Extinction of Irish party in Parliament.

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made an agreement with the Whigs and stopped this agitation altogether. In 1840, after the Tories assumed office, the Irish liberals were compelled, under pressure from the mass movement, to set up the Repeal Association (Repealers) but endeavored to make it take the road of compromises with the English ruling classes.

<sup>402</sup> In the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Irish national movement developed under the slogan of the abolition of political restrictions for the Catholic population and the granting to Catholics (who formed the majority of the population) of the right to stand for election to Parliament resulting eventually in the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829). After the thirties the struggle was waged under the banner of Repeal of the Anglo-Irish Union of 1801 (see Note 106). O'Connell and his supporters championed moderate, peaceful means of struggle ("moral force"). In the mid-forties, however, the supporters of the liberation of Ireland by revolutionary methods, up to and including armed uprising against English rule ("Young Ireland" group, John Mitchel and his friends), gained ground in the Repeal Association headed by O'Connell. The differences between O'Connell and those advocating the use of "physical force" led to a split in the Repeal Association and the formation of the more radical Irish Confederation.

The upsurge of the national liberation struggle in Ireland widened the already existing differences between the moderate and revolutionary wings of the Repeal Association. The liberal landowners, making up its Right wing, wanted the movement to confine itself to "legal means." The revolutionary wing, whose most consistent champions were John Mitchel and James Lalor, were for armed struggle against English colonial rule and the setting up of an Irish Republic, for giving the land to the Irish peasants, for an alliance with the Chartists and the implementation of democratic reforms. In January 1847, the Repeal Association split up and its revolutionary-democratic wing formed an organization of its own—the Irish Confederation—which began to prepare an uprising.

- 4) *Nationality*. Influence of European movement, and English phraseology.
- 5) *America, Ireland, England*—three fields of action, leadership of America.
- 6) *Republican*, because America republic. I have now given the characteristics of Fenianism.

#### IV. The English People

A cause of humanity and right, but above all a specific English question.

- a) *Aristocracy and Church and Army*. (France, Algiers.)
- b) *Irish in England*. Influence on wages, etc. Lowering the character of the English and Irish. *The Irish Character*. Chastity of Irishmen. Attempts at education in Ireland. Diminution of crimes.

#### Convicted in Ireland

	<i>Committed for trial:</i>		<i>Convicted:</i>
1852	.....	17,678	10,454
1866	.....	4,326	2,418

The decrease in the numbers of persons committed for trial in England and Wales, since 1855, is partly due to the *Criminal Justice Act of 1855*, authorizing Justices to pass sentences for short periods with the consent of the prisoners, instead of committing for trial to the sessions.

Birmingham. Progress of the English people. Infamy of the English press.

- c) *Foreign Policy*. Poland, etc. Castlereagh. Palmerston.<sup>403</sup>

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After the uprising was suppressed in 1848, the Irish Confederation fell to pieces and the majority of its active members were either banished or gaoled; the survivors emigrated, mainly to the USA, where they later joined the Fenian movement.

<sup>403</sup> A reference to the reactionary foreign policy pursued by Castlereagh, the British Foreign Secretary (1812–22). He supported the efforts of the Holy Alliance aimed at strengthening the reactionary feudal monarchies in Europe, notably the measures against the revolutionary movements in Italy and Spain. The counter-revolutionary Tory policy of Castlereagh was continued by Palmerston, the Whig leader, who relied on the support of the Right wing of that party. He, however, masked the real nature of this policy in liberal phrases and hypocritical expressions of sympathy with the oppressed peoples. In his *Lord Palmerston* (an excerpt from which is published in this collection, see pp. 70–71), Marx showed that in his capacity of Foreign Secretary



## V. The Remedy

Foolishness of the minor parliamentary propositions.

Error of the Reform League.<sup>404</sup>

*Repeal* as one of the articles of the English Democratic Party.

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Palmerston played an ignoble role with regard to the Polish struggle for independence during the general uprising of 1880-31 and the uprising in the free city of Cracow in 1846. While inciting the Poles to action by his false promises of assistance, Palmerston sanctioned the suppression of the Polish movement by tsarist Russia, Austria and Prussia.

<sup>404</sup> The *Reform League*—an organization set up in London in the spring of 1865 on the initiative and with the participation of the General Council of the International. It was to be a political center for the guidance of the mass movement of workers for a second electoral reform (the first, carried out in 1832, fully preserved the political privileges of the ruling classes and denied rights to the workers). By advancing the slogan of universal suffrage, the League won considerable influence among the proletarian masses and set up branches in many English towns. However, due to the vacillations of the bourgeois radicals in the League's leadership, who were frightened by the mass movement, and because of the policy of compromise pursued by the trade union leaders on the Council and Executive Committee, the Reform League acted inconsistently and half-heartedly. This enabled the English ruling classes to make the 1867 electoral reform a moderate one and to extend franchise only to the petty bourgeoisie and the upper crust of the working class.

The leadership of the Reform League committed a grave error in the Irish question by refusing to give any real support to the Irish national liberation movement, although many of its rank-and-file members expressed sympathy with it. The meeting of the League's Council on November 1, 1867, adopted a resolution condemning Fenianism, tabled by bourgeois radicals. When the Irish question came up for discussion in the General Council of the International in November 1867, the speeches were spearheaded against this chauvinistic and anti-revolutionary position of the Reform League and its supporters among the liberal trade unionists.

# On the Fenian Prisoners in Manchester<sup>405</sup>

*Marx, 1867*

To the Right Hon. Gathorne-Hardy,  
Her Majesty's Secretary of State:

At a special meeting of the General Council of the IWA held at the office 16, Cable Street, East, W., on Wednesday evening the following memorial was adopted:

The memorial of the undersigned, representing workingmen's associations in all parts of Europe, sheweth:

That the execution of the Irish prisoners condemned to death at Manchester will greatly impair the moral influence of England upon the European continent. The execution of the four prisoners resting upon the same evidence and the same verdict which, by the free pardon of Maguire, have been officially declared, the one false, the other erroneous, will bear the stamp not of a judicial act, but of political revenge. But even if the verdict of the Manchester jury and the evidence it rests upon had not been tainted by the British Government itself, the latter would now have to choose between the bloody-handed practices of old Europe and the magnanimous humanity of the young Transatlantic Republic.

The commutation of the sentence for which we pray will be an act not only of justice, but of political wisdom.

John Weston, Chairman	Robert Shaw, secretary for America
Eugene Dupont, secretary for France	Karl Marx, secretary for Germany
Hermann Jung, secretary for Switzerland	Paul Lafargue, secretary for Spain
Anton Zabicki, secretary for Poland	Derkinderen, secretary for Holland
Alexandre Besson, secretary for Belgium	J. George Eccarius, general secretary

<sup>405</sup> Written November 20, 1867, by Marx for the Memorial of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association November 20, 1867.  
Published: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, p. 128-129.

## The Fourth Annual Report of the General Council<sup>406</sup>

*Marx, 1868 (Excerpt)*

When the Fenian panic had reached its climax, the General Council addressed to the English Government a petition demanding the commutation of the sentence of the three victims of Manchester, and qualifying their hanging as an act of political revenge.<sup>407</sup> At the same time it held public meetings in London for the defense of the rights of Ireland. The Empire, always anxious to deserve the good graces of the British Government, thought the moment propitious for laying hands upon the International.<sup>408</sup> It caused nocturnal perquisitions to be made, eagerly rummaged the private correspondence, and announced with much noise<sup>409</sup> that it had discovered the center of the Fenian conspiracy, of which the International was denounced as one of the principal organs. All its laborious researches, however, ended in nothing.<sup>410</sup> The public prosecutor himself threw down his brief in disgust.<sup>411</sup> The attempt at converting the International Association into a secret society of conspirators having miserably broken down, the next best thing was to prosecute our Paris branch as a non-authorized society of more than 20 members. The French judges, trained by the Imperialist discipline, hastened, of course, to order the dissolution of the Association and the imprisonment of its Paris Executive.<sup>412</sup> The tribunal had the *naïvete* to declare in the preamble of its judgment that the existence of the

<sup>406</sup> Published: Marx & Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. XI, Lawrence & Wishart, 2010, pp. 13-14.

<sup>407</sup> After the word "petition" the German has the following text: "in which the forthcoming execution of the three Manchester martyrs was described as a judicial murder (the reference is to William Philip Allen, Michael Larkin and Michael O'Brien)."

<sup>408</sup> The German further has "on both sides of the Channel."

<sup>409</sup> The German has "in the English press."

<sup>410</sup> In the German text this sentence reads: "Much ado about nothing."

<sup>411</sup> In the German text this sentence reads: "The legal investigation found not a shadow of a *corpus delicti* despite its zeal."

<sup>412</sup> Instead of "and the imprisonment of its Paris Executive" the German text has "and fined the Committee members and sentenced them to imprisonment."

French Empire was incompatible with<sup>413</sup> a working men's association that dared to proclaim truth, justice, and morality as its leading principles.

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<sup>413</sup> In the German text the beginning of this sentence reads as follows: "Yet the tribunal had the *naïveté* to state two things, in the preamble of its judgement: on the one hand that the power of the I.W.A. was growing and, on the other, that the December Empire was incompatible with...."

## The General Council to the Federal Council of French Switzerland<sup>414</sup>

*Marx, 1864 (Excerpt)*

### 4. Question of the Separation of the General Council and the Regional Council for England<sup>415</sup>

Long before the founding of Égalité this proposal arose from time to time in the General Council itself, put forward by one or two of its English members. It was always rejected almost unanimously.

Although the revolutionary *initiative* will probably start from France, only England can act as a *lever* in any seriously *economic* revolution. It is the only country where there are no longer any peasants, and where land ownership is concentrated in very few hands. It is the only country where almost all production has been taken over by the *capitalist form*, in other words with work combined on a vast scale under capitalist bosses. It is the only country *where the large majority of the population consists of wage-laborers*. It is the only country where the class struggle and the organization of the working class into *trade unions* have actually reached a considerable degree of maturity and universality. Because of its domination of the world market, it is the only country where any revolution in the economic system will have immediate repercussions on the rest of the world. Though landlordism and capitalism are most traditionally established in this country, on the other hand the *material conditions* for *getting rid of them* are also most ripe here. Given that the General Council is now in the happy position of *having its hand directly upon this tremendous lever for proletarian revolution*, what lunacy, we would almost say what a crime, to let it fall into purely English hands!

The English have all that is needed *materially* for social revolution. What they lack is *the sense of generalization and revolutionary passion*. These

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<sup>414</sup> Published: Marx & Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXI, Lawrence & Wishart, 2010, pp. 118-121.

<sup>415</sup> From the foundation of the International the General Council also fulfilled the role of the leading body for Britain, until an English Federal Council was set up by decision of the London Conference of 1871.

are things that only the General Council can supply, and it can thus speed up the genuinely revolutionary movement in this country, and consequently *everywhere else*. The tremendous results we have already achieved in this direction are attested to by the most intelligent and authoritative newspapers of the ruling class—as for instance the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Saturday Review*, the *Spectator* and the *Fortnightly Review*—to say nothing of the so-called Radical members of both Houses of Parliament who, not long ago, still exercised enormous influence over the English workers' leaders. They are publicly accusing us of having poisoned and almost extinguished the *English spirit* of the working class, and having thrust the workers into revolutionary socialism.

The only way we could have produced this change was to act as the General Council of the International Association. As the General Council we can initiate moves (such as the foundation of the Land and Labor League) which as they develop further appear to the public to be spontaneous movements of the English working class.

If a Regional Council were to be formed as distinct from the General Council, what would be the immediate effects?

Caught between the General Council and the TUC, the Regional Council would lack authority. On the other hand, the General Council of the International would lose its present control of the great lever I have described. If we wanted to replace our important underground activity with the publicity of the theatre, then we would perhaps have made the mistake of publicly answering the question put in *Égalité* as to why the General Council submits to fulfilling such an inconvenient plurality of functions!

England cannot be considered simply as one country among many others. It must be treated as the metropolis of capital.

## **5. Question of the General Council's Resolutions on the Irish Amnesty**

If England is the bulwark of European landlordism and capitalism, the only point at which one can strike a major blow against official England is *Ireland*.

In the first place, Ireland is the bulwark of English landlordism. If it collapsed in Ireland, it would collapse in England. The whole operation is a hundred times easier in Ireland, because there the economic struggle is con-

centrated exclusively on landed property, because that struggle is at the same time a national one, and because the people have reached a more revolutionary and exasperated pitch there than in England. Landlordism in Ireland is kept in being solely by the *English army*. If the enforced union between the two countries were to cease, a social revolution would immediately break out in Ireland—even if of a somewhat backward kind. English landlordism would lose not only a major source of its wealth, but also its greatest moral force—the fact of *representing England's domination over Ireland*. On the other hand, by preserving the power of its landlords in Ireland, the English proletariat makes them invulnerable in England itself.

In the second place, in dragging down the working class in England still further by the forced immigration of poor Irish people, the English bourgeoisie has not merely exploited Irish poverty. It has also divided the proletariat into two hostile camps. The fiery rebelliousness of the Celtic worker does not mingle well with the steady, slow nature of the Anglo-Saxon; in fact, in all *the major industrial centers of England* there is a profound antagonism between the Irish and the English proletarians. The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who brings down his wages and standard of living. He also feels national and religious antipathies for him; it is rather the same attitude that the poor whites of the Southern states of North America had for the Negro slaves. This antagonism between the two groups of proletarians within England itself is artificially kept in being and fostered by the bourgeoisie, who know well that this split is the real secret of preserving their own power.

This antagonism is reproduced once again on the other side of the Atlantic. The Irish, driven from their native soil by cattle and sheep, have landed in North America where they form a considerable, and increasing, proportion of the population. Their sole thought, their sole passion, is their hatred for England. The English and American governments (in other words, the classes they represent) nourish that passion so as to keep permanently alive the underground struggle between the United States and England; in that way they can prevent the sincere and worthwhile alliance between the working Classes on the two sides of the Atlantic which would lead to their emancipation.

Furthermore, Ireland is the only excuse the English government has for keeping up a large regular army which can, as we have seen, in

case of need attack the English workers after having done its basic training in Ireland.

Finally, what ancient Rome demonstrated on a gigantic scale can be seen—in the England of today. A people which subjugates another people forges its own chains.

Therefore, the International Association's attitude to the Irish question is absolutely clear. Its first need is to press on with the social revolution in England, and to that end, the major blow must be struck in Ireland.

