16th Saeculum. Henry VIII

1536. Parliament in Dublin introduces the OATH OF SUPREMACY to the King and he is given the privilege of taking the first-fruits of all ECCLESIASTICAL LIVINGS. Quite different in the doing, however, and the subsequent insurrections were directed, among other things, against the Oath. Refusal to take the OATH OF SUPREMACY was high treason in Ireland just as in England (Murphy, p. 249).b

16th Saeculum. Edward VI and Mary

Confiscations in Queen’s and King’s Counties. During the reign of Edward VI, the O’Moores of Leix and the O’Connors of Offaley carried on a feud with some lords of the Pale,c as was usual in Ireland.

The government qualified this as rebellion. General Bellingham, later Lord Deputy, was sent against them and forced them to submit. They were advised to see the King and submit to him in person as O’Neill had done successfully in 1542.d O’Moore and O’Connor, unlike O’Neill, were imprisoned and their estates confiscated. But that was not the last of the clans. 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 intermittent fighting and extermination of the population (Murphy, p. 255).

This was the pattern for all subsequent confiscations under Elizabeth and James. The Irish were denied all rights against the

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a Century.—Ed.
b J. N. Murphy, Ireland, Industrial, Political, and Social, London, 1870, pp. 248, 249.—Ed.
c Ibid., p. 254.—Ed.
d In Murphy’s book no date is given.—Ed.
Anglo-Irish of the Pale, with resistance treated as rebellion. From then on that sort of thing became usual.

By Acts in the 3rd and 4th 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, 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" (Murphy, p. 256).

16th Saeculum. 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, held the post in 1584-87), describe this HORRID POLICY, against which they protest (Leland, Vol. II, p. 292b and Murphy, p. 246). 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 to be within the compass of their territories, and that they would [...] jointly resist all invasions of the English" (Camden). 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 straitened more and more every day, they were reduced to live like wild beasts, skulking up and down the woods and deserts" (Murphy, p. 251).

See Holinshed, Chronicles (p. 460) on how Ireland was laid waste in this war. Half the population is said to have perished.

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a Thomas Radcliffe.— Ed.
c Hugh O'Donnell, "Red Hugh".— Ed.
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/- (Leland, Vol. II, p. 410).

Desmond was deprived of his estates in all counties of Munster except Clare, and also in Dublin. They were worth £7,000 per annum. The Irish Parliament of 1586 expropriated 140 landowners by confiscation in Munster alone under the Act of the 28th year of Elizabeth's reign, c. 7 and 8. MacGeoghegan lists the names of the grantees of Desmond's estates: some of these families are still, and up to 1847 nearly all were, in possession. (? 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, "ignorant, negligent, and corrupt" (Leland, Vol. III, p. 311).

17th Saeculum. James I

Penal Laws against Catholics (Elizabeth, in the 2nd year of reign, 1560, c. 1, Irish [Statutes, Vol. I, p. 275]) are applied more and more from the very beginning of the reign of James I, it becoming dangerous to practise [Catholicism].

Under Elizabeth 2 c. 1, the fine of 12d was imposed for every non-attendance at Protestant church and, in 1605, under James, imprisonment was added by Royal proclamation alone 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. SURRENDERS OF ESTATES AND REGRANTS (see Davies, 7 b). 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. 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 favour of the English landlord-tenant relationship (Murphy, p. 261).

This in 1605 (see "Chronology").

Plantation of Ulster. According to Leland, Irish undertenants and servants were tacitly exempted from the Oath of Supremacy, whereas all the other planters were compelled to take it.

Carte says that all Irish settlers and the natives who were allowed part of their land were exempted, but this was irrelevant

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Engels took the reference to MacGeoghegan's History of Ireland (Dublin, 1844) from Murphy, pp. 257-58.— Ed.
because it [the taking of the Oath] could not be enforced anyway. The Scottish Presbyterians in Ulster also refused to take the OATH OF SUPREMACY, and this was suffered by the authorities (Murphy, p. 266). That may have been useful for the Irish as well.¹

Carte estimates the number of English settlers in Ulster in 1641 at 20,000 and of Scottish settlers at 100,000 (Ormonde, Vol. I, p. 177).²

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” (Leland, Vol. II, p. 438). As early as 1633 these ESTATES were valued at £10,000 per annum (StrAFFord's State Letters, Vol. II, p. 294). Chichester was the ancestor of Marquis of Donegal, who would have had £300,000 per-annum for his Belfast estate alone, if one of his ancestors had not surrendered it to others under long LEASES (Murphy, p. 265).

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 [Ormonde], 2 a,b.³⁶²

Another nice 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 (Murphy, p. 269).

Concerning the attempt to confiscate Connaught (see “Chronology”, and O'Conor, Catholics),³⁶³ recall James' dirty trick:

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 ENROLMENT 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. (See Carte, Ormonde, Vol. I, pp. 47 and 48.) In the meantime, James died.

A COURT OF WARDS for Ireland was established in 1614; Carte avers in Ormonde, Vol. I, p. 517, that no lawful BASIS existed for it as for that in England. Meant to bring up Catholic heirs in the Protestant religion and English customs. Its president was the good d Sir William Parsons, who had helped plan it.²

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¹ In the manuscript the last two sentences are written in the right-hand, blank column, opposite the preceding sentence.—Ed.

² Th. Carte, An History of the Life of James, Duke of Ormonde, from his Birth in 1610, to his Death in 1688, London, 1736. For quoting this work Engels made use of Murphy's book and of his own excerpts from it.—Ed.


⁴ The word "good" does not occur in Murphy.—Ed.

⁵ Quoted according to Murphy, pp. 269-70 and 277-78.—Ed.
17th Sæculum. Charles I

That the Irish insisted in the “GRACES” \(^{364}\) that “three score years’ possession” (of an ESTATE) “should conclude His Majesty’s title” was quite understandable, for this was the “law of England” (Strafford, *State Letters*, Vol. I, p. 279) by the Act of the 21st year of James’ reign (Murphy, p. 274).

Yet English law applied to the Irish only in so far as it suited the [English] Government.

Strafford wrote to 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 out 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” (*State Letters*, Vol. I, p. 353).

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 (Leland, Vol. III, p. 39).

*The Court of High Commission* established by Wentworth in the year 1633, after the English model,\(^{365}\) “with the same formality and the same tremendous powers” (Leland, Vol. III, p. 29), 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, *State Letters*, Vol. I, p. 188). 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 Macaulay observed, was A RELIGIOUS INQUISITION where that of the STAR CHAMBER was political.

Then the CASTLE CHAMBER, called STAR CHAMBER\(^{366}\) 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 Hiberniae*, Vol. I, p. 262\(^a\)).

It is said therein 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” were likewise applied, as is stated in the indictment of Strafford (Murphy, p. 279).

When Strafford went to Connaught in 1635, he took with him 4,000 HORSE “as good lookers on, while the plantations were settling” (*Strafford, State Letters*, Vol. I, p. 353).

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\(^{a}\) Quoted according to Murphy against p. 279.—*Ed.*
In Galway he imposed fines not only on the jury that would not find a verdict for the Crown, but also on the sheriff "for returning so insufficient, indeed, we conceive, so packed a jury, in £1,000 to His Majesty" ([State Letters], August 1635, Vol. I, p. 451).

By the 28th 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 of all marriages, baptisms, burials, wills, and administrations, and punished recusants for non-attendance at church under the 2nd of Elizabeth, c. 2, and also collected the tithes. Bishop Burnet (Life of Dr. Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore, p. 89)\(^a\) 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 materialised,

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 (Murphy, p. 281).

About the Protestant clergy see Spenser, excerpt 5\(^a\).

Borlase and Parsons encouraged the rebellion everywhere. According to Lord Castlehaven's Memoirs,\(^b\) they said: "The more rebels, the more confiscations." Leland (Vol. III, p. 161), too, observes that, as before, "extensive forfeitures were the favourite 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, Ormonde, Vol. III, p. 61, for the instructions to the army.\(^c\)

The motto of the Kilkenny Confederates\(^d\) was: Pro deo, pro rege, et patria Hibernia unanimes! (Borlase, Irish Rebellion, p. 128)

— so that is where the Prussians lifted it from.

17th Saeculum. Cromwell

Drogheda MASSACRE.\(^e\) 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,\(^f\)


\(^b\) The Memoirs of James Touchet ... Earl of Castlehaven... Quoted according to Murphy, p. 288.—Ed.

\(^c\) For God, King and Ireland unanimous.—Ed.

\(^d\) Ed. Borlase, The History of the Execrable Irish Rebellion..., London, 1680. Quoted from Murphy, p. 289.—Ed.
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" (Leland, Vol. III, p. 350). A number of ecclesiastics found within the walls were bayoneted. "Thirty persons only remained unslaughtered ... and these were instantly transported as slaves to Barbadoes" ([Leland, Vol. III, p. 350]).

Petty (Political Anatomy, Dublin edition of Petty's tracts, pp. 312-15) estimates that 112,000 British and 504,000 Irish inhabitants of Ireland died in the war of 1641-52. In 1653, soldiers' debentures were sold at 4/- to 5/- in the pound, so that with 20/- being the price [nominal] of 2 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 the 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. The houses of Ireland, worth £2 million in 1641, were worth less than £500,000 in 1653.

Leland, too, admits in Vol. III, p. 166, that "the favourite 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 (Vol. VII, 4th 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" (Thurloe, Vol. IV, p. 23).

By the first Act of Settlement, the forfeiture of 2/3 of their estates had been pronounced against those who had borne arms against the Parliament and 1/3 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, Excerpts, VII, 1).

Distribution of land to soldiers was limited to those who had served under Cromwell from 1649 (Murphy, p. 302).

See Carte, Ormonde, Vol. II, p. 301, about some cases of land surveying, especially by adventurers.

According to Leland (Vol. III, p. 397), the Commissioners in Dublin and Athlone kept considerable domains for themselves.

A Plantation acre = 1 acre 2 roods 19 perches 5 yards and 2 1/4 feet imperial statute measure, or 121 Plantation acres = 196 statute acres (Murphy, p. 302).

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a W. Petty, The Political Anatomy of Ireland. In: Tracts; Chiefly Relating to Ireland, Dublin, 1769.—Ed.

b The last two paragraphs are excerpts from Murphy's book, pp. 292-94.—Ed.


17th Saeculum. Charles II

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATUTE ACRES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) To Englishmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADVENTURERS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOLDIERS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;FORTY-NINE&quot; OFFICERS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUKE OF YORK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROVISORS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUKE OF ORMOND AND COLONEL BUTLER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BISHOPS' AUGMENTATIONS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 2) To Irishmen |
| 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'Conor and Notes.374

The Duke of York received a grant of all the lands handed over to the Attainted Regicides. "Provisors were persons in whose favour provisoes had been made by the Acts of Settlement [1662] and of Explanation. Nominees were the Catholics named by the King restored to their mansions and 2,000 acres contiguous."

At that time the profitable lands of Ireland = \(\frac{2}{3}\) 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 12 1/2 million acres of arable land 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

\(^a\) James Stuart, future James II.— Ed.

\(^b\) The reference is to those who were associated with the execution of Charles I.— Ed.
Varia on the History of the Irish Confiscations

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" (Murphy, pp. 314 and 315).

(On the confiscations of William see p. 18.)

17th Saeculum. William III

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, totalling 2,923,809 STATUTE ACRES

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 STATUTE ACRES

[There remain] 1,200,022 STATUTE ACRES

or as Murphy calculated (he probably erred when subtracting?) 1,240,022 STATUTE ACRES

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a J. N. Murphy, op. cit., pp. 313-15.— Ed.
b P. 17 in the manuscript; it contains only the heading "17. Saeculum, Charles II, James II".— Ed.
c J. N. Murphy, op. cit., pp. 317-18.— Ed.
In addition,

**RESTITUTED BY SPECIAL FAVOUR OF THE KING ON PARDONING (65 persons)** ........................................ 125,000 STATUTE ACRES

**the COURT OF CLAIMS RESTORED (792 persons)** .......... 388,500 STATUTE ACRES

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[Total] .......................................................................... 513,500 STATUTE ACRES

Making the total still in Irish hands ............................... 1,753,522 a STATUTE ACRES

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

Written in March 1870

First published in *Marx-Engels Archives*,

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a Engels points out that Murphy may have erred in his calculation by 40,000 acres, in which case the total would have been 1,713,522.— Ed.
Frederick Engels

PLAN FOR THE HISTORY OF IRELAND

1. Natural conditions.
2. Old 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.

Printed according to the manuscript

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a The last figure is missing in the manuscript.—Ed.
Frederick Engels

[PLAN OF CHAPTER TWO AND FRAGMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF IRELAND] 377

Old Ireland

I. Sources. 1) The ancients. 2) Irish literature, buildings and inscriptions.
3) Foreign sources: the Scandinavians, St. Bernard, Giraldus.—
4) Later sources, especially late 16th century. a

II a. Race and language. Legends about the invaders. Information from the ancients. What can be deduced about Irish literature from the laws, Giraldus and later sources.

b. The clan system, landownership, laws.


b. Danish period, etc., up to invasion.

System of government at this time.

Ad I

[Ad II]

a. Senchus Mor, XI. b Giraldus.—Spenser, Davies, Camden, Campion, etc., Ledwich. 378

b. N[ennius], Brit. c S[enchus] M[or], XI and orig[ina]. Cf. also Ledwich.

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a This paragraph is crossed out in the manuscript.—Ed.
b Engels refers to his notebook containing excerpts from Senchus Mor.—Ed.
c Nennius, Historia Britonum, London, 1819.—Ed.
Tigernach (Tierna) the annalist died in 1088 according to the Annals of the Four Masters.

The Annals of the Four Masters compiled in the 17th century by M. O'Clary and 3 others from ancient Irish annals.

The Annals of Ulster exist in a manuscript dated 1215.

Poet-chroniclers, mainly 9th-11th centuries.

An eclipse of the sun correctly recorded by Irish chroniclers on May 3, 664 (in Tigernach).

Irish chiefs of all ranks constantly waged war not only among themselves but also with their superior princes as well as the nominal king.

The tanist is believed to have been both chief commander and chief judge, that is very powerful against the king. His title (supreme king) Righ-damnha= rex in fieri, but minor chiefs also had their tanists.

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a J. Gordon, A History of the Rebellion in Ireland in 1789, Dublin, 1801; A History of Ireland..., Dublin, 1805.— Ed.

b See this volume, p. 173.— Ed.

c Future king.— Ed.
The hierarchical relations between princes in Ireland are believed only to have involved tributes, *coshery*\(^{379}\) but by no means military service.

The supremacy of the kings of Meath and the chroniclers' triennial national assembly in Tnamor (Tara) seems to have only existed on paper, it might have been enforced from time to time but always lapsed again.

The land allocated to the chief of the clan was not divided (ditto that belonging to soldiers, priests, singers, chroniclers). The remaining land owned by the clan and could be divided up.

With communal property the right of inheritance of illegitimate sons—in the whole clan—was unquestioned. Gavelkind: Davies (p. 136) describes the division of land "to each according to his antiquity" (i.e. his traditional rank in the clan),\(^a\) which in Moore (Vol. I, p. 177)\(^b\) has already been turned into seniority!

According to an obscure tradition the Milesians or Scots did not apparently practise any crafts until Tuathal died in A.D. 164; from then on, however, they did as a result of his [restoration] expulsion in 126 by the Plebeians (attachots-attach-tuatha translated by O'Reilly as Plebeians). In any case [from] at the time of the invasion all traces of the ruling race had disappeared although the families of the chiefs may have been Scottish. The first Plebeian war A.D. 90.—In both cases the legitimate Scottish family finally regained power.

There are some Irish poems, believed to date back to the earliest days of the Milesians, which in the manuscript \(^c\) have notes in between the lines. Without them they are incomprehensible, but

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\(^a\) J. Davies, *Historical Tracts*, London, 1786.—Ed.


\(^c\) Engels refers to the judicial collection *Senchus Mor*.—Ed.
even the notes are in a very obsolete language and very difficult to understand.

Hereditable positions in families (i.e. not all of them, only certain ones). Thus in Camden's time, and later too, the O'Cullinan family in Cork constantly had one or more doctors, and people used to say that if someone had resigned himself to death not even an O'Cullinan could cure him. Similarly with herolds, bards, musicians (and Seanachies\footnote{Chroniclers.\textemdash Ed.}). This natural considering the land allocated to them.

Slaves and slave trade.

Johannes Scotus Erigena.

The oldest Irish manuscripts late 9th century, and the oldest songs occur as single fragments in the annals; these appear more frequently from the 6th century.

In the Brehon Laws all fines were expressed in livestock, that means there was still no money as yet.

There are still numerous manuscripts in existence bearing on the Brehon Laws.

St. Bernard was never in Ireland.
In Ireland in ancient times boats were made of wickerwork covered in skins; after 1810 these were still the only kind of boats on the west coast, cf. Wakefield,\(^a\) XII, p. 6,\(^b\) where the passages from Pliny and Solinus are also to be found.

Irish literature?—17th century, poetry, histor[ical] and jurid[ical literature], then completely suppressed due to the eradication of the Irish literary language—exists only in manuscript—publication is only just beginning—this is [possible] only with a downtrodden people. See Serbs, etc.

The English have been able to reconcile people of the most diverse races to their rule. The Welsh, who cling so strongly to their nationality and their language, have been completely integrated into the British Empire. The Scottish Celts, although rebellious until 1745,\(^380\) and since then almost exterminated, first by the government and later by their own aristocracy, have no thought of rebellion. The French of the Channel Islands fought bitterly against France even during the Great Revolution. And even the Frisians of Heligoland,\(^381\) sold to England by Denmark, are content with their lot, and it will surely be a long time before the laurels of Sadowa and the achievements of the North-German Confederation\(^382\) arouse in them the agonised cry for unification with the great Fatherland. Only the Irish have proved too much for the English to cope with. The tremendous resilience of the Irish race is to blame for this. Despite the most savage suppression, shortly after each attempt to wipe them out the Irish stood stronger than ever before. Indeed, they drew their main strength from the foreign garrison imposed on them to subdue them. Within the lifetime of two generations, often of one, the foreigners had become more Irish than the Irish themselves, *Hiberniores ipsis Hibernis*; and the more they adopted the English language and forgot Irish, the more Irish they became.


\(^b\) Engels refers to his notebook containing excerpts from Wakefield.—*Ed.*
The bourgeoisie turns everything into a commodity, hence also the writing of history. It is in its nature, a condition of its existence, to falsify all commodities: it falsified history. And the version of history which is most highly paid is that which is best falsified for the purposes of the bourgeoisie. Teste Macaulay, who is therefore the unattainable model of the less skilled G. Smith.

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, or by ready cash. That prices are fixed for the betrayal of the whereabouts of a victim of persecution is comprehensible, but that they say: who gives me evidence on the strength of which someone can be sentenced as the perpetrator of some crime or another—this infamy is something not only the Code, but also Prussian common law have left to English law. That collateral evidence is required alongside that given by the informer changes nothing; as a rule there is evidence for somebody to be suspected, or else it is fabricated, and the informer only has to adjust his lies accordingly.

Whether this pretty usage has its roots already in English 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 and the penal laws.

On March 15, 1870, when the government sought to justify the removal of an Irish sheriff (Coote of Monaghan) by arguing 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

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c Moore spoke in the House of Commons on March 14, 1870. See *The Times*, No. 26699, March 15, 1870. — *Ed.*
Catholics against 50,000 Protestants, at the time of the Fenian trials in 1865, a jury panel was called, composed of 360 Protestants and 40 Catholics! *

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 English rule in Ireland!

The agrarian murders in Ireland cannot be suppressed because and as long as they are the sole effective weapon against the extermination of the people by the landlords. They help, which is why they persist, and will persist, despite all coercive laws. Quantitatively they fluctuate, as do all social phenomena; at times they may even become epidemic, occurring on quite insignificant occasions. The epidemic can be suppressed, but not the disease itself.

Dublin botanical gardens—total absence of protection for the flowers and yet no abuse on the part of the public as in England—Churchyard in Glasnevin like no other in England.

The English Lady. There is no creature more superfluous and useless on earth. Custom, education and inclination exclude her from all the truly intellectual aspects of life, whereas the frivolities of life, or at the most dabbling with serious matters, make up the entire content of her life and are alone taken seriously by her.

Written in 1869-70


Printed according to the manuscript
APPENDICES
On December 16, Karl Marx delivered a lecture to the London German Workers' Educational Society on the conditions in Ireland, in which he showed that all attempts of the English government to Anglicise the Irish population in past centuries had ended in failure. The English, including aristocrats, who immigrated before the Reformation were transformed into Irishmen by their Irish wives, and their descendants fought against England. The brutalities of the war against the Irish under Queen Elizabeth, the destruction of crops and the displacement of the population from one area to another to make room for English colonists did not change anything in this respect. At that time, gentlemen and merchant adventurers received large plots of land on condition that they would be colonised by English people. In Cromwell's time, the descendants of these colonists fought with the Irish against the English. Cromwell sold many of them as slaves in the West Indies. Under the Restoration, Ireland received many favours. Under William III, a class came to power which only wanted to make money, and Irish industry was suppressed in order to force the Irish to sell their raw materials to England at any price. With the help of the Protestant Penal Laws, the new aristocrats received freedom of action under Queen Anne. The Irish Parliament was an instrument of oppression. Catholics were not allowed to hold public office, could not be landowners, were not allowed to make wills, could not claim an inheritance; to be a Catholic bishop was high treason. All these were means for robbing the Irish of their land; yet more than half of the English

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\(^{a}\) See this volume, pp. 288-89.—*Ed.*
descendants in Ulster have remained Catholic. The people were driven into the arms of the Catholic clergy, who thus became powerful. All that the English government succeeded in doing was to plant an aristocracy in Ireland. The towns built by the English have become Irish. That is why there are so many English names among the Fenians.

During the American War of Independence the reins were loosened a little. Further concessions had to be granted during the French Revolution. Ireland rose so quickly that her people threatened to outstrip the English. The English government drove them to rebellion and achieved the Union by bribery. The Union delivered the death blow to reviving Irish industry. On one occasion Meagher said: all Irish branches of industry have been destroyed, all we have been left is the making of coffins. It became a vital necessity to have land; the big landowners leased their lands to speculators; land passed through four or five lease stages before it reached the peasant, and this made prices disproportionately high. The agrarian population lived on potatoes and water; wheat and meat were sent to England; the rent was eaten up in London, Paris and Florence. In 1836, £7,000,000 was sent abroad to absent landlords. Fertilisers were exported with the produce and rent, and the soil was exhausted. Famine often set in here and there, and owing to the potato blight there was a general famine in 1846. A million people starved to death. The potato blight resulted from the exhaustion of the soil, it was a product of English rule.

Through the repeal of the Corn Laws Ireland lost her monopoly position on the English market, the old rent could no longer be paid. High prices of meat and the bankruptcy of the remaining small landowners further contributed to the eviction of the small peasants and the transformation of their land into sheep pastures. Over half a million acres of arable land have not been tilled since 1860. The yield per acre has dropped: oats by 16 per cent, flax by 36 per cent, potatoes by 50 per cent. At present only oats are cultivated for the English market, and wheat is imported.

With the exhaustion of the soil, the population has deteriorated physically. There has been an absolute increase in the number of lame, blind, deaf and dumb, and insane in the decreasing population.

Over 1,100,000 people have been replaced by 9,600,000 sheep. This is a thing unheard of in Europe. The Russians replace evicted Poles with Russians, not with sheep. Only under the Mongols in China was there once a discussion whether towns should be destroyed to make room for sheep.
The Irish question is therefore not simply a question of nationality, but a question of land and existence. Ruin or revolution is the watchword; all the Irish are convinced that if anything is to happen at all it must happen quickly. The English should demand separation and leave it to the Irish themselves to decide the question of landownership. Everything else would be useless. If that does not happen soon the Irish emigration will lead to a war with America. The domination over Ireland at present amounts to collecting rent for the English aristocracy.

[May 26, 1868]

Notice of motion was given that a resolution should be moved on Tuesday next\(^a\) to cancel the resolution of the last congress\(^b\) appointing Brussels as the place of meeting for the next congress, and that London be appointed instead.\(^c\)

The Council considers it incompatible with the honour and dignity of the Association to assemble a congress, surrounded, as it would be, by French spies, and in a country whose Government is capable of committing such wanton outrages as have been perpetrated against the half-starved miners of Charleroi.\(^392\)

[June 16, 1868]

The mover of the resolutions\(^d\) then stated, that besides the foregoing assurances things had transpired since he had given notice which compelled the Council to abstain from revoking the vote of the Laussanne Congress.\(^393\) The Belgian section had already taken action. M. Bara, the Minister of Justice, was reported to have said in the Chamber of Deputies, that he would not permit the Congress to assemble\(^e\); in a remonstrance signed by all the members of the Brussels committee and the executive of the Free

\(^a\) June 2.—Ed.
\(^b\) In Lausanne.—Ed.
\(^c\) For the text of the resolution, tabled by Marx, see this volume, p. 6.—Ed.
\(^d\) Karl Marx.—Ed.
\(^e\) J. Bara, Speech in the Chamber of Deputies on May 16, 1868, *La Liberté*, No. 47, May 17, 1868.—Ed.
Workmen—an affiliated political society of Verviers, the resident members of the Association had declared that "in spite of all the vain rhodomontade of the Minister of Justice, the International Congress should be held at Brussels". The question, therefore, was strictly one of resistance of the Belgian working men against the police regulations of their government, with which the Council had no right to interfere. He should, therefore, withdraw his resolutions.

First published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, Nos. 346 and 349, May 30 and June 20, 1868

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*a La Tribune du peuple, No. 5, May 24, 1868.—Ed.*

*b The newspaper report further has: “which met with general approval, several members declaring that only the altered state of the case had changed their opinion”.—Ed.*
The immediate motive for the foundation of the International Working Men's Association was the latest Polish insurrection. The London workers sent a deputation to Lord Palmerston with an appeal in which they called on him to intervene on behalf of Poland. At the same time, they issued an address to the workmen of Paris, calling on them to take joint action. The Parisians responded by sending delegates to London. To welcome them, a public meeting gathered at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, on September 28, 1864, at which Britons, Germans, Frenchmen, Poles and Italians were represented in large numbers.

This meeting gave birth to the International Working Men's Association. Apart from the political purpose for which the meeting was called, it also raised the subject of general social conditions. It revealed that workmen of all nations had the same grievances, that they were subjected to the same basic evils in all countries. It showed that the interests of all of them coincided. It elected a provisional Central Council, later renamed the General Council, which made its seat in London and was composed of various nationalities. The Council was provisionally entrusted with the central administration of the future Association, the publication of the Inaugural Address (a kind of programme), and the drafting of the Provisional Rules.

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a "Address of English to French Workmen", *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 112, December 5, 1863.— Ed.

b In the German original the name of the General Council is given in brackets in English and French after the German equivalent.— Ed.

c K. Marx, "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association", "Provisional Rules of the Association".— Ed.
Unanimity and enthusiasm reigned at the meeting. Each nation was represented by men who did it honour. As a result, the English workers, who had fought the ruling classes independently of, and uninfluenced by, the political and social movements of the rest of Europe since 1824, when the legislature was compelled to grant them the right of association, now came out of their national isolation for the first time and agreed with the workmen of all nations on the necessity for joint action. Hence the enthusiasm: the gathering was aware that it was ringing in a new era in the workers' movement.

2. DIFFICULTIES IN THE INITIAL PERIOD OF THE ASSOCIATION

New movements are not created overnight even if they are called upon to fill a pressing need of the times. To begin with, it is essential to steer clear of reefs on which new organisations have foundered so often before or which have, at the very least, diverted them from their original and true goal, for representatives of declining forms of the movement join the new one to make it a vehicle of the old. This was the case here, too. The Italian members of the provisional Central Council were followers of Mazzini. They laid before the Central Council a draft of the Inaugural Address and the Provisional Rules drawn up by Mazzini himself. In his address, Mazzini repeated his old political programme garnished with a bit of socialist phraseology. He thundered against the class struggle. His Rules were formulated in a strictly centralised manner fit for secret political societies. From the start they would have destroyed the very basis of an international working men's association which was not conceived to create a movement but only to unite and weld together the already existing and dispersed class movement of various countries.

Mazzini's name was in high repute at the time among the English workers, notably since Garibaldi's triumphant visit to London. Mazzini was therefore fairly confident that he would be able to take charge of the International Working Men's Association. But he had reckoned without his host. Karl Marx, who had been elected to the provisional Central Council at the meeting in St. Martin's Hall, submitted his drafts of the Inaugural Address and Provisional Rules in opposition to Mazzini's. Both
of his drafts were unanimously adopted and published, and the Provisional Rules later won final acceptance at the Geneva Congress in 1866.a

It was therefore a German who gave the International Working Men's Association its definite tendency and organisational principles. And we might also note that the Central Council in London has repeatedly been confirmed in its functions.

3. THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF KARL MARX 398

In the closest possible translation of the English original, the Address reads as follows:

Working Men,

It is a great fact that the misery of the working classes has not diminished from 1848 to 1864, and yet this period is unrivalled in the annals of history for the development of its industry and the growth of its commerce. In 1850, a moderate organ of the British bourgeoisie, seemingly of more than average information, predicted that if the exports and imports of England were to rise 50 per cent, English pauperism would sink to zero.399 Alas! On April 7th, 1864, Mr. Gladstone, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, delighted his audience by the statement that the total import and export trade of England had grown in 1863 to £443,955,000, which amounted to about three times the trade of the comparatively recent epoch of 1843. With all that, he was compelled to refer to the social misery. He had to speak of those who were on the border of starvation, of wages that had not increased by a single penny, of human life that was in nine cases out of ten but a daily struggle for existence.d He did not speak of the people of Ireland, gradually replaced by machinery in the north, and by sheep-walks 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 representatives of the upper ten thousand

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b "Mr. Gladstone" does not occur in the original English text.— Ed.

c The original English text has “Parliamentary audience”.— Ed.

d In the original English text this passage from Gladstone's address is given in direct speech.— Ed.
in a sudden fit of terror. When the garotte 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 labourers 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 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 might just suffice to avert starvation diseases. Dr. Smith, the medical commissioner of Parliament, ascertained that 28,000 grains of carbon, and 1,330 grains of nitrogen were the weekly allowance that would just about be enough to keep an average adult over the level of starvation diseases, and he found furthermore that this quantity pretty nearly agreed with the scanty nourishment to which the pressure of extreme distress had actually reduced the poor cotton operatives.* But that is not all. The same learned Doctor was later on again deputed by the government to inquire into the nourishment of the poorer part of the working class. The results of his researches are contained in the “Sixth Report on Public Health”, published by order of Parliament in the course of the present year (1864). What did the Doctor discover? That the silk weavers, the needle women, the kid glovers, the stocking weavers, and other workers, 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”.

* 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, those simple chemical constituents must be supplied in the form of vegetable or animal substances. Potatoes, for instance, contain only carbon, while bread contains carbonaceous and nitrogenous substances in a due proportion. [Note by Karl Marx.]

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*a Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the operation of the acts (16 & 17 Vict. c. 99 and 20 & 21 Vict. c. 3) relating to transportation and penal servitude, Vols. I-II, London, 1863.—Ed.

b The English original has “by the medical officer of the Privy Council”.—Ed.

“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 local 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 endeavours to maintain it, every such endeavour 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.”

Further, the report brings out the strange, and rather unexpected fact that of the four divisions of the United Kingdom, those of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, the agricultural population of England, the richest division, is considerably the worst fed, but that even the agricultural labourers of Berkshire, Oxfordshire, and Somersetshire, fare better than great numbers of skilled indoor operatives of the East End 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 labourer has improved in a degree we know to be extraordinary and unexampled in the history of any country or any age”.b


“The social statistics of Germany and the rest of Continental Western Europe are, in comparison with those of England, wretchedly compiled. But they raise the veil just enough to let us catch a glimpse of the Medusa head behind it. *We should be appalled at the state of things at home*, if, as in England, our governments and parliaments appointed periodically commissions of inquiry into economic conditions; if these commissions were armed with the same plenary powers to get at the truth; if it was possible to find for this purpose men as competent, as free from partisanship and respect of persons as are the English factory inspectors, her medical reporters on public health, her commissioners of inquiry into the exploitation of women and children, into housing and food. Perseus wore a magic cap that the monsters he hunted down might not see him. We draw the magic cap over eyes and ears as a make-believe that these are no monsters.” [Note by Eichhoff.]

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b In Eichhoff’s pamphlet mistakenly: “1863”.— Ed.

b Here and further the quotations are from Gladstone’s speech in the House of Commons of April 16, 1863 (see *The Times*, No. 24535, April 17, 1863).— Ed.
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 per cent; in the eight years from 1853 to 1861, it has increased from the basis taken in 1853, 20 per cent! The fact is so astonishing to be almost incredible!... This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power," adds Mr. Gladstone, "is entirely confined to classes of property!" 402

If you want to know with how many victims 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 labour, 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 is stated, 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 the future was fraught with the gradual extinction of the race, 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 intermarriages with more healthy races. 4

Glance at Mr. Tremenheere's Blue Book on the "Grievances Complained of by the Journeymen Bakers"! 4c And who has not shuddered at the seemingly paradoxical statement 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 during this time, because of their temporary exclusion by the cotton famine from the cotton factory, and that 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,

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a The reference is to the Sixth Report..., pp. 25-27, cited above.— Ed.


c Report Addressed to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department..., London, 1862.— Ed.
teach us that the persons with yearly incomes, valued\textsuperscript{a} at £50,000 and upwards, had, from April 5th, 1862, to April 5th, 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 amongst themselves a yearly income of about £25,000,000 sterling, rather more than the total revenue doled out annually to the whole mass of the agricultural labourers of England and Wales. Open the census of 1861, and you will find that the number of the landed proprietors of England and Wales had decreased from 16,934 in 1851, to 15,066 in 1861, so that the concentration of land had grown in 10 years 11 per cent. 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 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 not long ago one of the refugee sons of Louis Philippe publicly congratulated the English agricultural labourer on the superiority of his lot over that of his less florid comrade on the other side of the Channel. Indeed, with local colours 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 undreamed-of expansion of imports and exports. In all of them the augmentation of wealth and power entirely confined to classes of property was truly intoxicating. In all of them, as in England, a minority of the working classes got their real wages somewhat advanced; while in most cases, given the universally rising prices, the monetary rise of wages denoted no more a real access of comforts than the inmate of the metropolitan poor-house or orphan asylum, for instance, was in the least benefited by his first necessities rising in price according to official estimates from £7 7s. 4d. in 1852 to £9 15s. 8d. in 1864. 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 denied by those, whose interest it is

\textsuperscript{a} The English original has “valued by the tax-gatherer”.—Ed.
to hedge other people in a fool's paradise, that no improvement of machinery, no appliance of science to industrial and agricultural production, no aids and contrivances of communication, no new colonies, no emigration, no opening of markets, no free trade, nor 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 labour must tend to deepen social contrasts and point social antagonisms. Death of starvation rose almost to the rank of a social 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 deadliest effects of the social pest called a commercial and industrial crisis.

After the failure of the Revolutions of 1848, all party organisations and party journals of the working classes were, on the Continent, crushed by the iron hand of force, the most advanced sons of labour fled in despair to the Transatlantic Republic, and the short-lived dreams of emancipation vanished before an epoch of industrial fever, moral marasme, and political reaction. The defeat of the Continental working classes\(^a\) soon spread its contagious effects on 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 goldlands 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 loyal subjects.\(^b\) All the efforts made at keeping up, or remodelling, 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 this period has not been without its compensating features. We shall here only point to two great facts.

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\(^a\) In the English original this is followed by the phrase: "partly owed to the diplomacy of the English Government, acting then as now in fraternal solidarity with the Cabinet of St. Petersburg", which was omitted by Eichhoff.---*Ed.*

\(^b\) The English original says: "turned into 'political blacks'".---*Ed.*
After a thirty years’ struggle, fought with most 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 else to exalt the marvellous success of this working men’s measure. Through their most notorious men of science, such as Dr. Ure, Professor Senior, and other sages of that stamp, the British bourgeoisie had predicted, and to their heart’s content proved, that any legal restriction of the hours of labour 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 practised 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 labour raged the more fiercely since, apart from frightened avarice, it told indeed upon the great contest between the blind rule of the laws of supply and demand which form the political economy of the bourgeoisie, 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 bourgeoisie succumbed to the political economy of the working class.

But there was in store a still greater victory of the political economy of labour over the political economy of property. We speak of the cooperative movement, especially the cooperative factories raised by the unassisted efforts of a few bold “hands”.* The value of these great social experiments cannot be over-rated. By deed, instead of by argument, they have shown that production on a large scale, and in accord with the behests of modern science,

* Translator’s note: It is common usage in England to describe workers as hands, while sheep and oxen are counted by heads.3 [Note by Eichhoff.]

3 In Eichhoff’s German text the words “hands” and “heads” are given in brackets after their German equivalents.— Ed.
may be carried on without the existence of a class of masters employing a class of hands; that to bear fruit, the means of labour need not be monopolised as a means of dominion over, and of extortion against, the labouring man himself; and that, like slave labour, like serf labour, hired labour is but a transitory and inferior form, destined to disappear before associated labour plying its toil with a willing hand, a ready mind, and a joyous heart. In England, the seeds of the cooperative system were sown by Robert Owen; the same working men’s experiments, tried on the Continent, were, in fact, the practical upshot of the theories, not invented, but loudly proclaimed, in 1848.

The experience of the period from 1848 to 1864 has proved beyond doubt that, however excellent in principle, and however useful in practice, cooperative labour, 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 bourgeois spouters, and even keen political economists, have all at once turned nauseously complimentary to the very cooperative labour system they had vainly tried to nip in the bud by deriding it as the Utopia of the dreamer, or stigmatising it as the sacrilege of the Socialist. To save the industrious masses, cooperative labour ought to be developed to national dimensions, and, consequently, to be fostered by national means. Yet, the lords of land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defence and perpetuation of their economical monopolies. So far from promoting, they will continue to lay every possible impediment in the way of the emancipation of labour. Remember the sneer with which, last session, Lord Palmerston put down the advocates 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 reorganisation of the working men’s party.

One element of success they possess—numbers; but numbers weigh only in the balance, if united in an alliance and led towards a known goal. 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 discomfort of their incoherent efforts. This thought
prompted the working men of different countries assembled on
September 28, 1864, in public meeting at St. Martin’s Hall, to
found the International Working Men’s Association.

Another conviction swayed that meeting.

If the emancipation of the working classes requires their
fraternal concurrence, how are they to fulfil that great mission if
the foreign policy of governments pursues 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 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 unresisted encroachments of that
barbarous power, whose head is at 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 Govern-
ments; 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 of morals and
justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals,
as the rules paramount of 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!

4. THE RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION

These follow in the final, essentially unchanged, wording as
sanctioned by the Geneva Congress (1866):

Considering,

That the emancipation of the working classes must be con-
quered by the working classes themselves; that the struggle for the
emancipation of the working classes means not a struggle for class
privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties, and the
abolition of all class rule;
That the economical subjection of the man of labour to the monopoliser of the means of labour, that is the sources of life, lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence;

That the economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means;

That all efforts aiming at that great end have hitherto failed from the want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labour in each country, and from the absence of a fraternal bond of union between the working classes of different countries;

That the emancipation of labour is neither a local, nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists, and depending for its solution on the concurrence, practical and theoretical, of the most advanced countries;

That the present revival of the working classes in the most industrious countries of Europe, while it raises a new hope, gives solemn warning against a relapse into the old errors, and calls for the immediate combination of the still disconnected movements;

For these reasons:—

The first International Working Men’s Congress declares that this International Association and all societies and individuals adhering to it will acknowledge truth, justice, and morality, as the basis of their conduct towards each other, and towards all men, without regard to colour, creed or nationality;

This Congress considers it the duty of a man to claim the rights of a man and citizen, not only for himself, but for every man who does his duty. No rights without duties, no duties without rights.407;

And in this spirit they have drawn up the following Rules of the International Association:—

1. This Association is established to afford a central medium of communication and cooperation between Working Men's Societies existing in different countries, and aiming at the same end, viz., the protection, advancement, and complete emancipation of the working classes.

2. The name of the Society shall be: “The International Working Men's Association”.

3. The General Council shall consist of working men belonging to the different countries represented in the International Association. It shall from its own members elect the officers necessary for the transaction of business, such as a president, a
treasurer, a general secretary, corresponding secretaries for the different countries, &c. The Congress appoints annually the seat of the General Council, elects a number of members, with power to add to their numbers, and appoints time and place for the meeting of the next Congress. The delegates assemble at the appointed time and place without any special invitation. The General Council may, in case of need, change the place, but has no power to postpone the time of meeting.

4. On its annual meetings, the General Congress shall receive a public account of the transactions of the General Council. In cases of urgency, it may convene the General Congress before the regular yearly term.

5. The General Council shall form an international agency between the different cooperating associations, so that the working men in one country be constantly informed of the movements of their class in every other country; that the inquiry into the social state of the different countries of Europe be made simultaneously, and under a common direction; that the questions of general interest mooted in one society be ventilated by all; and that, when immediate practical steps should be needed, as, for instance, in case of international quarrels, the action of the associated societies be simultaneous and uniform. Whenever it seems opportune, the General Council shall take the initiative of proposals to be laid before the different national or local societies. To facilitate the communications, the General Council shall publish periodical reports.

6. Since the success of the working men's movement in each country cannot be secured but by the power of union and combination, while, on the other hand, the usefulness of the International General Council must greatly depend on the circumstances whether it has to deal with a few national centres of working men's associations, or with a great number of small and disconnected local societies; the members of the International Association shall use their utmost efforts to combine the disconnected working men's societies of their respective countries into national bodies, represented by central national organs. It is self-understood, however, that the appliance of this rule will depend upon the peculiar laws of each country, and that, apart from legal obstacles, no independent local society shall be precluded from directly corresponding with the General Council.

7. The various branches and sections shall, at their places of abode, and as far as their influence may extend, take the initiative not only in all matters tending to the general progressive
improvement of public life but also in the foundation of productive associations and other institutions useful to the working class. The General Council shall encourage them in every possible manner.

8. Each member of the International Association, on removing his domicile from one country to another, will receive the fraternal support of the Associated Working Men.

9. Everybody who acknowledges and defends the principles of the International Working Men's Association is eligible to become a member. Every branch is responsible for the integrity of the members it admits.

10. Every section or branch has the right to appoint its own corresponding secretary.

11. While united in a perpetual bond of fraternal cooperation, the working men's societies, joining the International Association, will preserve their existent organisations intact.

12. Everything not provided for in the present Rules will be supplied by special Regulations subject to the revision of every Congress.

5. THE PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE IN LONDON, SEPTEMBER 1865

The Central Council (later named the General Council) elected at the meeting in St. Martin's Hall had decided to hold the first Congress of the International Working Men's Association in Brussels at the beginning of September 1865. Later, it found this decision to be ill-advised, because, on the one hand, there had not been time enough for the Association to sink deeper roots, while on the other, the Belgian Government, which bows to orders from Paris in matters of internal policy, renewed the law that permits it to expel foreigners at will. Instead of a general Congress in Brussels, the Central Council therefore convened a preliminary conference in London. Only delegates of the few leading committees from the Continent could take part in it.

The London Conference determined what questions would be discussed at the next general Congress in September 1866. Geneva was chosen as the place of the Congress.
Sixty delegates were present, of whom 45 were members of 25 sections of the International Working Men's Association and 15 were members of 11 affiliated societies.

At the beginning of the debates, there ensued a heated discussion about the right of participating in the Congress. Many individual members of the Association had come from France who, though they could not present credentials from any section, wished to be admitted as delegates of the Paris sections and to participate in the proceedings of the Congress. They referred to the French legislation which forbade them to have a regular organisation. Some members supported their demand. In their opinion, the organisation of the Congress had been neither complete nor final, and they should not therefore be too strict or scrupulous and should rather admit to the proceedings any individual member who subscribed to the principles of the Association. The British delegates maintained, however, that they had come as representatives of branches and societies each of which had many thousands of members and that on these grounds they demanded the representative system to be applied at the Congress; admission of individuals who represented no organised body would impair the rule of equality in voting and prejudice the rights of the British delegates. The Congress decided that the right of participating in the debates and in the voting should be granted exclusively to delegates who were able to present regular credentials.

After the credentials had been checked, the Congress proceeded to elect the Presidium and the Bureau, and a member of the London General Council, watchmaker Jung, was elected to the chair. He conducted the ensuing debates most skilfully. The hot-blooded Frenchmen, who would rather hear themselves speak, than others, made it rather difficult to run the proceedings, but the president's tact, calm and dignity, supported by the firm and sensible attitude of the English and German workers, prevailed over every threatening disturbance.

It would take us too far to present even a brief summary of the debates here.* The discussion chiefly concerned the "Instructions

* Detailed reports on the proceedings of all congresses of the Association are contained in the journal Der Vorbote. Politische und sociale Zeitschrift, which has been published since 1866 as the central organ of the German-speaking section of the International Working Men's Association under the editorship of Joh. Phil. Becker by the publishing house of the Association at Pré-l'Évêque 33 in Geneva. [Note by Eichhoff.]
for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council"; whose provisions were in substance endorsed by the Congress. The most important points were the following:

§ 1 of these Instructions concerns the organisation of the International Association. The Rules, set forth above, which had stood the test of two years' practice, were recommended for final adoption, London was proposed as the seat of the General Council for the next year, and the proposal to elect the General Council and a General Secretary with a weekly salary of £2 as the only paid officer of the Association was laid before the Congress.

The Congress sanctioned the Provisional Rules, decided that London should remain the seat of the General Council, confirmed the provisional General Council in London in its functions for the administrative year of 1866 to 1867, and fixed the opening of the next congress in Lausanne on the first Monday of September 1867.

§ 2 of the Instructions concerns the international aid which the Association could give the workmen of all countries in their struggle against capital. This question, it points out, embraces the whole activity of the Association, which aims at combining and generalising the till now disconnected efforts for emancipation by the working classes in different countries. In one case the Association could already claim credit for having successfully counteracted the intrigues of capitalists always ready to misuse the foreign workman as a tool against the native workman in the event of strikes. It is one of the great purposes of the Association to make the workmen of different countries not only feel but act as brethren and comrades in the army of emancipation. As one more international combination of efforts it was proposed to carry out a "statistical inquiry into the situation of the working classes of all countries to be instituted by the working classes themselves". To make it successful, the most relevant questions were listed in the scheme that is given below. By initiating so great a work, the workmen will prove their ability to take their own fate into their own hands. It was therefore proposed that all branches of the Association should immediately commence the work, and that the Congress should invite all workmen of Europe and the United States of America to collaborate in gathering the elements of the statistics of the working class; that all reports and evidence should be forwarded

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a K. Marx, “Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions”.— Ed.
to the General Council which should elaborate them into a general report, adding the evidence as an appendix, and that this report together with its appendix should be published after having received the sanction of the Congress.

The proposed general scheme of inquiry contains the following items, which may of course be modified to suit local conditions:

1. Industry, name of.
2. Age and sex of the employed.
3. Number of the employed.
4. Salaries and wages: (a) apprentices; (b) wages by the day or piece work; (c) scale paid by middlemen. Weekly, yearly average.
5. (a) Hours of work in factories. (b) The hours of work with small employers and in homework, if the business be carried on in those different modes. (c) Nightwork and daywork.
7. Sort of workshop and work: overcrowding, defective ventilation, want of sunlight, use of gaslight, cleanliness, etc.
9. Effect of employment upon the physical condition.
11. State of trade: whether season trade, or more or less uniformly distributed over the year, whether commodities are subject to great price fluctuations, whether exposed to foreign competition, whether destined for home consumption or for export, etc.411

These proposals of the General Council were adopted by the Congress unanimously, and the workers' statistical inquiry into and assessment of their own condition have been proceeding steadily since.

§ 3 of the Instructions concerns the limitation of the working day. This, it says, is a preliminary condition, without which all further attempts at improvement and emancipation are bound to founder. It is needed to restore the health and physical energies of the working class, that is, the great body of every nation, as well as to secure them the possibility of intellectual development, sociable intercourse, social and political action. For this reason the Congress should declare itself in favour of a legal limitation of the working day to eight hours. This limitation being generally claimed by the workmen of the United States,412 the vote of the Congress would raise it to the common platform of the working classes all over the world. Nightwork is to be permitted in but exceptional cases, in trades and branches specified by law, with the tendency being to gradually suppress all nightwork. This proposal, however, referred
only to adult persons 18 years of age and older, male or female, though the latter should be rigorously excluded from all nightwork whatever, and all sort of work hurtful to the delicacy of the sex, or exposing their bodies to poisonous and otherwise deleterious effects.

The Congress acceded to these proposals with a majority of 50 to 10 votes. The minority consisted of those French delegates who were content to have a legal limitation of the working day to 10 hours.

§ 4 of the Instructions attacks the social evil of "juvenile and children's labour (both sexes)" at its very root.

The tendency of modern industry to make children and juvenile persons of both sexes cooperate in the great work of social production is admitted to be a progressive, sound and legitimate tendency, although under capital it has been distorted into an abomination. In a rational state of society every child of the age of 9 years should begin to become a productive labourer so that no able-bodied adult person should have to be exempted from the general law of nature, which says: work in order to be able to eat, and work not only with the brain but with the hands too.

For the present, however, the Congress is concerned only with the working population. Here it distinguishes three classes of children and juvenile persons of both sexes, each of which is to be treated differently; the first class to range from 9 to 12, the second from 13 to 15, and the third from 16 to 17 years of age. It was proposed that the employment of the first class in any workshop or housework should be legally restricted to two, that of the second class to four, and that of the third to six working hours, and that for the third class there should be legally provided a break of at least one hour for meals or relaxation.

It was said to be desirable to begin elementary school instruction before the age of 9 years, but the Congress dealt here only with the indispensable antidotes against the tendencies of a social system which degrades the working man into a mere instrument for the accumulation of capital, and compels parents by the necessity of obtaining a livelihood to sell their own children. The right of children and juvenile persons must be vindicated. They are unable to act for themselves. It is therefore the duty of society to care for their well-being.

If the bourgeoisie and aristocracy neglected their duties toward their offspring, it was their own fault. Sharing the privileges of these classes, the child was also condemned to suffer from their prejudices.
The case of the working class stood quite different. The working man was no free agent. In regrettably too many cases, he was even too ignorant to understand the true interests of his child, or the normal conditions of human development. The more enlightened part of the working class, however, fully understood that the future of its class, and therefore of mankind, altogether depend upon the formation of the rising working generation. The workers knew perfectly well that above all else the children and the juvenile workers were to be saved from the crushing effects of the present system of labour. This could be done only by converting social reason into social force, and, under given circumstances, there existed no other method of doing so, than through general laws enforced by the power of the state. If the working-class supported the government in enforcing such laws, it would not thereby in the least fortify governmental power. On the contrary, it would transform that power, now used against it, into its own agency. By a general act it would achieve what it would vainly have attempted by a multitude of isolated individual efforts.

Proceeding from this standpoint, the Congress declared that no parent and no employer should be allowed to use juvenile labour, except when combined with education.

Three things were to be understood by education:

First, mental education.

Second, bodily education, such as is given in schools of gymnastics, and by military exercise.

Third, technological training, which imparts the general principles of all processes of production, and simultaneously initiates the child and young person in the practical use and handling of the elementary instruments of all trades.

A gradual and progressive course of mental, gymnastic, and technological training should correspond to the classification of the juvenile labourers. The costs of the technological schools should be partly met by the sale of their products.

The combination of paid productive labour, mental education, bodily exercise and polytechnic training, would raise the working class far above the level of the higher and middle class.

It was self-understood that the employment of all persons up to 17 years inclusively in nightwork and all health injuring trades should be strictly prohibited by law.

The Congress agreed unanimously with these explanations, and added a resolution to the effect that the technical training of

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*The English original says: “all persons from [9] and to 17 years (inclusively)”.* — Ed.
juvenile persons should be of a practical as well as of a theoretical nature so that not factory overseers and foremen but working men should be trained at the projected technological schools.

7. THE LAUSANNE CONGRESS, 2nd TO 8th SEPTEMBER, 1867

Sixty-four delegates came to this Congress, among whom the German element was represented by 25 members.

All opening ceremonies were dispensed with, and the Congress proceeded at once to elect the Presidium and the Bureau. Eugène Dupont, member of the General Council and delegate of the French section in London, was elected to the chair, and coped smartly with his none too simple duties. He was fortified in his task by the magnificent behaviour of the assembly. No unfriendly words had to be smoothed over, no improper pronouncements had to be rebutted, no tactless motions had to be registered. This time, too, the difficulty of conducting the discussion in three languages (English, German, and French) was happily overcome, as it had been at the first congress.

The most important at this Congress were the reports of the individual sections and affiliated societies on the actual successes and the growth of the Association. It would take us too far afield if we were to reproduce the content of these most interesting reports if only in outline, and we may dispense with it here all the more because the present expansion of the Association will be taken up in a later section. The official proceedings of the Congress of 1867 have been published in French by Chaux-de-Fonds, Imprimerie de la Voix de l’Avenir.

Indicative of the spirit of the Congress was the following:

Gaspare Stampa from Milan, delegate of the Central Council of Italian working men’s associations, which embraces 600 workers’ societies and has its seat in Naples, announced at the sitting of the 4th of September that Garibaldi would be passing through Lausanne on his way to the Peace Congress in Geneva; he moved that the Congress should appoint a deputation to go to Villeneuve to greet Garibaldi on behalf of the Congress, and to invite him to visit the Congress in his capacity as honorary president of the above-mentioned Italian working men’s associations. Other dele-

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a Rapports lus au Congrès ouvrier réuni du 2 au 8 septembre 1867 à Lausanne, Chaux-de-Fonds, 1867.—Ed.
gates opposed this motion. However popular Garibaldi may be, a Congress representing the working class could not pay homage to any single individual. If, however, Garibaldi wished to assume his seat at the Congress as honorary president of the Italian working men’s associations, he would be as heartily received as any other delegate. Having done with Stampa’s motion, the Congress passed on to the agenda.

The nearly simultaneous holding of the international Peace Congress 414 in Geneva (9 to 12 September), in which many members of the Working Men’s Congress intended to take part in a private capacity, compelled the latter to define its position in relation to the Peace League in Geneva. This was done in the following heartily applauded resolution:

“Considering that the pressure of war weighs more heavily on the working class than on any other class of society, because it is not only robbed by it of its means of subsistence but is also the class that is made to shed most blood in it;

“Considering that the pressure of so-called armed peace weighs as heavily on the working man as that of war by consuming the best energies of the people in unproductive and destructive labour;

“Finally, considering that any radical remedy of this evil necessitates altering the prevailing social conditions which repose on the exploitation of one part of society by another,

“The Congress of the International Working Men’s Association declares its complete and emphatic allegiance to the Peace League constituted in Geneva on the 7th of September, and to its efforts in the interest and for the maintenance of peace, and demands not only that war be abolished but also that standing armies be disbanded, and that a universal and free alliance of the peoples be constituted in their place on the basis of reciprocity and justice, but with the proviso that the working classes be emancipated from their unfree and oppressed condition and social discrimination, and that an end be put to the mutual struggle of classes through the rectification of the obtaining contradictions.”

The Geneva Working Men’s Congress of 1866 had been an object of lively debate in the French press, especially that of Paris and Lyons. The big London papers, however, had passed it over in dead silence. Not so the Congress in Lausanne a year later. The Times had its own correspondent there. Furthermore, it published editorial articles about the International Working Men’s Association, b and its example was followed by the dailies and weeklies of all England. After The Times had set the tone, the other papers, too, no longer considered it beneath their dignity to devote not

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a *Adresse collective au Congrès de la paix à Genève, de la part des Travaillleurs réunis en Congrès à Lausanne.* — Ed.

b “The International Working Men’s Congress (From a Correspondent). Lausanne”, The Times, Nos. 25909, 25911, 25912, 25913, September 6, 9, 10, 11, 1867.— Ed.
only notices but even long editorials to the labour question. All of them discussed the Working Men's Congress. It was only natural that many papers treated the subject in a superior and ironic vein. For every undertaking has its funny side apart from the sublime, and how could the Working Men's Congress with its loquacious Frenchmen be completely free of it? But for all that, the English press has on the whole treated the Congress very decently. Even *The Manchester Examiner*, which is in fact the organ of *John Bright* and the Manchester School, portrayed it in a pertinent editorial as an important and epoch-making event. Where it was compared with its step-brother, the Peace Congress, the comparison was always in favour of the elder brother. In the Working Men's Congress they discerned a threatening and fateful tragedy, whereas nothing but farce and burlesque was seen in the other.

8. THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION, THE TRADES' UNIONS, AND THE STRIKES

With the foundation of the International Working Men's Association a new era began for the English Trades Unions. Previously, they were exclusively engrossed in the struggle over wages and the working time, and were bound down by the narrow-mindedness of the medieval guilds system.

The trades unions are not only a wholly lawful but also a governmentally recognised body sanctioned by Act of Parliament in 1825 and necessitated by the daily conflicts between labour and capital. Their purpose is to stand up for the interests of workmen against masters and capitalists. Their *ultima ratio* is the strike, whose legality is enshrined in the aforementioned Act of Parliament on the condition that any direct breach of the peace is avoided and no forcible restraint of trade is attempted. Under the protection of this Act, the trades unions have spread in all factory districts of England and have, by virtue of their numbers, organisation and funds, grown into a powerful body which

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a In the German original the English terms "Trades' Unions" and "Strikes" are given in brackets after their German equivalents. — *Ed.*

b An Act to repeal the Laws relating to the combinations of Workmen, and to make other Provisions in lieu thereof. — *Ed.*

c The German original has the English and French terms "Strikes" and "Grèves" in brackets after their German equivalent. — *Ed.*

d The German original has the English terms "breach of the peace" and "restraint of trade" in brackets after their German equivalents. — *Ed.*
confronts, and commands the respect of, the employers, and makes its influence felt in many different ways. They have survived all the periods of political reaction, all the counter-schemes of the masters and capitalists, all the shortages and commercial crises of the past decades, and have the same importance for the organisation of the working class as the establishment of communes in the Middle Ages had for the middle classes of bourgeois society, as Karl Marx has, indeed, demonstrated as early as 1847 in his work against Proudhon, entitled *Misère de la Philosophie. Réponse à la Philosophie de la Misère par Mons. Proudhon* (Paris 1847).\(^a\)

It has now been brought home to these trades unions that, on the one hand, without knowing it, they are a means of organising the working class, and that alongside their immediate and current aims they must not forget the general aim of winning the complete political and social emancipation of the working class. On the other hand, it has equally been brought home to them that no ultimate success was possible without international combination and that by its very nature the workers' movement cut across state and national borders.

That is why the following resolution was framed and adopted at the big conference of delegates from the trades unions of the United Kingdom at Sheffield in 1866:\(^416\):

"That this conference, fully appreciating the efforts made by the International Association to unite in one common bond of brotherhood the working men of all countries, most earnestly recommend to the various societies here represented, the advisability of becoming affiliated to that body, believing that it is essential to the progress and prosperity of the entire working community."\(^b\)

The London Trades' Council,\(^c\) which is the central body of England's trades unions, had by then concluded an agreement with the General Council of the International Working Men's Association in London. The Secretary of the Trades' Council, Mr. Odger, was and still is also a member of the General Council of the International Association. Only from then on did the activities of the trades unions in England gain a universal character, which became evident very soon when they took a direct part for the first time in the political movement. How successful they were is

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\(^a\) K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon.*—*Ed.*

\(^b\) *Report of the Conference of Trades' Delegates of the United Kingdom....*, Sheffield, 1866.—*Ed.*

\(^c\) The German original has the English term "Trades' Council" in brackets after its German equivalent.—*Ed.*
common knowledge. After the fall of the Russell-Gladstone cabinet in June 1866 it had seemed that the parliamentary reform would be indefinitely postponed. The Tory leaders declared to the loud acclaim of the majority that no reform was necessary. At this point, the workers took charge of the movement. Mass meetings on a large scale were called in London, Birmingham, Manchester, Glasgow, Bristol, and other cities, in which the trades unions took part in their own capacity. The Trades' Council gave its support to the Reform League, the governing body of the movement. Within a few months, victory was achieved, and the Tory government was forced to initiate the parliamentary reform.

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In England as well as on the Continent the years 1866 to 1868 were especially plentiful in strikes on the part of the workers and in factory lock-outs on the part of the capitalists.* The common reason for this was the crisis of 1866 and its aftermaths. The crisis paralysed speculation. Large enterprises came to a standstill, and those entrepreneurs who, owing to the changed situation on the money market, were unable to meet the financial commitments they had made at the time when speculation was at its highest, were forced into bankruptcy. The stagnation of all trading enterprises had reached a point where it was surpassed only by the extraordinary glut of gold in the banks of England and France. And the gold had piled up in the banks because it could no longer find any use for business purposes. This led to a general stoppage of commerce and a general decline of prices. Victuals alone, notably bread, the workers' most vital necessity, had gone up in price owing to the crop failures of 1866 and 1867. And precisely during this general shortage came the calamity of universal crisis, which made itself felt to the workmen through the reduction of the working time and the lowering of wages by the employers. Hence the many strikes and lock-outs. It so happened, furthermore, that the laws against working men's coalitions had only just been lifted in France and other countries of the Continent. Unquestionably, too, the resolutions of the working men's congresses in Geneva and Lausanne had had a moral effect, made still stronger by the workmen's awareness everywhere that

* Lock-out—temporary closure of whole factories and all workshops of any industrial branch, the capitalists' instrument of forcing workers to accept low wages. [Note by Eichhoff.]
they could rely on the powerful backing of the International Association.

But that part of the European bourgeois press which denounced the International Working Men's Association for inciting these conflicts was mistaken. Nowhere did the Association initiate any strikes, and confined itself merely to intervening where the character of the local conflicts justified its doing so and required it to take action.

Specifically, it intervened in three important cases, where it also used the opportunity to make successful propaganda for its principles.