The General Council's resolutions on the Irish Amnesty<sup>416</sup> are designed simply to lead into other resolutions which will declare that, quite apart from the demands of international justice, it is an essential precondition for the emancipation of the English working class to transform the present enforced union (in other words, the enslavement of Ireland) into a free and equal confederation, if possible, and into a total separation, if necessary.

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<sup>416</sup> These resolutions, adopted by the General Council on 16 November 1869, are reproduced by Marx in his letter to Engels of 18 November; below, p. 163.



## Draft Resolution of the General Council on the Policy of the British Government towards the Irish Prisoners<sup>417</sup>

*Marx, 1869*

Resolved,

that in his reply to the Irish demands for the release of the imprisoned Irish patriots—a reply contained in his letter to Mr. O'shea etc., etc.—Mr. Gladstone deliberately insults Irish Nation;

that he clogs political amnesty with conditions alike degrading to the victims of misgovernment and the people they belong to;

that having, in the teeth of his responsible position, publicly and enthusiastically cheered on the American slave-holders' Rebellion,<sup>418</sup> he now steps in to preach to the Irish people the doctrine of passive obedience;

that his whole proceedings with reference to the Irish Amnesty question are the true and genuine offspring of that "*policy of conquest*" by the fiery denunciation of which Mr. Gladstone ousted his Tory rivals from office<sup>419</sup>;

that the *General Council of the "International Working Men's Association"* express their admiration of the spirited, firm and high-souled manner in which the Irish people carry on their Amnesty movement;

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<sup>417</sup> Written and introduced by Marx on November 16, 1869; adopted by the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association on November 30, 1869.

Published: Marx & Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXI, Lawrence & Wishart, 2010, p. 83.

<sup>418</sup> In a speech made on October 7, 1862, in Newcastle, Gladstone (then Chancellor of the Exchequer) greeted the Confederacy of the Southern States in the person of its president Jefferson Davis, justifying the rebellion of the southern slave-owners against Lincoln's lawful government. The speech was published in *The Times*, October 9, 1862. It was mentioned by speakers during the discussion in the General Council.

<sup>419</sup> Gladstone's Liberal Government succeeded the Tory Government, led by Disraeli, in December 1868. One of the demagogic slogans of the Liberals that brought them victory at the elections was Gladstone's promise to solve the Irish question. At the height of the election struggle, the opposition in the House of Commons criticized Tory policy, in Ireland, comparing it with the policy of conquest of Britain herself pursued by William, Duke of Normandy, in the eleventh century (see *The Times*, April 4, 1868).

that these resolutions be communicated to all the branches of, and workingmen's bodies connected with, the "*International Working Men's Association*" in Europe and America.

## **Position of the International Working Men's Association in Germany and England<sup>420</sup>**

*Marx, 1871 (Excerpt)*

You will be aware of the great antagonism which has existed for a long time between the English and Irish workers, the causes of which are easy to enumerate. This antagonism is rooted in differences of language and religion, and in the competition which Irish workers created in the labor market. It constitutes an obstacle to revolution in England and is, consequently, skillfully exploited by the government and the upper classes, who are convinced that no bonds are capable of uniting the English workers with the Irish. It is true that no union would be possible in the sphere of politics, but this is not the case in the economic sphere and the two sides are forming International sections which, as such, will have to advance simultaneously towards the same goal. The Irish sections will soon be very numerous.

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<sup>420</sup> From Speech in French by Karl Marx on September 22, 1871, at the London Conference. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, p. 417.

## Declaration by the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association<sup>421</sup>

### Police Terrorism in Ireland

The national antagonism between English and Irish workingmen, in England, has hitherto been one of the main impediments in the way of every attempted movement for the emancipation of the working class, and therefore one of the mainstays of class dominion in England as well as in Ireland. The spread of the International in Ireland, and the formation of Irish branches in England, threatened to put an end to this state of things. It was quite natural then that the British Government should attempt to nip in the bud the establishment of the International in Ireland by putting into practice all that police chicanery which the exceptional legislation and the practically permanent state of siege there enable it to exercise. How Ireland is governed in a truly Prussian way, under what is called the Free British Constitution, will appear from the following facts.

In Dublin, at the meeting of the International, a sergeant and private of the police, in full uniform, were stationed at the door of the place of meeting, the owner of which asked them whether they were sent officially, and the sergeant said he was, the International having a dreaded name.

In Cork the same trick is practiced. Two constables of the "Royal Irish Constabulary" are placed opposite the house door of the secretary of the local section, during the day, and four after dark, and the name of everyone is noted down who calls upon him. A sub-inspector has recently called upon several persons by whom members of the Cork section were employed, and demanded the addresses of the latter, and many persons have been warned by the "Constabulary" that if they are seen speaking to the secretary their names will be sent to "The Castle"—a name of horror to the working class of Ireland.<sup>422</sup>

In the same city, according to a letter received,

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<sup>421</sup> First published as a leaflet in April 1872 and later in *The General Council of the First International. 1871–1872. Minutes*. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 523–524.

<sup>422</sup> Dublin Castle was built by the English in the 13<sup>th</sup> century and became the seat and symbol of British colonial rule.

The magistrates have held several special meetings, extra police have been drafted in, and on Easter Sunday the constables were all under arms, with ten rounds of ball cartridge each. They expected we were going to have a meeting in the park; the magistrates are trying all they can to provoke a riot.

If the British Government continues in this way they may be sure that the last shreds of the mask of liberalism will be torn from their faces. In the International papers all over the world, the name of Mr. Gladstone will be coupled week after week with those of Sagasta, Lanza, Bismarck, and Thiers.

By order of the General Council:

*R. Applegarth, M. Barry, M. J. Boon, F. Bradnicj, G. H. Buttery, E. Delahaye, Eugène Dupont, W. Hales, G. Harris, Hurliman, Jules Johannard, C. Keen, Harriett Law, F. Lessner, Lochner, C. Longuet, C. Martin, Zevy Maurice, H. Mayo, G. Milner, Ch. Murray, Pfänder, J. Roach, Rühl, Sadler, Cowell Stepney, A. Taylor, W. Townshend, E. Vaillant, J. Weston, Yarrow.*

Corresponding Secretaries:

*Leo Frankel, for Austria and Hungary; A. Herman, Belgium; I. Mottershead, Denmark; A. Serrailleur, France; Karl Marx, Germany and Russia; C. Rochat, Holland; J. P. McDonnell, Ireland; F. Engels, Italy and Spain; Walery Wroblewski, Poland; Hermann Jung, Switzerland; J. G. Eccarius, United States; Le Moussu, for French branches of United States; J. Hales, General Secretary.*

## **Report on the Alliance presented in the name of the General Council to the Hague Congress<sup>423</sup>**

*Engels, 1872 (Excerpt)*

The secret nature of the Alliance, however, is an entirely different matter. The International cannot ignore the fact that in many countries, Poland, France and Ireland among them, secret organizations are a legitimate means of defense against government persecution. However, at its London Conference the International stated that it wished to remain completely dissociated from these societies and would not, consequently, recognize them as sections. Moreover, and this is the crucial point, we are dealing here with a secret society created for the purpose of combatting not a government, but the International itself.

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<sup>423</sup> Written in French by Engels at the end of August 1872. Here: Marx & Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXIII, Lawrence & Wishart, 2010, p. 232.

## Interventions at the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association<sup>424</sup>

### *Excerpts of the Minutes*

#### **From the Minutes of the General Council Meeting of October 26, 1869.**

Cit[izen] Marx said the principal thing was whatever was passed would be suppressed by the London press. The main feature of the demonstration had been ignored, it was that at least a part of the English working class had lost their prejudice against the Irish. This might be put in writing and addressed to somebody, not the government. He thought it a good opportunity to do something....

From the Minutes of the General Council Meeting of November 16, 1869

Cit[izen] *Marx* then opened the debate on the attitude of the British Government on the Irish question. He said political amnesty proceeds from two sources:

1. When a government is strong enough by force of arms and public opinion, when the enemy accepts the defeat, as was the case in America,<sup>425</sup> then amnesty is given.
2. When misgovernment is the cause of quarrel and the opposition gains its point, as was the case in Austria and Hungary.<sup>426</sup> Such ought to have been the case in Ireland.

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<sup>424</sup> Published: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 161, 167-168, 251, 262; Marx & Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXII, Lawrence & Wishart, 2010, pp. 583-584; *Documents of the First International*, Vol. 4, Progress Publishers, Moscow, pp. 226-227; *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, pp. 142-143, 151, 297-300.

<sup>425</sup> Marx means an extensive amnesty granted by President Lincoln in 1863 and President Johnson in 1865 to persons who had fought in the US Civil War on the side of the South.

<sup>426</sup> The amnesty was granted to the participants in the Hungarian national liberation movement following the re-organization of the Austrian Empire into Austria-Hungary in 1867. This amnesty was the result of Austria's defeat in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 and the growth of national contradictions within the multinational Austrian state.

Both Disraeli and Gladstone have said that the government ought to do for Ireland what in other countries a revolution would do. Bright asserted repeatedly that Ireland would always be rife for revolution unless a radical change was made. During the election Gladstone justified the Fenian insurrection and said that every other nation would have revolted under similar circumstances. When taunted in the House he equivocated his fiery declarations against the “policy of conquest”<sup>427</sup> implied that “Ireland ought to be ruled according to Irish ideas.” To put an end to the “policy of conquest” he ought to have begun, like America and Austria, by an amnesty as soon as he became minister. He did nothing. Then the amnesty movement in Ireland by the municipalities. When a deputation was about to start with a petition containing 200,000 signatures for the release of the prisoners he anticipated it by releasing some to prevent the appearance of giving way to Irish pressure. The petition came, it was not got up by Fenians, but he gave no answer. Then it was mooted in the House that the prisoners were infamously treated.

In this at least the English Government is impartial; it treats Irish and English alike; there is no country in Europe where political prisoners are treated like in England and Russia. Bruce was obliged to admit the fact. Moore wanted an inquiry; it was refused. Then commenced the popular amnesty movement at Limerick. A meeting was held at which 30,000 people were present and a memorial for the unconditional release was adopted. Meetings were held in all the towns in the North. Then the great meeting was announced in Dublin where 200,000 people attended. It was announced weeks beforehand for the 10<sup>th</sup> October. The trade societies wanted to go in procession. On the 8<sup>th</sup> proclamations were issued prohibiting the procession to go through certain streets. Isaac Butt interpreted it as a prohibition of the procession. They went to Fortescue to ask but he was not at home, his Secretary Burke did not know. A letter was left to be replied to: he equivocated. The government wanted a collision. The procession was abandoned and it was found afterwards that the soldiers had been supplied with 40 rounds of shot for the occasion.

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<sup>427</sup> Gladstone's Liberal government came to office in December 1868, promising to solve the Irish question. During the election campaign, the Liberals had compared the Tory's policy in Ireland to the conquest of England by William the Conqueror in 1066.



After that Gladstone answered the Limerick memorial of August in a roundabout way.<sup>428</sup> He says the proceedings varied much. There were loyal people and others who used bad language demanding as a right what could only be an act of clemency.

It is an act of presumption on the part of a paid public servant to teach a public meeting how to speak.

The next objection is that the prisoners have not abandoned their designs which were cut short by their imprisonment.

How does Gladstone know what their designs were and that they still entertain them? Has he tortured them into a confession? He wants them to renounce their principles, to degrade them morally. Napoleon did not ask people to renounce their republican principles before he gave an amnesty and Prussia attached no such conditions.

Then he says the conspiracy still exists in England and America.

If it did, Scotland Yard should soon be down upon it. It is only "disaffection of 700 years' standing."<sup>429</sup> The Irish have declared they would receive unconditional freedom as an act of conciliation.

Gladstone cannot quell the Fenian conspiracy in America his conduct promotes it, one paper calls him the Head Center.<sup>430</sup> He finds fault with the press. He has not the courage to prosecute the press; he wants to make the prisoners responsible. Does he want to keep them as hostages for the good behavior of the people outside? He says "it has been our desire to carry leniency to the utmost point." This then is the utmost point.

When Mountjoy was crowded with untried prisoners, Dr. M'Donnell wrote letter after letter to Joseph Murray about their treatment. Lord

<sup>428</sup> A reference to Gladstone's negative reply to the petitions for an amnesty for Irish prisoners adopted at mass meetings in Ireland, including the one in Limerick on August 1, 1869. Gladstone endeavored to justify his refusal in his letters to O'Shea and Butt, which were published in *The Times* on October 23 and 27, 1869. Marx criticized the motives given by Gladstone in these letters.

<sup>429</sup> This expression was current in the Irish workers' press of the time and meant England's 700-years oppression of Ireland (see *The Irishman*, September 25 and November 13, 1869).

<sup>430</sup> An article in the *New York Irish People*, a newspaper of Irish emigrants published in the USA, said that Gladstone's refusal to grant an amnesty to the participants in the Fenian movement, was only furthering the movement (this remark was quoted by *The Irishman* in its issue of November 13, 1869). The likening of Gladstone to the Head Center of the plot is tinged with irony, since this was the title of the leader of the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, the secret Fenian organization.

Mayo said afterwards that Murray had suppressed them. M'Donnell then wrote to the inspector of prisons, to a higher official. He was afterwards dismissed and Murray was promoted.

He then says: we have advised the minor offenders to be released; the principal leaders and organizers we could not set free.

This is a positive lie. There were two Americans amongst them who had 15 years each. It was fear for America that made him set them free. Carey was sentenced in 1865 to 5 years, he is in the lunatic asylum, his family wanted him home, he could not upset the government.

He further says: to rise in revolt against the public order has ever been a crime in this country. Only in this country. Jefferson Davis's revolt was right because it was not against the English, the government.<sup>431</sup> He continues, the administration can have no interest except the punishment of crimes.

The administration are the servants of the oppressors of Ireland. He wants the Irish to fall on their knees because an enlightened sovereign and Parliament have done a great act of justice. They were the criminals before the Irish people. But the Irish was the only question upon which Gladstone and Bright could become ministers and catch the dissenters<sup>432</sup> and give the Irish place-hunters an excuse of selling themselves. The church was only the badge of conquest. The badge is removed, but the servitude remains. He states that the government is resolved to continue to remove any grievance, but that they are determined to give security to life and property and maintain the integrity of the empire.

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<sup>431</sup> In a speech on October 7, 1862, Gladstone had greeted President Jefferson Davis of the Confederacy of the Southern States of America and justified the rebellion of the slave-owners.