First, a few general remarks about the tactics of the Association during the English workers' strikes, in which its cooperation had been required. An account of this is given in the "Third Annual Report" which the London General Council placed before the Congress in Lausanne, and which says:

"It used to be a standard threat with British capitalists, not only in London, but also in the provinces, when their workmen would not tamely submit to their arbitrary dictation, that they would supplant them by an importation of foreigners. The possibility of such importations taking place was in most cases sufficient to deter the British workmen from insisting on their demands. The action taken by the General Council has had the effect of putting a stop to these threats being made publicly. Where anything of the kind is contemplated it has to be done in secret, and the slightest information obtained by the workmen suffices to frustrate the plans of the capitalists. As a rule, when a strike or a lock-out occurs concerning any of the affiliated trades, the Continental correspondents of the Association are at once instructed to warn the workmen in their respective localities not to enter into any engagements with the agents of the capitalists of the place where the dispute is. However, this action is not confined to affiliated trades. The same action is taken on behalf of other trades upon application being received."

Indeed, this was how the manoeuvres of the English capitalists were frustrated during the strikes relative to workshop and factory lock-outs of railway excavators, conductors and engine drivers, zinc workers, wire-workers, wood-cutters, and so on. In a few cases, such as the strike of the London basket-makers, the capitalists had secretly smuggled in labourers from Belgium and Holland. Following an appeal of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association, however, the latter made common cause with the English workers.

Still greater services were rendered to a certain group of workers by the Association's administrative committee in Paris. In

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a "Third Annual Report of the International Working Men's Association". In the original, the English title is followed by its German translation in brackets.—Ed.
Roubaix, the ribbon manufacturers introduced arbitrary penal regulations in their factories which naturally mainly amounted to deductions from wages. The inescapable result of this system of fines was the dismissal of the workers who protested against it, the lock-out leading to a revolt and to an armed intervention by the authorities. Here, however, the Central Council of the International Association in Paris stepped in and proved that the manufacturers had made themselves guilty of breaking the law with their regulations by playing legislator, judge and gendarme off their own bat. As a result, the French government was compelled to declare that any private factory regulations, insofar as they were not purely administrative, but imposed fines, were *unlawful* and constituted an unmitigated usurpation.

The decisive and most important cases of intervention by the International Working Men's Association, however, were the following three:

1. *Closure of the Paris Bronze Workshops in February 1867*

The great, fundamental importance of this conflict was the following:

Trade unions had only just been legally allowed in France. The bronze-workers, a body of approximately 5,000 persons, were the first to take advantage of this and to form a union on the English model at the beginning of 1866. Naturally, from the start, this association was a thorn in the side of the masters, and they decided to destroy it at the first opportunity. This opportunity came in February 1867, when the union found itself compelled to intervene on behalf of its members and to require five of the masters to comply with its directions. Instantly, the capitalists formed a coalition, which demanded of their workers that they either resign from the union or leave the workshops. This culminated in a lock-out of some 1,500 bronze-workers by 87 employers.

In this case, therefore, *the existence of this important factor of the movement in France* hung in the balance.

At the beginning of the lock-out, the union of bronze-workers had a fund of 35,000 francs. It decided to pay each of the dismissed workers 20 francs weekly, and to obtain a loan from the English trades unions for this purpose through the good offices of
the International Association against a monthly repayment of 5,000 francs.

The workers won thanks to the moral and pecuniary support of the London General Council, which obtained the desired contributions from the English trades unions, and also thanks to the intervention of the Paris Central Council of the International Association which persuaded the other trade unions in France to render the bronze-workers vigorous support.

Besides the social significance of the French workers' coming out victorious with the help of their English brethren, the case has its international importance, of which the Courrier français of March 24, 1867 says the following:\footnote{V. Huriot, "M. Thiers a dit qu'en matière de relations internationales, il n'y avait point de politique nouvelle...", Le Courrier français, No. 12, March 24, 1867.—Ed.}

"M. Thiers said that no new policy is conceivable in international relations. Yet a noteworthy and in no way isolated fact has just taken place which, coming from the people, serves notice of something that is really new.

"We cannot tell if the bitter, hundreds of years old and almost inhuman hatred between the English and the French is still rooted in the bosom of a part of the two nations. But the fact that the English proletariat offers alliance and pecuniary assistance to the Paris bronze-workers to support them in a question of employment and wages is a symptom of a new policy which the old parties do not and cannot comprehend."

2. The Geneva Strike in the Spring of 1868*\footnote{Little great men.—Ed.}

While the case of the Paris bronze-workers concerned the existence of trade unions in France, the case here concerned the...
existence of the International Working Men's Association on the Continent.42*

The conflict between the International Working Men's Association and a part of the employers in Geneva broke out and ran its course in the following way.

Ever since August 1867 there were signs of deep dissatisfaction over their condition among the Geneva building workers. A general meeting of the building workers, held on January 19, 1868, moved to elect a joint committee, which would enter into negotiations with the employers and by amicable agreement secure a reduction of the working time from 12 to 10 hours and a wage increase of 20 per cent. A memorandum was drawn up and forwarded to all the masters. Instead of deferring to the workers, the employers formed a counter-coalition and called a general meeting of building masters for the 18th of March, their provisional committee turning down the repeated proposals of the workers' committee to have amicable talks between delegates of the two sides before the general meeting was to take place.

This attitude of the masters' provisional committee showed the workers what they should expect from the coming general meeting of masters. Their committee declared that it had failed in its task of negotiating an understanding with the masters' committee, and in the evening of the 14th of March it requested the Geneva Central Committee of the International Working Men's Association to take the matter in hand and to mediate an agreement.

It was the duty of the Association to comply with this request. It appointed a commission of three Geneva citizens, whose private attempts at mediation, however, also failed to yield results. On the 20th of March, therefore, after the general meeting of the 18th had finally constituted an employers' association, the commission issued a public invitation to the "Messieurs les building contractors" to come to a meeting on the 23rd of March. On the very next day a public reply appeared in the newspapers which let the commission of the International Association know in the name of the general meeting of the 18th of March that the masters' general meeting had decided, with only three votes against, to have no negotiations with it whatsoever.

In the morning of the 23rd of March, the commission formed by the International Association made this state of affairs known in wall posters, serving notice that if no favourable result was achieved by the evening of that day and all prospects of an amicable understanding with the employers vanished, it would
beat the drums and call a general meeting of all the sections of the International Association. At six in the evening the signal was given, and members of the Association thronged from all sides to the Rue du Rhône, where the union had its premises. The bourgeoisie was panic-stricken. Shops and houses were locked up, the cash-boxes were placed in safety, and the employees of some of the comptoirs\(^a\) were issued arms and ammunition. In the meantime, the Association, 5,000 men strong, marched in model order to the shooting-range, where the announced general meeting discussed the gravity of the situation and unanimously assured the building workers of the support of the International Association. After this had taken place, it was not the International Association but the governing bodies of the trade unions which, to their members’ thunderous cheers and enthusiastic assurances of support, declared a strike of block-cutters, bricklayers, plasterers and house-painters in Geneva. Thereupon, the gathering dispersed quietly. By nine in the evening Geneva had already resumed its usual appearance.

Word of the strike, which had been unavoidable, was sent to the General Council of the International Association in London and the administrative councils in Brussels, Paris, and Lyons on the 25th of March; they were approached for urgent support because the Geneva section of the Association had been unprepared for the strike, whose magnitude exceeded its capacities.

In the meantime, the masters lost no time either to invite workers for themselves, mainly from Ticino and Piedmont. But these were brought to the premises of the International Association the moment they arrived, and were there informed of the state of affairs and won over to the side of the strikers.

It goes without saying that during this time the International Association was subjected to the most savage attacks and the most venomous accusations. The *Journal de Genève* set the tone and was most vigorously backed by the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, the *Neue freie Presse*\(^b\) of Vienna, and other organs of the radical, liberal and conservative bourgeoisie. As a result of the energetic behaviour of the Geneva Central Council, the cause of the strike faded completely into the background, while the International Association was pushed to the forefront of the movement.

On the 28th of March, the masters’ association put up wall notices dated the 26th of March, in which the masters promised to

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\(a\) Offices.—*Ed.*

\(b\) See *Neue freie Presse*, Nos. 1286 (supplement), 1288, 1291, March 29 and 31, and April 3, 1868.—*Ed.*
consider the workers' grievances in all fairness, warned them against the despotism and menace of the International Working Men's Association, which they said was maintained on foreign money and had instigated the strike, reminded them of the previous friendly mutual understanding, and called on them to return to work in good faith as individuals; the masters would be glad to improve the workers' lot and would for the time being grant them an 11-hour working day. Should they, however, contrary to expectations, fail to comply with this, the masters would be compelled, for their part, also to close down workshops in those branches of the building trade which had not yet joined in the strike.

All attempts to come to an understanding foundered because the masters did not wish to deal with delegates of the International Association, and since no individual workers reported to work, the threatened factory lock-out was carried into effect on the 30th of March, and the workshops of joiners, carpenters and tinners were closed down. The moral effect which this closure had on the Geneva workers is best illustrated by the fact that a number of unions which had previously stood aloof from the International Association, formed sections and asked it for admission. Thus the coach-makers, farriers, saddlers, upholsterers, file-cutters, curriers, and others. During these few days the Association won many more than a thousand new members.

Workmen employed in the jewellery trade, such as goldsmiths, watchmakers, bowl-makers, and engravers, who with only few exceptions are all citizens of Geneva, held a meeting attended by more than 2,000 persons on the 30th of March, and resolved as one man to apply all moral and material means to help bring the cause of the building workers to victory. In reference to the International Association, the assembly declared itself quite firmly against the false and malicious statement that the Geneva workers were being subjected to tyrannical pressure by a foreign society.

If until then the International Association had applied itself diligently to settling the conflict, it was now, since all attempts at reaching an understanding had failed, a matter of obtaining means for a longer duration of the strike. The Geneva Central Committee of the International Association had to support some 3,000 workers and their families, which was a burden the Geneva workers could not conceivably cope with on their own.

But contributions were already pouring in from all sides. First of all, most appreciative acknowledgements are due to the Geneva working men and their unions for their spirit of self-sacrifice. It
may be said without exaggeration that the employed workers of Geneva shared their bread with those who were out of work. And not just each and everyone gave willingly part of his wage; the unions' savings banks and relief funds contributed sums ranging from 500 to 5,000 francs. The unions of other Swiss cities and the German workers' societies in Switzerland were not found wanting either. Contributions arrived from Germany—Hanover (Workers' Union), Hamburg (Workers' Educational Society), Schwerin (building workers), Rostock, Kaukhehmen, Solingen, Mannheim (Tailors' Union), Esslingen (Workers' Educational Society), Munich (Workers' Educational Society), and other towns. Especially active, however, were the General Council of the International Association in London and its administrative committees in Brussels and Paris. At the beginning of April the General Council was already able, despite the formal difficulties that it had had to overcome in order to obtain larger sums, to promise the Geneva Central Committee at least 40,000 francs monthly from England alone until the victorious culmination of the strike, partly as a loan and partly as a grant. And by the good offices of the Brussels and Paris administrative committees considerable contributions came from unions in those two cities, e.g. 2,000 francs from the printers, 1,500 francs from the tinners of Paris, and so on.

The masters saw then that their plan of starving out the workers had failed. But since they had vowed that they would not deal with the Central Council of the International Association, this was done on their behalf by M. Camperio, President of the State Council and Chief of the Justice and Police Department of Geneva. He notified the Central Committee of the Association on the 8th of April to send delegates of all building trades to his office with a view to reaching an understanding. An agreement came about already on the third day of the negotiations. The masters conceded the workers a reduction of the working time by 1 and in some cases 2 hours, and a wage increase of 10 per cent.

In the evening of the same day (11th of April) M. Camperio let it be known in wall notices that the conflict between the workmen and the employers had been settled through his mediation, that the strike was to be considered over, and that work would be resumed on Monday (13th of April).

The International Working Men's Association, too, lost no time in announcing the happy end of the strike in wall posters and, while thanking the workmen for their brave conduct during the weeks of the struggle, it called on them to forget all that had happened and go to work on Monday in good cheer.
For the International Working Men's Association the conflict resulted in a mass adherence of workmen in Switzerland.

3. **The Bloody Conflict Between the Belgian Government and the Miners of Charleroi (March 1868)**

Belgium is a paradise for the bourgeoisie. Its Constitution is the ideal of a model bourgeois state. Its government is the agent of the bourgeoisie, representative of the domination of capital. Nothing is more natural there than that the least collision between the interests of capital and labour should precipitate a conflict which culminates in a bloody solution by powder and lead.424

The more resolutely the International Working Men's Association concerns itself there with the cause of the oppressed and persecuted, the more necessary it appears to present an exhaustive account of the causes of the labour disturbances in the coal basin of Charleroi.

Among the national industries of various countries, coal and iron stand at the head of the list. The two industries form an organic whole. No ironworks and no furnace can operate without coal, and for the collieries, too, the furnaces and ironworks are the most important consumer. Any upheaval in one of the industries, therefore, makes itself instantly felt in the other, and a metallurgical crisis, which recurs periodically like all crises, has an immediate and direct bearing on the price of coal.

The country that nature has favoured the most in respect of coal and iron is England. There, both coal and iron lie fairly close to the surface and can be extracted with little effort. France, on the other hand, is the most disinherit, for it produces practically no coal of its own and its ironworks are dependent on English or Prussian coal. But though for France importation of foreign coal is an economic necessity, it subjects coal-producing Belgium to highly disagreeable competition because England and Prussia (with a waterway along the Rhine and its tributaries) are in a more favourable position as regards transport, and because transportation costs have a bearing on the local price of coal.

The general price of coal in each country, on the other hand, depends on the wages that are paid for working it. Indeed, the international relevance of this factor strikes the eye owing to the difference in the amount of labour time consumed in different countries to produce the same quantity of coal. Wages, too, are as
different as the working time, and in England they are at least $26^{2/3}$ per cent higher than on the Continent.*

The implications for colliery workers of different countries are the following:

Whenever an iron and steel crisis or some other unfavourable commercial factor depresses the price of coal, the mine-owners try to lower wages. Knowing, however, that wages are already so low that any further reduction is a hardship that may in certain circumstances, such as a time of shortages, drive the worker to desperation, they are compelled to look for a plausible excuse.

As a rule, there are only two such excuses, one applicable only to England, and the other only to the Continent.

The plausible excuse of the English mine-owner is the low wages on the Continent.

The plausible excuse of the continental mine-owner is the low price and competition of English coal.

To what social straits the Belgian coalminers have been reduced in these circumstances is vividly described in the following article in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt**:

"A sadder plight than that of the Belgian coalminer is hardly conceivable. Reduced to the condition of an industrial machine, he has been stripped of all social rights and duties. He is nothing more than a chattel which figures in the mine-owner's inventory alongside horses, donkeys, implements, and other working material. That is a fact. A mining company considers itself richer when it has a greater number of workers in its hands. When it establishes a workers' town for 'humanitarian reasons' the direct gain is at most 2 to 3 per cent. But the indirect gain is immeasurably greater, for the company acquires an additional number of workers utterly dependent on the mine for their subsistence, thus ensuring the operation of the mine under any circumstances. It would be more appropriate to call the coalminer a serf or slave

* According to estimates by Richard Whiting. To determine how much worse off the workers were in France than their colleagues in England, he assumed that, considering the difference in the price of the most important necessities in the two countries, the worker got just as far with 5 francs in France as he did with 5 shillings (that is, 6 francs) in England. This made a difference of $16^{2/3}$ per cent by reason of just the price discrepancies. Having in this simple way identified francs and shillings as equal values for both countries, Whiting found in addition that wages in France were at least 10 per cent lower than those in England, while wages in France, Belgium, and Rhenish Prussia were approximately the same. [Note by Eichhoff.]

** Demokratisches Wochenblatt, organ of the German People's Party, Leipzig, printed and published by C. W. Vollrath. Its editor-in-chief is Wilhelm Liebknecht. [Note by Eichhoff.]

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*a "Die Lage der belgischen Kohlenarbeiter", Demokratisches Wochenblatt, Nos. 20 and 21, May 16 and 23, 1868.— Ed.*
rather than a *free man*, which is a title that bourgeois economists so generously apply to him.

"Among all the labouring classes the Belgian coalminers wear the badge of slavery more distinctly than the others. Ignorance, brutishness, physical and moral degradation—those are the sad effects of the unrestricted domination of capital in an industry that is in itself probably more demeaning to man than any other. To be sure, the bourgeoisie indulges itself in ascribing the coalminer's misery to his own ingrained faults and vices, his lack of foresight, frivolity and dissipation. Wisely, it avoids tracing the case to its sources, lest it reveal the causes and circumstances that inevitably produce a condition which cannot find succour in vain pity but which it is in the general interest to remedy, and as quickly as possible.

"Among the specific reasons that make the coalminer a machine of flesh and bone, the main one is the nature and condition of the work itself, and then also the extraordinary length of working time. And it is an economic law of the present social system that working hours tend to increase in much the same proportion as the labour continuously tends to grow harder.

"The coalminer's labour is purely physical; it calls for no mental effort at all. His brain is almost completely idle. Deprived of any stimulus, his mental aptitudes remain in an elementary, inert, dormant state. Consequently, his mentality is narrow-minded to the extreme. Just as his activity is purely physical, so his needs and tastes are also of a purely physical and brutish nature. The coalminer's intellectual and moral degradation is not at all surprising if you look at the nature of his trade. Considering the ruinous effects of the physical exertion that disfigures his body, it is indeed quite impossible for his habits and morals not to conflict with reason.

"The coalminer's worth is measured exclusively by his muscles; intelligence counts for nothing, for it is not needed. It takes neither skill nor talent nor education to work in a mine; physical strength alone is enough. A brief description of the various operations in a coalmine will show the reader that under the present economic system it is impossible for the miner to improve himself either physically or mentally or morally.

"Work in a mine is generally divided as follows: the *ouvriers à veine* cut the coal from the seam, the *bouteurs* take it to the gallery, and the *chargeurs à la taille* load it into carts or tubs. The *selôneurs* pull the tubs to the shafts where the coal is raised to the surface. The *coupers de voies*, the *releveurs* and the *meneurs de terres* dig shafts and galleries, and take out the earth and stones. All these jobs are done in the dingy light of a little lamp, in an unhealthy, dust-laden atmosphere. Tô do his job, the coalminer must assume unnatural poses, either lying on his side or kneeling, crouching or bending laboriously, and often he can only crawl in order to move forward or backward. All this makes his condition worse, more painful, than that of an excavator or field labourer, whose jobs are also admittedly of an entirely manual nature, but at least performed in open air and daylight.

"Is it any wonder, therefore, that the coalminer should be mentally and morally at so low a level? How can a man who labours *daily for 15 to 18 hours* in a murky, unaired hole, retain even a trace of the qualities that distinguish a human being from a beast? The best organised creature with the happiest spiritual aptitudes is bound to degenerate swiftly in such a regime, which seeks to destroy the individual's abilities. Nowadays, one can no longer deny the influence of the body on the spirit, of the physical on the moral. The physical state of the individual is usually an indication of the mental. The report of the Mons Chamber of Commerce for 1844, an official paper, portrays the coalminer in the following terms: 'These workers are pale of face in their young years, their frame is bent, they are bow-legged, and their walk is slow.
Almost without exceptions, they bear the stamp of premature senility at the age of 40 to 50.'

"Bidaut, a mining engineer, wrote in an official report in 1843: 'It is quite indisputable that this occupation (that of the coalminer), which deprives one of sunlight, subjects one to inhaling gases other than plain air, makes the body assume unnatural postures, exposes one to constant dangers, and so on, is of a kind that removes man the farthest from the normal conditions of life and should therefore be an object of special regulations. For me this is beyond any doubt.'

"What was true in 1843 is still true in 1868. The physical and moral condition of the coalminer, even though it may not have deteriorated, has certainly not improved. Far from having been reduced, the working time has since been lengthened, and wages, even if we disregard the current decline of business, are still the same while the price of victuals has gone up. Though considerable improvements have been introduced in mining, the workers have derived no benefit therefrom. If, for example, the miner no longer goes down into the mine and up again by ladder, the time and energy saved thereby benefit the master because more work is done. The effect of all this is that the miner lacks mental flexibility, that he scorns schooling and education as being the pursuit of 'idlers', that he does not send his children to school, and indulges in the coarsest of pleasures and amusements. While the mine-owner has an interest in keeping the miner in this brutish state, he is helped by a profusion of lesser businesses which profit exclusively off the workers and would, therefore, cease to be profitable if the worker were sober, prudent, and provident. They set traps for the miner at every step to part him from his last penny. And how easy is it to seduce people who lack the least schooling and whose mental capacity is in hibernation!

"This state of affairs cannot and must not continue. It is futile to appeal to the obligations of humanity; they are impotent against the laws of bourgeois economics. But the bourgeoisie is badly mistaken if it thinks it can reduce the workers to serfs and beasts without being itself affected by the moral consequences thereof. Suffice it to look at the bourgeoisie of the coal regions and factory towns. Whence the contempt for culture, for learning, and the lack of independent thinking outside the limits of its enterprises, and whence the crude lust for pleasure that distinguishes the bourgeoisie? It is quite the same as it was with the planters and slave-owners of the United States. There it was slavery and slave labour that caused the demoralisation. Here, too, similar effects would seem to justify the conclusion that the causes are the same. The lower the worker is pushed the lower his master sinks in his wake; he becomes morally corrupted as surely as the one whom he has ceased to regard as a human being:

"The workers have themselves found a remedy against the evils they suffer from private industry and which retroactively cover the body of society with festering sores. This remedy is education and cooperation. Nothing but a reduction of working time can put the benefits of enlightenment and education within reach of the worker. Nothing but participation in the benefits of capital can deliver him from the misery to which he is now helplessly exposed.

"The moral and material improvement of the worker is a question of social justice and of the public weal. There is no way to solve this question other than public education and the establishment of cooperative societies. It is up to the state to set these remedies in motion, to encourage and to support them. It will destroy itself if it looks on idly while the effects of the bourgeois economic system corrupt and erode society."
In February 1867 there had already been disturbances among the miners of Marchienne, which could only be quelled by armed force. The cause was the prevailing shortages, notably the high price of bread due to the crop failure of 1866. Calling on the English workers for contributions to support the families of the unfortunate victims of the massacre, the General Council of the International Association issued the following appeal at the beginning of March 1867:

**CENTRAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN’S ASSOCIATION**

18, Bouverie Street, E.C., London

To the Miners and Iron-Workers of Great Britain

Fellow working men, it is but a few days since *The Times* presaged the ruin and destruction of the British iron trade if the Unionists persisted in not working under a certain price. The Belgians, it was said, with cheap coals and low wages, would engross the trade, both in the home and the foreign market. Two men, *Creed and Williams*, expatriated in *The Times* on the felicity of the Belgian coal and iron-masters not being bothered with vexatious factory laws and Trades Unions; the Belgian miners and iron-workers worked contentedly, with their wives and children, from 12 to 14 hours a day, for less than their British equals received for ten hours' work a day. However, hardly was the ink of the print dry, when tidings arrived that these contented beings had revolted. The iron trade, says the *Economiste belge*, has been queer for some time on account of the high price of coal and an indifferent yield of the mines. The same journal says: “The ignorance of the mining population is so profound, their brutality so great, their way of spending their money so disorderly and so improvident that the highest wages would be insufficient.” This is no wonder. The responsibility rests with those who keep them in a worse than brutish drudgery from the cradle to the grave.

At the beginning of February, three furnaces stopped in the neighbourhood of Marchienne; the other iron-masters forthwith announced a reduction of wages of ten per cent; the coal-masters of Charleroi followed suit, yet the *Economiste belge* says that coals were never more in demand, nor at a higher price than at present. The outrage was aggravated by a simultaneous rise in the price of flour, the coal and iron-masters being also the proprietors of the flour mills of the district. A great many of the work-people became exasperated, and not being organised and in the habit of deliberating upon their common affairs, they had no plan of action for their guidance.

They gathered upon the high roads and went from place to place to prevent such as might be disposed to work under reduction. The colliers of Charleroi arrived by a flour mill guarded by a hundred soldiers whose guns were loaded with...
ball cartridges. This provoked an attack, the result is: killed, wounded, and prisoners. These poor provoked and ill-used victims have left families outside the graves and the prison walls who are in dire want. Nobody ventures in Belgium to say a word in their behalf. Mistaken and misguided as these men were as to their course of action, they yet fell in labour’s cause, and those they have left behind deserve sympathy and support. Some pecuniary help to the widows and orphans, and the moral influence it would produce, if coming from abroad, would raise the drooping spirits of the whole class, and might lead to communications and interchanges of opinion which would give our Continental brethren a better idea of how labour’s battles must be fought, and what organisation and education the fighting army requires.

The Central Council of the International Working Men’s Association appeals to you to take the case into your consideration, for the cause of the labourers of one country is that of the labourers of all countries.

George Odger, President
J. George Eccarius, Vice-President
R. Shaw, Secretary

Despite their own sad plight, Britain’s miners and iron-workers responded willingly and warmly to the appeal that was addressed to them. That was the reason why the influence of the International Association on the labouring population of Belgium kept rising steadily, until events occurred in the district of Charleroi in March 1868 which laid the way open for it all over Belgium and decided its social superiority.\(^3\)

The reason for this year’s labour disturbances was the following.

There had been a considerable over-production of coal. In Belgium coal consumption had declined, partly due to the general monetary and financial crisis of 1866 which occasioned an iron and steel crisis, affecting mainly the iron-works and blast-furnace industry of France and Belgium, and partly because of the competition of Prussian against Belgian coal. The Belgian mine-owners had, in fact, formed a coalition to push up the price of their coal. But then the owners of the iron-works and furnaces found it more profitable to bring their coal from abroad. And to protect themselves against price increases they concluded contracts for several years in advance. For the mine-owners it was now a question of making good the damage they had brought down on themselves by their greed, and, above all, a question of reducing production. It might be mentioned in passing that a large proportion of the Belgian coalmines are run by public companies which have great assets and distributed enormous dividends among their shareholders in the previous few years. The owners and directors of the mines now decided to reduce the working

\(^a\) See this volume, pp. 14-15.— Ed.
week to four days, which meant a loss of $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent of their regular wage for the workers. When this, too, failed to restore the balance between supply and demand, the coal-masters decided to reduce the price of coal. But to avoid having to lower the dividends of their shareholders, they reduced by another 10 per cent the wages that were already down to $66\frac{2}{3}$ per cent of normal. Yet at this very time the price of the most indispensable victuals was higher than ever owing to the two crop failures of 1866 and 1867. The half-starved coalminers, already painfully affected by their days of involuntary idleness, remonstrated against the wage cut, which doomed them to hunger. The strike became universal and spread throughout the district of Charleroi. Hunger and misery drove the wretches to rebellion and pillage, for otherwise the women would surely not have in a manner of speaking put themselves at the head of the crowds of workers, marching in front and holding poles to which they had nailed some miserable rags.

Now the capitalists let the government and military forces intervene and most deliberately provoked bloody conflicts in which many workers were killed, wounded or thrown behind bars. The first clash occurred on the 25th of March in the vicinity of Charleroi. The workers were about to comply with the well-meaning entreaties of an officer who pleaded with them to disperse, when a stone was flung and hit the major in command, giving the latter an excuse to open fire. Seven killed and 13 wounded was the outcome of that first collision, followed by others with the gendarmerie and cavalry. In Arsimont, gendarmes and the public prosecutor came to the scene even before any acts of violence had occurred, making arrests among workers, who had only just announced a strike. Directly in the wake of the police came the soldiers, who pounced without ado on the lot of workers returning home from the mine.

In modern history only the scenes of carnage and bloodshed during the Negro uprising in Jamaica can compare with these atrocities. Here, as in Jamaica, the capitalists celebrated bloody orgies. Here, as in Jamaica, they hoped to break what was left of the workers’ spirit of resistance and self-esteem by acts of extreme brutality. The cheerful, insolent and humorous tone affected by them as they revelled in their *terreur blanche* may be seen, among others, from the following passage in their organ, *Indépendance belge*, of the 1st of April 1868:

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* White terror.— *Ed.*
"The land is inundated with troops, and as these withdraw all individuals named as the leaders, as well as all those generally known to be dangerous, will be under lock and key. That is a prudent measure necessitated by the circumstances.... The arrests are accompanied with a military show of pomp and force, partly to create a crushing impression on the spirits of the populace and partly to be ready for any surprise attack that may be tried to snatch the prisoners from under the armed custody of the authorities.... Considering such organised pressure on the masses, it is easy to see that the rising cannot conceivably break out again. The bloody drama has also had a profoundly intimidating effect.... The restless but not in the least dangerous mass of rioters will be reduced to a state of complete impotence before nightfall. All leaders whom they had listened to in the past few days are being thrown behind bars, and even those whose voice they might perhaps be minded to heed are likewise being imprisoned.... It is in fact no longer the military but the police who are dealing with an iron hand.... One seeks advice from burgomasters, police officials and gendarmerie brigadiers in the rural communities, and has all those in one's own area indicated in reports as trouble-makers arrested."

In the midst of the stupefaction to which these brutalities reduced the afflicted part of the workers, the Brussels Central Committee of the International Association for Belgium raised its voice in the press, called public meetings, stigmatised the industrialists and their accomplice, the government, galvanised the Belgian working class to joint resistance, supplied the persecuted with legal counsel and defence lawyers, and declared the cause of the Charleroi coalminers the common cause of the International Working Men's Association. The General Council in London, like the two committees in Paris and Geneva, supported the committee at Brussels.427

After having suppressed the coalminers' movement in the district of Charleroi by force of arms, the employers did nothing at all to conciliate the unemployed and starving workers. They were perfectly happy to be able to close down their mines for some time. The government, too, did nothing. The workers, who received no support from any quarter but the International Working Men's Association, which was already badly taxed by the simultaneous events in Geneva and whose aid committees were only being organised, were on the edge of death from starvation. But at this time the townsmen of Charleroi, who saw the daily increasing misery, began to have misgivings. The Liberal association of Charleroi threatened the government that if no work was immediately provided to the jobless workers, it would dissolve its election committee and leave the field free for the Catholics. The threat had the desired effect. It was fear of losing votes in the next elections, not the crying distress of the starving workers, that drove the liberal government to initiating considerable public works in May 1868.
In the meantime, the proceedings against the men arrested in March are following their course. Whatever the outcome may be, whether the judges convict or acquit them, the government will have suffered, a setback. The workers know that they can expect nothing but powder and lead or imprisonment from the government. They cannot expect the government to redress their legitimate grievances or to protect and help them against the abuses of their employers. The government has itself opened their eyes to where help can come from and to whom they must turn: not the government but rather the International Working Men’s Association.


Faithful to the programme\(^a\) in which it called on working men to lay the ground for their social emancipation by seizing political power, the General Council did not in the least allow its social activity prevent it from taking political action in propitious circumstances. The most important steps in this field were the following.

1. Even before the Association was founded some of the members of the General Council had worked among their men for the cause of the North American Union. To the extent to which the government and the ruling classes had favoured the Confederates, making the most of the distress caused in England by the blockade of American harbours as a lever and employing all possible means to instigate demonstrations of English workers in favour of the Secessionists\(^b\)—to that same extent labour leaders had foiled these intrigues, informed the government and people of the United States in their addresses of the true feelings of the masses in Britain, and organised mass demonstrations of London workers in favour of the Union. Lincoln’s re-election on November 8, 1864 was an occasion for the General Council to send him an address with its best wishes.\(^b\) At the same time, it called mass meetings in support of the Union. That was why Lincoln, in his

\(^a\) K. Marx, “Inaugural Address of the Working Men’s International Association”.— Ed.