<sup>432</sup> The *Dissenters* were Presbyterians, descendants of Scottish colonists who had moved to Northern Ireland and members of various Protestant sects at variance with the official Anglican Church.

Before the elections, Gladstone, the leader of the Liberal Party, made many promises to settle the Irish question in the hope of winning votes among the new categories of voters. Even before the election campaign got under way, he proposed the separation of the Anglican Church from the state in Ireland, thereby depriving it of state support and subsidies. He expected that this would win him popularity with the Irish Catholic voters. After winning the elections and assuming office at the end of 1868, Gladstone passed a bill through Parliament in March 1869 which placed the Anglican Church in Ireland on an equal footing with the Catholic Church. Gladstone and the Liberals hoped that their policy of moderate reform would weaken the revolutionary movement in Ireland.

Life and property are endangered by the English aristocracy. Canada makes her own laws<sup>433</sup> without impairing the integrity of the empire, but the Irish know nothing of their own affairs, they must leave them to Parliament, the same power that has landed them where they are. It is the greatest stupidity to think that the prisoners out of prison could be more dangerous than insulting a whole nation. The old English leaven of the conqueror comes out in the statement: we will grant but you must ask.

In his letter to Isaac Butt he says:

You remind me that I once pleaded for foreigners. Can the two cases correspond? The Fenians were tried according to lawful custom and found guilty by a jury of their countrymen. The prisoners of Naples were arrested and not tried, and when they were tried they were tried by exceptional tribunals and sentenced by judges who depended upon the government for bread.

If a poacher is tried by a jury of country squires he is tried by his countrymen. It is notorious that the Irish juries are made up of purveyors to the castle whose bread depends upon their verdict. Oppression is always a lawful custom. In England the judges can be independent, in Ireland they cannot. Their promotion depends upon how they serve the government. Sullivan the prosecutor has been made master of the rolls.

To the Ancient Order of Foresters in Dublin he answered that he was not aware that he had given a pledge that Ireland was to be governed according to Irish ideas.<sup>434</sup> And after all this he comes to Guild-Hall and complains that he is inadequate for the task.

The upshot is that all the tenant right meetings are broken up; they want the prisoners [released]. They have broken with the clerical party. They now demand that Ireland is to govern herself. Moore and Butt have

<sup>433</sup> In 1840, a single Parliament was set up in England's Canadian possessions. The 1867 Act transformed them into the self-governing Canadian Confederation and granted it Dominion status.

<sup>434</sup> On October 30, 1869, *The Irishman* carried a report which said that in his letter to the Dublin branch of the Ancient Order of Foresters (a Friendly Society founded in England as early as 1745 as a society of royal foresters which adopted its name in 1834 and which campaigned for an amnesty on behalf of the Irish prisoners), Gladstone had neglected his pre-election promises to improve Ireland's position.

declared for it. They have resolved to liberate O'Donovan Rossa by electing him a member of Parliament.<sup>435</sup>

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<sup>435</sup> O'Donovan Rossa was a prominent Fenian, sentenced to life imprisonment in 1865, but nominated as a candidate for Parliament in Tipperary. On November 25, 189, Rossa was elected as an MP, but was not allowed to take up his seat in Parliament.

## On the Policy of the British Government with Respect to the Irish Prisoners<sup>436</sup>

*November 23, 1869*

Cit. Marx. Cit. Mottershead has given a history of Gladstone. I could give another, but that has nothing to do with the question before us. The petitions which were adopted at the meetings were quite civil, but he found fault with the speeches by which they were supported. Castlereagh was as good a man as Gladstone and I found today in the Political Register that he used the same words against the Irish as Gladstone, and Cobbett made the same reply as I have done.

When the electoral tour commenced all the Irish candidates spouted about amnesty, but Gladstone did nothing till the Irish municipalities moved.

I have not spoken of the people killed abroad, because you cannot compare the Hungarian war with the Fenian insurrection. we might compare it with and then the comparison would not be favorable to the English.

I repeat that political prisoners are not treated anywhere so bad as in England.

Cit. Mottershead is not going to tell us his opinion of the Irish; if he wants to know what other people think of the English let him read Ledru-Rollin and other Continental writers. I have always defended the English and do so still.

These resolutions are not to be passed to release the prisoners, the Irish themselves have abandoned that.

It is a resolution of sympathy with the Irish and a review of the conduct of the government, it may bring the English and the Irish together. Gladstone has to contend with the opposition of the Times, the Saturday Review, etc., if we speak out boldly; on the other side, we may support him against an opposition to which he might otherwise have to succumb. He was in office during the Civil War and was responsible for what the

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<sup>436</sup> From the "Minutes of the General Council Meeting of November 23, 1869." Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 167-168.

government did and if the North was low when he made his declaration, so much the worse for his patriotism.

Cit. Odger is right, if we wanted the prisoners released, this would not be the way to do it, but it is more important to make a concession to the Irish people than to Gladstone...

Cit. Marx had no objection to leave out the word "deliberately," as a Prime Minister must necessarily be considered to do everything deliberately.

## The International<sup>437</sup>

*Marx, 1873*

On the other hand, the British Section of the International held a Congress at Manchester on June 1 and 2, which was undoubtedly an epoch-making event in the English labor movement. It was attended by 26 delegates who represented the main centers of English industry as well as several smaller towns. The report of the Federal Council differed from all previous documents of this kind by the fact that—in a country with a tradition of legality—it asserted the right of the working class to *use force in order to realize* its demands.

Congress approved the report and decided that the red flag is to be the flag of the British Section of the International; the working class demands not only the return of all landed property to the working people but also of all means of production; it calls for the eight-hour working day as a preliminary measure; it sends congratulations to the Spanish workers who have succeeded in establishing a republic and in electing ten workers to the Cortes; and requests the English Government immediately to release all Irish Fenians still imprisoned. Anyone familiar with the history of the English labor movement will admit that no English workers' congress has ever advanced such far-reaching demands. In any case, this Congress and the miserable end of the separatist, self-appointed Federal Council<sup>438</sup> has determined the attitude of the British Section of the International.

<sup>437</sup> Originally published in *Der Volksstaat*, July 2, 1873. Here: Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, p. 426.

<sup>438</sup> In December 1872, a split occurred in the British Federal Council. By refusing to recognize the decisions of the 1872 Hague Congress the Council's Right wing, headed by J. Hales, was, according to the Rules of the International, making itself liable to expulsion from the Association. This was confirmed by a decision of the General Council of May 30, 1873. The Left wing of the British Federal Council established itself as the British Federal Council and was recognized by the majority of sections of the British Federation as their leading body. In January 1873, the self-styled Federal Council attempted to organize a congress of the Federation but only 12 delegates, representing a small portion of the British sections, arrived. Soon after the failure of the congress this British Council disintegrated.

## VI. LETTERS



# Letter from Frederick Engels to Karl Marx

*London, May 23, 1856*<sup>439</sup>

Dear Marx,

During our trip to Ireland we traveled from Dublin to Galway on the West Coast, then 20 miles north and inland, on to Limerick, down the Shannon to Tarbert, Traice and Killarney, and back to Dublin. In all approx. 450-500 English miles within the country itself, so we have seen approx. 2/3 of the entire country. With the exception of Dublin, which is to London what Düsseldorf is to Berlin, bears altogether the stamp of having been a small royal seat and is, moreover, built entirely in the English style, the whole country and particularly the towns give one the impression of being in France or Northern Italy. Gendarmes, priests, lawyers, bureaucrats, lords of the manor in cheerful profusion and a total absence of any and every industry, so that one could barely conceive what all these parasitic plants live on, were there no counterpart in the wretchedness of the peasants. The “iron hand” is visible in every nook and cranny; the government meddles in everything, not a trace of so-called self-government. Ireland may be regarded as the earliest English colony and one which, by reason of her proximity, is still governed in exactly the same old way; here one cannot fail to notice that the English citizen’s so-called freedom is based on the oppression of the colonies. In no other country have I seen so many gendarmes, and it is in the constabulary, which is armed with carbine, bayonet and handcuffs, that the bibulous expression of your Prussian gendarme reaches its ultimate state of perfection.

Peculiar to the country are its ruins, the oldest 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century, the most recent 19<sup>th</sup>, and every stage in between. The earliest, all churches; from 1100, churches and castles; from 1800, farmhouses. Throughout the west, but particularly the Galway region, the countryside is strewn with these derelict farmhouses, most of which have only been abandoned since 1846. I had never imagined that famine could be so tangibly real. Whole villages are deserted; in between the splendid parks of the smaller landlords, virtually the only people still living there, lawyers mostly.

Famine, emigration and clearances between them have brought this about. The fields are empty even of cattle; the countryside is a complete wilder-

<sup>439</sup> Marx & Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. XL, Lawrence & Wishart, 2010.

ness unwanted by anybody. In County Clare, south of Galway, things improve a bit, for there's some cattle at least and, towards Limerick, the hills are excellently cultivated, mostly by Scottish farmers, the ruins have been cleared away, and the country has a domesticated air. In the south-west, numerous mountains and bogs but also marvelously luxuriant woodland; further on, fine pastures again, especially in Tipperary and, approaching Dublin, increasing signs that the land is occupied by big farmers.

The English wars of conquest from 1100 to 1850 (*au fond* they lasted as long as this, as did also martial law) utterly ruined the country. With regard to most of the ruins, it has been established that the destruction took place during these wars. Thus the very people have acquired their unusual character and, for all their fanatical Irish nationalism, the fellows no longer feel at home in their own country. Ireland for the Saxon! That is now becoming a reality. The Irishman knows that he cannot compete with the Englishman, who comes armed with resources in every respect superior to his own; emigration will continue until the predominantly, indeed almost exclusively, Celtic nature of the population has gone to pot. How often have the Irish set out to achieve something and each time been crushed, politically and industrially! In this artificial manner, through systematic oppression, they have come to be a completely wretched nation and now, as everyone knows, they have the job of providing England, America, Australia, etc., with whores, day laborers, *maquereaux*, pickpockets, swindlers, beggars and other wretches. Even the aristocracy are infected by this wretchedness. The landowners, wholly bourgeoisified everywhere else, are here completely down-at-heel. Their country seats are surrounded by huge and lovely parks but all around there is desolation and where the money is supposed to come from heaven only knows. These fellows are too funny for words: of mixed blood, for the most part tall, strong, handsome types, all with enormous moustaches under a vast Roman nose, they give themselves the bogus martial airs of a *colonel en retraite*, travel the country in search of every imaginable diversion and, on inquiry, prove to be as poor as church mice, up to their eyes in debt, and living in constant fear of the Encumbered Estates Court.

About England's method of governing this country—repression and corruption (long before Bonaparte tried them)—more very shortly if you don't come up soon. What are the prospects?

Your

F. E.

## Letter from Karl Marx to Frederick Engels

*Manchester, November 20, 1865<sup>440</sup> (Excerpt)*

The Jamaican business is typical of the utter turpitude of the “true Englishman.” These fellows are as bad as the Russians in every respect. But, says the good old *Times*, these damned rogues enjoyed “all the liberties of an Anglo-Saxon Constitution.” I.e. they enjoyed the liberty, amongst others, of having their hides taxed to raise money for the planters to import coolies and thus depress their own labor market below the minimum. And these English curs with their sensibilities sent up an outcry about “beast Butler” for hanging *one* man! and refusing to allow the former planters’ diamond-spangled yellow womenfolk to spit in the faces of the Federal soldiers! The Irish affair and the Jamaica butcheries were all that was needed after the American war to complete the unmasking of English hypocrisy!

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<sup>440</sup> Ibid., Vol. XLII, p. 199.

## Letter from Karl Marx to Frederick Engels

*Manchester, June 27, 1867*<sup>441</sup> (*Excerpt*)

I am quite sickened by the report on the Fenians. These swine boast of their English humanity in not treating political prisoners *worse* than murderers, street-thieves, forgers and pederasts! And this O'Donovan Rossa, what "a queer fellow," because as a felony convict he refused to grovel before his worst enemies! A queer fellow indeed! Incidentally, would even the Prussians have been capable of acting in a more bureaucratic fashion than these emissaries of the weeping willow, that Knox (read ox) and Pollock (bull-dog), who naturally accept the evidence given by the subordinate "warder" as unimpeachable. But if you don't believe the warders, you have the word of Wermuth, the chief of police!

Mrs. S O'Donovan Rossa has written the "International" a very flattering and very graceful letter on her departure for America.

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<sup>441</sup> Marx & Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. XLII, Lawrence & Wishart, 2010., p. 394.

# Letter from Karl Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann

*Hanover, October 11, 1867*<sup>442</sup> (Excerpt)

Ernest Jones<sup>443</sup> had to speak to *Irishmen* in Ireland as a Party man; that is, since large-scale landownership there is identical with *England's property in Ireland*, he had to speak *against* large-scale landownership. You should never look for principles in the hustings speeches of English politicians, but only for what is expedient for the immediate purpose.

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<sup>442</sup> Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, p. 153.

<sup>443</sup> Ernest Jones (1819–1869)—Chartist, lawyer and poet. Editor of the *People's Paper* and *Notes to the People*, to both of which Marx contributed. At times stood close to Marx and Engels.

## Letter from Karl Marx to Frederick Engels

*Manchester, November 2, 1867*<sup>444</sup> (Excerpt)

The Fenian trial in Manchester exactly as was to be expected. You will have seen what a scandal “our people” have caused in the Reform League. I sought by every means at my disposal to incite the English workers to demonstrate in favor of Fenianism.

Salut.

Your K. M.

I once believed the separation of Ireland from England to be impossible. I now regard it as inevitable, although Federation may follow upon separation. The way the English are proceeding is shown by the agricultural statistics for this year, which appeared a few days ago. Over and above that the manner of the eviction. The Irish Viceroy, Lord Abicorn (the name is *something like* that) has “cleared” his estate in the last few weeks by forcibly driving thousands from their homes. Among them, well-to-do tenant-farmers, their improvements and capital investments being thus confiscated! In no other European country has foreign rule assumed this form of direct expropriation of the natives.

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<sup>444</sup> Marx & Engels, *Op. cit.* (“Ireland and the Irish Question”), pp. 153-154.

## Letter from Frederick Engels to Karl Marx

*London, November 5, 1867*<sup>445</sup> (*Excerpt*)

Yesterday Blackburn showed the depths to which the English judges have sunk when he asked the witness Beck (who had first sworn to *William* Martin, but said afterwards that it was *John* M.): Then, you swore to William, and you meant to swear to John? The whole prosecution will, I believe, crumble increasingly with each new batch of accused, the amount of perjury to get the £200 reward is quite incredible.