\(^b\) K. Marx, “To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America”.— Ed.
message of reply, expressly acknowledged the services of the International Working Men's Association for the good cause.\(^a\)

2. The General Council also convened public meetings from time to time to keep up the English workers' sympathy for Poland and to expose Russia's abuses in Europe.

3. When following the 1866 events in Germany a war between France and Prussia appeared imminent and the government papers in France did their utmost to fan the flames, to fire the national ambitions of the French, and to excite national hatred between France and Germany, the Paris Central Committee of the International Working Men's Association organised workers' demonstrations all over France against the war party, sent messages of sympathy to German working men and workers' unions, and prevented the French workers from falling into the trap that had been set for them. Time will show how much the anti-chauvinist attitude of the French labouring classes moulded by this vigorous action helped to prevent a war for which there had then been a suitable pretext.

4. The General Council of the International Working Men's Association took a conspicuous part in the establishment and consolidation of the English Reform League, whose agitation brought about the parliamentary reform of 1867. Members of the General Council are still the most active members of the Executive of the Reform League. The public demonstrations in London that forced the resignation of Mr. Walpole, the Tory Home Secretary, and the indignation meetings in all the leading cities of the land were, indeed, initiated by them.

5. The murder trial of the Fenians in Manchester\(^*\) was branded by the General Council as a travesty of justice. When the

* On September 18, 1867, armed Fenians attacked a police van in Manchester and freed two political prisoners (Fenian officers). A police sergeant was killed during the attack. Contrary to English law, which provides for periodical assizes to be held in all counties, the case was put before a special commission, an extraordinary tribunal, at which the Fenians who are accused of having taken part in the attack were charged with the murder of the police sergeant. Mr. Blackburn was named judge and contrived to prevail on the jury by all sorts of stratagems that each of the defendants proved to have taken part in the attempt to free the prisoners had thereby incurred guilt for murder. Thereupon, Mr. Blackburn passed down five convictions and five death sentences. Of the convicted men two were reprieved and three were hanged. On June 2, 1868, the selfsame Mr. Blackburn conducted the proceedings against Mr. Eyre, the ex-governor of Jamaica, and prevailed on the Grand Jury, with references to an alleged judgement of Lord

\(^a\) "Mr. Lincoln and the International Working Men's Association. London, Jan. 31", *The Times*, No. 25101, February 6, 1865.— *Ed.*
executions drew close in November 1867, the General Council sent a petition to the English government,\(^a\) warning it against the bloodshed. Besides, at the height of the panic created in London by the Manchester events, the Council held a public session in support of the rights of Ireland and the Irish. This was the first of the actions in favour of the unfortunate victims of that miscarriage of justice. *The Times* and the rest of the daily press reported the event.\(^b\) The mood among the London workers was so strongly altered thereby and the plan of the English aristocracy to exploit English national prejudices and split the working class with its strong Irish element into two hostile factions, was so effectively baulked that the organs of the English aristocracy, such as the *Saturday Review*, began denouncing the International Working Men's Association as being dangerous to the state.

10. CONFLICTS WITH GOVERNMENTS

1. Conflict with the French Government

It is commonly known that in France there exists a law that no society of more than 20 persons may be constituted without authorisation of the government.\(^431\) To judge from the wording of the law, most of the industrial and commercial companies in France are unlawful and exist on sufferance only. For by decision of the Court of Appeal the authorisation is tacit\(^c\) if the society in question is public and is not dissolved by the government for some length of time. Whether authorised or not, one may assume that the government may at the very most dissolve societies to whose establishment it had tacitly acquiesced, but that it has no right to punish its members.

As for the organisation of the International Working Men's Association in France, the case is as follows. All branch societies in

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\(^a\) See this volume, pp. 3-4.—Ed.

\(^b\) "London Meetings", *The Times*, No. 25974, November 21, 1867.—Ed.

\(^c\) In the German original the French word "tacite" is given in Latin in brackets after its German equivalent.—Ed.
France exist merely as members of the English society, on whose General Council they are represented by Eugène Dupont. (In addition, there is in London a French group and a German one.) Though they act in common in certain cases, the French sections are not connected with one another, and have intercourse only with the General Council in London. Each of the societies forms a separate body with an executive committee at its head which corresponds with the General Council in London. The establishment of the society in France was initiated by the Paris Administrative Committee of the Paris group. The Committee had notified the Interior Minister and the Prefect of the Paris police of its inauguration and existence as long ago as 1864. Since that date the Paris Committee, like the committees in the other cities of France, had functioned publicly. Open meetings of members of the Association were held from week to week, and reports about them were published in public newspapers. Indeed, in clear contrast to the secret societies of past decades, the society is by nature a public one, and the meetings of the General Council in London are reported each week in London newspapers.

The first conflict between the International Working Men's Association and the French government occurred in September 1867, after the Congress at Lausanne. A part of the documents of the Congress had been entrusted to the care of Jules Gottraux, one of the French delegates, who was to despatch them from France to England. The moment he crossed the French border, the papers were seized. The General Secretary of the London General Council addressed himself in writing to the French Minister of the Interior and demanded the return of the confiscated papers because they were British property. He received no reply. Thereupon, the General Council of the Association turned to Lord Stanley, the British Foreign Secretary. The latter instructed Lord Cowley, the British Ambassador in Paris, to demand that the papers be returned, and the French government complied.

The second conflict occurred at about the same time. No printer in Paris had dared to print a memorandum which the Paris delegates had read out at the Geneva Congress and in which they set forth their standpoint and defended their principles—which were,

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a Paul Boudet.— Ed.
b Eichhoff is mistaken: the conflict occurred in September 1866, after the congress in Geneva (see Note 13).— Ed.
c John George Eccarius.— Ed.
d Charles La Vallette.— Ed.
e Congrès de Genève. Mémoire des délégués français, Brussels, 1866.— Ed.
by the way, one-sidedly Proudhonistic, specifically French, and decidedly not accepted by the Association. For this reason, the Paris Committee had the memorandum printed in Brussels. But it was seized on the border as it was being brought into France. On March 3, 1867, the Paris Central Committee of the Association wrote to Rouher, the Minister of State and the Emperor's alter ego, demanding the reasons for the seizure. In his reply, addressed to the offices of the Paris Bureau of the Association at Rue de Gravilliers 44, Rouher invited a member of the Committee to an interview. The Committee appointed a delegate, who went to see the Minister. Rouher demanded altering and modifying a few objectionable places. The delegate refused to do so because any modifications would rob the document of its meaning. Thereupon, Rouher made the following characteristic pronouncement: "Still if you would introduce some words of gratitude to the Emperor, who has done so much for the working classes, one might see what could be done." (Pourtant, si vous faisiez entrer quelques remerciements à l'adresse de l'empereur qui a tant fait pour les classes ouvrières, l'on pourrait voir.) The delegate replied that the Association did not deal in politics and that neither flattery nor defamation, whether of an individual or a political party, came within its competence. Thereupon Rouher broke off the conversation and left the seizure of the memorandum in force.

The French government imagined that it could use the International Working Men's Association as a tool. It was in for a disappointment. On the other hand, it was aware of the growing strength and increasing influence of the Society on the occasion of the strikes at Amiens, Roubaix and Paris. Finally, a few weeks after the above conversation, it became aware with the greatest displeasure of the Society's agitation against imperialist chauvinism. It decided to take action. Whence arose

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a Napoleon III.—Ed.
b Eichhoff is mistaken: the letter was dated March the 9th (see "A M. le ministre de l'intérieur. Vendredi, 9 mars 1867", Le Courrier français, No. 112, May 1, 1868).—Ed.
c Ibid.—Ed.
d Antoine Marie Bourdon, keeper of the archives of the Paris section of the First International.—Ed.
e In the German original the French sentence is given in brackets after its German equivalent. An account of the interview, which took place on March 10, 1867, was published in Le Courrier français, No. 112, May 1, 1868.—Ed.
f Ibid.—Ed.
The third conflict. In the beginning of 1868, one night the Paris police raided the homes of the members of the Paris Central Committee. All letters and papers that they found there were confiscated. The police deduced therefrom that the registered members of the Paris group numbered some 2,000. (Since then this number has risen considerably.) The charge preferred was participation in a secret society, but it was dropped after two months' investigation. Instead, charges of breaching police regulations were presented, namely, of forming a society of more than 20 persons in the absence of the government's authorisation.

On March 20, 1868, the case came before the penal court of the Seine department. Engraver Tolain, a co-defendant, spoke on behalf of the 15 defendants. The hearing yielded the following picture:

President. Do you admit that the International Working Men's Association, whose member you and your co-defendants have become, has never been authorised?

Tolain. I think this is not the proper time to reply to this question. In our common plea we intend to prove that the overt activity of our society presupposes a tacit acknowledgement of its existence.

President. But you do admit that the authorisation was never received?

Tolain. It was never even required of us. To what government, indeed, should an international association turn for authorisation? Should it be the French, the Belgian, the British or any of the German governments? It could not have known, and no one could have told it. What would a French authorisation count for in England, for example, or vice versa?

President. Did you discuss political matters at your gatherings?

Tolain. Never, nowhere.

President. A manifesto printed in Brussels in 1866 has been confiscated from you, whose content consists of politics, even of effusive politics (politique transcendental).d

Tolain. The manifesto is my personal property, and I believe that in France I am the only one to own a copy of it. It was drawn up and published by English workers because, may it be known to the court, every group in every country has the right to set forth its particular opinion without thereby obligating the groups of other nations to solidarity. It is therefore not unusual for an English or German branch society to discuss questions of politics that we ourselves would not venture to touch, I declare that we have always kept our distance from politics at our meetings.

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a On New Year's Eve 1867.—Ed.
b Delesvaux.—Ed.
c The reference is to the Manifeste de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs suivi du Règlement provisoire, Brussels, 1866. It was translated into French by Charles Longuet at Marx's request. Longuet rectified the mistranslations that occurred in the first French translation of the Provisional Rules.—Ed.
d In the German original the French words are given in brackets after their German equivalent.—Ed.
President. How is your Association organised, where is its seat, what are its purposes, and what are the functions of the General Council and the Paris Bureau?

Tolain. The General Council was constituted in London in 1864. No permanent seat was ever fixed for it. The fact that it has had its seat in London for three years is due to difficulties that we have been unable to overcome. To inform you of its purposes I could hardly do better than to read you its Rules. (He reads the Rules.)

President. Tell me something about the organisation of the Paris Bureau.

Tolain. The Paris Bureau was formed following an appeal to all workers published in the newspapers. The object of creating the Bureau was to have a centre of activity for the Paris group, to send delegates to international congresses, and to transact other business on behalf of the Society. All this was done in broad daylight and quite openly. The Statutes of the Paris Bureau were set forth in a printed booklet, and the weekly dues of every member were fixed at 10 centimes.

President. Has this Bureau engaged in direct propaganda to expand the Society?

Tolain. Now and then we were asked for advice as to how a bureau is formed. In most cases we referred to the General Council in London.

President. Has the Paris Bureau interfered in any strikes, such as that of the Paris bronze-workers, or at Roubaix, Amiens, and elsewhere?

Tolain. The Association has indeed taken a most active part in the above-mentioned events in the belief that by studying the causes of the strikes it was doing a good service to the employers as well as the workers.

Public prosecutor Lepelletier's speech began as follows:

"Gentlemen, the defendants who stand before you are hard-working, intelligent and upright workers. They have never been convicted of anything, nothing has tainted their morality, and in substantiating the charge brought against them I, gentlemen, can say nothing that would prejudice their honour."

Thereupon the public prosecutor endeavoured to prove that the law had been breached and that there were grounds for conviction. Referring to the defendants' arguments invalidating the charge, he observed:

"What reproaches are being cast upon the prosecution? Gentlemen, if you have read the Siècle, the Opinion nationale, and the Courrier français of the past few days, you will have found expressions of regret in them by that portion of the press which sympathises with the International Association. Their reasoning is as follows. For three years, the Association has existed in broad and blessed daylight. It may not have been allowed by the authorities, but tolerated. Its aim was the material and moral emancipation of the workers, its means to this end being the study of economic questions and their solution according to the principles of truth, morality, and justice. And such long sufferance was suddenly followed by ruthless criminal prosecution for no reason at all other than the plain arbitrariness of power and a whim of violence. If the members of the Association had at least gone back on their programme and had applied themselves to problems involving danger to the state, if they had at least engaged in politics! But, on the contrary, they had steered clear of them at their sittings, had not touched them at their congresses, and had restricted

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their activity to the narrow limits of their statutes, which were well known to the authorities and, at least indirectly, tacitly, acknowledged by them.

“This, gentlemen, is the reproach that is cast upon us. I have neither understated nor exaggerated it. Is it a justified reproach? Is it true that the Association did not engage in politics? Is it true that it confined itself to the study of economic questions as provided for in its programme?”

Thereupon the public prosecutor endeavoured to prove the Paris Bureau’s involvement in political matters, which was not hard to do considering the Association’s general attitude in the Luxembourg affair, and demanded that the defendants be convicted in the interests of the law.

Here defendant Tolain rose to his feet and placed before the court the following petition.

“Considering that the illegality of a society derives from the absence of authorisation from the authorities; that no formal procedure has been established to obtain such authorisation; that the said authorisation can also be dispensed tacitly; that demanding a special form of authorisation means tightening a law which even the legislator himself has recognised as exceptional; that public confidence is shaken thereby; furthermore, that it follows from the discussions concerning the law of 1834 and from utterances of government representatives that the said authorisation may be granted tacitly; that such tacit permission or sufferance is the form in which all industrial and commercial companies of more than 20 members exist; that conceding the power to persecute such societies without first revoking this practice is an infringement upon the public consciousness, since it is self-evident that the government considers them lawfully authorised by virtue of their obvious existence; considering that the tacit authorisation of the Association follows 1) from the continuous publicity of its existence and actions, truly far more pronounced than in the case of commercial companies; 2) from the two letters of the International Association to the Minister of the Interior and the Prefect of the Police, in which the establishment and existence of the Association were recorded as long ago as 1864; considering that definitive and formal authorisation of the administration is contained in a letter addressed to the Secretary of the Society by the office of the Minister of the Interior or, more precisely, by the Minister of State who was his temporary deputy; that the legitimacy of the Association was in no way questioned during an interview with the Minister; that the prosecution cannot demonstrate that the Association has in the interval changed either its theories or its aims; considering that actually the Secretary of the Association, who had been invited to explain the memorial of the French delegates to the Congress of 1866, set forth the very same theories and aims which are now being reproved and prosecuted; that at that time even the prosecutor’s office regarded the Society as amply legalised because it had known of its existence and nevertheless stated at the public proceedings of January 4, 1867 that no prosecution was being contemplated; for all these reasons we plead with the court to dismiss the prosecution’s indictment.”

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b Ibid., pp. 32-35.— Ed.
c Paul Boudet.— Ed.
d Congrès de Genève. Mémoire des délégués français, Brussels, 1866.— Ed.
Upon submitting this petition, Tolain took the floor on behalf of the other defendants. His speech was a passionate protest against the lack of rights of the labouring classes. He described the dangers which the workman incurred when he endeavoured to clarify his social status by mutual instruction, by learning the relations that affect his most vital interests, and when he tried to secure improvements. Whatever he may do, whatever caution he may exercise, however pure and harmless his intentions may be, he was always threatened, persecuted, and subject to prosecution.

In the past 20 years countless industrial innovations had created new requirements and completely reconstructed the social economy. Deliberately or not, the government itself had followed the movement and collaborated assiduously in this reconstruction.

"We workers," Tolain went on to say, "were deeply interested to know what was to become of us, and this was the reason for our uniting in the International Association. Working men wanted to see for themselves, and not through the eyes of the official bourgeois economics. English workers gathered to receive the French workers; they and we were moved by one and the same concern, the social question. The perfection of machines, the English workers said, changed the social situation of working men each passing day, so let us enlighten each other, let us find the means to safeguard our subsistence. We had the same interests and were inspired by the same ideas. Since then the common slogan says that the workman cannot expect any improvement of his social condition unless he achieves it by his own efforts. This slogan was proclaimed at a public meeting in London in 1864."

Thereupon Tolain described the establishment, organisation and activity of the General Council in London and the Paris Bureau. Having again declared that the government had granted them tacit authorisation, he said that they, on the other hand, had not applied for official authorisation out of principle because they would not concede to the government the power to permit or forbid rights that were the natural endowment of workers and all citizens. And he concluded with the following significant declaration:

"I must add that the position in which we have been put should be properly considered. Whatever your sentence may be, we shall do the same tomorrow as we did the day before; this is neither hatred nor pigheadedness on our part; it is the consciousness of our right. From now on we lay claim to dealing ourselves with all matters of concern to us; we have only one means of putting an end to our present situation, and that is to overstep the law in order to show how bad it is. So far, we have not wished to breach the law because, let me repeat, the police, the government, the municipal authorities and the public at large, have known everything, seen everything, and accepted everything on sufferance."

The sentence of the court read:

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“Considering that, as follows from the investigations and proceedings, the defendants have for three years been Paris members of a society known by the name of the International Working Men's Association, that the aforesaid society consisted of more than 20 persons, and that it was not authorised;

"considering that the associated workers were bound among themselves by the purposes of the Association and worked together for the achievement of these purposes, that the said purposes were to improve the situation of the workers by cooperation, production and credit, and that they gathered at regular intervals and constituted themselves into a permanent corporation;

"considering that Articles 291 and 292 of the *Code pénal* and the Law of April 10, 1834 are police and general security laws applicable to anyone who breaches them on French territory, that it is irrelevant that the seat of the Society is located in London, and that it is perfectly sufficient to establish that the Paris Bureau has committed a breach of the aforesaid laws;

"considering that notice of the existence of the aforesaid Society in newspapers or its sufferance by the authorities does not relieve it of the need for an explicit authorisation of the government;

"considering that the defendants, by acting in this way, have committed offences covered by and punishable under Articles 291 and 292 of the *Code pénal* and § 2 of the Law of April 10, 1834;

"the Court hereby dissolves the International Working Men's Association established in Paris under the name of Paris Bureau, and sentences each of the defendants to a fine of 100 francs which, in the event of insolvency, shall be replaced by 30 days' imprisonment."

The convicted filed an appeal against this sentence. In the meantime, the Paris group acted precisely as *Tolain* had told the court. In place of the prosecuted 15, a new Bureau, consisting of nine members of the Association, was elected. Their election was announced in the newspapers. In a signed appeal they called publicly on the Paris workmen to contribute funds in support of the strike in Geneva.

The case of the 15 was heard in the second instance on April 22, 1868.

The main points of the indictment were the Bureau's *open refusal* to abide by the imperial penal law banning societies of more than 20 persons; the *political* nature of the Society, which subjected all pillars of the existing order to criticism; the *power* of the Society, which no government could withstand if it were allowed to embrace all countries as it has been doing so far; by
now, it was alleged, it has become a sort of universal intermediary for workers' strikes.

As in all other cases, the accused defended themselves on their own, without legal counsel. Referring to the lack of an official authorisation, they declared:

"If we, the Paris correspondents of the London General Council, had been notified, after informing the police and the competent authorities of the constitution of our Bureau, that an explicit authorisation was required, we would have thought of some other organisation for we are making it quite clear that it would never have occurred to us to submit to the humiliation of seeking authorisation. The very first principle of our Rules would have forbidden us to do so. For it says that emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves. Those, however, who accept authorisation also accept submission, subordination and the right of patronage or, in short, serfdom, from which, indeed, in all its forms, the International Association aims to liberate the working classes."

The Court of Appeal confirmed the sentence of the penal court and, besides, sentenced the appellants to paying the costs of the hearing. The grounds of the sentence were in substance the same as those of the sentence of the first instance; only the following phrase was new:

"That the danger was aggravated by the enormous power of the organisation and by the broad expansion of its activity."

In the meantime legal proceedings were also instituted against the nine members of the new Bureau elected in March, and the latter appeared before the penal court on May 22, 1868.

The hearings of the case were similar to those of March the 20th.⁴³⁷

The defence was presented by co-defendant bookbinder Varlin. After this workman, too, had dismissed the legal arguments of the prosecution with a logic and insight that would have done credit to any jurist, he went on to portray the moral-political and social-economic side of the case, and here rose to such power of expression and conviction as could only have come from someone who knew the rightness of the cause and its profound moral justice. He said⁴:

"In our eyes a strike is only a crude means to establish the wage; we use it much against our will for it subjects the workman and his family to weeks and months of most severe privations without the assurance of finally winning a fair wage. The International Association has set itself the task of gaining a peaceful

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³ Procès..., pp. 123-26.— Ed.
settlement to the labour question by studying the economic conditions; but as obstacles are being raised to our studies and the solution of the social question is thereby delayed, we shall frequently have to resort to strikes so as to protect our livelihood.

"But I must touch on yet another point.

"Before the law you are the judges and we are the accused; but before the principles we are two parties—you the party of order at any price, the party of stability, and we the party of reform, the party of socialism. Let us take an impartial look: what is the social order whose perfections it has been our crime to question? It is eroded to the marrow by inequality, its life is menaced by selfishness, it is being strangled by the iron claws of anti-social prejudices. Despite the declaration of human rights and the short-lived victories of the people's will, it depends on a handful of rulers whether or not streams of the people's blood shall be shed in fratricidal battles of nation against nation, of people who languish under the same burdens and who long for the same emancipation.

"Enjoyments exist for but a small minority, which, indeed, indulges in them to the fullest measure and in the most refined manner. The great mass of the people, on the other hand, suffer in misery and ignorance—here groaning under unbearable burdens, there racked by hunger, and languishing everywhere in the darkness of prejudices and in the superstitious belief that their slavery can never end.

"If you want particulars, see how the gambling on the stock exchange plays havoc and mischief, how both abundance and hunger are at the will of powerful financiers beside whose mountains of gold there abide ruin and malicious bankruptcy. In industry unbridled competition holds down the working man and destroys any sensible relationship between production and consumption. A shortage of hands for the necessary, but an abundance of the unnecessary; while millions of poor children go about without a stitch to cover their bodies, shawls of a preposterous price, costing more than 10,000 working days, are displayed at world exhibitions. The working man does not earn enough even for the bare necessities, while the world teems with over-satiated idlers.

"The old world went under because the thorn of slavery stuck in its flesh; if the modern age cares as little for the suffering of the masses, if it forces them to work without respite, to suffer, if it denies them the necessities so that a few may live in luxury and pleasure, if the modern age refuses to see that such a state of society is altogether outrageous, its end, too, will not be far distant.

"Dr. W. Palley, from Oxford University, says in the newspaper, La Coopération, of this May a:

"'Think of a flock of pigeons in a cornfield. Instead of picking away, ninety-nine of them consume nothing but the straw and chaff, while gathering the corn in a large heap expressly for just one pigeon, often the weakest and the most pitiful of all; this one struts clucking, gorging itself, stamping and spoiling, while the hard-working ones stand in a ring and look on good-naturedly; suddenly one of their number, possibly braver or perhaps hungrier than its brethren, ventures to snap away a grain; now all the rest throw themselves upon the malefactor out of blind submissiveness to pull it about, to recover the plunder, to drive it out of their community.'

"Glance at this picture. You will, of course, find that this cannot occur in nature, but is repeated a hundredfold every day among human beings who are endowed with reason. The conclusion, however, is twofold. You will conclude

a "Correspondance. Travail et Coopération, Londres, 27 avril 1868", La Coopération, No. 18, May 3, 1868.—Ed.
therefrom that man stands above animals by virtue of his reason. I say to you, however, that despite his reason man can learn a thing or two from animals!

"Does he not belong to those 99, the creature who is born in misery, who hardly ever sees his mother because she must go to her work, who suffers hunger and cold, is exposed to every possible harm, who grows up in filth and from early childhood contracts the germ of the disease that follows him to his grave? He is barely eight, has barely gained a minimum of strength, and off he goes to work—to work in thin, unhealthy air, mistreated, doomed to ignorance, and laid open by bad examples to every possible vice. So it proceeds until the child is older. Now, at 20, the lad must leave his parents, who need him, so as to be robbed of his humanity in some soldiers' barracks or to be shot dead on some battlefield. If he escapes with his life, he may marry (provided he is allowed to do so by the English philanthropist Malthus or the French minister Duchâtel, who happen to think that a workman needs neither wife nor family, that no one forces him to stay alive if he cannot provide for himself). So he marries, and soon poverty, privation, unemployment, disease, and children move into his house. And when now, seeing the misery of his own, he ventures to demand a fair wage, he is tied hand and foot by hunger as in Preston, shot down as in Charleroi, put behind bars as in Bologna, subjected to a state of siege as in Catalonia, or bundled before a court as in Paris....

"So the wretch trudges on along the road of suffering and humiliation. At a mature age, without a comforting memory of his youth, he is startled to find that old age is creeping up; should he have no family or only a poor one, he will finally die like an evil-doer in an institution for beggars.

"Yet the man produced four times as much as he consumed. What has society done with the surplus? Ask the hundredth pigeon—the one that does nothing at all and lives off the labour of the other 99.

"History shows us that any nation or social organisation that strays off the path of strict justice and follows that of injustice, falls prey to decay and dissolution; and precisely this is the solace we can derive with certainty from the lessons of the past at this time of luxury and misery, coercion and slavery, ignorance and stultification, demoralisation and degeneracy, for so long as a human being can starve to death on the threshold of a palace crammed with treasure, the state institutions remain unstable.

"Feel the pulse of our time: you will discover a muted resentment between the class that wants to hang on to everything and the class that wants to regain the fruit of its industry. The crass superstitions which, we thought, had been erased by the 18th century, are coming back to the surface; wanton egoism and dissolution everywhere. Those are signs of decay. The ground is reeling and slipping from under your feet: Beware!

"The class that has so far only appeared on and off on the world stage to perform some great act of justice, suppressed at all times and under all governments, the class of labour, now offers you a means of revival. Be wise and acknowledge its legitimacy; do not interfere with its cause, which is beneficial for all. Only the breath of absolute freedom can clear the air and drive away the clouds that threaten us....

"Once a class forfeits the moral superiority that put it in power, it must step off the stage if it wants to avoid the atrocities that are the last resort of all perishing regimes. Let the bourgeoisie comprehend that its strivings are not great enough to meet all the needs of the times and that it can therefore do nothing but dissolve itself in the younger class that is ringing in a powerful political rebirth, equality, and solidarity through freedom."
The sentence of the court for each of the nine accused was 3 months in prison and a fine of 100 francs; the convicted filed an appeal, which was eventually dismissed.

Apart from its social significance, the French government's persecution of the International Working Men's Association has political implications, too. For the first time since the coup d'état of 1852, a society existing in France has dared to offer resistance under civil law to criminal prosecution and to claim civil rights for itself which the one who was elected by universal suffrage could not very well deny it through his organs without bringing his many years of flirting with the working class to a sudden end. It is safe to assume that the prosecution originated with Minister of State Rouher. But so great was his embarrassment over the imaginary need for action on political grounds that, while prosecuting the Paris Bureau, he has not dared to dissolve groups of the Association in Lyons, Rouen, Roubaix, Bordeaux, Marseilles, and so on.

The Paris newspaper *Le Réveil*, organ of Ledru Rollin's party, refers most approvingly to the behaviour of the members of the Paris Committee. It contrasts the political insight and moral superiority of the working class to the intrigues and narrow-mindedness of the ruling classes. It makes the following noteworthy observation:

> "It is to the union of ideas and sentiments that prevails amongst the working men of the different countries of Europe that we trust for the maintenance of peace. In a few days the Congress of the International Association is going to assemble. All the countries of Europe will be represented there, perhaps with the exception of France, and will it be too much to say that by the wisdom of its resolutions this assembly of all the European delegates of labour may become the Amphitryonite council of Europe? Yes; if to-morrow, by mastering the immortal principles of the French revolution, and taking in hand the sacred interests of labour, which comprehend order, security, and liberty, this Congress decreed peace, the word would be received with enthusiasm by all Europe."

2. Conflict with the Belgian Government

Spurred by the newspapers of the Belgian bourgeoisie, with *Indépendance belge* at their head, the Belgian government tried to

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portray the International Working Men's Association as the instigator of the disturbances in the district of Charleroi. The court investigation of the Belgian workers arrested in March soon showed, however, that this charge was groundless and that from the outset it had been nothing but a deliberate and malicious lie.

Nevertheless, in May 1868, Jules Bara, the Belgian Minister of Justice and Police, took advantage of the debate concerning the renewal of the law on the expulsion of foreigners in the Belgian Chamber of Deputies viciously to attack the International Working Men's Association, to make of its existence the principal pretext for the proposed renewal of the foreigners' law, and to go so far as to declare that he would not tolerate the convocation of the next general congress of the Association, which had at its congress in Lausanne appointed it for Brussels on September 7, 1868.

Thereupon, the administrative committees of the Brussels and all the other groups of the International Association in Belgium wrote a joint letter to M. le Ministre, dated May the 22nd, which was printed and made public. The letter made clear to the Minister that he had absolutely no say in the matter, and that the Congress would be held in Brussels. The opening passages of this irreverent letter read:

"M. le Ministre, the undersigned send you their thanks for the great service you have rendered their cause by taking it up at a sitting of the Chamber and thereby allowing the parliamentary records to be used for the dissemination of our principles.

"It appears that you scorn us no longer. For a long time your newspapers glossed over in silence the successes of the Association in this country; like the ostrich, you shut your eyes to escape the danger. Yet today you have to consider us a power. You have given us official consecration, and recognise by your attitude that we oppose you as a power....

"But you are reluctant to admit that you and your like are unpopular in Belgium, and when a foreigner comes to assist our Association you hasten to lay the blame for everything done here at his door."

Then, having firmly denied the Minister's insinuations that the movement of the Belgian workers was inspired and led from abroad, the letter went on to say:

"You should be aware, M. le Ministre, that we will not be run by a man any more than by a cask of gin. We are perfectly capable of acting on our own, and our

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a See this volume, p. 14.— Ed.
b See Jules Bara's speech in the Chamber of Deputies on May 16, 1868, La Voix de l'Avenir, No. 23, June 7, 1868; La Liberté, No. 47, May 17, 1868.— Ed.
c The Brussels Congress took place from September 6th to 13th, 1868.— Ed.
d "À Monsieur Bara, ministre de la justice", La Tribune du peuple, No. 5, May 24, 1868.— Ed.
activity is guided exclusively by the striving for justice, which exists in every honourable consciousness. Having barely come into the world, our league already numbers thousands of followers in our country; all of us are of the same opinion, and all of us are firmly determined to go forward to the common goal—the emancipation of labour.

"These ideas seem incredible to you, M. le Ministre; listen to a few others."

Here the Minister was informed in detail of the aspirations of the International Working Men's Association, and advised to obtain further particulars from the documents of its Congresses. Then the transgressions of the government were put before him; he was reminded of the workers needlessly killed in the Charleroi district, who were dealt death instead of bread. It was recognised that strikes were an insufficient means of improving the working men's situation; but they were the only legitimate means labour still had to protest against the abuses of capital. In conclusion, the letter said:

"Yes, M. le Ministre of 'justice', we want to achieve the triumph of justice which you have betrayed. Yes, we will do so without you, despite you, and against you...."  
"You have said you would not tolerate our Congress. Surely, you must have been most aroused, M. le Ministre, when you spoke those absurd words.... For example, you have proclaimed the 'right of assembly', and we are eager to see what measures you will employ to breach it with impunity.... Despite all your big talk, the Congress is going to take place in Brussels in September.... One last word: you speak of the flash of lightning that we loosen upon Belgium. But it is you yourself who have called it forth by your rigid authoritarian government. The real thunderstorm is there beside you, yet you fail to notice it."

At its meeting on June 16, 1868, the General Council of the International Association in London confirmed the decision of the Belgian Committee to hold the Congress in Brussels at the appointed time despite the announced opposition of the government.440

The administrative committees in France have also sent messages of agreement, declaring their determination to take part in the Congress at Brussels and to defy the consequences.

The *Courrier français* of Paris commented as follows on the simultaneous attacks on the International Working Men's Association in Switzerland, France, and Belgium:

"These happenings are very interesting because at this moment the Association is gaining ground on a remarkable scale on the whole of the European continent. Everywhere, reaction is using it as a bit of a scapegoat, and this proves that everywhere it is considered the vanguard of social reformation."
11. GROWTH OF THE ASSOCIATION

In England, some fifty trades unions with their branch societies in the United Kingdom have joined the International Working Men's Association since the resolution of the Trades Union Congress at Sheffield in 1866. Among the new members are workmen's groups, such as the 30,000 railway excavators, which never before participated either in trades unions or in any other movements.

In Ireland, a section exists in Dublin.

In the United States of North America, the National Labour Congress which met in Chicago resolved on August 20, 1867 to establish relations with the International Association for joint action. Since then, the General Council at London has been corresponding with the General National Labour Union of the United States. It will be represented by a special delegate at this year's Congress in Brussels.

In France the groups that correspond directly and exclusively with London are great in number. Sections exist in Paris, Rouen, Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Lille, Roubaix, Argentan (Orne), Caen, Digne (Basses-Alpes), Fleurieux (sur Saône), Fuveau (Bouches-du-Rhône), Flers (Orne), Granville (Manche), Harcourt, Thierry (Calvados), Havre, Lisieux, Neuville (sur Saône), Nantes, Neufchâteau (Vosges), Orléans, Crets (Bouches-du-Rhône), Villefranche (Rhône), Vienne (Isère), and other places. It is noteworthy that several French rural communities have also adhered to the Association. In the French colonies, a group exists in Algiers and another in Guadeloupe.

In Belgium the main seats of the Association are in Brussels, Liège, Verviers, and Louvain. Mass adherence to the Association has been witnessed among coalminers and ironworkers this year.

In Holland two sections exist, in Rotterdam and in Amsterdam.

In Spain a section in Barcelona.

In Italy, the general association of labour with its main seat in Naples and Milan, consisting of 600 workmen's societies, has the same kind of cartel with the International Association as the trades unions in England and the National Labour Union in the United States. Besides, special groups of the International Association exist in Genoa and Bologna.

In Switzerland working men have been seeking admission en masse since the Geneva strike. The main groups are in the towns

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*In Eichhoff's pamphlet mistakenly: “1866”.—Ed.*
of the Basle and Berne cantons, where communities in the villages de la montagne des Bois have also adhered; Geneva, where the society in the city alone numbers more than 6,000 members, and the cantons Neufchâtel, Vaud, and Zurich. The Swiss Grütli Union and the various German workers' educational societies in Switzerland are affiliated to the Association.

In Germany there are several groups. But most of these have declared that despite their sympathies they are unable to join officially owing to the absence of legal authorisation. The connections with Germany are therefore still deficient. The special Central Bureau for Germany is the same as that for the German-speaking Swiss, and is located at Geneva under Joh. Phil. Becker at Pré-l'Évêque 33. In the General Council at London, Germany is represented by Karl Marx, Secretary for Germany, resident at 1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, London N. W., and by George Eccarius, General Secretary of the Association.

The periodicals of the Association are:

- The Bee-Hive Newspaper in London.
- The Workmen's Advocate in Chicago.
- Le Courrier Français in Paris. Le Siècle, La Liberté, and L'Opinion Publique also publish the resolutions and other material of the Association.

The democratic organs in Lyons, Rouen, Bordeaux, and other cities.

- La Voix de l'Avenir in Lausanne.
- Der Vorbote in Geneva.

The Demokratische Wochenblatt in Leipzig, which, though not an organ of the Association, voices its principles.

- La Tribune du peuple, La Liberté, L'Épiègle, Le Devoir, Le Mirabeau, La Cigale, l'Ingénue, Le Peuple Belge, all in Belgium (Brussels, Verviers, and elsewhere).

Finally, the labour newspapers in Italy.

**CONCLUSION**

The author has one more pleasant duty to perform before he takes leave of the German workers, to whom this book is dedicated.
Under the heading, “The Eight Hours Movement”, the Kölnische Zeitung of July 19, 1868, carried the following heartening report:

“Agitation that was being conducted in the United States in the past few years has suddenly been crowned with complete success, due less to its own intrinsic merit than to the coincidence of external circumstances which influenced the legislature. Once before, the working time in governmental workshops and factories was reduced from twelve to ten hours a day. Not content, the workers demanded a further reduction, to eight hours (and, mind you, without any reduction in the existing wages, whence the name, “THE EIGHT HOURS MOVEMENT”). Congress repeatedly dismissed this demand, but has not dared to consign a renewed motion to the same fate. For both parties need the workers’ votes in the coming presidential elections, and neither of them, probably against its innermost conviction to the contrary, wishes to affront the movement and incur the discontent of those numerous voters. In England, too, a part of the workers have written a slogan on their banner that smacks of a play on words: ‘Eight hours’ work, eight hours’ rest, eight hours’ sleep, and eight shillings’ wage.’ As long as the said movement keeps within the pale of the law and as long as no intimidation and no illicit pressure are applied against the workers who think for themselves and want their labour power to be used as they themselves deem right, the authorities will have to, and will prefer to, allow the agitation to follow its natural course. The all-powerful unwritten law that regulates supply and demand will eventually make itself felt here as well.”

That the Kölnische Zeitung, an organ of the German bourgeoisie, is not particularly delighted over the unexpected success of the eight hours movement in America, should surprise no one who, like that paper, believes in the “omnipotence” of the “unwritten” law of supply and demand.

The New-Yorker Handelszeitung, too, is right from the standpoint of “supply and demand” when it testily declares:

“We can only deplore this decision, which reeks of demagoguery. Both Houses of Congress have fixed the working time in governmental workshops at eight hours without changing the wages, and the President has promptly signed the Act. In other words, the national authorities have introduced the eight-hour system. They are entitled to do so: the master can set the working time in his establishments. But by doing so they have sanctioned agitation that is without rhyme or reason. And they know it. Generally speaking, legislation has as little to do with regulating the relationship between the working man and the employer as it has with how often the noble and free citizen of this Republic should put on a fresh shirt or if he should go through life in whole or torn stockings; and if the attempt to immobilise one-fifth of the productive forces is really timely, is surely also open to question. A man who wanted to win the favour of the blind part of the labouring masses threw in a firebrand, and within sight of the coming national elections no one wanted to run the danger of burning his fingers on it. The price of labour as that of any other commodity is regulated by the relationship between supply and demand. If the legislature wishes to deal with the matter, it is bound to make a fool of itself. That the gentlemen Representatives and Senators fail to see this cannot be possible. To our great surprise, even a man like Senator Sumner has given vent to a lot of fine words about the workers’ educational needs allegedly being served in
this way—words of whose total lack of meaning he himself must have been profoundly aware. Only he is a friend of the people who does not shrink from telling them the truth even in peril of doing himself damage. Once the elections are over, the workers will notice that they have been deceived."

The immediate future will show if the eight hours movement is "without rhyme or reason" and if the American workers will notice that they "have been deceived" once the presidential elections are over.

For Europe that question is secondary compared to the great event that the legislature of the United States has sanctioned the eight hours movement.444

The consequences will not be long in coming. From the workshops and factories of the United States government the eight-hour principle will make its way forward and gain recognition as a moral and legitimate demand of the working class everywhere in America, England and the European continent—wherever to this day the belief in the "omnipotence" of supply and demand has raised the duration of the working day to the limits of human endurance and pressed down wages to the lowest limits of the worker's needs.

Now we are beginning to witness what Karl Marx, that painstaking explorer of and authority on social conditions, prophesied on July 25, 1867:

"As in the 18th century, the American War of Independence sounded the tocsin for the European middle class, so in the 19th century, the American Civil War sounded it for the European working class."a

Written in July 1868

First published as a separate pamphlet in August 1868 under the title, Die Internationale Arbeiterassociation. Ihre Gründung, Organisation, politisch-sociale Thätigkeit und Ausbreitung

Printed according to the text of the pamphlet

Published in English for the first time

a K. Marx, Preface to the First Edition of the First Volume of Capital.—Ed.
RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECH ON THE SUCCESSES OF THE INTERNATIONAL IN GERMANY AND FRANCE

FROM THE NEWSPAPER REPORT OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF JULY 21, 1868

A letter from Germany announced that the Working-Men's Unions of the Southern States of Germany are going to hold a Congress at Nürnberg in the first week of September. The first question to be decided by that Congress is the adhesion of the whole federation to the International Working-Men's Association.

Attention was called to an article in Le Réveil, a new paper, published by the friends of Ledru-Rollin at Paris, in which the attitude of the members of the Paris Committee is approvingly commented upon, and the political sagacity and the superior moral conduct of the working classes of Europe, contrasted with the intriguing stupidity of the ruling classes. The article contains the following remarkable passage:

"It is to the union of ideas and sentiments that prevails amongst the working men of the different countries of Europe that we trust for the maintenance of peace. In a few days the Congress of the International Association is going to assemble. All the countries of Europe will be represented there, perhaps with the exception of France, and will it be too much to say that by the wisdom of its resolutions this assembly of all the European delegates of labour may become the Amphitryonite council of Europe? Yes; if to-morrow, by mastering the immortal principles of the French revolution, and taking in hand the sacred interests of labour, which comprehend order, security, and liberty, this Congress decreed peace, the word would be received with enthusiasm by all Europe.""a

First published in The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 353, July 25, 1868

RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECH ON THE CONSEQUENCES OF USING MACHINERY UNDER CAPITALISM 

FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF JULY 28, 1868

The discussion of the proposition, "The influence of machinery in the hands of capitalists", was opened by Citizen Marx. He said what strikes us most is that all the consequences which were expected as the inevitable result of machinery have been reversed. Instead of diminishing the hours of labour, the working day was prolonged to sixteen and eighteen hours. Formerly, the normal working day was ten hours, during the last century the hours of labour were increased by law here as well as on the Continent. The whole of the trade legislation of the last century turns upon compelling the working people by law to work longer hours.

It was not until 1833 that the hours of labour for children were limited to twelve. In consequence of overwork there was no time left whatever for mental culture. They also became physically deteriorated; contagious fevers broke out amongst them, and this induced a portion of the upper class to take the matter up. The first Sir Robert Peel was one of the foremost in calling attention to the crying evil, and Robert Owen was the first mill-owner who limited the hours of labour in his factory. The ten hours' bill was the first law which limited the hours of labour to ten and a half per day for women and children, but it applied only to certain factories.

This was a step of progress, in so far as it afforded more leisure time to the work-people. With regard to production, the limitation has long since been overtaken. By improved machinery and increased intensity of the labour of individuals there is now more

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a By "An Act to Regulate the Labour of Children and Young Persons in the Mills and Factories of the United Kingdom. August 29, 1833".—Ed.
work done in the short day than formerly in the long day. People are again overworked, and it will soon become necessary to limit the working day to eight hours.

Another consequence of the use of machinery was to force women and children into the factory. The woman has thus become an active agent in our social production. Formerly female and children's labour was carried on within the family circle. I do not say that it is wrong that women and children should participate in our social production. I think every child above the age of nine ought to be employed at productive labour a portion of its time, but the way in which they are made to work under existing circumstances is abominable.

Another consequence of the use of machinery was that it entirely changed the relations of the capital of the country. Formerly there were wealthy employers of labour, and poor labourers who worked with their own tools. They were to a certain extent free agents, who had it in their power effectually to resist their employers. For the modern factory operative, for the women and children, such freedom does not exist, they are slaves of capital.

There was a constant cry for some invention that might render the capitalist independent of the working man; the spinning machine and power-loom has rendered him independent, it has transferred the motive power of production into his hands. By this the power of the capitalist has been immensely increased. The factory lord has become a penal legislator within his own establishment, inflicting fines at will, frequently for his own aggrandisement. The feudal baron in his dealings with his serfs was bound by traditions and subject to certain definite rules; the factory lord is subject to no controlling agency of any kind.

One of the great results of machinery is organised labour which must bear fruit sooner or later. The influence of machinery upon those with whose labour it enters into competition is directly hostile. Many hand-loom weavers were positively killed by the introduction of the power-loom both here and in India.

We are frequently told that the hardships resulting from machinery are only temporary, but the development of machinery is constant, and if it attracts and gives employment to large numbers at one time it constantly throws large numbers out of employment. There is a continual surplus of displaced population, not as the Malthusian asserts a surplus population in relation to the produce of the country, but a surplus whose labour has been superseded by more productive agencies.
Employed on land machinery produces a constantly increasing surplus population whose employment is not fluctuating. This surplus flocks to the towns and exercises a constant pressure, a wage lowering pressure upon the labour market. The state of the East of London is one of the phenomena it produces.449

The real consequences are best seen in those branches of labour in which the machine is not employed.

To conclude for the present, machinery leads on one hand to associated organised labour, on the other to the disintegration of all formerly existing social and family relations.

First published in The Bee-Hive, No. 354, August 1, 1868

Reproduced from the newspaper text pasted into the Minute Book of the General Council
APPEAL TO THE GERMAN WORKERS IN LONDON

Workers!

On September 7 of this year the third international workers' congress will meet in Brussels.

The congress will discuss the best means of expanding and strengthening the international workers' association and of raising the effectiveness of its joint activities; it will also discuss questions that immediately affect the interests of the working class and call for urgent solution. Finally, mutual agreement should be reached on the methods of propaganda.

The following questions will be put to the congress by the General Council:

1. Reduction and regulation of the working day;
2. The influence of machinery in the hands of the capitalists;
3. The nature of landed property;
4. The education of the working class;
5. Setting up credit institutions to promote the social emancipation of the working class;
6. The best ways of establishing cooperative producers' societies.

We call on you to do everything in your power as associations and individuals to help in this undertaking made imperative by the times and circumstances. It is necessary through voluntary contributions to collect what is needed to allow the German workers in London to be represented by one or more delegates. It would be a disgrace, if, in the present turbulent times, there were not sufficient understanding of their own class interests among the thousands of German workers in London to ensure their representation at the Brussels Congress.
So, to work! It is high time that the workers of all countries unite and understand that a mighty association of all sections of the working class is necessary for a successful struggle against the arbitrary rule of the capitalists.

Let us not forget that in the United States of North America the eight-hour working day has already been proclaimed law for all government workshops.

Let us also recall those historic meaningful words which Karl Marx wrote in 1867 in the preface to his work *Capital. A Critique of Political Economy*: "As in the 18th century, the American War of Independence sounded the tocsin for the European middle-class, so in the 19th century, the American Civil War sounded it for the European working-class."

Contributions will be received in the German Workers’ Educational Society on Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays, in the evening from 9 o’clock onwards by the secretary and treasurer.

Windsor Castle, 27 Long Acre, W. C.

On behalf of the German Workers’ Educational Society, German branch of the International Working Men’s Association:

*The Executive Committee*
Citizen Marx could not coincide with Milner,\textsuperscript{452} that it [the reduction of the hours of labour] would lead to a diminished production,\textsuperscript{3} because where the restrictions had been introduced, the instruments of production had been vastly more developed than in other trades. It had the effect of introducing more machinery, and made production on a small scale more and more impossible, which, however, was necessary to arrive at social production. The sanitary question was settled.\textsuperscript{453} But a reduction of the hours of labour was also indispensable to give the working class more time for mental culture. Legislative restrictions were the first step towards the mental and physical elevation and the ultimate emancipation of the working classes. Nobody denied, nowadays, that the State must interfere on behalf of the women and children; and a restriction of their hours led, in most instances, to a reduction of the working time of the men. England had taken the lead, other countries had been obliged to follow to some extent. The agitation had seriously commenced in Germany, and the London Council was looked to for taking the lead. The principle had been decided at former congresses; the time for action had arrived.

\footnotesize First published in \textit{The Bee-Hive}, No. 358, August 22, 1868

Reproduced from the newspaper with corrections introduced into the Minute Book

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{3} The words "diminished production" are inserted in Eccarius' hand in place of the crossed-out words "an increased demand for labour".\textemdash \textit{Ed.}
It appears that the cotton yarns and goods manufacturers of France are forming an alliance with a view of underselling the English manufacturers in their own markets; the French manufacturers admit that although the English manufacturers have better machinery and larger capitals than the French, they have been enabled to hold their own owing to the low wages paid to the men in France and they hope by lowering the wages still more to be able to produce their goods cheaper than the English manufacturers can.

Mr. Bertel, mayor of Sotteville-lès-Rouen and one of the largest manufacturers of the place, was the first to inaugurate this new crusade against the working classes; he offered a reduction of 3½ pence per day; on the men refusing these terms they were locked out and they have now appealed to the International Working Men’s Association for help.
RECORD OF MARX'S SPEECH ON THE CONDITION OF THE COALMINERS IN THE COALFIELDS OF SAXONY

FROM THE NEWSPAPER REPORT OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF FEBRUARY 23, 1869

The German secretary read a report on the condition of the coalminers in the kingdom of Saxony. Their wages vary from 6s. to 10s. 3d. a week, for twelve hours labour a day; boys' from 4s. to 5s. a week. Each colliery has a benefit club, to which the men are compelled to contribute, but they have no voice in the administration of the funds; the funds are the lawful property of the coal owners, and the benefits are, without exception, dispensed by the head-managers of the collieries. Sick, relief and superannuation allowances rise in proportion to length of service, but any one leaving his employment, no matter for what reason, loses all claims upon the fund. Thus a man may have contributed to the fund for 30 or 40 years without receiving a farthing in his old age.

An agitation among the miners for better terms has led to the publication of a draft of rules for a united club for all the Saxon collieries. The draft is the work of a committee of colliers presided over by Mr. J. G. Dinter. The chief distinctive features are—

1. All clubs to be consolidated into one.
2. Members not to lose their rights so long as they reside anywhere in Germany and continue to pay their contributions.
3. A general meeting of all adult members to be the supreme authority to elect a general and an executive committee.
4. Masters' contributions to be equal to one-half of those of the men.

This draft, which does not represent the views of the most intelligent colliers, but rather of a section, which would fain to carry out reforms with the consent of the masters, carries on its

a Marx.—Ed.
face the stamp of impracticability. It is really too *naive* to suppose that the masters, who now have complete control of the clubs, will consent to hand the whole management over to a democratic general meeting of working men, and yet continue paying their contributions. To open the eyes of such of the colliers as may still believe in the possibility of reforming the clubs upon the basis of joint contributions of masters and men, the indignant refusal on the part of the masters will be the best means.

First published in *The Bee-Hive News-paper*, No. 385, February 27, 1869  
Reproduced from the newspaper
RESOLUTION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL
ON THE PROGRAMME OF THE BASLE CONGRESS

Upon the report of the Standing Committee the following was agreed to as the programme of the next Congress:
1. The question of landed property;
2. The right to inheritance;
3. To what extent can credit be immediately utilised by the working class;
4. The question of general education;
5. The influence of trades unions upon the emancipation of the working class.

It was further agreed that the order of proceedings be as follows:
1. Verification of Credentials;
2. Election of Congress officers;
3. Report of the General Council and reports of branches and sections;
4. Discussion of the questions on the programme;
5. Appointment of the seat of the General Council for the ensuing year;
6. Election of the members of the General Council;
7. Appointment of time and place of meeting of the next Congress.

It was further agreed that a notice be appended to the programme stating that the statistical inquiry is still proceeding.

A resolution that the discussion of the questions of the programme commence at the next meeting closed the proceedings.

Adopted by the General Council on June 22, 1869

First published as a leaflet in London

Reproduced from the Minute Book of the General Council, checked against the leaflet text
Cit. Marx was of opinion that Milner had not quite understood the nature of the controversy. There was no opposition to the mines and woods being made common property. The injury caused by the accumulation of land in the hands of the few was granted; it was only with regard to arable land that there was any dispute, the opposition came from the partisans of small farming; small property was the point in dispute.

The plea of social necessity was superior to the claim of abstract right. Every thing, every possible form of oppression had been justified by abstract right; it was high time to abandon this mode of agitation. The question was, under what form this right should be realised. There was a social necessity to transform feudal property into peasant property. In England the proprietor has ceased to be a necessity in agriculture.

As for natural right, the animal had a natural right to the soil since it cannot live without it. To push this natural right to its logical consequences would land us at the assertion of every individual to cultivate his own share.

Social right and social necessity determined in what manner the means of subsistence must be procured. Social necessity enforced itself in the course of which factory had arrived, where co-operation was compulsory. The fact that no one could produce anything by himself gave the social necessity for co-operation.

He was not against giving a more emphatic form to the resolutions.
The small peasantry is not at the Congresses, but their idealistic representatives are there. The Proudhonists are very strong upon the point and they were at Brussels. The Council is responsible for the resolutions; they were shaped by the Brussels Committee,\textsuperscript{458} by men who well knew the opposition they had to deal with. I am not against recasting them. Cit. Weston has only spoken of social necessity. We see that both forms of private property in land have led to bad results. The small man is only a nominal proprietor, but he is the more dangerous because he still fancies that he is a proprietor. In England the land could be transformed into common property by act of Parliament in the course of a fortnight. In France it must be accomplished by means of the proprietors' indebtedness and liability to taxation.


Reproduced from the Minute Book of the General Council
Cit. Marx opened the discussion on the question: The Right to Inheritance. He said the question had been put by the Alliance of Socialist Democrats of Geneva and the Council had accepted it for discussion.\(^a\) The Alliance of Geneva demanded above all the entire abolition of the Right to Inheritance.

There were two forms of inheritance. The testamentary right, or inheritance by will, had come from Rome and had been peculiar to Rome. The father of the Roman family had exercised absolute authority over everything belonging to his household. The Roman family-father must not be compared with the father of a family of the present day. The Roman household had included slaves and clients whose affairs and interests\(^b\) the head had been obliged to defend and maintain in public. There had been a superstition that when this man died his ghost remained as a watch in the house to see that things were done right or to torment if things were managed wrong. In the early times of Rome people had sacrificed to this house-god; even blood-feasts had been celebrated in his honour and to appease his wrath.\(^c\) By and by it had become fashionable to compromise with this spirit by an heir-at-will. It had been the Roman immortality of the soul.\(^d\) The will of the deceased had been perpetuated by a testament, but this testament had not necessarily brought a fortune to the

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\(^a\) Further the word “because” is crossed out in the Minute Book.— Ed.

\(^b\) The words “and interests” were inserted between the lines in the Minute Book.— Ed.

\(^c\) The words “and to appease his wrath” were inserted later.— Ed.

\(^d\) This sentence was inserted later. The following words are crossed out: “This contrivance had perpetuated.”— Ed.
successor who inherited, but the will of the deceased had been looked upon as a religious duty. In course of time these heirs-at-will had laid claim to the fortune too, but even in imperial time had never been allowed more than a fourth by law.\textsuperscript{a} That pagan superstition had been transmitted to Christian countries and\textsuperscript{b} was the foundation of the right of will as at present existing in England and the United States.

The German right to inheritance was the intestate right, the family right, which treated an estate as a sort of co-proprietorship of which the father of the family was the manager. When this manager died the property fell to all the children. The Germans had known of no other hereditary rights; the Church of Rome had introduced the Roman right and the feudal system had falsified the German right, because feudal property bearing a military charge could not have been divided. The French Revolution had returned to the German right of inheritance. In England we had all sorts of nonsensical things; the individual had the most absolute right to will away his property, even to disinherit his own offspring, and by this rule long after he had ceased to exist.\textsuperscript{c} This right of will might be left for the middle class to deal with as it was a point which would work against the aristocracy. In Prussia only a little of a man’s property could be willed away.

The working class who had nothing to inherit had no interest in the question.

The Democratic Alliance was going to commence the social revolution with the abolition of the right to inheritance. He asked would it be policy to do so?

The proposition was not new. St. Simon had proposed it in 1830.\textsuperscript{410}

As an economical measure it would avail nothing. It would cause so much irritation that it would be sure to raise an almost insurmountable opposition which would inevitably lead to reaction. If at the time of a revolution it was proclaimed, he did not believe that the general state of intelligence would warrant its being sustained. Besides, if the working class had sufficient power to abolish the right to inheritance, it would be powerful enough to

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{a} The words “by law” were inserted later. The following words are then crossed out: “Upon this superstition was the right of will founded.” — Ed.

\footnote{b} The words “pagan” and “had been transmitted to Christian countries and” were inserted later.— Ed.

\footnote{c} Further the following sentence is crossed out: “It was what kept the aristocracy in its present position and could be left to the middle class.” — Ed.
\end{footnotes}
proceed to expropriation which would be a much simpler and more efficient process.

To abolish the right to the inheritance of land in England would involve the hereditary functions connected with the land, the House of Lords, etc., and 15,000 lords and 15,000 ladies would have to die before it became available. If, on the contrary, a working men's parliament decreed that the rent should be paid into the treasury instead of to the landlord, the Government would obtain a fund at once\(^a\) without any social disturbance, while by abolishing the right to inheritance everything would be disturbed and nothing got.

Our efforts must be directed to the end that no instruments of production should be private property. The private property in these things was a fiction, since the proprietors could not use them themselves; they only gave them dominion over them, by which they compelled other people to work for them. In a semi-barbarous state this might have been necessary, but it was no longer so. All the means of labour must be socialised, so that every man had a right and the means to exercise his labour power. If we had such a state of things the right to inheritance would be of no use. As long as we had not, the family right to inheritance could not be abolished. The chief aim of people in saving for their children was to ensure them the means of subsistence. If a man's children were provided for after his death he would not care about leaving them wherewith to get a living, but as long as this was not the case it would only result in hardships, it would irritate and frighten people and do no good. Instead of the beginning it could only be the end of a social revolution. The beginning must be to get the means to socialise the means of labour.

The testamentary right to inheritance was obnoxious to the middle class; with this the state could safely interfere any time. We had legacy-duties already, all we had to do was to increase them and make them progressive, as well as the income-tax, leaving the smaller amounts, £50 for instance, free. Insofar only it was a working-class question.

All that was connected with the present state of things would have to be transformed, but if testaments were suppressed they would be avoided by gifts during life, therefore it would be better to tolerate them on certain conditions than do worse. First the

\(^a\) Further the words "by abolishing" are crossed out in the Minute Book.—Ed.
means for a transformed state of things must be got, then the right would disappear of itself.\(^a\)

**II**

Cit. Marx replied: if the state had the power to appropriate the land, inheritance was gone. To declare the abolition of inheritance would be foolish. If a revolution occurred, expropriation could be carried; if there was no power to do that, the right to inheritance would not be abolished.


Reproduced from the Minute Book of the General Council

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\(^a\) Further, in the Minute Book, comes the record of speeches by Milner and Lucraft (the Chairman); after them Marx again took the floor.—*Ed.*
Cit. Marx said there was a peculiar difficulty connected with this question. On the one hand a change of social circumstances was required to establish a proper system of education, on the other hand a proper system of education was required to bring about a change of social circumstances; we must therefore commence where we were.

The question treated at the congresses was whether education was to be national or private. National education had been looked upon as governmental, but that was not necessarily the case. In Massachusetts every township was bound to provide schools for primary education for all the children. In towns of more than 5,000 inhabitants higher schools for technical education had to be provided, in larger towns still higher. The state contributed something but not much. In Massachusetts one-eighth of the local taxes went for education, in New York one-fifth. The school committees who administered the schools were local, they appointed the schoolmasters and selected the books. The fault of the American system was that it was too much localised, the education given depended upon the state of culture prevailing in each district. There was a cry for a central supervision. The taxation for schools was compulsory, but the attendance of children was not. Property had to pay the taxes and the people who paid the taxes wanted that the money was usefully applied.

Education might be national without being governmental. Government might appoint inspectors whose duty it was to see that the laws were obeyed, just as the factory inspectors looked after the observance of the factory acts, without any power of interfering with the course of education itself.
The Congress might without hesitation adopt that education was to be compulsory. As to children being prevented from working, one thing was certain: it would not reduce wages and people would get used to it.

The Proudhonists maintained that gratuitous education was nonsense, because the state had to pay for it; of course somebody had to pay, but not those who could least afford it. Was not in favour of gratuitous college education.

As Prussian education had been talked so much of he would conclude by observing that the Prussian system was only calculated to make good soldiers.

[11]

Cit. Marx said: upon certain points we were unanimous.

The discussion had started with the proposition to reaffirm the Geneva resolution which demanded that mental education should be combined with bodily labour, with gymnastics and technological training\(^a\); nothing had been said against that.

The technological training advocated by proletarian writers was meant to compensate for the deficiencies occasioned by the division [of] labour which prevented apprentices from acquiring a thorough knowledge of their business. This had been taken hold of and misconstrued into what the middle class understood by technical education.

As to Mrs. Law's Church budget\(^4\) it would be good policy for the Congress to declare against the Church.

Cit. Milner's proposition\(^4\) was not suitable to be introduced in connection with the schools; it was a kind of education that the young must get from the adults in the everyday struggle of life. He could not accept Warren as a bible, it was a question upon which few could agree. We might add that such education cannot be given at school, but must be given by adults.

Nothing could be introduced either in primary or higher schools that admitted of party and class interpretation. Only subjects such as the physical sciences, grammar, etc., were fit matter for schools. The rules of grammar, for instance, could not differ, whether explained by a religious Tory or a free thinker. Subjects that admitted of different conclusions must be excluded and left for

\(^a\) The International Working Men's Association. Resolutions of the Congress of Geneva, 1866, and the Congress of Brussels, 1868, London [1869], pp. 5-7.—Ed.
the adults to such teachers as Mrs. Law, who gave instruction in religion.\textsuperscript{a}

The abolition of the army\textsuperscript{465} had been resolved by the Brussels Congress.\textsuperscript{b}

It was not advisable to bring it on again.


\textsuperscript{a} In the report of the General Council meeting of August 17, 1869 published in \textit{The Bee-Hive}, No. 410, August 21, 1869 this part of Marx's speech is given as follows: “As to political economy, religion and other questions, they could not be admitted into the primary, nor even the higher schools; that was a kind of education which must rest with the adult, and must be left to the lecture room, to such schoolmasters as Mrs. Law.”—\textit{Ed.}

\textsuperscript{b} \textit{The International Working Men's Association, Resolutions of the Congress of Geneva, 1866, and the Congress of Brussels, 1868}, London [1869], p. 14.—\textit{Ed.}
Fellow-Workers,

The fond hopes held out to the toiling and suffering millions of this country thirty years ago have not been realised. They were told that the removal of fiscal restrictions would make the lot of the labouring poor easy; if it could not render them happy and contented it would at least banish starvation for ever from their midst.