Can you tell me where I can find more details about Lord Abercorn's evictions?

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<sup>445</sup> Ibid., p. 154.

## Letter from Karl Marx to Frederick Engels

*Manchester, November 7, 1867*<sup>446</sup> (Excerpt)

There was a detailed description of the Abercorn evictions about a fortnight ago in *The Irishman* (Dublin). I may manage to get again the issue that was lent to me for only 24 hours.

At the meeting, at which Colonel Dickson presided and Bradlaugh made a speech about Ireland, our old Weston, seconded by Fox and Cremer, tabled a resolution for the Fenians which was passed unanimously. Last Tuesday, too, there was a stormy demonstration for the Fenians during Acland's lecture on the Reform Bill in Cleveland Hall (above our heads, we had our meeting down in the coffee room, which is in the basement). This business stirs the feelings of the intelligent part of the working class here.

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<sup>446</sup> Ibid., p. 154.



## Letter from Frederick Engels to Ludwig Kugelmann

*Hanover, November 8, 1867<sup>447</sup> (Excerpt)*

Rapid progress is being made here in England with the formation of a really revolutionary party, and revolutionary conditions are developing hand in hand with it. With his Reform Bill, Disraeli has thrown the Tories into confusion and routed the Whigs, although all he has done is to render it impossible to continue dilly-dallying as before. This Reform Bill will either prove to be nothing at all (and this is now impossible, there is too much momentum behind it), or it will infallibly and immediately bring in its train Bills of an altogether different character, which will go much farther. The next steps, which will have to be taken forthwith, are the allotting of representatives in proportion to population and the secret ballot, and that will be the end of the old scheme of things here. The capital thing about Disraeli is that his hatred for the country gentlemen in his own party and his hatred of the Whigs have set things going on a course which can no longer be halted. You will be astonished, and the German philistines who think England is finished will be even more astonished, at what will happen here once the Reform Bill is in force.

The Irish are also doing their bit to keep things properly on the boil, and every day the London proletarians are more openly declaring their support for the Fenians, in other words, and this is without precedent here and really splendid, for a movement that firstly advocates the use of force and secondly is anti-English.

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<sup>447</sup> Ibid., p. 155.

## Letter from Frederick Engels to Karl Marx

*London, November 24, 1867*<sup>448</sup> (*Excerpt*)

Dear Moor,

I am returning the encl. letters.

So yesterday morning the Tories, by the hand of Mr. Colcraft, accomplished the final act of separation between England and Ireland. The *only thing* that the Fenians still lacked were martyrs. They have been provided with these by Derby and G. Hardy. Only the execution of the three<sup>449</sup> has made the liberation of Kelly and Deasy the heroic deed as which it will now be sung to every Irish babe in the cradle in Ireland, England and America. The Irish women will do that just as well as the Polish women.

To my knowledge, the only time that anybody has been executed for a similar matter in a civilized country was the case of John Brown at Harpers Ferry. The Fenians could not have wished for a better precedent. The Southerners had at least the decency to treat J. Brown as a *rebel*, whereas here everything is being done to transform a political attempt into a common crime.

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<sup>448</sup> Ibid.

<sup>449</sup> Michael Larkin, William Allen and Michael O'Brien.—*Ed.*

## Letter from Frederick Engels to Karl Marx

*London, November 29, 1867*<sup>450</sup> (*Excerpt*)

As regards the Fenians you are quite right. The beastliness of the English must not make us forget that the leaders of this sect are mostly asses and partly exploiters and we cannot in any way make ourselves responsible for the stupidities which occur in every conspiracy. And they are certain to happen.

I need not tell you that black and green predominate in my home too. The English press has once again behaved most meanly. Larkin is said to have fainted and the others to have looked pale and confused. The Catholic priests who were there declare that this is a lie. Larkin, they say, *stumbled* on a rough spot and the three of them showed great courage. The Catholic bishop of Salford complained bitterly that Allen would not repent of his deed, saying he had nothing to repent of and were he at liberty he would do the same again. By the way, the Catholic priests were very insolent—on Sunday it was given out from the pulpit in all churches that these three men had been *murdered*.

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<sup>450</sup> Marx & Engels, *Op. cit.* ("Ireland and the Irish Question"), pp. 155-156.

## Letter from Karl Marx to Frederick Engels

*Manchester, November 30, 1867*<sup>451</sup> (excerpt)

If you have read the papers, you will have seen that

1. the International Council sent memorial for the Fenians to Hardy,
2. the debate on Fenianism (a week ago last Tuesday) was public and *The Times* carried a Report on it.

There were also reporters there from the Dublin *Irishman* and *Nation*. I did not arrive until very late (I have been suffering from a fever for about 2 weeks, and have only got over it in the last 2 days) and had not in fact intended to speak, first on account of my uncomfortable physical condition, and second because of the delicacy of the situation. However, the Chairman Weston wanted to force me to, so I moved adjournment, which obliged me to speak last Tuesday. What I had in fact prepared for Tuesday last was not a speech but rather the points for a speech.<sup>452</sup> However, the Irish reporters did not come, and by the time we had finished waiting for them it was 9 o'clock, whereas the premises were only available to us until 10<sup>1/2</sup>. At my suggestion, Fox had prepared a long speech (because of a quarrel on the Council he had made no appearance for 2 weeks, and furthermore sent in his resignation as member of the Council containing furious outbursts against Jung). When the *séance* opened I therefore declared that, on account of the belated hour, I would yield the floor to Fox. In fact—because the executions in Manchester had intervened—our subject “Fenianism” was bound up with the passions and heated emotions of the moment, which would have compelled *me* (though not the abstract *Fox*) to unleash a revolutionary thunderbolt. instead of the intended objective analysis of the situation and the movement. The Irish reporters thus did me a great service by staying away and so delaying the opening of the meeting. I do not enjoy getting embroiled with people like Roberts, Stephens, and the like.

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<sup>451</sup> Ibid., pp. 156-158.

<sup>452</sup> “Notes for an Undelivered Speech on Ireland.”

Fox's speech was good, first because it was delivered by *an Englishman*, and second insofar as it dealt only with political and international aspects. However, for that very reason he only skated over the surface of things. The resolution he brought forward was silly and pointless. I opposed it and had it referred back to the Standing Committee.

What the English do not yet realize, is that since 1846 the economic content and hence the political purpose of English rule in Ireland as well has entered an entirely new phase, and that for that very reason Fenianism is characterized by socialist (in the negative sense, as directed against the appropriation of the soil) leanings and as a lower orders movement. What could be more absurd than to lump together the barbarities of Elizabeth or Cromwell, who wanted to drive out the Irish by means of English colonists (in the Roman sense), and the present system, which wants to drive out the Irish by means of sheep, pigs and oxen! The system of 1801–1846 (evictions in that period were exceptional, particularly in Leinster, where the soil is especially suited to cattle-raising) with its rackrents and middlemen, collapsed in 1846. The Anti-Corn Law-Repeal, in part a consequence of or, at all events, hastened by the Irish famine, took from Ireland its *monopoly* of supplying England with corn in normal times. Wool and meat became the watchword, hence conversion of tillage into pasture. So from then on, systematic consolidation of farms. The Encumbered Estates Act which made landlords of a mass of former middlemen who had grown rich, hastened the process. Clearing of the estates of Ireland! is now the sole meaning of English rule in Ireland. The *stupid* English government in London naturally knows even nothing of this immense change since 1846. But the Irish do. From *Meagher's Proclamation* (1848) down to *Hennessy's election address* (Tory and Urquhartite) (1866) the Irish have been expressing their awareness of it in the clearest and most forcible manner.

The question now is, what advice should *we* give the *English* workers? In my view, they must make repeal *of the* Union (in short, the *farce* of 1783, only democratized and adapted to meet present circumstances) an article of their *pronunziamento*. This is the only *legal* and hence the only possible form of Irish emancipation which can be adopted by an *English* party in its program. Experience must later show, whether mere personal union between the 2 countries can continue to exist. I half believe it could if it comes about in due time.

What the Irish need is:

1. Self-government and independence from England.
2. Agrarian revolution. With the best will in the world the English cannot do this for them, but they can give them the legal means to do it for themselves.
3. Protective tariffs against England. From 1783–1801 every branch of industry in Ireland flourished. By suppressing the protective tariffs which the Irish parliament had established, the Union destroyed all industrial life in Ireland. The little bit of linen industry is in no way a substitute.

The Union of 1801 affected Irish industry exactly as did the measures for the suppression of the Irish wool industry, etc., on the part of the English parliament under Anne, George II, and others. As soon as the Irish became independent, necessity would turn them, like Canada, Australia, etc., into protectionists. Before I put forward my views at the Central Council (next Tuesday, this time fortunately without reporters being present), I would appreciate it if you would let me know your opinion in a few lines.

## Letter from Karl Marx to Frederick Engels

*Manchester, December 14, 1867<sup>453</sup> (Excerpt)*

Dear Fred,

The last exploit of the Fenians in Clerkenwell was a very stupid thing. The London masses, who have shown great sympathy for Ireland, will be made wild by it and driven into the arms of the government party. One cannot expect the London proletarians to allow themselves to be blown up in honor of the Fenian Emissaries. There is always a kind of fatality about such a secret, melodramatic sort of conspiracy.

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<sup>453</sup> Marx & Engels, *Op. cit.* ("Ireland and the Irish Question"), p. 159.

## Letter from Frederick Engels to Karl Marx

*London, December 19, 1867*<sup>454</sup> (*Excerpt*)

The stupid affair in Clerkenwell was obviously the work of a few specialized fanatics; it is the misfortune of all conspiracies that they lead to such stupidities, because “after all something must happen, after all something must be done.” In particular, there has been a lot of bluster in America about this blowing up and arson business, and then a few asses come and instigate such nonsense. Moreover, these cannibals are generally the greatest cowards, like this Allen, who seems to have already turned Queen’s evidence, and then the idea of liberating Ireland by setting a London tailor’s shop on fire!

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<sup>454</sup> Ibid.



## Letter from Karl Marx to Frederick Engels

*Manchester, March 16, 1868*<sup>455</sup> (*Excerpt*)

The present way in which the English treat political prisoners in Ireland, and also suspects, or even those sentenced to ordinary prison terms (like Pigott of *The Irishman* and Sullivan of the *News*) is really worse than anything happening on the Continent, except in Russia. What dogs!

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<sup>455</sup> Ibid.

## Letter from Karl Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann

*Hanover, April 6, 1868*<sup>456</sup> (Excerpt)

The Irish question predominates here just now. It has been exploited by Gladstone and company, of course, only in order to get into office again, and, above all, to have an *electoral cry* at the next elections, which will be based on household suffrage. *For the moment* this turn of events is bad for the workers' party; the intriguers among the workers, such as Odger and Potter, who want to get into the next Parliament, have now a new *excuse* for attaching themselves to the bourgeois Liberals.

However, this is only a *penalty* which England—and consequently also the English working class—is paying for the great crime she has been committing for many centuries against Ireland. And in the long run it will benefit the English working class itself. You see, the *English* Established Church in Ireland—or what they use to call here the *Irish Church*—is the religious bulwark of *English landlordism* in Ireland, and at the same time the outpost of the Established Church in England herself. (I am speaking here of the Established Church as a *landowner*) The overthrow of the Established Church in Ireland will mean its downfall in England and the two will be followed by the doom of landlordism—first in Ireland and then in England. I have, however, been convinced from the first that the social revolution must begin *seriously* from the bottom, that is, from landownership.

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<sup>456</sup> Ibid., p. 160.

## Letter from Karl Marx to Frederick Engels

*Manchester, October 10, 1868*<sup>457</sup> (Excerpt)

When you were here last, you saw the Blue Book on the Irish land question 1844–1845. By accident I found the report and evidence on Irish Tenant Right, 1867 (House of Lords), in a small second-hand bookshop. This was a real find. The economist gentlemen regard it purely as a question of conflicting dogmas whether rent is payment for natural differences in land, or on the other hand merely interest on the capital invested in the land; but here we have a real life and death struggle between farmer and landlord *as to how far rent should include, apart from* the payment for land differences, *also* the interest on the capital invested in the land not by the landlord but by the tenant. Political economy can only be turned into a positive science by replacing the conflicting dogmas by the conflicting facts, and by the real antagonisms which form their concealed background.

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<sup>457</sup> Marx & Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. XLIII, Lawrence & Wishart, 2010, p. 128.

## Letter from Karl Marx to Frederick Engels

*Manchester, March 1, 1869*<sup>458</sup> (Excerpt)

Also received Foster on Saturday evening.<sup>459</sup> The book is indeed significant for its time. First, because in it, Ricardo's theory is fully developed and better than in Ricardo—on money, rate of exchange etc. Secondly, because one sees here how those asses, the Bank of England, Commission of Inquiry, and the theoreticians, racked their brains over the problem: England debtor to Ireland. Despite this, the rate of exchange is always against Ireland and money is exported from Ireland to England. Foster solves the puzzle for them, viz., the depreciation of Irish paper money. It is true that two years before him (1802) Blake had fully elucidated this difference between the *nominal* and the *real* rate of exchange, about which, by the way, Petty had already said all that was necessary, only after him all this had been forgotten again.

The Irish amnesty is the lousiest of its kind ever. *D'abord*, most of the amnestied had almost served the term after which all penal servitude men are given tickets of leave. And secondly, the chief ringleaders were kept in gaol "because" Fenianism is of "American" origin, and hence the more criminal. That is why such Yankee-Irishmen as Costello are released while the Anglo-Irish are kept under lock and key.

If ever a mountain gave birth to a mouse, it is this ministry of all talents, and indeed in every respect.

I sent you earlier the report of Pollock and Knox (the same lousy London police magistrate, formerly a *Times* man, who distinguished himself so greatly in the Hyde Park row) on the treatment of Irish "convicts" in England. One of these "convicts" has exposed John Bull's unheard-of infamies and the lies of that blockhead Knox in *The Irishman*.

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<sup>458</sup> Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 385-386.

<sup>459</sup> J. L. Foster, *An Essay on the Principle of Commercial Exchanges, and more particularly of the Exchange between Great Britain and Ireland*, London, 1804.—Ed.

## Letter from Frederick Engels to Karl Marx

*Hanover, September 27, 1869<sup>460</sup> (Excerpt)*

We returned safely from Ireland on Thursday, a week ago; were in Dublin, the Wicklow Mountains, Killarney and Cork. Had quite a good time but both women<sup>461</sup> came back even more *hibemiores*<sup>462</sup> than they had been before they left. Weather fine on the whole. According to the papers you are having even worse weather there than we are here.