They rose a terrible commotion for the big loaf, the landlords became rampant, the money lords confounded, the factory lords rejoiced—their will was done—Protection received the coup de grâce. A period of the most marvellous prosperity followed. At first the Tories threatened to reverse the policy, but on mounting the ministerial benches, in 1852, instead of carrying out their threat, they joined the chorus in praise of unlimited competition. Prepared for a pecuniary loss they discovered to their utter astonishment that the rent-roll was swelling at the rate of more than £2,000,000 a year. Never in the history of the human race was there so much wealth—means to satisfy the wants of man—produced by so few hands, and in so short a time, as since the abolition of the Corn Laws. During the lapse of twenty years the declared value of the annual exports of British and Irish produce and manufactures—the fruits of your own labour—rose from £60,000,000 to £188,900,000. In twenty years the taxable income of the lords and ladies of the British soil increased, upon their own confession, from £98,000,000 to £140,000,000 a year; that of the chiefs of trades and professions from £60,000,000 to
£110,000,000 a year. Could human efforts accomplish more?

Alas! there are stepchildren in Britania's family. No Chancellor of the Exchequer has yet divulged the secret how the £140,000,000 are distributed amongst the territorial magnates, but we know all about the trades-folk. The special favourites increased from sixteen, in 1846, to one hundred and thirty-three, in 1866. Their average annual income rose from £74,300 to £100,600 each. They appropriated one-fourth of the twenty years’ increase. The next of kin increased from three hundred and nineteen to nine hundred and fifty-nine individuals: their average annual income rose from £17,700 to £19,300 each: they appropriated another fourth. The remaining half was distributed amongst three hundred and forty-six thousand and forty-eight respectables, whose annual income ranged between £100 and £10,000 sterling. The toiling millions, the producers of that wealth—Britania's cinderellas—got cuffs and kicks instead of halfpence.

In the year 1864 the taxable income under schedule D increased by £9,200,000. Of that increase the metropolis, with less than an eighth of the population, absorbed £4,266,000, nearly a half. £3,123,000 of that, more than a third of the increase of Great Britain, was absorbed by the City of London, by the favourites of the one hundred and seventy-ninth part of the British population: Mile End and the Tower, with a working population four times as numerous, got £175,000. The citizens of London are smothered with gold; the householders of the Tower Hamlets are overwhelmed by poor-rates. The citizens, of course, object to centralisation of poor-rates purely on the principle of local self-government.

During the ten years ending 1861 the operatives employed in the cotton trade increased 12 per cent; their produce 103 per cent. The iron miners increased 6 per cent; the produce of the mines 37 per cent. Twenty thousand iron miners worked for ten mine owners. During the same ten years the agricultural labourers of England and Wales diminished by eighty-eight thousand one hundred and forty-seven, and yet, during that period, several hundred thousand acres of common land were enclosed and transformed into private property to enlarge the estates of the nobility, and the same process is still going on.

In twelve years the rental liable to be rated to the poor in England and Wales rose from £86,700,000 to £118,300,000: the number of adult able-bodied paupers increased from one hundred and forty-four thousand five hundred to one hundred and eighty-five thousand six hundred.
These are no fancy pictures, originating in the wild speculations of hot brained incorrigibles; they are the confessions of landlords and money lords, recorded in their own blue books. One of their experts told the House of Lords the other day that the propertied classes, after faring sumptuously, laid by £150,000,000 a year out of the produce of your labour. A few weeks later the president of the Royal College of Surgeons related to a jury, assembled to inquire into the causes of eight untimely deaths, what he saw in the foul ward of St. Pancras.

Hibernia's favourites too have multiplied, and their income has risen, while a sixth of her toiling sons and daughters perished by famine, and its consequent diseases, and a third of the remainder were evicted, ejected and expatriated by tormenting felonious usurpers.

This period of unparalleled industrial prosperity has landed thousands of our fellow-toilers—honest, unsophisticated, hard-working men and women—in the stone yard and the oakum room; the roast beef of their dreams has turned into skilly. Hundreds of thousands, men, women and children, are wandering about—homeless, degraded outcasts—in the land that gave them birth, crowding the cities and towns, and swarming the highroads in the country in search of work to obtain food and shelter, without being able to find any. Other thousands, more spirited than honest, are walking the treadmill to expiate little thefts, preferring prison discipline to workhouse fare, while the wholesale swindlers are at large, and felonious landlords preside at quarter sessions to administer the laws. Thousands of the young and strong cross the seas, flying from their native firesides, like from an exterminating plague; the old and feeble perish on the roadside of hunger and cold. The hospitals and infirmaries are overcrowded with fever and famine-stricken: death from starvation has become an ordinary every-day occurrence.

All parties are agreed that the sufferings of the labouring poor were never more intense, and misery so widespread, nor the means of satisfying the wants of man ever so abundant as at present. This proves above all that the moral foundation of all civil government, "that the welfare of the entire community is the highest law, and ought to be the aim and end of all civil legislation", has been utterly disregarded. Those who preside over the destinies of the nation have either wantonly neglected their primary duty while attending to the special interests of the rich to make them richer, or their social position, their education, their class prejudices have incapacitated them from doing their duty to the community at
large or applying the proper remedies; in either case they have betrayed their trust.

Class government is only possible on the condition that those who are held in subjection are secured against positive want. The ruling classes have failed to secure the industrious wages-labourer in the prime of his life against hunger and death from starvation. Their remedies have signally failed, their promises have not been fulfilled. They promised retrenchment, they have enormously increased the public expenditure instead. They promised to lift the burden of taxation from your shoulders, the rich pay but a fractional part of the increased expenses; the rest is levied upon your necessaries—even your pawn tickets are taxed—to keep up a standing army, drawn from your own ranks, to shoot you down if you show signs of disaffection. They promised to minimise pauperism: they have made indigence and destitution your average condition—the big loaf has dwindled into no loaf. Every remedy they have applied has but aggravated the evil, and they have no other to suggest,—their rule is doomed. To continue is to involve all in a common ruin. There is but one,—and only one,—remedy. Help Yourselves! Determine that you will not endure this abominable state of things any longer; act up to your determination, and it will vanish.

A few weeks ago a score of London working men talked the matter over. They came to the conclusion that the present economical basis of society was the foundation of all the existing evils,—that nothing short of a transformation of the existing social and political arrangements could avail, and that such a transformation could only be effected by the toiling millions themselves. They embodied their conclusions in a series of resolutions, and called a conference of representative working men, to whom they were submitted for consideration. In three consecutive meetings those resolutions were discussed and unanimously adopted. To carry them out a new working men's organisation, under the title of the “Land and Labour League”, was established. An executive council of upwards of forty well-known representative working men was appointed to draw up a platform of principles arising out of the preliminary resolutions adopted by the conference, to serve as the programme of agitation by means of which a radical change can be effected.

After mature consideration the Council agreed to the following:
1. Nationalisation of the Land.
2. Home Colonisation.
3. National, Secular, Gratuitous and Compulsory Education.
5. A Direct and Progressive Property Tax, in Lieu of All Other Taxes.
7. Abolition of the Standing Army.
8. Reduction of the Number of the Hours of Labour.
9. Equal Electoral Rights, with Payment of Members.

The success of our efforts will depend upon the pressure that can be brought to bear upon the powers that be, and this requires numbers, union, organisation and combination. We therefore call upon you to unite, organise and combine, and raise the cry throughout Ireland, Scotland, Wales and England, “The Land for the People”—the rightful inheritors of nature’s gifts. No rational state of society can leave the land, which is the source of life, under the control of, and subject to the whims and caprices of, a few private individuals. A government elected by, and as trustee for, the whole people is the only power that can manage it for the benefit of the entire community.

Insist upon the State reclaiming the unoccupied lands as a beginning of its nationalisation, and placing the unemployed upon it. Let not another acre of common land be enclosed for the private purposes of non-producers. Compel the Government to employ the army, until its final dissolution, as a pioneer force to weed, drain and level the wastes for cultivation, instead of forming encampments to prepare for the destruction of life. If green fields and kitchen gardens are incompatible with the noble sport of hunting let the hunters emigrate.

Make the Nine points of the League the Labour programme, the touchstone by which you test the quality of candidates for parliamentary honours, and if you find them spurious reject them like a counterfeit coin, for he who is not for them is against you.

You are swindled out of the fruits of your toil by land laws, money laws, and all sorts of laws. Out of the paltry pittance that is left you, you have to pay the interest of a debt that was incurred to keep your predecessors in subjection; you have to maintain a standing army that serves no other purpose in your generation, and you are systematically overworked when employed, and underfed at all times. Nothing but a series of such radical reforms as indicated on our programme will ever lift you out of the slough of despond in which you are at present sunk. The difficulty can be overcome by unity of purpose and action. We are many; our opponents are few. Then, working men and women of all creeds...
and occupations, claim your rights as with one voice, and rally round, and unite your forces under, the banner of the “Land and Labour League” to conquer your own emancipation!

John Weston, Treasurer
Martin J. Boon
J. George Eccarius

Drawn up by Eccarius on about November 14, 1869

Published as a pamphlet, Address of the Land and Labour League to the Working Men and Women of Great Britain and Ireland, London, 1869

Reproduced from the pamphlet
Cit. 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,\(^4\) 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.\(^3\) Such ought to have been the case in Ireland.

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.\(^5\) When taunted in the House he equivocated his fiery declarations against the “policy of conquest”\(^6\) implied that “Ireland ought to be ruled according to Irish ideas”.\(^7\) 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,\(^8\) 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.\(^9\)

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\(^a\) See *The Irishman*, No. 4, July 24, 1869.—Ed.
\(^b\) *The Irishman*, Nos. 7, 12 and 13, August 14, September 18 and 25, 1869.— Ed.
\(^c\) *The Irishman*, No. 4, July 24, 1869.—Ed.
\(^d\) See J. Gray’s inquiry in the House of Commons concerning the treatment of the Irish prisoners, *The Irishman*, No. 3, July 17, 1869.—Ed.
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 10th October. The trade societies wanted to go in procession. On the 8th 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.

After that Gladstone answered the Limerick memorial of August in a roundabout way. 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 would soon be down upon it. It is only "disaffection of 700 years' standing". The Irish have declared they would receive unconditional freedom as an act of conciliation.

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a H. A. Bruce. Speech in the House of Commons of June 4, 1869. Ibid.— Ed.
b “Mr. G. H. Moore’s Motion upon the Treatment by England of Irish Political Prisoners”, The Irishman, No. 1, July 3, 1869.— Ed.
c The Irishman, No. 6, August 7, 1869.— Ed.
d The Irishman, No. 16, October 16, 1869.— Ed.
ec The Irishman, No. 17, October 23, 1869.— Ed.
Gladstone cannot quell the Fenian conspiracy in America, his conduct promotes it, one paper calls him the Head Centre. 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 behaviour 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 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 organisers 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. 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 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

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a New-York Irish People.—Ed.
b The Irishman, No. 7, August 14, 1869.—Ed.
c The Irishman, No. 19, November 6, 1869.—Ed.
d The Irishman, No. 20, November 13, 1869.—Ed.
e An allusion to Gladstone who said in his reply to the Limerick memorial that “amnesty could only be an act of clemency on the part of the sovereign” (The Times, No. 26579, October 23, 1869).—Ed.
give security to life and property and maintain the integrity of the empire.

Life and property are endangered by the English aristocracy. Canada makes her own laws 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."\[a\]

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.\[b\] And after all this he comes to Guild-Hall and complains that he is inadequate for the task.\[c\]

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 declared for it.\[d\] They have resolved to liberate O'Donovan Rossa by electing him a member of Parliament.\[e\]

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\[a\] A reference to Gladstone's pamphlet *Two Letters to the Earl of Aberdeen on the State Persecutions of the Neapolitan Government*, published in London in 1851.— *Ed.*

\[b\] The Times, No. 26583, October 27, 1869.— *Ed.*

\[c\] The Irishman, No. 20, November 13, 1869.— *Ed.*

\[d\] This sentence was inserted between the lines of the Minute Book.— *Ed.*

\[e\] The next sentence in the Minutes reads: "Cit. Marx ended by proposing the following resolution" (see this volume, p. 83).— *Ed.*
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 1798 and then the comparison would not be favourable 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

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$b$ See this volume, p. 83.— *Ed.*
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 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.

[II]

Cit. *Marx* said if Odger’s suggestions were followed the Council would put themselves on an English party standpoint. They could not do that. The Council must show the Irish that they understood the question and the Continent that they showed no favour to the British Government. The Council must treat the Irish like the English would treat the Polish.


Reproduced from the Minute Book of the General Council
Cit. Marx proposed that the Council at its rising should adjourn to January 4th. He said it would not be advisable to discuss the Irish during the holiday weeks when the attendance of members might be small. He considered the solution of the Irish question as the solution of the English, and the English as the solution of the European.

The proposition was agreed to.

First published, in Russian, in the book Generalny Sovet Pervogo Internatsionala. 1868-1870. Protokoly, Moscow, 1964

Reproduced from the Minute Book of the General Council
I

London, February 27, 1870

The Marseillaise for February 18 quotes an article from The Daily News in which the English paper gives information to the French press concerning the election of O'Donovan Rossa. Since this information is somewhat confused and since partial explanations only serve to throw a false light on the things which they are claiming to elucidate, I should be grateful if you would kindly publish my comments on the article in question.

Firstly, The Daily News states that O'Donovan was sentenced by a jury, but it omits to add that in Ireland the juries are composed of minions more or less directly nominated by the government.

Then, in speaking with righteous horror of the treason-felony, the false liberals of The Daily News omit to say that this new category in the English Penal Code was expressly invented to identify the Irish patriots with the vilest of criminals.

Let us take then the case of O'Donovan Rossa. He was one of the editors of The Irish People. Like most of the Fenians he was sentenced for having written so-called seditious articles. Consequently the Marseillaise was not wrong in drawing an analogy between Rochefort and Rossa.

Why does The Daily News, which aims at keeping France informed about the Fenian prisoners, remain silent about the appalling treatment of them? I trust that you will allow me to make up for this prudent silence.

Some time ago O'Donovan was put in a dark cell with his hands chained behind his back. His handcuffs were not removed night

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a La Marseillaise, No. 60, February 18, 1870.—Ed.
or day so that he was forced to crouch on the ground to lick his food, gruel made with water. Mr. Pigott, editor of The Irishman, learnt about these facts from Rossa who described them to him in the presence of the prison governor and another witness, and published the information in his newspaper,\(^a\) encouraging Mr. Moore, one of the Irish members of the House of Commons, to request a parliamentary enquiry into what goes on in the prisons.\(^b\)
The government strongly opposed this request. Thus, Moore's motion was rejected by 171 votes to 36—a worthy supplement to the voting which crushed the right to suffrage.\(^c\)

And this took place during the ministry of the sanctimonious Gladstone. As you can see the great Liberal leader knows how to mock humanity and justice. There are also Judases who do not wear glasses.

Here is another case which also does England credit. O'Leary, a Fenian prisoner aged between sixty and seventy, was put on bread and water for three weeks because—the reader of the Marseillaise would never guess why—because Leary called himself a "pagan" and refused to say he was Protestant, Presbyterian, Catholic or Quaker. He was given the choice of one of these religions or bread and water. Of these five evils, O'Leary, or "pagan O'Leary" as he is called, chose the one that he considered the least—bread and water.\(^d\)

A few days ago after examining the body of a Fenian who died at Spike Island Prison the coroner\(^e\) expressed his very strong disapproval of the manner in which the deceased man had been treated.\(^f\)

Last Saturday a young Irishman called Gunner Hood left prison after four years in it. At the age of 19 he had joined the English army and served England in Canada. He was taken before a military tribunal in 1866 for having written seditious articles and sentenced to two years' hard labour. When the sentence was pronounced Hood took his cap and threw it into the air shouting,

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\(^a\) The Irishman, No. 49, June 12, 1869, "O'Donovan Rossa. To the Editor of The Irishman; The Press on the Treatment of the Political Prisoners: The Treatment of O'Donovan Rossa".— Ed.
\(^b\) "Mr. G. H. Moore's Motion upon the Treatment by England of Irish Political Prisoners", The Irishman, No. 1, July 3, 1869.— Ed.
\(^c\) See this volume, pp. 442-43.— Ed.
\(^d\) Ibid., p. 102.— Ed.
\(^e\) Jenny Marx uses the English term and gives the explanation of it in brackets.— Ed.
\(^f\) See the article "Inquest at Spike Island.—Condemnation of the Prison Treatment", The Irishman, No. 34, February 19, 1870.— Ed.
“Long live the Irish republic!” This impassioned cry cost him dear. He was sentenced to an extra two years in prison and fifty strokes for good measure. This was carried out in the most atrocious manner. Hood was attached to a plough and two strapping blacksmiths were armed with CAT-O-NINE-TAILS. There is no equivalent term in French for the English knout. Only the Russians and the English know what is meant by this. Like draws to like.

Mr. Carey, a journalist, is kept at present in the part of the prison intended for the insane, the silence and the other forms of torture to which he has been subjected having turned him into a mass of living flesh deprived of all reason.

The Fenian, Colonel Burke, a man who has distinguished himself not only by his military service in the American army but also as a writer and painter, has also been reduced to a pitiful state in which he can no longer recognise his closest relatives. I could add many more names to this list of Irish martyrs. Suffice it to say that since 1866, when there was a raid on The Irish People's offices, 20 Fenians have died or gone mad in the prisons of humanitarian England.
During the meeting of the House of Commons on March 3 Mr. Stacpoole questioned Mr. Gladstone on the treatment of Fenian prisoners. He said, among other things, that Dr. Lyons of Dublin had recently stated that

"the discipline, diet, personal restrictions and the other punishments were bound to cause permanent damage to the prisoners' health".

After having expressed complete satisfaction with the way in which prisoners were treated, Mr. Gladstone crowned his little _speech_ with this brilliantly witty remark:

"As to the health of O'Donovan Rossa, I am glad to be able to say that during her last visit to her husband Mrs. O'Donovan Rossa congratulated him on looking better."

Whereupon a burst of Homeric laughter broke out from all sides of that noble assembly. _Her last visit!_ Note that Mrs. O'Donovan Rossa had not only been separated from her husband for several years, but that she had travelled all over America earning money to feed her children by giving public lectures on English literature.

And bear in mind also that this same Mr. Gladstone, whose quips are so pointed, is the almost sacred author of _Prayers_, the _Propagation of the Gospel, The Functions of Laymen in the Church_ and the recently published homily _Ecce homo_.

Is the profound satisfaction of the head jailer shared by his prisoners? Read the following extracts from a letter written by

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a W. Stacpoole, Speech in the House of Commons on March 3, 1870, _The Times_, No. 26689, March 4, 1870._— Ed._

b W. E. Gladstone, Speech in the House of Commons on March 3, 1870, _The Times_, No. 26689, March 4, 1870._— Ed._

c The titles of Gladstone's books are given in English in the newspaper, with the French translations in brackets._— Ed._
O'Donovan Rossa, which by some miracle was slipped out of the prison and arrived at its destination after an incredible delay:

LETTER FROM ROSSA

I have already told you about the hypocrisy of these English masters who, after placing me in a position which forced me to get down on my knees and elbows to eat, are now depriving me of food and light and giving me chains and a Bible. I am not complaining of the penalties which my masters inflict on me—it is my job to suffer—but I insist that I have the right to inform the world of the treatment to which I am subjected, and that it is illegal to hold back my letters describing this treatment. The minute precautions taken by the prison authorities to prevent me writing letters are as disgusting as they are absurd. The most insulting method was to strip me once a day for several months and then examine my arms, legs and all other parts of my body. This took place at Millbank daily from February to May 1867. One day I refused, whereupon five prison officers arrived, beat me mercilessly and tore off my clothes.

Once I succeeded in getting a letter to the outside, for which I was rewarded by a visit from Messrs. Knox and Pollock, two POLICE MAGISTRATES.\(^a\)

How ironical to send two government employees to find out the truth about the English prisons. These gentlemen refused to take note of anything important which I had to tell them. When I touched upon a subject which was not to their liking, they stopped me by saying that prison discipline was not their concern. Isn't that so, Messrs. Pollock and Knox? When I told you that I had been forced to wash in water which had already been used by half a dozen English prisoners, did you not refuse to note my complaint?

At Chatham I was given a certain amount of tow to pull out and told that I would go without food if I did not finish the work by a certain time.

"Perhaps you'll still punish me even if I do the job in time," I shouted: "That's what happened to me at Millbank."

"How could it?" asked the jailer.

Then I told him that on July 4 I had finished my work ten minutes before the appointed time and picked up a book. The officer saw me do this, accused me of being lazy and I was put on bread and water and locked in a dark cell for forty-eight hours.

One day I caught sight of my friend Edward Duffy. He was extremely pale. A little later I heard that Duffy was seriously ill and that he had expressed the wish to see me (we had been very close in Ireland). I begged the governor to give me permission to visit him. He refused point-blank. This was round about Christmas '67—and a few weeks later a prisoner whispered to me through the bars of my cell: "Duffy is dead."

How movingly this would have been described by the English if it had happened in Russia!

If Mr. Gladstone had been present on such a sad occasion in Naples, what a touching picture he would have painted! Ah! Sweet Pharisees, trading in hypocrisy, with the Bible on their lips and the devil in their bellies.

I must say a word in memory of John Lynch. In March 1866 I found myself together with him in the exercise yard. We were being watched so closely that he only managed to say to me, "The cold is killing me." But then what did the English do to us? They took us to London on Christmas Eve. When we arrived at

\(^a\) Jenny Marx uses the English term and gives its French equivalent in brackets.—Ed.
the prison they took away our flannels and left us shivering in our cells for several months. Yes, they cannot deny that it was they who killed John Lynch. But nevertheless they managed to produce officials at the enquiry who were ready to prove that Lynch and Duffy had been given very gentle treatment.

The lies of our English oppressors exceed one’s wildest imagination.

If I am to die in prison I entreat my family and my friends not to believe a word of what these people say. Let me not be suspected of personal rancour against those who persecuted me with their lies. I accuse only tyranny which makes the use of such methods necessary.

Many a time the circumstances have reminded me of Machiavelli’s words: “that tyrants have a special interest in circulating the Bible so that the people understand its precepts and offer no resistance to being robbed by brigands”.

So long as an enslaved people follows the sermons on morality and obedience preached to them by the priests, the tyrants have nothing to fear.

If this letter reaches my fellow countrymen I have the right to demand that they raise their voices to insist that justice be done for their suffering brothers. Let these words whip up the blood that is moving sluggishly in their veins!

I was harnessed to a cart with a rope tied round my neck. This knot was fastened to a long shaft and two English prisoners received orders to prevent the cart from bouncing. But they refrained from doing this, the shaft rose up into the air and the knot came undone. If it had tightened I would be dead.

I insist that they do not possess the right to put me in a situation where my life depends on the acts of other people.

A ray of light is penetrating through the bolts and bars of my prison. This is reminder of the day in Neustownwards where I met Orangemen and Ribbonmen who had forgotten their bigotry!

O’Donovan Rossa
Political prisoner sentenced to hard labour

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a “O’Donovan Rossa. Letter from the Member for Tipperary”, The Irishman, No. 32, February 5, 1870.—Ed.
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.\(^a\)

The Times\(^b\) printed the letter without comment, whereas The Daily News published a commentary without the letter.\(^c\)

"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."\(^d\)

How atrocious this "for a while" is in speaking of a man who has already been imprisoned for five years and condemned to hard labour 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, an opposition 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,

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\(^a\) See this volume, pp. 418-19.— Ed.

\(^b\) "The Fenian Convict O'Donovan Rossa", The Times, No. 26694, March 10, 1870.— Ed.

\(^c\) "The Marseillaise of Tuesday last was...", The Daily News, No. 7445, March 11, 1870.— Ed.

\(^d\) In La Marseillaise the English expression "for a while" is given in brackets after the French equivalent.— Ed.
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 labour for life for *sedition* writing and not 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.\(^a\)

"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," it says, "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 neighbours, the Parisians, to treat all the stories of cruelties committed on political prisoners in England as so 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.\(^b\) *The Irishman* was the first to publish this news,\(^c\) after which Mr. Underwood sent a letter to Mr. Bruce, the Home Secretary,\(^d\) 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:

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\(^a\) *The Daily Telegraph*, No. 4598, March 11, 1870.—*Ed.*

\(^b\) See this volume, p. 416.—*Ed.*

\(^c\) "More Prison Horrors. Irish Political Prisoners Being Done to Death in English Prisons", *The Irishman*, No. 27, January 1, 1870.—*Ed.*

\(^d\) The letter was published in *The Irishman*, No. 28, January 8, 1870.—*Ed.*
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 had 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 proletarian 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.

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a The Irishman, No. 30, January 22, 1870. The reply to Underwood’s enquiry was made on behalf of Bruce by A.F.O. Liddell on January 11, 1870.— Ed.

b Both Mrs. Barry’s letter to Bruce of February 22, 1870 and Liddell’s reply to it of February 24 were published in The Irishman, No. 37, March 12, 1870.— Ed.

c J. Meyers, Official report on Richard Burke’s state of health, dated January 11, 1870, The Irishman, No. 37, March 12, 1870.— Ed.

d King Bomba, i.e. Ferdinand II.— Ed.

e “O’Donovan Rossa’s Woes”, The Echo, No. 391, March 11, 1870.— Ed.
The Spectator, a "liberal" weekly which supports Gladstone, is governed by the principle that all genres are bad except the boring one." 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."b

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 sides 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?"c

In the House of Commons a certain member once referred to the Tory party as the "STUPID PARTY".d 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 clamour with the voice of the English proletariat which, unfortunately for the two countries, Ireland and England, has no echo in the English press.

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,

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a Jenny Marx paraphrases words from Voltaire's novel L'Enfant prodigue: Tous les genres sont bons, hors le genre ennuyeux" (The Prodigal Son: "All genres are good except the boring ones").—Ed.
b The Spectator, No. 2176, March 12, 1870.—Ed.
c The Evening Standard, March 10, 1870.—Ed.
d Jenny Marx uses the English words "stupid party" and gives the French translation in brackets.—Ed.
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 defence of the rights of the Irish people against the English government. 493

P. S. As a result of the publicity given by the *Marseillaise* to O’Donovan Rossa’s letter, a 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.494

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. b 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.

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a O’Donovan’s letter of March 5, 1870, *La Marseillaise*, No. 79, March 9, 1870.— *Ed.*

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 about Richard Burke and four other prisoners held in Mountjoy Prison (in Dublin) and asked the government whether it considered it honourable 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 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? Should he admit to being alarmed by the clamour on the other side of the Channel? Never. 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

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a See this volume, p. 422.—Ed.
b Moore's speech in the House of Commons on March 17, 1870, The Times, No. 26702, March 18, 1870.—Ed.
c The words in small caps are given in La Marseillaise in English in brackets after their French equivalent.—Ed.
d This word is given in the newspaper in brackets after its French equivalent.—Ed.
would be both politic and just to conduct an enquiry into the truth of the jailers' statements”.

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 if he does give way in the end, he does so with a further mental reservation.

Mr. Moore demands a “full, free and public enquiry”. Mr. Gladstone replies that he is 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 honourable 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 Prison. 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 English 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 the English government declared a state of general emergency in Ireland. All guarantees of the freedom of the individual were suspended. Any person “suspected

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a Les satires de Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, Jena, 1834 (Satire VIII, 5).—Ed.
b Bruce's letter to Th. N. Underwood was published in The Irishman, No. 37, March 12, 1870.—Ed.
of being suspected of Fenianism” could thus 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 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 first to Inspector Murray protesting against the cruel treatment of suspects. Since the inspector did not reply, Mr. M'Donnell sent three or four reports to the prison governor. In one of these letters he refers to

“certain persons”.—I am citing word for word—“who show unmistakable signs of insanity”. He goes 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 that 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 at 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. It should suffice to say of this law that it bears the mark of Lord Dufferin, a member of the Cabinet and a large Irish landowner. It was only last year that this Dr. Sangrado published a large tome 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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\[b\] F. T. H. Blackwood, Mr. Mill's Plan for the Pacification of Ireland Examined, London, 1868.—Ed.
There is a London weekly with a wide circulation among the people which is called Reynolds's Newspaper. This is what it has to say about the Irish question:

"Now we are regarded by the other nations as the most hypocritical people on earth. We blew our own trumpets so loudly and so joyfully and exaggerated the excellence of our institutions so much, that now when our lies are being exposed one by one it is not at all surprising that other peoples should ridicule us and ask themselves whether it can be possible. It is not the people of England who have brought about such a state of affairs, because the people also have been tricked and deceived—the blame lies with the ruling classes and a venal, parasitic press...."a

The Coercion Bill for Ireland which was introduced on Thursday eveningb is a detestable, abominable, execrable measure. This Bill extinguishes the last spark of national liberty in Ireland and silences the press of this unhappy country in order to prevent its newspapers from protesting against a policy which is the crying disgrace of our time. The government wants its revenge on all those newspapers which did not greet its wretched Land Bill with transports of delight, and will get it. In effect the Habeas Corpus Act will be suspended, because from now onwards it will be possible to imprison for six months or even for life any person who cannot explain his behaviour to the satisfaction of the authorities.

Ireland has been put at the mercy of a band of well-trained spies who are euphemistically referred to as "detectives".

Not even Nicholas of Russia ever published a crueller ukase

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a Reynolds's Newspaper, March 20, 1870.—Ed.
b March 17.—Ed.
against the unfortunate Poles than this Bill of Mr. Gladstone’s against the Irish. It is a measure which would have won Mr. Gladstone the good favour of the famous King of Dahomey. Nevertheless, Mr. Gladstone had the colossal effrontery to boast in front of Parliament and the nation of the generous policy which his government is proposing to adopt with regard to Ireland. At the end of his speech on Thursday Gladstone even went as far as producing expressions of regret pronounced with a sanctimonious, lachrymose solemnity worthy of the reverend Mr. Stiggins. But snivel as he may, the Irish people will not be deceived.

We repeat that the Bill is a shameful measure, a measure worthy of Castlereagh, a measure which will invoke the condemnation of all free nations on the heads of those who invented it and those who sanction and approve it. Finally, it is a measure which will bring well-deserved opprobrium to Mr. Gladstone and, we sincerely hope, lead to his swift defeat. And how has the demagogic minister Mr. Bright been able to keep silent for forty-eight hours?

We state without hesitation that Mr. Gladstone has proved to be the most savage enemy and the most implacable master to have crushed Ireland since the days of the notorious Castlereagh.

As if the cup of ministerial shame were not already full to overflowing, it was announced in the House of Commons on Thursday evening, the same evening as the Coercion Bill was introduced, that Burke and other Fenian prisoners had been tortured to the point of insanity in the English prisons, and in the very face of this appalling evidence Gladstone and his jackal Bruce were protesting loudly that the political prisoners were treated with all possible care. When Mr. Moore made this sad announcement to the House he was constantly interrupted by hoots of bestial laughter. Had such a disgusting and revolting scene taken place in the American Congress, what a howl of indignation would have gone up from us!

Up till now the Reynolds’s Newspaper, The Times, The Daily News, Pall Mall, The Telegraph, etc., etc., have greeted the Coercion Bill with shouts of wild joy, particularly the measure for the destruction of the Irish press. And all this is taking place in England, the acknowledged sanctuary of the press. But one should not, after all, be too angry with these new writers. You will agree that it was too hard to watch The Irishman each Saturday demolish the tissue of lies and calumny which these Penelopes worked on for six days of the week with sweat on their brows, and
that it is quite natural that they should give a frantic welcome to the police who come to tie the hands of their formidable enemy. At least these fine fellows realise their own collective worth.

A characteristic exchange of letters has taken place between Bruce and Mr. M'Carthy Downing concerning Colonel Richard Burke. Before reproducing it I should like to remark in passing that Mr. Downing is an Irish member of the House of Commons. This ambitious advocate joined the ministerial phalanx with the noble aim of making a career. Thus, we are not dealing here with a suspect witness.

February 22, 1870

Sir,

If my information is correct, Richard Burke, one of the Fenian prisoners formerly held in Chatham Prison, has been transferred to Woking in a state of insanity. In March 1869 I took the liberty of bringing his state of apparent ill-health to your notice, and in the following July Mr. Blake, former member for Waterford, and I informed you of our opinion that if the system of his treatment were not changed, the worst consequences were to be feared. I received no reply to this letter. My object in writing to you is the cause of humanity and the hope of obtaining his release so that his family may have the consolation of seeing to his needs and mitigating his suffering. I have in my hand a letter from the prisoner to his brother dated December 3 in which he says that he has been systematically poisoned, this being, I imagine, one of the phases of his disease. I sincerely trust that the kind sentiments for which you are known will urge you to grant this request.

Yours, etc.,

M'Carthy Downing

Home Office,
February 25, 1870

Sir,

Richard Burke was transferred from Chatham as a result of his illusion that he was poisoned or cruelly treated by the prison medical officers. At the same time, without him being positively ill, his health deteriorated. Consequently, I gave orders for him to be moved to Woking and had him examined by Dr. Meyer from Broadmoor Asylum, who was of the opinion that his illusion would disappear when his health improved. His health did, in fact, improve rapidly and an ordinary observer would not have noted any signs of his mental weakness. I should very much like to be in a position to give you an assurance of his early release, but am not able to do so. His crime and the consequences of the attempt to free him are too serious for me to be able to give you such an assurance. Meanwhile all that

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*“The Fenian Prisoner Burke”,* The Irishman, No. 38, March 19, 1870.—Ed.
medical science and good treatment can do to restore his mental and physical
health will be done.

H. A. Bruce

February 28, 1870

Sir,

After receiving your letter of the 25th in reply to my request that Burke should
be handed over to the care of his brother, I hoped to find an occasion to talk to
you on this matter in the House of Commons, but you were so busy on Thursday
and Friday that an interview was out of the question. I have received letters from a
number of Burke’s friends. They are waiting anxiously to hear whether my request
has been successful. I have not yet informed them that it has not. Before
disappointing them I felt “justified” in writing to you again on the matter. I
thought that as a person who has invariably and at some risk denounced
Fenianism, I could permit myself to give a word of impartial, friendly advice to the
government.

I have no hesitation in saying that the release of a political prisoner who has
become mentally unbalanced would not be criticised and certainly not condemned
by the general public. In Ireland people would say: “Well, the government is not as
cruel as we thought.” Whereas if, on the other hand, Burke is kept in prison this
will provide new material for the national press to attack it as being even crueler
than the Neapolitan governors in their worst days. And I confess that I cannot see
how men of moderate views could defend the act of refusal in such a case...

M’Carthy Downing

Sir,

I regret that I am unable to recommend Burke’s release.

It is true that he has shown signs of insanity and that in ordinary cases I would
be “justified” in recommending him to the mercy of the Crown. But his case is not
an ordinary one, because he was not only a hardened conspirator, but his
participation in the attempt to blow up Clerkenwell which, if it had succeeded,
would have been even more disastrous than it was, makes him an IMPROPER
RECIPIENT OF PARDON.\(^a\)

H. A. Bruce

Could anything be more infamous! Bruce knows perfectly well
that if there had been the slightest suspicion against Colonel
Burke during the trial concerning the attempt to blow up
Clerkenwell, Burke would have been hung next to Barrett who
was sentenced to death on the testimony of a man who had
previously given false testimony against three other men, and in
spite of the evidence of eight citizens who made the journey from
Glasgow to prove that Barrett had been there when the explosion
had taken place. The English have no scruples (Mr. Bruce can
confirm this) when it is a question of hanging a man—especially a
Fenian.

\(^a\) The words in small caps are given in La Marseillaise in brackets after their
French equivalents.—Ed.
But all this spate of cruelty cannot break the iron spirit of the Irish. They have just celebrated their national holiday, St. Patrick's Day, more demonstratively than ever in Dublin. The houses were decorated with flags saying: "Ireland for the Irish!", "Liberty!" and "Long live the political prisoners!" and the air rang with the sound of their national songs and—the Marseillaise.
VI
AGRARIAN OUTRAGES IN IRELAND

London, April 2, 1870

In Ireland the plundering and even extermination of the tenant farmer and his family by the landlord is called the property right, whereas the desperate farmer's revolt against his ruthless executioner is called an agrarian outrage. These agrarian outrages, which are actually very few in number but are multiplied and exaggerated out of all proportion by the kaleidoscope of the English press in accordance with orders received, have, as you will know, provided the excuse for reviving the regime of white terror in Ireland. On the other hand, this regime of terror makes it possible for the landowners to redouble their oppression with impunity.

I have already mentioned that the Land Bill consolidates landlordism under the pretext of giving aid to the tenant farmers. Nevertheless, in order to pull the wool over people's eyes and clear his conscience, Gladstone was compelled to grant this new lease of life to landlord despotism subject to certain legal formalities. It should suffice to say that in the future, as in the past, the landlord's word will become law if he succeeds in imposing on his tenants at will the most fantastic rents which are impossible to pay or, in the case of land tenure agreements, makes his farmers sign contracts which will bind them to voluntary slavery.

And how the landlords are rejoicing! A Dublin newspaper, the Freeman, publishes a letter from Father P. Lavelle, the author of The Irish Landlord since the Revolution, in which he says:

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a These two words are given in the newspaper in brackets after their French equivalents.—Ed.

b This term is given in the newspaper in brackets after its French equivalent.—Ed.

c P. Lavelle, "To the Tenants and Tenant-Farmers of Ireland", The Freeman's Journal. March 29, 1870.—Ed.
"I have seen piles of letters addressed to tenants by their landlord, the brave captain, and ‘absentee’ living in England, warning them that from now on their rents are to be raised by 25%. This is equivalent to an eviction notice! And this from a man who does nothing for the land except live off its produce!"

*The Irishman* on the other hand publishes the new tenure agreements dictated by Lord Dufferin, the member of Gladstone’s Cabinet who inspired the Land Bill and introduced the Coercion Bill in the House of Lords. Add the rapacious shrewdness of an expert moneylender and the despicable chicanery of the advocate to feudal insolence and you will have a rough idea of the new land tenure agreements invented by the noble Dufferin.

It is now easy to see that the rule of terror has arrived just in time to introduce the rule of the Land Bill! Let us suppose, for example, that in a certain Irish county the farmers refuse either to allow a 25% rent increase or to sign Dufferin’s land tenure agreements! The county’s landlords will then get their valets or the police to send them anonymous threatening letters, as they have in the past. This also counts as an “agrarian outrage”. The landlords inform the Viceroy, Lord Spencer, accordingly. Lord Spencer then declares that the district is subject to the provisions of the Coercion Act which is then applied by the same landlords, in their capacity as magistrates, against their own tenants!

Journalists who are imprudent enough to protest will not only be prosecuted for sedition, but their printing presses will be confiscated without the semblance of legal proceedings!

It should, perhaps, now be obvious why the head of your executive congratulated Gladstone on the improvements which he had introduced in Ireland, and why Gladstone returned the compliment by congratulating your executive on its constitutional concessions. “A Roland for an Olivier” those of your readers who know Shakespeare will say. But others who are more versed in the *Moniteur* than in Shakespeare will remember the letter sent by the head of your executive to the late Lord Palmerston containing the words “Let us not act like knaves!”

Now I shall return to the question of political prisoners, not without good cause.

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a “Lord Dufferin’s Lease.—Landlord Confiscation”, *The Irishman*, No. 37, March 12, 1870.—*Ed.*

b Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

c Jenny Marx paraphrases Shakespeare’s words; see *King Henry the Sixth*, Part 1, Act I, Scene 2.—*Ed.*
The publication of Rossa's first letter in the *Marseillaise* produced a great effect in England—the result is to be an enquiry.

The following dispatch was printed by all the newspapers in the United States:

"The *Marseillaise* says that O'Donovan Rossa was stripped naked once a day and examined, that he was starved, that he was locked in a dark cell, that he was harnessed to a cart, and that the death of his fellow prisoners was caused by the cold to which they were exposed."

*The Irishman's New York* correspondent says:

"The Rochefort *Marseillaise* has placed the suffering of the Fenian prisoners before the eyes of the American people. We owe a debt of gratitude to the *Marseillaise* which, I trust, will be promptly paid."

Rossa's letter has also been published by the German press.

From now onwards the English government will no longer be able to commit its outrages in silence. Mr. Gladstone will gain nothing from his attempt to silence the Irish press. Each journalist imprisoned in Ireland will be replaced by a hundred journalists in France, Germany and America.

What can Mr. Gladstone's narrow-minded, out-of-date policies do against the international spirit of the nineteenth century?

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*a* See this volume, pp. 418-19.— Ed.

*b* "The Irishman in New York", *The Irishman*, No. 40, April 2, 1870.— Ed.

*c* *Der Volksstaat*, No. 22, March 16, 1870.— Ed.
VII

THE DEATH OF JOHN LYNCH

Citizen Editor,

I am sending you extracts from a letter written to The Irishman by an Irish political prisoner during his detention (he is now at liberty) in a penal colony in Australia.

I shall limit myself to translating the episode concerning John Lynch.

LETTER FROM JOHN CASEY

The following is a brief, impartial report of the treatment to which my brother exiles (twenty-four in number) and I were subjected during our incarceration in that pit of horrors, that living tomb which is called Portland Prison.

Above all it is my duty to pay a tribute of respect and justice to the memory of my friend John Lynch who was sentenced by an extraordinary tribunal in December 1865 and died at Woking Prison in April 1866.

Whatever may be the cause to which the jury has attributed his death, I confirm, and am able to furnish proof, that his death was accelerated by the cruelty of the prison warders.

To be imprisoned in the heart of winter in a cold cell for twenty-three hours out of twenty-four, insufficiently clad, sleeping on a hard board with a log of wood as a pillow and two worn blankets weighing barely ten lbs. as one's only protection against the excessive cold, deprived through an inexpressibly fine stroke of cruelty of even covering our frozen limbs with our clothes which we were forced to put outside our cell door, given unhealthy, meagre nourishment, having no exercise apart from a daily walk lasting three-quarters of an hour in a cage about 20 ft. long by 6 ft. wide designed for the worst type of criminals: such privation and suffering would break even an iron constitution. So it is not surprising that a person as delicate as Lynch should succumb to it almost immediately.

On arrival at the prison Lynch asked for permission to keep his flannels on. His request was rudely refused. "If you refuse I shall be dead in three months," he replied on that occasion. Ah, little did I suspect that his words would come true. I could not imagine that Ireland was to lose one of her most devoted, ardent and noble sons so soon, and that I myself was to lose a tried and tested friend.
At the beginning of March I noticed that my friend was looking very ill and one day I took advantage of the jailer's brief absence to ask him about his health. He replied that he was dying, that he had consulted the doctor several times, but that the latter had not paid the slightest attention to his complaints. His cough was so violent that although my cell was a long distance from his, I could hear it day and night resounding along the empty corridors. One jailer even told me, "Number 7's time will soon be up—he should have been in hospital a month ago. I've often seen ordinary prisoners there looking a hundred times healthier than him."

One day in April I looked out of my cell and saw a skeleton-like figure dragging itself along with difficulty and leaning on the bars for support, with a deathly pale face, glazed eyes and hollow cheeks. It was Lynch. I could not believe it was him until he looked at me, smiled and pointed to the ground as if to say: "I'm finished."

This was the last time I saw Lynch.

This statement of Casey's corroborates Rossa's testimony about Lynch. And it should not be forgotten that Rossa wrote his letter in an English prison whilst Casey was writing in an Australian penal colony, making any communication between the two of them quite impossible. However, the government has just stated that Rossa's assertions are lies. Bruce, Pollock and Knox even declare "that Lynch was given flannels before he asked for them".a

On the other hand Mr. Casey insists as firmly as Mr. Bruce denies it that Lynch complained that "even when he was incapable of walking and was forced to remain in the terrible solitude of his cell his request was refused".

But as Mr. Laurier said in his beautiful speech:

"Let us leave aside human testimony and turn to the testimony that does not lie, the testimony that does not deceive, the silent testimony."501

The fact remains that Lynch entered Pentonville blooming with life, full of hope and, three months later, this young man was a corpse.

Until Messrs. Gladstone, Bruce and his cohort of police can prove that Lynch is not dead, they are wasting their time in vain oaths.

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“No priests in politics” is the watchword which can be heard all over Ireland at the moment.

The large party which has been opposing with all its might the despotism of the Catholic Church, ever since the "DISESTABLISHMENT" of the Protestant Church, is growing daily with remarkable rapidity and has just dealt the clergy a crushing blow.

At the Longford election the clerical candidate, Mr. Greville-Nugent, beat the people’s candidate, John Martin, but the nationalists challenged the validity of his election because of the illegal means by which it had been won, and got the better of their opponents. The election of Nugent was annulled by Judge Fitzgerald who declared Nugent’s agents, that is to say the priests, guilty of having bribed the voters by flooding the country not with the Holy Spirit, but with spirits of a different kind. It appeared that in the single month from December 1 to January 1 alone the reverend fathers had spent £3,500 on whisky!

The Standard allows itself to make some most peculiar comments on the Longford election:

"With regard to their scorning of the intimidation by the clergy," writes the mouthpiece of the "STUPID party", "the nationalists deserve our praise... The great victory which they have won will encourage them to put up new candidates against Mr. Gladstone and his ultramontane allies."

The Times writes:

"From the Papal Bull issued in the eternal city to the intrigues of the country priests, all ecclesiastical power was lined up against Fenianism and the nationalists."
Unfortunately this ardour was not accompanied by prudence, and will result in a second battle at Longford."

_The Times_ is right. The battle of Longford will break out again and be followed by those of Waterford, Mallow and Tipperary, the nationalists in these three counties also having presented petitions requesting the annulment of the election of the official members. In Tipperary it was O'Donovan Rossa who first won the election, but since Parliament stated that he was incapable of representing Tipperary the nationalists proposed Kickham in his place, one of the Fenian patriots who has just finished a spell in English prisons. Kickham's supporters are now declaring that their candidate has been duly elected in spite of the fact that Heron, the government and clerical candidate, gained a majority of four votes.

Bear in mind, however, that one of these four voters for Heron is a wretched _maniac_ who was taken to the poll by a reverend father—you know the weakness which priests have for the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven._b_ And that the second voter is a _corpse_! Yes, the honest and moderate party actually dared to profane the name of a man who died a fortnight before the election by making him vote for a Gladstonian. Apart from this, patriotic voters say that eleven of their votes were discounted on the grounds that the first letter of Kickham's name was illegible, that their telegrams were not delivered, that the authorities were bribing electors right and left and that a base system of intimidation was practised.

The pressure which was brought to bear in Tipperary was unprecedented even in the history of Ireland. The bailiff and the policeman, who stand for eviction warrants, besieged the tenants' hovels in order to terrify wives and children first. The booths in which the voting took place were surrounded by police, soldiers, magistrates, landlords and priests.

The latter hurled stones at people who were putting up posters for Kickham. On top of all this, the moneylender was present in the booths, his eyes resting hungrily on his wretched debtor during the voting. But the government got nothing for all its pains. One thousand six hundred and sixty-eight small tenants braved it out and, unprotected by secret ballot, gave their votes openly for Kickham.

This brave act reminds us of the heroic struggle of the Poles.

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_a_ "House of Commons. London, Friday, April 8", _The Times_, No. 26723, April 8, 1870.— _Ed._

_b_ Cf. Matthew 5:3.— _Ed._
Faced with the battles waged in Longford, Mallow, Waterford and Tipperary, will anyone still dare to say that the Irish are the abject slaves of the clergy.

Published in *La Marseillaise*, Nos. 71, 79, 89, 91, 99, 113, 118, 125 for March 1, 9, 19, 21 and 29, and April 12, 17 and 24, 1870

Signed: *J. Williams* (except for Article II which is not signed)
London, April 23, 1870

Dear Sir, in answer to yours of the 26th ult. I am directed by the Council to state that the International Association recognises no special national interests among the working men who may happen to have been born in different countries.

One of our aims is to eliminate whatever may yet remain of national antipathies and, perhaps, animosities, from the minds of working men. The Council cannot, therefore, endorse the kind of representation implied in your memorial. General Cluseret had his feelings outraged by the French police, which was probably the reason why the trade societies gave him credentials which induced him to institute a comparison between himself and the French ambassador at Washington. The French ambassador at Washington has to vindicate the personal interests of a dynasty, and the property interests of the French traders. The Paris workmen have no such interests to be taken care of on the other side of the Atlantic, against the probable encroachments of the American working men. We consider the interests of the French workmen resident in the United States strictly identical with the interests of all the other working men of the United States.

To facilitate the inter-communication of such as may be separated by difference of language, and perhaps manners, we have correspondents, who are conversant with these things, and to them we trust for managing the rest.

The communication with the United States is distributed among the secretaries of the different nationalities of the General Council. General Cluseret and Mr. Pelletier are our French correspondents in America. They correspond with our Secretary
for France. Siegfried Meyer and Vogt are our German correspondents. They correspond with the German Secretary here, and the General Secretary manages the English correspondence; and beside such trade union officers as Mr. Jessup, we look to you as our correspondent in case any misunderstanding should arise between different nationalities, to endeavour to set matters right, but we cannot admit that either French or Germans have an opposite or special interest from any other workmen, and we always urge them on to take an active part in, and identify themselves with, the movement of the working men of the country, in which they reside, particularly in America.

Respecting the secret society movement, I am instructed to ask you to favour us at your convenience with your opinion as to the cause which has tended to bring about the necessity for secret action. We have been advised to persuade you and friend Jessup to publicly stand up against it, but we suppose there is a necessity for it, or else it would not have come into vogue and moreover it would be presumptuous on our part to offer advice in such a matter, but we wish to know the reasons, to bring them to the knowledge of the working men of the Old World, who have just emerged from conducting their agitation in secret.

Yours faithfully,

J. George Eccarius, General Secretary

Read at the General Council meeting of May 24, 1870

Reproduced from the newspaper clipping pasted into the Minute Book of the General Council

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a Eugène Dupont.— Ed.  
b Karl Marx.— Ed.  
c Johann Georg Eccarius.— Ed.
Cit. Marx proposed that the Council should cut off all connections with The Bee-Hive. He said it had suppressed our resolutions and mutilated our reports and delayed them so that the dates had been falsified, even the mention that certain questions respecting the Irish prisoners were being discussed had been suppressed.\(^505\)

Next to that, the tone of The Bee-Hive was contrary to the Rules and platform of the Association. It preached harmony with the capitalists, and the Association had declared war against the capitalists’ rule.

Besides this, our branches abroad complained that by sending our reports to The Bee-Hive we gave it a moral support and led people to believe that we endorsed its policy. We would be better without its publicity than with it.

On the Irish Coercion Bill\(^506\) it had not said a word against the government.


Reproduced from the Minute Book of the General Council
[London, June 27, 1870]

The second letter concerns business matters of the International Working Men’s Association, the postponement of the congress in particular. Marx emphatically rejects Liebknecht’s proposal to postpone the congress until October, even though such a postponement would be very welcome to the General Council itself as the congress documents are not yet ready. But the French, Marx wrote, were already displeased about the congress being held in Mainz and not at least in Verviers, whereas the Parisians particularly wanted to have it in Paris. We must not provide any cause for unrest. Marx fears that if Liebknecht’s plan for postponement is sanctioned there will be minority congress of the French and the French-speaking Swiss under Bakunin and he says: “National petty jealousies have penetrated too deeply into people’s blood to be reasoned away in a day.”

First published in Leipziger Hochverratsprozeß, Leipzig, 1872
Printed according to the 1872 edition of the book, checked with the 1874 and 1894 editions
Published in English for the first time

a The first letter see on pp. 133-35 of this volume.—Ed.
Cit. Marx thought the only thing the Council could do was to leave the Geneva Committee\(^a\) that had helped from the foundation of the Association as it was. It had fulfilled its duty in every respect and had had a larger constituency though fewer delegates than [the] other party at the Swiss Congress.\(^b\) The vote admitting the Alliance should also be communicated.\(^b\) The new committee could choose some local name.


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\(^a\) The Federal Council of Romance Switzerland.— *Ed.*

\(^b\) A reference to the admission of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy to the International (see this volume, pp. 34-36, 45-46).— *Ed.*
NOTES
AND
INDEXES
In the autumn of 1867 the General Council of the International Working
Men's Association launched a widespread campaign among the English workers
in support of the Irish national liberation movement led by the Fenians. The
memorial written by Marx was an integral part of this campaign.

The Fenians were Irish revolutionaries who named themselves after the
“Féne”—a name of the ancient population of Ireland. Their first organisations
appeared in the 1850s in the USA among the Irish immigrants and later in
Ireland itself. The secret Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, as the organisation
was known in the early 1860s, aimed at establishing an independent Irish republic
by means of an armed uprising. The Fenians, who expressed the interests of the
Irish peasantry, came chiefly from the urban petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia
and believed in conspiracy tactics. The British Government attempted to suppress
the Fenian movement by severe police reprisals.

On September 18, 1867, the Fenians made an armed attack on a prison van
in an attempt to liberate Kelly and Deasy, two of their leaders. The latter
managed to escape but a policeman was killed during the clash. Five Irishmen
(Maguire, Condon, Larkin, Allen and O'Brien) were charged with murder and
brought to trial. Although there was no direct evidence, they were sentenced to
death. Maguire was subsequently pardoned, and Condon, as an American
citizen, had his sentence commuted to life imprisonment. The others were
executed.

The Fenian trial in Manchester aroused a storm of protest in Ireland and
England. On the insistence of Marx, the General Council of the International
began, on November 19, a discussion on the Irish question during which the
leaders of the international proletarian organisation expressed their solidarity
with the struggle of the Irish people for independence and condemned the
position of the reformist trade union leaders who, in the wake of the English
bourgeois radicals, denied the right of the Fenians to resort to revolutionary
methods in the struggle. The discussion was scheduled to continue on
November 26 (see this volume, pp. 189-93), but when the news of the
conviction was received, the General Council convened a special meeting on
November 20 and addressed a memorial to the Home Secretary asking for the
commutation of the death sentence. The British Government ignored the
memorial.
Because of opposition from the trade union leaders, the English labour press did not publish the memorial in its original wording. A report on the special meeting of the General Council, published in The Bee-Hive, No. 319, November 23, 1867, only summarised it, and named the General Council members who had signed it. The French translation was published by Le Courrier français, No. 163, November 24.

In English the memorial was first published in full in The General Council of the First International. 1866-1868, Moscow, 1964.

This document is also preserved in the form of the manuscript copy made by Mrs. Marx which fully coincides with the text entered into the Minute Book. Written as an article, this copy was apparently to be sent to the press. In this volume the memorial is reproduced from this copy.

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.

Marx wrote this item on the basis of a letter from Johann Baptist Schweitzer dated April 29, 1868. The item was included in the report of the General Council meeting of May 12, 1868 published in The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 344, May 16, 1868, but is not to be found in the Minute Book. Informing Engels of Schweitzer's letter, Marx wrote to him on May 4, 1868 that he intended "to use this question in the interests of the Party", and insisted on an inquiry into the condition of the workers employed in the iron trade of the Rhine Province (see this letter and Marx's letter to Engels of May 7 and the latter's reply of May 6-7, 1868, present edition, Vol. 43).

The Lausanne Congress of the International in 1867 designated Brussels as the venue of the next general congress. On February 24, 1868, the General Council called on all sections to begin preparing the Congress agenda. However, the Belgian Minister of Justice, Jules Bara, declared in the Chamber of Deputies on May 16 that he would not permit the convocation of the Congress in Brussels and urged the deputies to renew the Aliens Law of 1835, under which any foreigner could be expelled from the country as politically unreliable. In view of this, at the General Council meeting of May 26, 1868, Marx raised the question of not meeting in Brussels (see The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 346, May 30, 1868). The resolution drawn up by Marx to this effect was read by Jung at the General Council meeting of June 2, since Marx had left for Manchester.

Bara's statement and the prolongation of the Aliens Law caused great discontent in Belgium. The Brussels Section of the International sent the Minister a protest letter which was published in La Tribune du Peuple, No. 5, May 24, 1868.

In their letters to the General Council, De Paepe and Vandenhouten, the leaders of the Brussels Section, urged the Council not to yield to the government because this threatened the further existence of the International in Belgium. Consequently, on Marx's proposal, the General Council meeting of June 16 cancelled the resolution of June 2 and Brussels remained the venue for the next annual congress (see this volume, pp. 320-21 and also Marx's letter to Engels of June 20, 1868, present edition, Vol. 43).

The text of the June 2 resolution was included in the Minutes of the General Council meeting of June 2, 1868, and was also published in The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 347, June 6, 1868.

This refers to the Aliens Law adopted in Belgium on September 22, 1835 and prolonged every three years. Despite the widespread protest campaign in the
press and at meetings, it was renewed at the end of June 1865. In May 1868, the Belgian Government, for fear of fresh mass action, prolonged it without discussion in the Chamber of Deputies. p. 6

6 The public meeting to celebrate the anniversary of the June 1848 insurrection of the Paris workers was held on June 29, 1868 in the Cleveland Hall, London. Such meetings were annually held by the German Workers’ Educational Society in London jointly with other émigré organisations.

The French petty-bourgeois democrat Félix Pyat, who attended the meeting, delivered a speech and moved a provocative resolution urging terrorist acts against Napoleon III (the resolution was published in The Bee-Hive, No. 351, July 4, 1868). The Brussels Espègle, No. 25, July 5, 1868, published a report of the meeting which described it as a meeting of the International with Pyat as one of its leaders. This statement was repeated in other newspapers. The General Council held that this could discredit the International in the eyes of the workers and give the Bonapartist government a pretext for the persecution of its members in France and Belgium. Consequently, at its meeting on July 7 the Council resolved, on Marx’s proposal, to disavow Pyat’s behaviour in a resolution to this effect (see also Marx’s letter to Engels of July 7, 1868, present edition, Vol. 43).

When the General Council’s resolution against Pyat appeared in the press, a split took place in the French Section in London, of which he was a member. Eugène Dupont, Hermann Jung, Paul Lafargue and other proletarian members of the section expressed their disapproval of Pyat’s adventurous and provocative tactics and withdrew from it. Pyat’s group lost ties with the International but continued to act in its name and repeatedly supported anti-proletarian elements opposing Marx’s line in the General Council. On May 10, 1870, the General Council officially dissociated itself from this group (see this volume, pp. 127-28).

The text of this resolution has been preserved in the Minutes of the General Council meeting of July 7, 1868. It was first published in La Liberté, No. 55, July 12, 1868 and reproduced in La Cigale, No. 29, July 19, La Tribune du Peuple, No. 7, July 26, 1868 (with the end of the resolution denying Pyat’s connections with the International omitted), and in other newspapers.

This resolution was first published in English in The General Council of the First International. 1866-1868, Moscow, 1964. p. 7

7 In 1866-68, after the suppression of the Polish insurrection of 1863-64, the Russian Government promulgated “Regulations on the Gubernia and Uyezd Administration in the Kingdom of Poland” and a number of ukases aimed at the abolition of Polish institutions and the consolidation of the administrative apparatus—the chief means of national oppression. The number of gubernias was increased, the prerogatives of the governors appointed by the Russian Government were extended, supreme bodies (the State Council and others) were abolished, and different administrative departments (post, communications) were subordinated to the respective ministries in St. Petersburg. p. 8

The question of machinery and its effects under capitalism was raised by the General Council on January 28, 1868 and was to go on the agenda of the Brussels Congress. It was initially discussed by the General Council at its meetings of July 28 and August 4, 1868. The discussion was opened by Marx who put forward the basic ideas developed by him in Volume One of Capital, chapter “Machinery and Modern Industry” (for the record of Marx’s speech see this volume, pp. 382-84).
Summing up the discussion on August 4, Marx proposed that the General Council should record its conclusion in the form of a resolution. The resolution was drawn up by Marx and adopted at the next Council meeting, on August 11.

At the Brussels Congress this resolution was moved by Georg Eccarius at the session of September 9, 1868, and became part of the preamble of the Congress resolution. At the same session, Friedrich Lessner read some extracts from *Capital* to substantiate Marx's stand on this question.

The resolution was published in English in *The Times*, No. 26229, September 14, 1868, in Eccarius' report of this Congress session; in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 362, September 19, 1868, and in a special pamphlet published in London in 1869: *The International Working Men's Association. Resolutions of the Congress of Geneva, 1866, and the Congress of Brussels, 1868*; in French it was printed in: a special supplement to *Le Peuple Belge*, No. 392, September 11, *La Liberté*, No. 64, September 13, *La Cigale*, No. 38, September 20, *La Tribune du Peuple*, No. 10, November 8, 1868 and *L'Égalité*, No. 14, April 24, 1869; in German the resolution appeared in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 38, September 19, 1868 and in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (New York), No. 28, August 16, 1873. It was included in various other editions in English, German, French, Spanish and Italian. p. 9

This is Marx's reply to an official invitation from the General Association of German Workers, of July 6 (see *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 95, August 14, 1868), to attend its annual congress (assembly) in Hamburg as guest of honour. The invitation was signed by Schweitzer, the President, and by more than twenty members of the Association's Executive, workers from various parts of Germany. (The text of the invitation is given in the Minutes of the General Council meeting of August 18, 1868, in the form of a pasted-in clipping from *The Bee-Hive*, No. 358, August 22, 1868.)

Marx's invitation to the congress of the General Association of German Workers and the programme of the congress both showed that its most progressive members, influenced by the labour movement, and particularly by the International and the ideas contained in Marx's *Capital*, had begun to dissociate themselves from the Lassallean dogmas, and that the leaders of the Association did not have a free hand.

In his reply to the invitation Marx gave his opinion of the programme of the Hamburg congress, and, as he remarked in a letter to Engels of August 26, 1868, congratulated the members of the Association on "their rejection of Lassalle's programme" (see present edition, Vol. 43).

The *Hamburg Congress* (August 22-26, 1868) adopted important decisions: it approved in principle of the strike movement, unanimously acknowledged that "Marx had rendered outstanding services to the working class with his work *Capital*", and pointed to the necessity for joint action by the workers of different countries.

In fact, however, the Association's leaders opposed the organisation of strikes and continued to obstruct the Association's affiliation to the International.

Marx's letter to the President and the Association's Executive was read at a closed sitting of the congress on August 24 and was applauded. It was published in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 100, August 28 and the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 35, August 29, 1868. In 1886, on the third anniversary of Marx's death, his letter was reprinted in the *Sozialdemokrat*, No. 11, March 11. p. 10
A reference to the Standing Committee or Sub-Committee, the executive body of the General Council of the International. It generally assembled once a week and drafted many of the decisions which were later adopted by the Council. The Standing Committee evolved from a commission, elected when the IWMA was being set up, to draft its programme documents—the Rules and the Inaugural Address. The Committee included the President of the General Council (until this office was abolished in September 1867), the General Secretary and the corresponding secretaries for the different countries. Marx took an active part in the work of the Standing Committee as Corresponding Secretary for Germany.