Learned from Trench's *Realities of Irish Life* why Ireland is so "over-populated." That worthy gentleman proves by examples that on the average the land is cultivated so well by the Irish peasants that an outlay of £10-15 per acre, which is *completely recouped* in 1-4 years, *raises* its rental value from 1 to 20 and from 4 to 25-30 shillings per acre. *This* profit is to be pocketed by the landlords.

Mr. Trench is in turn nicely checked by his own statements to Senior, which the latter has had published. Trench tells the liberal Senior that if he were an Irish peasant he would be a Ribbonman too![...] Ireland's trade has grown enormously in the past 14 years. The port of Dublin was unrecognizable. On Queenstown Quay I heard a lot of Italian, also Serbian, French and Danish or Norwegian spoken. There are indeed a good many "Italians" in Cork, as the comedy has it. The country itself, however, seems downright depopulated, and one is immediately led to think that there are far too few people. The state of war is also noticeable everywhere. There are squads of Royal Irish all over the place, with sheath-knives, and occasionally a revolver at their side and a police baton in their hand; in Dublin a horse-drawn battery drove right through the center of town, a thing I have never seen in England, and there are soldiers literally everywhere. The worst about the Irish is that they become corruptible as soon as they stop being peasants and turn bourgeois. True, this is the case with most peasant nations. But in Ireland it is particularly bad. That is also why the press is so terribly lousy.

<sup>460</sup> Marx & Engels, *Op. cit.* ("Ireland and the Irish Question"), pp. 386-387.

<sup>461</sup> Engels's wife Lydia (Lizzy) Burns and Marx's daughter Eleanor.—*Ed.*

<sup>462</sup> "More Irish than the Irish themselves."

## Letter from Frederick Engels to Karl Marx

*London, October 24, 1869*<sup>463</sup> (*Excerpt*)

Irish history shows one what a misfortune it is for a nation to have subjugated another nation. All the abominations of the English have their origin in the Irish Pale. I have still to plough my way through the Cromwellian period, but this much seems certain to me, that things would have taken another turn in England, too, but for the necessity for military rule in Ireland and the creation of a new aristocracy there.

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<sup>463</sup> Marx & Engels, *Op. cit.* ("Ireland and the Irish Question"), pp. 386-387.

## Letter from Karl Marx to Frederick Engels

*Manchester, October 30, 1869*<sup>464</sup> (*Excerpt*)

The creation of the *Land and Labor League* (incidentally, directly inspired by the General Council) should be regarded as an outcome of the Basle Congress; here, the workers' party makes a clean break with the bourgeoisie, nationalization of land [being] the starting point. Eccarius has been appointed active secretary (in addition to Boon as honorary one) and is being paid for it.

I have been instructed by the General Council to write a few words to the English working class about the Irish prisoners' demonstration last Sunday. Being so busy, I have no inclination to do it, but must be done. The demonstration was quite incorrectly reported in the London papers. It was capital.

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<sup>464</sup> Marx & Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. XLIII, Lawrence & Wishart, 2010, pp. 364-365.

## Letter from Jenny Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann

*October 30, 1869*<sup>465</sup> (Excerpt)

In London the event of the week has been a Fenian demonstration, got up for the purpose of praying the government for the release of the Irish prisoners. As Tussy has returned from Ireland a stauncher Irishman than ever, she did not rest until she had persuaded Moor, Mama and me to go with her to Hyde Park, the place appointed for the meeting. This Park, the largest one in London, was one mass of men, women and children, even the trees up to their highest branches had their inhabitants. The number of persons present were by the papers estimated at somewhere about 70 thousand, but as these papers are English, this figure is no doubt too low. There were processionists carrying red, green and white banners, with all sorts of devices, such as “Keep your powder dry!,” “Disobedience to tyrants is a duty to God.” And hoisted higher than the flags were a profusion of red Jacobin caps, the bearers of which sang the *Marseillaise*—sights and sounds that must have greatly interfered with the enjoyment of the port wine at the clubs.—On the following day, Monday, all the papers made a furious onslaught on those confounded “foreigners,” and cursed the day they had landed in England to demoralize sober John Bull by means of their blood-red flags, noisy choruses and other enormities....

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<sup>465</sup> Ibid., pp. 546-547.



# Letter from Karl Marx to Frederick Engels

*Manchester, November 18, 1869*<sup>466</sup> (Excerpt)

The *Bee-Hive* suppressed the report (by Eccarius) of the latest meeting<sup>467</sup> on the *pretext* that it had arrived too late. The real reason was that

- 1) it *did not wish it to be known* that the General Council would take up the Irish question at its next meeting;
- 2) the report contained references objectionable to it (i.e., to Mr. Potter) about the Land and Labor League. In fact, Mr. Potter *failed* ignominiously as nominee to the League's Committee.

Last Tuesday I opened the discussion on point 1: *the attitude of the British Government to the Irish Amnesty Question*.<sup>468</sup> I spoke for about an hour and a quarter, much cheered, and then proposed the following resolutions on Point 1:

Resolved,

that in his reply to the Irish demands for the release of the imprisoned Irish patriots—a reply contained in his letter to Mr. O'Shea, etc., etc.—Mr. Gladstone deliberately insults the Irish Nation;

that he clogs political amnesty with conditions alike degrading to the victims of misgovernment and the people they belong to; that having, in the teeth of his responsible position, publicly and enthusiastically cheered on the American slaveholders' Rebellion, he now steps in to preach to the Irish people the doctrine of passive obedience;

that his whole proceedings with reference to the Irish Amnesty question are the true and genuine offspring of that "*policy of conquest*," by the fiery denunciation of which Mr. Gladstone ousted his Tory rivals from office;

<sup>466</sup> Marx & Engels, *Op. cit.* ("Ireland and the Irish Question"), pp. 389-391.

<sup>467</sup> Of the General Council, International Working Men's Association.—*Ed.*

<sup>468</sup> See pp. 162-66.—*Ed.*

that the *General Council* of the *International Working Men's Association* express their admiration of the spirited, firm and highsouled manner in which the Irish people carry on their Amnesty movement;

that these resolutions be communicated to all branches of and workingmen's bodies connected with the *International Working Men's Association* in Europe and America.

Harris (an O'Brien man) *seconded* my proposal. However, the President (Lucraft) pointed to the clock (we could stay until 11 only); the matter was therefore left over to next Tuesday. All the same, Lucraft, Weston, Hales, etc., in fact the whole Council, tentatively declared for the proposal in informal way.

Milner, another O'Brienite, said the language of the resolution was too weak (i.e., not declamatory enough); furthermore, he demands that everything I said to substantiate the case should be inserted in the resolutions. (A fine kettle of fish!)

Thus, with the debate continuing on Tuesday, now the time for you to tell or write me what you may wish to *amend* or *add*. In the latter case, if, for example, you wish to add a paragraph about amnesties elsewhere in Europe, say in Italy, write it at once in the form of a resolution.

## Letter from Frederick Engels to Karl Marx

*London, November 29, 1869*<sup>469</sup> (Excerpt)

I have discovered here in the Free Library and the Chetham Library (which you know) a large number of very valuable sources (besides the books with second-hand information); but unfortunately neither Young<sup>470</sup> nor Prendergast, nor the English issue of the Brehon Law<sup>471</sup> published by the English Government. However, I have found Wakefield again and various things by old Petty. Last week I studied the tracts of old Sir John Davies (Attorney-General for Ireland under James).<sup>472</sup> I don't know whether you've read them, they are the main source, but you must have found quotations from them hundreds of times. It is a downright shame that the original sources are not available everywhere, one gets infinitely more from them than from elaborations on them, which make everything that is clear and simple in the original confused and complicated. The tracts show clearly that communal ownership of land was *Anno 1600* still *in full force* in Ireland and was adduced by Mr. Davies in his counsel's speech on the confiscation of the forfeited land in Ulster as a proof that the land did not belong to individual owners (peasants) and hence belonged either to the Lord, who had forfeited it, or else from the very start to the Crown. I've never read anything more beautiful than this speech. Reallotments were made every two or three years. In another pamphlet he describes in detail the incomes, etc., of the head of the clan. I've *never* seen these things quoted, and if they are of any use to you, I'll send you details of them. At the same time I've caught Monsieur Goldwin Smith beautifully. That man never read Davies and that is why he makes the most absurd assertions to exonerate the English. But I shall get that fellow.

<sup>469</sup> Marx & Engels, *Op. cit.* ("Ireland and the Irish Question"), pp. 392-393.

<sup>470</sup> A. Young, *Tour in Ireland*, vols. I-II, London, 1780.—*Ed.*

<sup>471</sup> See pp. 286-8.

<sup>472</sup> John Davies. *Historical Tracts*, London, 1786.—*Ed.*

## Letter from Karl Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann

*Hanover, November 29, 1869*<sup>473</sup> (Excerpt)

You will probably have seen in the *Volksstaat* the resolutions against Gladstone proposed by me on the question of the Irish amnesty. I have now attacked Gladstone—and it has attracted attention here—just as I had formerly attacked Palmerston. The demagogic refugees here love to fall upon the continental despots from a safe distance. That sort of thing attracts me only when it is done *vultu instantis tyranni*.<sup>474</sup>

Nevertheless, both my utterance on this Irish amnesty question and my further proposal to the General Council to discuss the attitude of the English working class to Ireland and to pass resolutions on it have of course other objects besides that of speaking out loudly and decidedly for the oppressed Irish against their oppressors.

I have become more and more convinced—and the only question is to drive this conviction home to the English working class—that it can never do anything decisive here in England until it separates its policy with regard to Ireland most definitely from the policy of the ruling classes, until it not only makes common cause with the Irish but actually takes the initiative in dissolving the Union established in 1801 and replacing it by a free federal relationship. And this must be done, not as a matter of sympathy with Ireland but as a demand made in the interests of the English proletariat. If not, the English people will remain tied to the leading strings of the ruling classes, because *it* will have to join with them in a common front against Ireland. Every one of its movements in England herself is crippled by the strife with the Irish, who form a very important section of the working class in England. *The prime condition* of emancipation here—the overthrow of the English landed oligarchy—remains impossible because its position here cannot be stormed so long as it maintains its strongly entrenched outposts in Ireland. But there, once affairs are in the hands of the Irish people itself, once it is made its own legislator and ruler, once it becomes autonomous, the abolition of the landed aristocracy (to a large

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<sup>473</sup> Marx & Engels, *Op. cit.* ("Ireland and the Irish Question"), pp. 393-395.

<sup>474</sup> Right to the face of the tyrant.—Ed.

extent the *same persons* as the English landlords) will be infinitely easier than here, because in Ireland it is not merely a simple economic question but at the same time a *national* question, since the landlords there are not, like those in England, the traditional dignitaries and representatives of the nation, but its mortally hated oppressors. And not only does England's internal social development remain crippled by her present relations with Ireland; her foreign policy, and particularly her policy with regard to Russia and the United States of America, suffers the same fate.

But since the English working class undoubtedly throws the decisive weight into the scale of social emancipation generally, the lever has to be applied here. As a matter of fact, the English republic under Cromwell met shipwreck in Ireland. *Non bis in idem*.<sup>475</sup> But the Irish have played a capital joke on the English government by electing the "convict felon" O'Donovan Rossa to Parliament. The government papers are already threatening a renewed suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act,<sup>349</sup> a renewed system of terror. In fact, England never has and never *can*—so long as the present relations last—rule Ireland otherwise than by the most abominable reign of terror and the most reprehensible corruption.

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<sup>475</sup> Not twice for the same thing! -*Ed.*

## Letter from Karl Marx to Frederick Engels

*Manchester, December 4, 1869*<sup>476</sup> (Excerpt)

The resolutions were carried unanimously, despite Odger's constant *verbal* amendments. I let him have his way on one point only, agreeing to omit the word "deliberate" before "insults" in paragraph 1.<sup>477</sup> I did that on pretense that everything a Prime Minister publicly did must be presumed *eo ipso* to be deliberate. The true reason was that I knew that as soon as the first paragraph was accepted in substance, all further resistance would be useless. I'm sending you two *National Reformers* containing a report on the first two meetings,<sup>478</sup> but nothing yet about the last. This report is also badly written and lots of things are definitely wrong (due to misunderstanding), yet it is better than Eccarius's reports in *Reynolds's*. They are by Harris, whose currency panacea you'll also find in the latest issue of the *National Reformer*.

With the exception of Mottershead, who acted like John Bull, and Odger, as always, like a diplomat, the English delegates behaved excellently. The general debate on the attitude of the English working class to the Irish question begins on Tuesday.

Here one has to fight not only prejudices, but also the stupidity and wretchedness of the *Irish* leaders in Dublin. *The Irishman* (Pigott) knew about the proceedings and resolutions not only from *Reynolds's*, to which he subscribes and which he often quotes. They (the resolutions) were sent him directly by an Irishman<sup>479</sup> as early as November 17. Up to now, *deliberately not a word*. The ass acted in a similar way during our debates and the petition for the three Manchester men.<sup>480</sup> The "Irish" question must be treated as something quite separate, apart from the rest of the world, namely, it must be *concealed*, that *English* workers sympathize with the Irish! What a stupid beast! And this in respect of the *International* which has press organs

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<sup>476</sup> Marx & Engels, *Op. cit.* ("Ireland and the Irish Question"), pp. 395-396.

<sup>477</sup> See p. 168—*Ed.*

<sup>478</sup> Reference is to the meetings of the General Council on November 16 and 23, 1869.—*Ed.*

<sup>479</sup> Probably by G. Milner.—*Ed.*

<sup>480</sup> See pp.485-89.—*Ed.*

all over Europe and the United States! This week he received the resolutions officially, signed by the Foreign Secretaries. They've also been sent to the *People*.<sup>481</sup> *Nous verrons*. Mottershead subscribes to *The Irishman* and will not fail to use this opportunity to poke fun at the “*highsouled*” Irishmen.

But I'll play a trick on Pigott. I'll write to Eccarius today and ask him to send the resolutions with the signatures, etc., to Isaac Butt, who is President of the Irish Working Men's Association. Butt is not Pigott.

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<sup>481</sup> Probably to *The New York Irish People*.—Ed.

## Letter from Frederick Engels to Karl Marx

London, December 9, 1869<sup>482</sup> (Excerpt)

I half expected that about *The Irishman*. Ireland still remains the *sacra insula*, whose aspirations must on no account be mixed up with the profane class struggles of the rest of the sinful world. Partially, this is certainly honest madness on the part of these people, but it is equally certain that it is partially also a calculated policy of the leaders in order to maintain their domination over the peasant. Added to this, a nation of peasants always has to take its literary representatives from the bourgeoisie of the towns and their ideologists, and in this respect Dublin (I mean *Catholic* Dublin) is to Ireland much what Copenhagen is to Denmark. But to these gentry the whole labor movement is pure heresy and the Irish peasant must not on any account be allowed to know that the socialist workers are his sole allies in Europe.

In other respects, too, *The Irishman* is extremely lousy this week. If it is ready to retreat *in this way*, the minute it is threatened with a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, the former sabre-rattling was all the more out of place. And now even the fear that some more political prisoners may be elected! On the one hand, the Irish are warned, and quite rightly, not to let themselves be inveigled into unlawful action; on the other, they are to be prevented from doing the only lawful thing that is pertinent and revolutionary and alone able to break successfully with the established practice of electing place-hunting lawyers and to impress the English Liberals. It is obvious that Pigott is afraid that others might outstrip him.

You will remember, by the way, that O'Connel always incited the Irish against the Chartists although or, to be more exact, because they too had inscribed Repeal on their banner.

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<sup>482</sup> Marx & Engels, *Op. cit.* ("Ireland and the Irish Question"), pp. 396-397.



## Letter from Karl Marx to Frederick Engels

*Manchester, December 10, 1869*<sup>483</sup> (Excerpt)

The way I shall put forward the matter next Tuesday is this: that quite apart from all phrases about “international” and “humane” *justice for Ireland*—which are taken for granted in the *International Council*—*it is in the direct and absolute interest of the English working class to get rid of their present connection with Ireland.* And this is my fullest conviction, and for reasons which in part I *cannot* tell the English workers themselves. For a long time I believed that it would be possible to overthrow the Irish regime by English working-class ascendancy. I always expressed this point of view in the *New York Tribune*.<sup>484</sup> Deeper study has now convinced me of the opposite. The English working class will *never accomplish anything* before it has got rid of Ireland. The lever must be applied in Ireland. That is why the Irish question is so important for the social movement in general.

I have read a lot of *Davies* in extracts. The book itself I had only glanced through superficially in the Museum.<sup>485</sup> So you would do me a great favor if you would copy out for me the passages relating to *common property*. You *must* get “*Curran’s Speeches*” edited by *Davies* (London: James Duffy, 22, Paternoster Row). I meant to give it to you when you were in London. It is now circulating among the English members of the Central Council and God knows when I shall see it again. For the period 1779–1800 (Union) it is of decisive importance, not only because of *Curran’s Speeches* (especially those held *in courts*; I consider *Curran the only great lawyer* (people’s advocate) of the eighteenth century and the *noblest personality*, while *Grattan* was a parliamentary rogue), but because you will find quoted there *all the sources* for the *United Irishmen*. This period is of the highest interest, scientifically and dramatically. *Firstly*, the deeds of the English in 1588–89 repeated (and perhaps even intensified) in 1788–89. *Secondly*, a class movement can easily be traced in the Irish movement itself. *Thirdly*, the infamous policy of Pitt. *Fourthly*, and that will be very

<sup>483</sup> Ibid., pp. 397–399.

<sup>484</sup> See pp. 64–68,—Ed.

<sup>485</sup> The British Museum Library.—Ed.

irksome to the English gentlemen, the proof that Ireland came to grief because, in fact, from a revolutionary standpoint, *the Irish were too far advanced for the English King and Church mob*, while on the other hand the English reaction in England had its roots (as in Cromwell's time) in the subjugation of Ireland. *This period* must be described in at least one chapter. Put John Bull in the pillory!...

As to the present *Irish movement*, there are three important factors: 1) opposition to lawyers and trading politicians and blarney; 2) opposition to the dictates of the priests, who (the *superior ones*) are traitors, as in O'Connell's time as well as in 1798–1800; 3) the coming out of the *agricultural laboring class* against the fanning class at the last meetings. (Similar happenings in 1795–1800.)

The rise of *The Irishman* was due only to the suppression of the *Fenian* press. For a long time it had been in opposition to Fenianism. Luby, etc., of the *Irish People*, etc., were educated men who treated religion as a bagatelle. The government put them in prison and then came the Pig-gots & Co. *The Irishman* will amount to anything only until those people come out of prison. It is aware of this although it is now making *political capital* by declaiming on behalf of the "felon convicts."

## Letter from Karl Marx to Frederick Engels

*Manchester, December 17, 1869*<sup>486</sup> (*Excerpt*)

Our Irish resolutions have been sent to all trade unions that maintain ties with us. Only one has protested, a small branch of the curriers, saying they are political and not within the Council's sphere of action. We are sending a deputation to enlighten them. Mr. Odger now understands how useful it was for him that he voted *for* the resolutions despite all sorts of diplomatic objections. As a result the 3,000-4,000 Irish electors in Southwark have promised him their votes.

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<sup>486</sup> Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, p. 399.

## Letter from Frederick Engels to Karl Marx

*London, January 19, 1870*<sup>487</sup> (*Excerpt*)

I have at last discovered a copy of Prendergast in a local library and hope that I shall be able to obtain it. To my good or bad fortune, the old Irish laws are also to appear soon, and I shall thus have to wade through those as well. The more I study the subject, the clearer it is to me that Ireland has been stunted in her development by the English invasion and thrown centuries back. And this ever since the 12<sup>th</sup> century; furthermore, it should be borne in mind, of course, that three centuries of Danish invasions and plunder had by then substantially drained the country. But these latter had ceased over a hundred years earlier.

In recent years, research on Ireland has become somewhat more critical, particularly as far as Petrie's<sup>488</sup> studies of antiquity are concerned; he impelled me also to read some Celtic-Irish (naturally with a parallel translation). It does not seem all that difficult, but I shall not delve deeper into the stuff, I have had enough philological nonsense. In the next few days, when I get the book, I'll see how the old laws have been dealt with.

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<sup>487</sup> Ibid., pp. 399-400.

<sup>488</sup> G. Petrie, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, anterior to the Anglo-Norman Invasion*, Dublin, 1845.—Ed.

## Letter from Frederick Engels to Karl Marx

*London, January 25, 1870<sup>489</sup> (Excerpt)*

I've at last received Prendergast and—as it always happens—two copies at once, namely, W. H. Smith and Sons have also got hold of one. I shall have finished with it tonight. The book is important because it contains many excerpts from unprinted Bills. No wonder it is out of print. Longman and Co. must have been furious at having to put their name on *such* a book, and since there certainly was little demand for it in England (Mudie's<sup>490</sup> have *not a single copy*) they shall sell the edition for pulping as soon as they can or, possibly, to a company of Irish landlords (for the same purpose) and certainly will not print a second. What Prendergast says about the Anglo-Norman period is correct inasmuch as the Irish and Anglo-Irish, who lived at some distance from the Pale, continued during that period the same lazy life as before the invasion, and inasmuch as the wars of that period too were more “easy-going” (with few exceptions), and did not have the distinctly devastating character they assumed in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and which afterwards became the rule. But his theory that the enormous amiability of the Irishmen, and especially the Irish women, *immediately* disarms even the most hostile immigrant, is just thoroughly Irish, since the Irish way of thinking lacks all sense of proportion.

A new edition of Giraldus Cambrensis has appeared: *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, London, Longman and Co., 1863, *at least* 3 volumes; could you find out the price for me and whether it would be possible to get cheaply, secondhand, the whole work or at least the volume containing “Topographia Hibernica” and perhaps also “Hibernia expugnata?”

In order not to make a fool of myself over Cromwell, I'll have to put in a lot more work on the English history of the period. That will do no harm, but it will take up a lot of time.

<sup>489</sup> Progress, pp. 400–401???

<sup>490</sup> Mudie's Lending Library or Mudie's Subscription Library, named after Charles Edward Mudie, important figure of the 19<sup>th</sup> century “circulating library movement.”

## Letter from Karl Marx to Sigfrid Meyer and August Vogt

*New York, April 9, 1870*<sup>491</sup> (Excerpt)

On January 1, 1870, the General Council issued a confidential circular drawn up by me in French (for the reaction upon England only the French, not the German, papers are important) on the relation of the Irish national struggle to the emancipation of the working class, and therefore on the attitude which the International Association should take in regard to the Irish question.

I shall give you here only quite briefly the decisive points. Ireland is the bulwark of the *English landed aristocracy*. The exploitation of that country is not only one of the main sources of this aristocracy's material welfare; it is its greatest *moral* strength. It, in fact, represents the *domination of England over Ireland*. Ireland is therefore the great means by which the English aristocracy maintains *its domination in England herself*.

If, on the other hand, the English army and police were to withdraw from Ireland tomorrow, you would at once have an agrarian revolution there. But the overthrow of the English aristocracy in Ireland involves as a necessary consequence its overthrow in England. And this would fulfil the preliminary condition for the proletarian revolution in England. The destruction of the English landed aristocracy in Ireland is an infinitely easier operation than in England herself, because in Ireland *the land question* has hitherto been the *exclusive form* of the social question, because it is a question of existence, of *life and death*, for the immense majority of the Irish people, and because it is at the same time inseparable from the *national* question. This quite apart from the Irish being more passionate and revolutionary in character than the English.

As for the English *bourgeoisie*, it has in the first place a common interest with the English aristocracy in turning Ireland into mere pasture land which provides the English market with meat and wool at the cheapest possible prices. It is equally interested in reducing, by eviction and forcible emigration, the Irish population to such a small number that *English capital* (capital invested in land leased for farming) can function there with "security." It has the same

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<sup>491</sup> Marx & Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 406-409.

interest in clearing the estate of Ireland as it had in the clearing of the agricultural districts of England and Scotland. The £6,000-10,000 absentee-landlord and other Irish revenues which at present flow annually to London have also to be taken into account.

But the English bourgeoisie has, besides, much more important interests in Ireland's present-day economy. Owing to the constantly increasing concentration of tenant farming, Ireland steadily supplies her own surplus to the English labor-market, and thus forces down wages and lowers the moral and material condition of the English working class.

And most important of all! Every industrial and commercial center in England now possesses a working class *divided* into two *hostile* camps, English proletarians and Irish proletarians. The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker, he feels himself a member of the *ruling nation* and so turns himself into a tool of the aristocrats and capitalists of his country *against Ireland*, thus strengthening their domination *over himself*. He cherishes religious, social, and national prejudices against the Irish worker. His attitude towards him is much the same as that of the "poor whites" to the "niggers" in the former slave states of the USA. The Irishman pays him back with interest in his own money. He sees in the English worker at once the accomplice and the stupid tool of the *English rule in Ireland*.

This antagonism is artificially kept alive and intensified by the press, the pulpit, the comic papers, in short, by all the means at the disposal of the ruling classes. *This antagonism is the secret of the impotence of the English working class*, despite its organization. It is the secret by which the capitalist class maintains its power. And that class is fully aware of it.

But the evil does not stop here. It continues across the ocean. The antagonism between English and Irish is the hidden basis of the conflict between the United States and England. It makes any honest and serious co-operation between the working classes of the two countries impossible. It enables the governments of both countries, whenever they think fit, to break the edge off the social conflict by their mutual bullying, and, in case of need, by war with one another.

England, being the metropolis of capital, the power which has hitherto ruled the world market, is for the present the most important country for the workers' revolution, and moreover the *only* country in which the material conditions for this revolution have developed up to a certain degree of maturity.

Therefore to hasten the social revolution in England is the most important object of the International Working Men's Association. The sole means of hastening it is to make Ireland independent. Hence it is the task of the International everywhere to put the conflict between England and Ireland in the foreground, and everywhere to side openly with Ireland. And it is the special task of the Central Council in London to awaken a consciousness in the English workers that *for them* the *national emancipation of Ireland* is no question of abstract justice or humanitarian sentiment, but *the first condition of their own social emancipation*.

These roughly are the main points of the circular letter, which thereby at the same time gave the *raisons d'être* of the resolutions of the Central Council on the Irish amnesty. Shortly afterwards I sent a strong anonymous article on the treatment of the Fenians by the English, etc., against Gladstone, etc., to the *Internationale* (organ of our Belgian Central Committee in Brussels). In this article, I at the same time made the charge against the French Republicans (the *Marseillaise* had printed some nonsense on Ireland writ' ten here by the wretched Talandier) that in their national egoism they were saving all their wrath for the Empire.

That worked. My daughter Jenny wrote a series of articles to the *Marseillaise* signing them J. Williams (she had called herself Jenny Williams in her private letter to the editorial board), and published, among other things, O'Donovan Rossa's letter. Hence immense noise. After many years of cynical refusal Gladstone was *thus* finally compelled to agree to a *parliamentary enquiry* into the treatment of the Fenian prisoners. Jenny is now the regular correspondent on Irish affairs for the *Marseillaise*. (*This is naturally to be a secret between us.*) The British Government and press are fiercely annoyed by the fact that the Irish question has thus now come *to the forefront* in France and that these rogues are now being watched and exposed via Paris on the whole Continent.

We hit another bird with the same stone, having forced the Irish leaders, journalists, etc., in Dublin, to get into contact with us, which the *General Council* so far had been unable to achieve!

You have now a great field in America for working along the same lines. *Coalition of the German workers with the Irish workers* (and of course also with the English and American workers who will agree to join) is the greatest job you could start on nowadays. This must be done in the name of the International. The social significance of the Irish question must be made clear.



## Letter from Karl Marx to Frederick Engels

*Manchester, April 14, 1870<sup>492</sup> (Excerpt)*

You will receive in the course of this week or at the beginning of next *Landlord and Tenant Right in Ireland Reports by Poor Law Inspectors. 1870*, also *Agricultural Holdings in Ireland. Returns. 1870*.

The reports by Poor Law Inspectors are interesting. Like their *Reports on Agricultural Wages*, which you have already received, these show, *inter alia*, that since the famine a conflict has broken out between the *laborers*, on the one hand, and *farmers and tenants*, on the other. As regards the *Reports on Wages*—assuming the present figures on wages are correct, and that is probable from other sources—either the *former wage rates* are given *too low* or the earlier Parliamentary Returns on them, which I'll find for you in my Parliamentary Papers, were *too high*. On the whole, it is confirmed that, as I said in the section on Ireland, the rise in wages was more than outweighed by the rise in food prices and that, except in autumn, etc., the relative surplus of the laborers is established correctly despite emigration. Important in the *Landlord and Tenant Right Reports* is also the fact that the progress in machinery has turned a lot of handloom weavers into paupers....

It is clear from the two reports of the Poor Law Commissioners that

- 1) since the famine the clearing of the estates of laborers' dwellings has begun here *as in England* (not to be confused with the suppression of the 40-sh. freeholders after 1829),
- 2) that the Encumbered Estates proceedings have put a mass of *small usurers* in place of the turned out rotten landlords. (The charge of landlords 1/6 according to the same reports.)

<sup>492</sup> Ibid., p. 410.

## Letter from Frederick Engels to Karl Marx

*London, April 15, 1870*<sup>493</sup> (Excerpt)

Your conclusions from the Parliamentary Reports agree with my results. It should, however, be remembered that after 1846 the process of clearing 40-sh. freeholders was at first interspersed with clearing of laborers the reason being that, up to 1829, in order to produce freeholders, leases had to be made for 21 or 31 years *and a life* (if not longer), because a person became a freeholder only if he *could not be turned out* during his lifetime. These leases hardly ever excluded subdividing. These leases were partly still valid in 1846, resp. the consequences, that is, the peasants were still on the estate. The same was the case on the estates which were then in the hands of middlemen (who mostly held leases for 64 years and three lives or even for 99 years) and frequently their leases were revertible only between 1846 and 1860. Thus these processes were more or less interspersed so that the Irish landlord was never or seldom in a situation where he had to decide whether laborers in particular rather than other traditional small tenants should be ejected. Essentially it comes to the same thing in England and in Ireland: the land must be tilled by workers who live in *other Poor Law Unions*, so that the landlord and his tenant can remain exempted from the poor tax. This is also said by Senior or rather by his brother Edward, Poor Law Commissioner in Ireland: The great instrument which is clearing Ireland is the *Poor Law*,

Land sold since the Encumbered Estate Court amounts according to my notes to as much as 1/5 of the total, the buyers were indeed largely usurers, speculators, etc., *mainly Irish Catholics*, partly also enriched stock-breeders. Yet even now there are *only about 8,000-9,000 landowners* in Ireland.

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<sup>493</sup> Ibid., p. 413.

## Letter from Frederick Engels to Karl Marx

*London, May 15, 1870<sup>494</sup> (Excerpt)*

In what Parliamentary Paper could one find how much money is wasted every year on the Commissioners for the Publication of the Ancient Laws and Institutes of Ireland? This is a colossal job (in a small matter). It would also be important to know how much of that money is spent

- 1) as remuneration for idling commissioners,
- 2) as salaries for really working understrappers, printing costs, etc.

This must surely be somewhere in a Parliamentary Paper. Those fellows have been drawing wages *since 1852* and up to now only *two volumes* have been published! Three lords, three judges, three priests, one general, and *one* who professionally specializes on Ireland who died long ago.

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<sup>494</sup> Ibid., pp. 413-414.

## Letter from Karl Marx to John Swinton

*London, November 4, 1880*<sup>495</sup> (Excerpt)

Apart Mr. Gladstone's "sensational" failures abroad—political interest centers here at present on the Irish "Land Question." And why? Mainly because it is the harbinger of the *English* "Land Question."

Not only that the great landlords of England are also the largest landholders of Ireland, but having once broken down in what is ironically called the "Sister" island, the English landed system will no longer be tenable at home. There are arrayed against it the British farmers, wincing under high rents, and—thanks to the American competition—low prices; the British agricultural laborers, at last impatient of their traditional position of ill-used beasts of burden, and—that British party which styles itself "*Radical*." The latter consists of two sets of men; first the *ideologues* of the party, eager to overthrow the political power of the aristocracy by mining its material basis, the semi-feudal landed property. But behind these principle-spouters, and hunting them on, lurks another set of men—sharp, close-fisted, calculating *capitalists*, fully aware that the abolition of the old land laws, in the way proposed by the ideologues, cannot but convert land into a commercial article that must ultimately concentrate in the hands of capital.

On the other side, considered as a rational entity, John Bull has ugly misgivings lest the aristocratic English landed garrison in Ireland once gone—England's political sway over Ireland will go too!

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<sup>495</sup> Ibid., pp. 442-443.

## Letter from Frederick Engels to Jenny Longuet

February 14, 1881<sup>496</sup> (Excerpt)

My dear Jenny,

Well may the illustrious Regnard recommend his factum to your “charity.” This Jacobin defending English respectable Protestantism and English vulgar Liberalism with the historical apparel of that same vulgar Liberalism is indeed an object of deepest charity. But to his “facts.”

1) The 30,000 Protestants massacre of 1641. The Irish Catholics are here in the same position as the *Commune de Paris*. The Versaillais massacred 30,000 Communards and called that the horrors of the Commune. The English Protestants under Cromwell massacred at least 30,000 Irish and to cover their brutality, *invented* the tale that this was to avenge 30,000 Protestants murdered by the Irish Catholics.

The facts are these.

Ulster having been taken from its Irish owners who at that time 1600–1610 held the *land in common*, and handed over to Scotch Protestant military colonists, these colonists did not feel safe in their possessions in the troublous times after 1640. The Puritan English government officials in Dublin spread the rumor that a Scotch Army of Covenanters was to land in Ulster and exterminate all Irish and Catholics. Sir W. Parsons, one of the two Chief Justices of Ireland, said that in a 12-month there would not be a Catholic left in Ireland. It was under these menaces, repeated in the English Parliament, that the Irish of Ulster rose on 23<sup>rd</sup> Oct. 1641. But no massacre took place. All contemporaneous sources ascribe to the Irish merely the intention of a general massacre, and even the two Protestant Chief Justices<sup>497</sup> (proclam. 8<sup>th</sup> Febr. 1642) declare that “the chief part of their plot, and amongst them a general massacre, had been *disappointed*. The English and Scotch, however, 4<sup>th</sup> May 1642, threw Irish women naked into the river (Newry) and massacred Irishmen.”<sup>498</sup>

2) *L'Irlande, la Vendée de L'Angleterre*.<sup>499</sup> Ireland was Catholic, Protestant England Republican, therefore Ireland—English Vendée. There is however this

<sup>496</sup> Ibid., pp. 443–446.

<sup>497</sup> The second Chief Justice of Ireland was Borlase.—*Ed.*

<sup>498</sup> Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, 1865.

<sup>499</sup> “Ireland, the Vendée region of England.” This expression refers to the Vendée War, which was a civil war that took place during the French Revolution. From 1793

little difference that the French Revolution intended to *give* the land to the people, the English Commonwealth intended, in Ireland, to *take* the land from the people.

The whole Protestant reformation, as is well known to most students of history save Regnard, apart from its dogmatic squabbles and quibbles, was a vast plan for a confiscation of land. First the land was taken from the Church. Then the Catholics, in countries where Protestantism was in power, were declared rebels and their land confiscated.

Now in Ireland the case was peculiar.

For the English, [says Prendergast,] seem to have thought that god made a mistake in giving such a fine country as Ireland to the Irish; and for near 700 years they have been trying to remedy it.

The whole agrarian history of Ireland is a series of confiscations of Irish land to be handed over to English settlers. These settlers, in a very few generations, under the charm of Celtic society, turned more Irish than the aborigines. Then a new confiscation and new colonization took place, and so *in infinitum*.

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the whole of Ireland except the newly Scotchified North, was ripe for a fresh confiscation. So much so, that when the British (Puritan) Parliament accorded to Charles I an army for the reduction of Ireland, it resolved that the money for this armament should be raised *upon the security of 2,500,000 acres to be confiscated in Ireland*. And the “adventurers” who advanced the money should also appoint the officers of that army. The land was to be divided amongst those adventurers: so that 1,000 acres should be given them, if in Ulster for £200—advanced, in Connaught for £300, in Munster for £450, in Leinster for £600. And if the people rose against this beneficent plan they are Vendéens! If Regnard should ever sit in a National Convention, he may take a leaf out of the proceedings of the Long Parliament, and combat a possible Vendée with these means.

The abolition of the penal laws! Why the greater part of them were repealed, not in 1793 but in 1778, when England was threatened by the rise of the American Republic, and the second repeal, 1793, was when the French Republic arose threatening and England required all the soldiers she could get to fight it!

The Grant to Maynooth by Pitt. This pittance was soon repealed by the Tories and only renewed by Sir R. Peel in 1845. But not a word about the other

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to 1796 the Republicans fought the Royalists in Western France.

*cadeau que faisait à l'Irlande ce grand homme [c'est la première fois qu'il trouve grâce devant les yeux d'un Jacobin*<sup>500</sup>], that other "dotation" not only "considerable" but actually lavish—the 3 Million £ by which the Union of Ireland with England was bought. The parliamentary documents will show that the one item of the purchase money of rotten and nomination boroughs alone cost no less a sum than £1,245,000.<sup>501</sup>

Lord Derby instituted *le Système des écoles nationales*. Very true but why did he? Consult Fitzgibbon, *Ireland in 1868*,<sup>502</sup> the work of a staunch Protestant and Tory, or else the official Report of Commissioners on Education in Ireland 1826. The Irish, neglected by the English government, had taken the education of their children into their own hands. At the time when English fathers and mothers insisted upon their right to send their children to the factory to earn money instead of to the school to learn, at that time in Ireland the peasants vied with each other in forming schools of their own. The schoolmaster was an ambulant teacher, spending a couple of months at each village. A cottage was found for him, each child paid him 2d, a week and a few sods of turf in winter. The schools were kept, on fine days in summer, in the fields, near a hedge, and then known by the name of hedge-schools. There were also ambulant scholars, who with their books under the arm, wandered from school to school, receiving lodging and food from the peasants without difficulty. In 1812 there were 4,600 such hedge-schools in Ireland and that year's report of the Commissioners says that such education was

leading to evil rather than good [...] that such education *the people are actually obtaining for themselves*, and though we consider it practicable to correct it, *to check its progress appears impossible*: it may be improved *but it cannot be impeded*.

So then, these truly *national* schools did not suit English purposes. To suppress them, the *sham* national schools were established. They are *so little secular* that the reading-book consists of extracts both from the Cath. and Prot. Bibles, agreed upon by the Cath. and Prot. Archbishops of Dublin. Compare with these Irish peasants the English who howl at compulsory school-attendance to this day!

<sup>500</sup> Present made to Ireland by that great man (this is the first time that he found grace in the eyes of a Jacobin).—*Ed.*

<sup>501</sup> O'Connell memoir on Ireland addressed to the Queen.

<sup>502</sup> G. Fitzgibbon, *Ireland in 1868, the Battle-field for English Party Strife*, London, 1868.—*Ed.*

## Letter from Frederick Engels to Eduard Bernstein

*March 12, 1881*<sup>503</sup> (*Excerpt*)

On Ireland I shall only say the following: the people are much too clever not to know that a revolt would spell their ruin; it could have a chance only in the event of a war between England and America. In the meantime, the Irish have forced Gladstone to introduce continental regulations in Parliament and thereby to undermine the whole British parliamentary system. They have also forced Gladstone to disavow all his phrases and to become more Tory than even the worst Tories. The coercion bills have been passed, the Land Bill will be either rejected or castrated by the House of Lords, and then the fun will start, that is, the concealed disintegration of the parties will become public. Since Gladstone's appointment, the Whigs and moderate Tories, that is, the big landowners as a whole, are uniting on the quiet into a big landowners' party. As soon as this matures and family and personal interests are settled, or as soon as, perhaps as a result of the Land Bill, the new party is forced to appear in public, the Ministry and the present majority will immediately fall to pieces. The new conservative party will then be faced by the new bourgeois radical party, but without any backing other than the workers and Irish peasants. And so as to avoid any humbug and trickery from taking place here again, a proletarian radical party is now forming under the leadership of Joseph Cowen (MP for Newcastle), who is an old Chartist, half, if not entirely, Communist and a very worthy chap. Ireland is bringing all this about, Ireland is the driving force of the Empire. This is for your private information. More about this soon.

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<sup>503</sup> Marx & Engels, *Op. cit.* ("Ireland and the Irish Question"), pp. 443-446.



## Letter from Karl Marx to Jenny Longuet

*Argenteuil, April 11, 1881*<sup>504</sup> (Excerpt)

Let Longuet read *Parnell's* speech in Cork in *today's Times*; he will find in it the gist of *what should be said about Gladstone's new Land Act*; and one must not overlook the fact that by his disgraceful preliminary measures (including abolition of freedom of speech for members of the Lower House) Gladstone prepared the conditions under which *mass evictions are taking place in Ireland*, while the *Act* is only pure humbug, since the Lords, who get everything they want from Gladstone and no longer have to tremble before the Land League, will doubtless reject it or castrate it so that the Irish themselves will finally vote *against* it.

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<sup>504</sup> Ibid., p. 447.

## Letter from Frederick Engels to Eduard Bernstein

*April 14, 1881*<sup>505</sup> (*Excerpt*)

Argyll's retirement from the Ministry because the Irish Land Bill gives the tenants a certain co-ownership of the land is a bad omen for the fate of the Bill in the Upper House. In the meantime, Parnell has successfully begun his agitation tour of *England* in Manchester. The position of the big liberal coalition is becoming more and more critical. Everything here seems to go slowly, but it is so much more thorough.

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<sup>505</sup> Ibid., pp. 447-448.

## Letter from Karl Marx to Jenny Longuet

*April 29, 1881*<sup>506</sup> (*Excerpt*)

It is a very fine trick of Gladstone—only the “stupid party” does not understand it—to offer at a moment when landed property in Ireland (as in England) will be depreciated by the import of corn and cattle from the United States—to offer them at that very moment the public Exchequer where they can sell that property at a price it does no longer possess!

The real intricacies of the Irish land problem—which indeed are not especially Irish—are so great that the only true way to solve it would be to give the Irish Home Rule and thus force them to solve it themselves. But John Bull is too stupid to understand this.

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<sup>506</sup> Ibid., p. 448.

## Letter from Frederick Engels to Karl Kautsky

*London, February 7, 1882*<sup>507</sup> (*Excerpt*)

One of the real tasks of the 1848 Revolution (and the *real*, not illusory tasks of a revolution are always solved as a result of that revolution) was the restoration of the oppressed and dispersed nationalities of Central Europe, insofar as these were at all viable and, especially, ripe for independence. This task was solved for Italy, Hungary and Germany, according to the then prevailing conditions, by the executors of the revolution's will, Bonaparte, Cavour and Bismarck. Ireland and Poland remained. Ireland can be disregarded here, she affects the conditions of the Continent only very indirectly. But Poland lies in the middle of the Continent and the conservation of her division is precisely the link that has constantly held the Holy Alliance together, and therefore, Poland is of great interest to us....

I therefore hold the view that *two* nations in Europe have not only the right but even the duty to be nationalistic before they become internationalistic: the Irish and the Poles. They are most internationalistic when they are genuinely nationalistic. The Poles understood this during all crises and have proved it on all the battlefields of the revolution. Deprive them of the prospect of restoring Poland or convince them that the new Poland will soon drop into their lap by herself, and it is all over with their interest in the European revolution.

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<sup>507</sup> Ibid., pp. 449-450.

## Letter from Frederick Engels to Eduard Bernstein

May 3, 1882<sup>508</sup> (*Excerpt*)

Don't let the Association here deceive you about the Democratic Federation. So far it is of no account whatever. It is headed by an ambitious candidate for Parliament by the name of Hyndman, an ex-Conservative, who can get together a big meeting only with the help of the Irish and for specifically Irish purposes. Even then he plays only a third-rate part, otherwise the Irish would give it to him.

Gladstone has discredited himself terribly. His whole Irish policy has suffered shipwreck. He has to drop Forster and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Cowper-Temple (whose stepfather is Palmerston), and must say a *pater peccavi*<sup>509</sup>: The Irish MPs<sup>510</sup> have been set free, the Coercion Bill has not been extended, the back rents of the farmers are to be partly cancelled and partly taken over by the state against fair amortization. On the other hand, the Tories have already reached the stage where they want to save whatever can still be saved: before the farmers *take* the land, they should redeem the rents with the aid of the state, according to the Prussian model, so that the landowners may get at least *something*! The Irish are teaching our leisured John Bull to get a move on. That's what comes from shooting!

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<sup>508</sup> Ibid., p. 450.

<sup>509</sup> Father, I have sinned. An error seems to have crept in since the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland at the time was not William Cowper-Temple but his nephew Francis Cowper.—*Ed.*

<sup>510</sup> Parnell, Dillon, O'Kelly.—*Ed.*

## Letter from Frederick Engels to Eduard Bernstein

June 26, 1882<sup>511</sup> (Excerpt)

In Ireland there are two trends in the movement. The first, the earlier, is the *agrarian* trend, which stems from the organized brigandage practiced with support of the peasants by the clan chiefs, dispossessed by the English, and also by the big Catholic landowners (in the 17<sup>th</sup> century these brigands were called *Tories*, and the Tories of today have inherited their name directly from them). This trend gradually developed into natural resistance of the peasants to the intruding English landlords, organized according to localities and provinces. The names Ribbonmen, Whiteboys, Captain Rock, Captain Moonlight, etc., have changed, but the form of resistance—the shooting not only of hated landlords and agents (rent collectors of the landlords) but also of peasants who take over a farm from which another has been forcibly evicted, boycotting, threatening letters, night raids and intimidation, etc.—all this is as old as the present English landownership in Ireland, that is, dates back to the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century at the latest. This form of resistance cannot be suppressed, force is useless against it, and it will disappear only with the causes responsible for it. But, as regards its nature, it is *local*, *isolated*, and can never become a general form of *political* struggle.

Soon after the establishment of the Union (1800), began the *liberal-national* opposition of the *urban bourgeoisie* which, as in every peasant country with dwindling townlets (for example, Denmark), finds its natural leaders in *lawyers*. These also need the peasants; they therefore had to find slogans to attract the peasants. Thus O'Connell discovered such a slogan first in the *Catholic emancipation*, and then in the *Repeal of the Union*. Because of the infamy of the landowners, this trend has recently had to adopt a new course. While in the *social* field the *Land League* pursues more revolutionary aims (which are achievable in Ireland)—the total removal of the intruder landlords—it acts rather tamely in *political* respects and demands only Home Rule, that is, an Irish local Parliament side by side with the British Parliament and subordinated to it. This too can be achieved by constitutional means. The frightened landlords are already clamoring for the quickest possible redemption of the peasant land (suggested by the Tories themselves) in order to save what can still be saved. On the other hand, Gladstone declares that greater self-government for Ireland is quite admissible.

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<sup>511</sup> Marx & Engels, *Op. cit.* ("Ireland and the Irish Question"), pp. 451-454.

After the American Civil War, *Fenianism* took its place beside these two trends. The hundreds of thousands of Irish soldiers and officers, who fought in the war, did so with the ulterior motive of building up an army for the liberation of Ireland. The controversies between America and England after the war became the main lever of the Fenians. Had it come to a war, Ireland would in a few months have been part of the United States or at least a republic under its protection. The sum which England so willingly undertook to pay, and did indeed pay in accordance with Geneva arbitrators decision on the Alabama affair, was the *price she paid to buy off American intervention in Ireland*.

From this moment the main danger had been removed. The police were strong enough to deal with the Fenians. The treachery inevitable in any conspiracy also helped, and yet it was only *leaders* who were traitors and then became downright spies and false witnesses. The leaders who got away to America engaged there in emigrant revolution and most of them were reduced to beggary, like O'Donovan Rossa. For those who saw the European emigration of 1849–52 here, everything seems very familiar—only naturally on the exaggerated American scale.

Many Fenians have doubtless now returned and restored the old armed organization. They form an important element in the movement and force the Liberals to more decisive action. But, apart from that, they cannot do anything but scare John Bull. Though he grows noticeably weaker on the outskirts of his Empire, he can still easily suppress any Irish rebellion so close to home. In the first place, in Ireland there are 14,000 men of the “Constabulary,” gendarmes, who are armed with rifles and bayonets and have undergone military training. Besides, there are about 30,000 regulars, who can easily be reinforced with an equal number of regulars and English militia. In addition, the Navy. And John Bull is known for his matchless brutality in suppressing rebellions. *Without war or the threat of war from without, an Irish rebellion has not the slightest chance; and only two powers can become dangerous in this respect: France and, still far more, the United States.* France is out of the question. In America the parties flirt with the Irish electorate, make promises but do not keep them. They have no intention of getting involved in a war because of Ireland. They are even interested in having conditions in Ireland that promote a massive Irish emigration to America. And it is understandable that a land which in twenty years will be the most populated, richest and most powerful in the world has no special desire to rush headlong into adventures which could and would hamper its enormous internal development. In twenty years it will speak in a very different way.

However, if there should be danger of war with America, England would grant the Irish open-handedly everything they asked for—only not complete independence, which is not at all desirable owing to the geographical position.

Therefore all that is left to Ireland is the constitutional way of gradually conquering one position after the other; and here the mysterious background of a Fenian armed conspiracy can remain a very effective element. But these Fenians are themselves increasingly being pushed into a sort of Bakuninism: the assassination of Burke and Cavendish could only serve the purpose of making a compromise between the Land League and Gladstone impossible. However, that compromise was the best thing that could have happened to Ireland under the circumstances. The landlords are evicting tens of thousands of tenants from their houses and homes because of rent arrears, and that under military protection. The primary need at the moment is to stop this systematic depopulation of Ireland (the evicted starve to death or have to emigrate to America). Gladstone is ready to table a bill according to which arrears would be paid in the same way as feudal taxes were settled in Austria in 1848: a third by the peasant and a third by the state, and the other third forfeited by the landlord. That suggestion was made by the Land League itself. Thus the “heroic deed” in Phoenix Park appears if not as pure stupidity, then at least as pure Bakuninist, bragging, purposeless *“propagande par le fait.”* If it has not had the same consequences as the similar silly actions of Hödel and Nobiling, it is only because Ireland lies not quite in Prussia. It should therefore be left to the Bakuninists and Mostians<sup>512</sup> to attach equal importance to this childishness and to the assassination of Alexander II, and to threaten with an “Irish revolution” which never comes.

One more thing should be thoroughly noted about Ireland: never praise a single Irishman—a politician—unreservedly, and never identify yourself with him before he is dead. Celtic blood and the customary exploitation of the peasant (all the “educated” social layers in Ireland, especially the lawyers, live by this alone) make Irish politicians very responsive to corruption. O’Connell let the peasants pay him as much as £230,000 a year for his agitation. In connection with the Union, for which England paid out £1,000,000 in bribes, one of those bribed was reproached: “You have sold your country.” Reply: “Yes, and I was damned glad to have a country to sell.”

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<sup>512</sup> Johann Joseph Most (1846–1906) was a German-American anarchist. He is known for having popularized the notion of “propaganda of the deed.”



## Letter from Frederick Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht

*December 1, 1885*<sup>513</sup> (*Excerpt*)

The elections here are proceeding very nicely. It is the first time that the Irish in England have voted en masse for *one* side, and in fact for the Tories. They have thus shown the Liberals the extent to which they can decide the issue even in England. The 80 to 85 Home Rulers—Liverpool, too, has elected one—who occupy the same position here as the Center Party does in the Reichstag, can wreck any government. Parnell must now show what he really is.

Incidentally, a victory has also been won by the *new* Manchester School, that is, the theory of aggressive tariffs, although it is here even more absurd than in Germany, but after eight years of commercial stagnation the idea has taken possession of the young manufacturers. Then there is Gladstone's opportunist weakness and the clumsy manner of Chamberlain, who first throws his weight about and then draws in his horns; this has called forth the cry: the Church in danger! Finally, Gladstone's lamentable foreign policy. The Liberals profess to believe that the new county voters will vote for them. There is, indeed, no telling how these voters will act, but in order to obtain an absolute majority the Liberals would have to win 180 of the 300 still outstanding districts, and that will hardly happen. Parnell will almost certainly wield dictatorial powers in Great Britain and Ireland.

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<sup>513</sup> Marx & Engels, *Op. cit.* ("Ireland and the Irish Question"), p. 465.

## Letter from Frederick Engels to Johann Philipp Becker

*December 5, 1885 (Excerpt)*<sup>514</sup>

The elections in France placed the Radicals next in the running for control, thereby improving our prospects a good deal, too. The elections here have temporarily made the Irish masters of England and Scotland, for not one of the two parties can rule without them. Though the results in nearly 100 seats are not yet known they will change little. Thus the Irish problem will at last be settled, if not immediately then in the near future, and then the way will have been cleared there, too. At the same time some eight to ten workers have been elected—some are bought by the bourgeoisie, others are strict trade-unionists. They will probably make fools of themselves and hence greatly advance the formation of an independent labor party by destroying the traditional self-deception of the workers. Here history moves slowly, but it moves.

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<sup>514</sup> Ibid., p. 466.

## Letter from Frederick Engels to Eduard Bernstein

May 22, 1886<sup>515</sup> (*Excerpt*)

I am sending you Thursday's Parliamentary debates (*Daily News*) on the Irish Arms Bill, which restricts the right of the Irish to own and carry arms. Hitherto it was directed only against the nationalists, but now it is to be turned also against the Protestant braggarts of Ulster, who threaten to rebel. There is a remarkable speech by Lord Randolph Churchill, the brother of the Duke of Marlborough, a democratizing Tory; in the last Tory cabinet he was Secretary for India and is thus a member of the Privy Council for life. In face of the feeble and cowardly protestations and assurances made by our petty-bourgeois socialists regarding the peaceful attainment of the goal under any circumstances, it is indeed very timely to show that English ministers, Althorp, Peel, Morley and even Gladstone, proclaim the right to revolution as a part of constitutional theory—though only *so long as they form the opposition*, as Gladstone's subsequent twaddle proves, but even then he does not dare to deny the right as such—especially because it comes from England, the country of legality *par excellence*. A more telling repudiation could hardly be found for our Vierecks.

<sup>515</sup> Ibid., pp. 466-467.

## Letter from Frederick Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge

*June 18, 1887*<sup>516</sup> (*Excerpt*)

Yesterday evening the Irish Coercion Bill was clause by clause hurried through the House of Commons in two minutes. It is a worthy counterpart of the Anti-Socialist Law and opens the door to completely arbitrary action by the police. Things regarded as fundamental rights in England are forbidden in Ireland and become crimes. This Bill is the tombstone of today's Tories, whom I did not consider so stupid, and of the Liberal Unionists, whom I hardly thought so contemptible. It is moreover intended, not to last for a limited period, but indefinitely. The British Parliament has been reduced to the level of the German Reichstag. Though certainly not for long.

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<sup>516</sup> Ibid., p. 467.

## Letter from Frederick Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht

*February 29, 1888*<sup>517</sup> (*Excerpt*)

Have heard nothing of the Irish tricolor to which you refer. Irish flags in Ireland and here are simply green with a golden harp, but *without a crown* (in the British coat-of-arms the harp wears a crown). In the Fenian days, 1865–67, many were green and orange to show the Orangemen of the North that they would not be destroyed, but accepted as brothers. However, no question of that anymore.

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<sup>517</sup> Ibid., p. 468.

## Letter from Frederick Engels to Nikolai Frantsevich Danielson

June 10, 1890<sup>518</sup> (Excerpt)

Here in England, *Rent* is applied as well to the payment of the English capitalist farmer to his landlord, as to that of the Irish pauper farmer, who pays a complete tribute composed chiefly of a deduction from his fund of maintenance, earned by his own labor, and only to the smallest extent consisting of true rent. So the English in India transformed the land-tax paid by the *ryot* (peasant) to the State into “rent,” and consequently have, in Bengal at least, actually transformed the zemindar (tax-gatherer of the former Indian prince) into a landlord holding a nominal feudal tenure from the Crown exactly as in England, where the Crown is nominal proprietor of all the land, and the great nobles, the real owners, are by juridical fiction supposed to be feudal tenants of the Crown. Similarly, when in the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the North of Ireland was subjected to direct English dominion, and the English lawyer Sir John Davies found there a rural community with common possession of the land, which was periodically divided amongst the members of the clan who paid a tribute to the chief, Davies declared that tribute at once to be “rent.” Thus the Scotch lairds—chiefs of clans—profited, since the insurrection of 1745, of this juridical confusion, of the tribute paid to them by the clansmen, with a “*rent*” for the lands held by them, in order to transform the whole of the clan-land, the common property of the clan, into their, the lairds, private property; for—said the lawyers, if they were not the landlords, how could they receive *rent* for that land? And thus this confusion of tribute and rent was the basis of the confiscation of all the lands of the Scottish Highlands for the benefit of a few chiefs of clan who very soon after drove out the old clansmen and replaced them by sheep as described in *C[apital]* p. 754, 3<sup>rd</sup> edit[ion].

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<sup>518</sup> Marx & Engels, *Op. cit.* (“Ireland and the Irish Question”), pp. 469-470.

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