The text of this resolution, adopted by the General Council meeting of August 25, 1868 in connection with the preparations for the Brussels Congress, has been preserved in the minutes of this meeting; it was also published in The Bee-Hive, No. 359, August 29, 1868 (for the record of Marx's speech in substantiating this resolution see this volume, p. 387).

At the Brussels Congress this resolution was moved by Eccarius and read in the report of the commission on reducing the working day on September 12, 1868.

It was published in English in the reports of the Congress sittings in The Times, No. 26232, September 17, 1868 and in the pamphlet The International Working Men's Association. Resolutions of the Congress of Geneva, 1866, and the Congress of Brussels, 1868 published in London in 1869; in French it was published in a special supplement to Le Peuple Belge, No. 399, September 18, La Cigale, No. 38, September 20 and La Tribune du Peuple, No. 10, November 8, 1868.

The Fourth Annual Report of the General Council (the first report was submitted to the London Conference of the International in September 1865) was written by Marx (approved by the General Council on September 1, 1868) for the Third Congress of the International held in Brussels on September 6-13, 1868.

The Brussels Congress was attended by nearly 100 delegates representing workers from Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy and Spain. Marx, who took an active part in the preparations for the Congress, was absent. However, he helped the General Council representatives there, since he was kept informed almost daily by Friedrich Lessner. The French text of the report drawn up by Marx was read at the Congress by Dupont on September 7.

The Congress adopted an important resolution on the necessity for transferring railways, mineral resources, collieries and mines, woods and arable land into public property. This resolution showed that most of the French and Belgian Proudhonists had become supporters of collectivism, and it marked the victory of proletarian socialism over petty-bourgeois reformism within the International. The Congress also adopted the resolutions (drawn up by Marx) on the eight-hour working day, on the use of machinery under capitalism and on the attitude towards the congress of the bourgeois-pacifist League of Peace and Freedom (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 204), and a resolution, moved by Lessner for the German delegates, recommending the workers of all countries to study Marx's Capital and secure its translation from German into other languages.

The fourth annual report was included in the official French edition of the minutes of the Brussels Congress—Troisième congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Compte rendu officiel. Supplement to Le Peuple Belge, September 8, 1868 and reprinted in La Liberté, No. 64, September 13, 1868. The English text, written by Marx, was published in Eccarius' correspondence.
“International Working Men’s Congress” in The Times, No. 26225, September 9, 1868 and reprint in The Bee-Hive, No. 361, September 12, 1868. The German text of the report, also written by Marx, was printed in Der Social-Demokrat, No. 106, September 11, the Demokritisches Wochenblatt, No. 38 (supplement), September 12 and Hermann, No. 506, September 12, 1868. The report was also published in a number of newspapers and books in Germany, Britain, Belgium, Switzerland and France. Abridged translations appeared in Russian and Flemish.

In this volume the annual report is reproduced from The Times and checked with the handwritten copy in German made by Mrs. Marx and slightly differing from the English text. The main discrepancies are indicated in footnotes.

Jules Gottraux, a Swiss-born subject of Great Britain and a member of the International, was detained by the French police on the French-Swiss frontier on September 30, 1866 when he was returning to London from his trip to Switzerland. The police confiscated letters, printed matter, and other material entrusted to him by the International’s leaders in Geneva to be handed over to the General Council. The documents seized included the preliminary report on the work of the Geneva Congress which had been drawn up by Council member Frederick Card and published in Geneva as a pamphlet in French. (Later, this gave rise to a rumour that the French authorities had confiscated the Congress minutes, which in reality had by that time been brought to London by Hermann Jung.) The General Council lodged a complaint with the French Minister of Home Affairs about this irregularity and demanded the return of the seized documents. When he refused to reply to the complaint, written by Fox on the Council’s instructions, the General Council decided to use the fact publicly to expose the regime of the Second Empire (see also the record of Marx’s speech at the General Council meeting of November 27, 1866, present edition, Vol. 20, p. 414). At the beginning of December the Council approached the British Foreign Secretary, asking him to make a corresponding demarche to the French Government, which forced the French authorities to return, on December 21, the materials taken from Gottraux. Fox wrote a special article on the actions of the Bonapartist authorities. It was published in The Commonwealth on January 12, 1867 and in The Working Man on February 1, 1867.

The strike of weavers and spinners in Roubaix in March 1867 was caused by the dismissal of a great number of workers following the introduction of machinery.

A strike of dyers in Amiens in July 1867 was supported by the workers in other trades.

In February 1867 the bronze-workers of Paris refused to dissolve their credit society on their employers’ demand and went on strike. Thanks to the General Council (it discussed the matter at its meetings of March 5, 12, 19 and 26, and April 2 and 9, 1867), the Paris workers received financial aid from the British trade unions. The strike ended in the victory for the bronze-workers—they managed to save their organisation.

In March and April 1868, 3,000 building workers went on strike in Geneva. They demanded the reduction of the working day to 10 hours, higher wages and pay by the hour for pay by the day. They were joined by workers in other trades. The aid from the workers of Switzerland, Britain, France and Germany helped the Geneva builders to win the strike.
Marx refers to the *Mémoire* of the Paris Section for the Geneva Congress, containing a detailed exposition of Proudhonist views on the main issues of the workers' struggle. It was supported by the Lyons and Rouen sections and read as the report of the French delegates at the congress on September 4. The full text of the *Mémoire* was published in Brussels in September 1866 under the title *Congrès de Genève. Mémoire des délégués français*.

In December 1867 the homes of the Executive Committee members of the Paris Section of the International were searched. This was followed by an investigation and then the first trial against the International in France. The case was heard on March 6 and 20, 1868. Among the documents seized by the police during the searches was a letter of November 23, 1867 from Dupont, the Corresponding Secretary for France, to a member of the Paris Section, André Murat, in which the French members of the International were informed of the campaign organised in defence of the imprisoned Fenians (see Note 1). The French authorities tried to use this letter to incriminate the International in the organisation of the Fenian conspiracy.

The court declared the Paris Section dissolved and fined the Committee members.

In France, according to Article 291 of the Criminal Code and the Law of April 10, 1834, any society with a membership exceeding 20 had to be sanctioned by the respective authorities.

In the spring of 1868, the workers of the Charleroi coalfield declared a strike, in reply to the mine-owners' reduction of production to four days a week and lowering of wages by ten per cent. In the bloody clashes between the miners and police troops, twenty-two people were arrested and put on trial.

The Brussels Central Section launched a broad campaign in support of the strikers both in Belgium and abroad. It organised meetings of protest and gave wide coverage of the events in the columns of *La Tribune du Peuple, La Liberté* and other newspapers. On April 12, 1868 it issued a manifesto to the workers of Belgium and other countries (see *La Tribune du Peuple*, No. 4, April 19, 1868). The section maintained regular ties with the General Council of the International. The Council discussed the Charleroi events at its meetings of April 21, May 12 and June 2, 1868 and organised aid to the strikers. The Brussels Section set up a special committee to brief lawyers for the defence of the detainees. The lawyers managed to swing public opinion in favour of the accused, and on August 15 they were acquitted by the jury. This led to a rise in membership of the International in Belgium.

See Note 5.

At Mentana, on November 3, 1867, the French army, jointly with the Pope's hired guards, defeated Garibaldi, who had undertaken a new campaign against Rome to liberate the city from the French and annex it to the Italian state.

Marx refers to the reactionary Prussian law on associations adopted on March 11, 1850.

From November 1865 until the formation of the Eisenach Party in 1869, the Central Committee of German sections in Switzerland headed by Johann Philipp Becker was an organising centre for sections uniting German workers not only in Switzerland but also in Germany, Austria, the United States and countries where German émigré workers lived. Becker's activities, in particular
his *Vorbote* (on the significance of this monthly see Mrs. Marx's letter to Becker of January 29, 1866, present edition, Vol. 42), did much to spread the ideas of the International among the German workers at a time when conditions for establishing an organisation in Germany itself were still lacking.  

23 The reference is to the general congress of the General Association of German Workers held in Hamburg on August 22-26, 1868 (see Note 9). The resolution adopted was published in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 102, September 2, 1868.  

24 Marx refers to the Nuremberg Congress of the Union of German Workers' Associations, led by Bebel, which was held from September 5 to 7, 1868. The General Council's official representative, Georg Eccarius, was present (see Marx's letter to Engels of July 29, 1868, present edition, Vol. 43). By 69 votes against 46 the Congress resolved to join the International Working Men's Association and elected a committee of 16 to carry out this resolution (see *Protokoll über den 5. Vereinstag der deutschen Arbeitervereine am 5. und 7. September 1868 zu Nürnberg*, Leipzig, 1868, S. 19). On September 22 the General Council approved this committee as the Executive Committee of the International Working Men's Association for Germany.  

The Nuremberg Congress also resolved to organise trade unions and heard Liebknecht's report on armament, in which he demanded the abolition of standing armies.  

The *Union of German Workers' Associations* was founded at a congress of German workers' educational societies in Frankfurt am Main on June 7, 1863, in opposition to the Lassallean General Association of German Workers. Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel took an active part in its activity.  

25 The decision to affiliate to the International adopted by the delegate meeting of 50 German workers' educational societies in Switzerland, held in Neuenburg (Neuchâtel) on August 9-10, 1868, was announced in *Der Vorbote*, No. 8, August 1868.  

26 *The National Labour Union* was founded in the USA at a congress in Baltimore in August 1866, with the active participation of William Sylvis, a prominent leader in the American labour movement. In a letter to Ludwig Kugelmann on October 9, 1866, Marx wrote with satisfaction about the Baltimore congress: "...Most of the demands I had put up for Geneva were put up there too, by the correct instinct of the workers" (see present edition, Vol. 42). The Labour Union established contacts with the International Working Men's Association in October 1866, but its delegate to the next congress of the International, Richard Trevellick, elected by the Union's congress in Chicago in August 1867, was unable to come to Lausanne. At the last sessions of the Basle Congress of the International (September 1869) Andrew Cameron was the National Labour Union delegate. At the Union's congress in Cincinnati in August 1870, Cameron reported on his participation in the International's Congress, and the Union adopted a resolution on its adherence to the principles of the International Association and its intention to join it. The resolution was not implemented, however. Its leaders soon became involved in utopian projects of money reform. In 1870 and 1871, many trade unions withdrew, and in 1872 the Union virtually ceased to exist.  

27 On June 25, 1868 the American Congress passed a law introducing an eight-hour working day for all government enterprises and federal institutions.
The Schiller Institute, founded in Manchester in November 1859 in connection with the centenary of Schiller's birth, was conceived as a cultural and social centre of the city's German colony. At first Engels was critical of the society, notorious for its tendency to formalism and pedantry, and kept aloof from it. But after certain amendments were made in the Rules, he became a member of its Directorate in 1864, and later President of the Institute, devoting much time to it and exercising a considerable influence on its activities.

In September 1868, while Engels was away from Manchester, the Directorate invited Karl Vogt, who was connected with Bonapartist circles and cast aspersions on proletarian revolutionaries, to give a lecture in the society. In view of this Engels held that his political reputation would be compromised if he remained President and wrote this letter to the Directorate. On October 2 the secretary, Davisson, on behalf of the Directorate approached Engels asking him to revise his decision but Engels refused. In April 1870 Engels was again elected member of the Directorate, but he did not take an active part in its work.

Engels refers to the difficulties experienced by the Schiller Institute in building new premises.

Engels wrote this article on learning about the police ban, on September 16, 1868, on the General Association of German Workers centred in Leipzig, and on its local branch in Berlin. On October 10, however, a group of Lassalleans headed by Schweitzer restored the Association under the same name and transferred its seat to Berlin. The new Rules of the Association published in Der Social-Demokrat, No. 119, October 11, 1868, said that the Association would abide by Prussian laws and act in a peaceful, legal way. Adapting itself to Prussian law, the leaders of the Association dissolved its local branches. Marx and Engels sharply criticised Schweitzer's manoeuvres in the letters they exchanged in September and October. The same criticism is contained in Marx's letter to Schweitzer of October 13, 1868 (see present edition, Vol. 43) and in this article by Engels. In it Engels develops the views he set out in 1865 in "The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party" (see present edition, Vol. 20), which he quotes extensively. In his letter to Engels dated September 29, 1868, Marx wrote that this article helped to undermine the Lassallean positions (present edition, Vol. 43).

The reference is to the "liberal" course announced by Prince William of Prussia (King of Prussia from 1861) when he became regent in October 1858. He made the Manteuffel Ministry resign and called the moderate liberals to power. The bourgeois press dubbed this the policy of the "New Era". It was, in fact, solely intended to strengthen the position of the Prussian monarchy and Junkers. This soon became clear to the representatives of the liberal opposition whose hopes had been deceived and who refused to approve the government project of a military reform. The constitutional conflict that ensued and Bismarck's advance to power in September 1862 put an end to the "New Era".

Engels means the general congress of the General Association of German Workers held in Hamburg (see Note 9).

Engels wrote this postscript on the advice of Marx who, in his letter to Engels of September 25, 1868 (see present edition, Vol. 43) drew his attention to Becker's pamphlet Enthüllungen über das tragische Lebensende Ferdinand Lassalle's, Schleiz, 1868.
In his will Lassalle recommended Bernhard Becker as his heir to the post of President of the General Association of German Workers. On the title page of his *Enthüllungen über das tragische Lebensende Ferdinand Lassalle's* (Schleiz, 1868), Becker calls himself "heir by Lassalle's will".

At a meeting of the Association's Hamburg branch on March 22, 1865, Becker slandered the International Working Men's Association and also Marx, Engels and Liebknecht (see *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 39, supplement, March 26, 1865). Marx exposed this slander in his article "The President of Mankind" (see present edition, Vol. 20). The Berlin branch, expressing the growing discontent of the rank-and-file members of the General Association with Becker, resolved to expel him and recommended other organisations to follow suit. Similar meetings were held in many other branches. In June 1865 Becker was compelled provisionally to delegate his presidential powers to his deputy Fritzche and he completely renounced them the following November.

Under the influence of Sophie von Hatzfeldt a small group of Lassalleans split away from the General Association of German Workers and in 1867 formed the Lassallean General Association of German Workers. This Association, whose president was first Försterling and later Mende, had little impact on the workers and in 1872 virtually ceased to exist.

At its meeting of September 29, 1868 the General Council of the International Working Men's Association discussed, among other things, Hirsch's statement that all the principal trade unions of England had withdrawn from the Association. To refute this slander Marx wrote this item for the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* (see his letter to Engels of October 4, 1868, present edition, Vol. 43). The editors presumably made changes in the first paragraph.

This item was first published in English in *The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870*, Moscow, 1966.

The General Council of the International Working Men's Association jointly with the English trade unions organised financial support for the workers on strike.

During the strike of the Paris bronze-workers in February-March 1867 (see Note 14), the General Council published in *The International Courier*, March 13, 1867, an address to the English workers calling on them to give material help to the strikers. The trade unions of shoemakers, tailors, cabinet-makers and others sent several hundred pounds sterling to France through the General Council.

In connection with the shooting of the Belgian miners and iron-workers of Marchienne (February 1867), the General Council published an appeal "To the Miners and Iron-Workers of Great Britain" (*The International Courier*, March 13, 1867) urging them to support the victims of this brutal action. The bereaved families received financial assistance.

During the strike and lock-out of the Geneva building workers in March-April 1868 (see Note 14) the General Council guaranteed monthly aid from England amounting to 40,000 francs. The money was sent to Geneva by trade unions of carpenters and joiners, weavers, book-binders and others.

This refers to the *London Trades Council* elected at a conference of trade union delegates held in London in May 1860. The Council headed the London trade unions numbering many thousand members, and was fairly influential among the British workers.
In the first half of the 1860s it headed the British workers' campaign against intervention in the USA, in defence of Poland and Italy, and later for the legalisation of the trade unions. The leaders of the following large trade unions played a major role in the Council: the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (Robert Applegarth), the Shoemakers' Society (George Odger), the Operative Bricklayers' Society (Edwin Coulson and George Howell) and the Amalgamated Engineers (William Allan). All of them, except Allan, were members of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association.

The General Council did its best to draw into the International the broad mass of British workers and endeavoured, on the one hand, to get the local trade union organisations affiliated to it and, on the other, to induce the London Trades Council to join the International as a British section. "The London Council of the English Trade Unions (its secretary is our president, Odger) is deliberating at the present moment as to whether it should declare itself to be the British Section of the International Association. If it does so, government of the working-class here will in a certain sense pass into our hands, and we shall be able to give the movement a good 'push on'," wrote Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann on October 13, 1866 (see present edition, Vol. 42).

On the initiative of the English members of the General Council, the London Trades Council discussed the question of joining the International at its meetings in the autumn of 1866.

After the repeated deferment of the question, which was due to the struggle between the reformist leaders of the London Council who opposed affiliation and local trade unionists, it was finally decided at the Council meetings of January 9 and 14, 1867, to co-operate with the International Association "for the furtherance of all questions affecting the interests of labour; at the same time continuing the London Trades Council as a distinct and independent body as before" (The Times, No. 25708, January 15, 1867). This decision was discussed by the General Council of the International on January 15, 1867, after which the London Trades Council continued to maintain its contact with the International through those of its members who were also members of the General Council.

39 In the spring of 1865 the Central (General) Council of the International initiated, and participated in, the setting up of a Reform League in London as a political centre of the mass movement for the second election reform. The League's leading bodies—the Council and Executive Committee—included the General Council members, mainly trade union leaders. The League's programme was drafted under Marx's influence. Unlike the bourgeois parties, which confined their demands to household suffrage, the League advanced the demand for manhood suffrage. This revived Chartist slogan won the support of the trade unions, hitherto indifferent to politics. The League had branches in all the great industrial cities. The vacillations of the radicals in its leadership, however, and the conciliation of the trade union leaders prevented the League from following the line charted by the General Council of the International. The British bourgeoisie succeeded in splitting the movement, and a moderate reform was carried out in 1867 which granted franchise only to the petty bourgeoisie and the upper layers of the working class.

p. 26

40 The National Reform League was founded in London in 1849 by Bronterre O'Brien and other Chartist leaders. Its objective was to campaign for universal suffrage and social reforms. In 1866 the League became affiliated to the
International. Its leaders Alfred Walton and George Milner became members of the General Council and took part in several congresses of the International.

41 In 1863 Edgar Bauer, a German journalist and former Young Hegelian, began working for the Prussian Press Department.

42 Marx wrote this item at the request of Collet Dobson Collet, the publisher of The Diplomatic Review (see Marx's letters to Engels of November 14 and 23, 1868, present edition, Vol. 43). The editor was David Urquhart, a journalist and former diplomat. In the early 1820s Urquhart published The Portfolio, a collection of diplomatic documents and papers relating to the diplomacy of European powers, including documents exposing the diplomatic activity of Palmerston, who virtually directed Britain's foreign policy for many years.

In 1853, in a series of articles entitled Lord Palmerston Marx used, along with other documents, some of those published by Urquhart. Later, some of Marx's articles were reprinted in Urquhart's journal The Free Press. At the same time, Marx sharply criticised Urquhart for his anti-democratic views and emphasised the principal difference between his own stand as a proletarian revolutionary and the Urquhartites' reactionary position.

When publishing this item by Marx, the editors of The Diplomatic Review prefaced it with a note recommending Marx as the author of Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century (see present edition, Vol. 15) and of Capital.

43 The Bank Charter Act (An Act to Regulate the Issue of Banknotes, and for Giving to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England Certain Privileges for a Limited Period) was introduced by Robert Peel on July 19, 1844. It provided for the division of the Bank of England into two separate departments, each with its own cash account—the Banking Department, dealing exclusively with credit operations, and the Issue Department, issuing banknotes. The Act limited the number of banknotes in circulation and guaranteed them with definite gold and silver reserves which could not be used for the credit operations of the Banking Department. Further issues of banknotes were allowed only in the event of a corresponding increase in the precious metal reserves. The issue of banknotes by provincial banks was stopped. The Act was suspended several times by the government itself, in particular during the monetary crises of 1847 and 1857.

The crisis of 1866 in England was particularly manifest in the sphere of credit. In May 1866, when the financial panic reached its climax and the Bank of England was in danger of bankruptcy, its Board received a letter, signed by the Prime Minister Russell and the Chancellor of the Exchequer Gladstone, sanctioning the suspension of the 1844 Act (see The Times, No. 25497, May 14, 1866); this allowed the Bank to extend credit operations and somewhat mitigate the financial panic in the country.


44 Marx means the first two occasions when the Bank Act of 1844 was suspended—the letters from Prime Minister Russell and Chancellor of the
Exchequer Wood, dated October 25, 1847, to the Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England (in: Report from the Secret Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the causes of the distress..., London 1848), and from Prime Minister Palmerston and Chancellor of the Exchequer Lewis of November 12, 1857, to the Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England (in: The Times, No. 22837, November 13, 1857). p. 28

Marx refers to the congress of representatives of France, Britain, Austria, Russia, Sardinia, Prussia and Turkey in Paris, where a peace treaty was signed on March 30, 1856, putting an end to the Crimean War, 1853-56. Marx here alludes to the fact that Clarendon, the head of the British delegation, failed to carry out the plans of British diplomacy to the full because of Anglo-French contradictions and a noticeable rapprochement between France and Russia. p. 29

The articles headed "Money Market and City Intelligence" (The Times, Nos. 25539 and 25579, July 2 and August 17, 1866) voiced alarm about the flow of English capital abroad, mainly to France, and about the consequent fall in the discount rate of the Bank of England. p. 29

The agreement on another 5-per cent Anglo-Dutch loan to Russia was concluded on November 4, 1866, to cover her foreign payments, particularly her debts. p. 29

At its meeting of October 6, 1868, the General Council of the International Association decided to publish the resolutions of the Geneva Congress (1866), adopted after the Council's report (K. Marx, "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions", present edition, Vol. 20), as well as those of the Brussels Congress (1868). Eccarius did the preliminary work, while Marx prepared the text for the press and checked the translation. Marx wrote the preamble to this publication between the end of October and November 3, 1868 (see his letter to Engels of February 24, 1869, present edition, Vol. 43) and it was first published in The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 371, November 21, 1868. Section I of this publication, including Marx's preamble, was approved at the General Council meeting of November 3, 1868. Subsequently, the publication was incorporated into a pamphlet, The International Working Men's Association. Resolutions of the Congress of Geneva, 1866, and the Congress of Brussels, 1868, London [1869]. p. 31

The Geneva Congress resolutions, which Marx selected for inclusion in the publication of those of the Brussels Congress (1868), dealt with the role of the International in the proletariat's economic struggle, the eight-hour working day, protection of child and female labour, the organisation of co-operative production and the tasks of the trade unions (points 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 of the "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions"—see present edition, Vol. 20). p. 31

The reason for Marx's statement to the German Workers' Educational Society in London was the Society's attitude towards the Lassallean Berlin Congress of 1868 and towards the workers' organisation founded by Bebel and Liebknecht at the Nuremberg Congress (see Note 24). On November 23, 1868 Marx wrote to Engels: "Imported from Paris and Germany, the Lassalleans, who are in secret contact with Schweitzer, took advantage of the absence of Lessner because of his wife's illness to obtain a vote of confidence in Schweitzer against the Nuremberg people" (see present edition, Vol. 43). Subsequently, Marx supported Lessner in his struggle against the Lassallean elements in the Society.
The German Workers' Educational Society in London was founded in 1840 by German worker refugees, members of the League of the Just. After the founding of the Communist League in 1847, representatives of its local communities played the leading role in the Society, which had branches in various working-class districts in London. In 1847 Marx and in 1849-50 Engels took an active part in the Society's work, but in September 1850 they temporarily withdrew because the Willich-Schapper sectarian-adventurist group had increased its influence in the Society. In the late 1850s, when Marx's followers (Georg Eccarius, Friedrich Lessner, Karl Schapper, who had renounced his sectarian views, and others) prevailed again, Marx and Engels resumed their activities in the Educational Society. When the International Working Men's Association was established, the Society became its German section in London. Many of its members—Eccarius, Kaub, Lessner, Lochner, Bolleter and others—were on the General (Central) Council of the International and played a prominent role in its activity. The Society existed until 1918, when it was closed by the British Government.

On September 26, 1868, a General Congress of German Workers took place in Berlin, convened by Schweitzer and Fritzscbe, as Reichstag deputies, by consent of the Hamburg general congress of the General Association of German Workers (see Note 9). The congress was attended by 206 delegates representing over 142,000 workers, mainly from the towns of North Germany. The workers' associations affiliated to the Nuremberg organisation headed by Bebel and Liebknecht, were denied representation at this congress. The Berlin congress set up several trade unions on the pattern of the sectarian Lassallean organisation. These unions formed a general union headed by Schweitzer which was completely subordinate to the General Association of German Workers.

Marx severely criticised Schweitzer for the organisation of the congress, which led to a split among workers' trade unions in Germany, and for the Rules it adopted (see Der Social-Demokrat, No. 112, supplement, September 25, 1868) which ran counter to the aims and character of the trade union movement (see Engels' letter to Marx of October 22, 1868, present edition, Vol. 43).

Marx refers to the Nuremberg Congress of the Union of German Workers' Associations headed by Bebel (see Note 24).

Marx means his letter of October 13, 1868 (see present edition, Vol. 43) in reply to Schweitzer's letters of September 15 and October 8, 1868.

The Democratic Workers' Association (Demokratischer Arbeiterverein) was founded in October 1868 as a result of the split in the Berlin Workers' Association. Wilhelm Eichhoff, who was in constant contact with Marx and was the General Council's Berlin correspondent, played a great part in establishing the Democratic Association. On his proposal, the newly formed Association joined the Nuremberg organisation of workers' associations headed by Bebel and Liebknecht and adopted its programme, which was based on the principles of the International. It maintained ties with the Berlin Section of the International, and almost all its members were also members of the International. To emphasise its proletarian character, two workers—Wilcke and Kämmerer—were elected its Presidents.

The Democratic Workers' Association actively opposed the Lassalleans. Wilhelm Liebknecht used to speak at its meetings. In 1869 it joined the Social-Democratic Workers' Party set up at the Eisenach Congress.
This circular letter was written by Marx on December 22, 1868, in connection with the discussion of the admission of the Alliance to the International at the General Council on December 15 and 22.

The International Alliance of Socialist Democracy (L'Alliance internationale de la démocratie socialiste) was founded by Mikhail Bakunin in Geneva in October 1868. Besides Bakunin, members of its Provisional Committee were Brosset, Duval, Guétat, Perron, Zagorsky and Johann Philipp Becker. In 1868 the Alliance published in Geneva leaflets in French and German containing its Programme and Rules. Becker, who shortly afterwards broke with Bakunin, sent the Alliance's Programme and Rules to the General Council on November 29. Both these documents were read out at its meeting on December 15, 1868, and the Council spoke against the admission of the Alliance to the International Working Men's Association. Marx thought that it was "against our Rules to admit another international association into our society" (this was written in the margin of the Minute Book on December 22 when the Minutes of December 15 were confirmed). On the same day, December 15, Marx forwarded the Alliance's Programme with his own remarks (see this volume, pp. 207-11) to Engels asking for his comments. Engels wholly shared Marx's opinion and noted that the admission of the Alliance to the IWMA would create "a state within the state" (see Marx's letters to Engels of December 15 and 19 and the latter's answer of December 18, 1868, present edition, Vol. 43).

The draft reply to the Alliance was written by Marx, who took into account Engels' remarks, and adopted by the General Council meeting on December 22 as a circular letter.

This circular letter, sent out to all the sections of the International as a confidential communication, was first published in Geneva in 1872 in K. Marx and F. Engels, Les prétendues scissions dans l'Internationale. Circulaire privée du Conseil Général de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs (see present edition, Vol. 23), and reprinted in Le Courrier de France, June 1872 and Le Radical, No. 175, June 23, 1872. The text of the circular letter has been preserved in several manuscripts slightly differing in reading (two of them are Marx's manuscripts: one for December 22, 1868, and the other appended to his letter to Jung of August 6, 1870; two hand-written copies: one made by Jung, and the other by Dupont and Engels).

In English the circular letter was first published in The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870, Moscow, 1966. p. 34

The League of Peace and Freedom was a pacifist organisation set up in 1867 with the active participation of Victor Hugo, Giuseppe Garibaldi and other democrats. Voicing the anti-militarist sentiments of the masses, the League's leaders did not disclose the social sources of wars and often confined anti-militarist activity to mere declarations. At the General Council meeting of August 13, 1867, Marx spoke against the International's official participation in the League's Inaugural Congress, since this would mean solidarity with its bourgeois programme; but he recommended that some members of the International should attend the Congress on their own in order to make it adopt revolutionary-democratic decisions (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 426-27, and Marx's letter to Engels of September 4, 1867, Vol. 42).

Marx's tactics against the League of Peace and Freedom were fully approved by the Brussels Congress of the International in 1868, which opposed official affiliation to the League but was in favour of the united action of the working class with all the progressive anti-war forces. p. 35
At the General Council meeting of December 15, 1868 Dupont proposed that a short report on the activity of the IWMA since the Brussels Congress should be drawn up and published. Jung was instructed to draw up the resumé and Marx expressed his willingness to help. The resumé contains chiefly the material of the General Council meetings of November 3 and 24, December 22, 1868 and January 5, 1869 and includes Marx's reports. The resolution moved by Marx and Applegarth, probably on Marx's initiative, was not entered in the Minute Book. That is probably why Marx decided to include it in this resumé.

The reference is to a letter from the Saxon miners of Lugau, Nieder-Würschnitz and Oelsnitz, dated November 15, 1868, informing the General Council of their decision to join the International. The letter was read by Marx at the meeting of November 24, 1868.

Marx refers to the Democratic Workers' Association (see Note 54), the formation of which he had announced at the General Council meeting of November 3, 1868. The facts cited by Marx were mentioned in a letter from Liebknecht that was read out to the General Council on December 22, 1868.

These data were given by Vandenbrouck in his letter to Bernard of December 19, 1868 and read at the General Council meeting of December 22, 1868.

The strike of the Basle ribbon weavers broke out on November 9, 1868. A detailed description of the Swiss workers' economic struggle in the winter of 1868-69 was given by Marx in the Report of the General Council to the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association (see this volume, pp. 68-70). The reports about this strike and the lockout in Rouen's cotton industry (Nord department) were made in the General Council on January 5, 1869.

In response to the General Council's resolution, the Paris bronze-workers, on Marx's proposal, sent the Rouen weavers the £20 advanced to them by the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners of Britain. A letter from Rouen read out at the General Council meeting on January 26, 1869 thanked the Council for the support it had given the locked-out workers.

Engels made out this report at Marx's request on the basis of material sent in by the Saxon miners from Lugau, Nieder-Würschnitz and Oelsnitz. The miners informed the General Council and Marx personally of their desire to join the International (see Note 58). On February 13, 1869 Marx wrote to Engels that the Lugau miners were the first in Germany to enter into direct contact with the International Working Men's Association and that it was necessary to give them public support (see present edition, Vol. 43).

Marx highly praised Engels' report, which was written in English. "Thanks a lot for the report. It is perfectly clear," he wrote to Engels on February 24. The report was read by Marx to the General Council on February 23, and it resolved to have it published in English and in German translation. An abridged version appeared in a report of the General Council meeting in The Bee-Hive, No. 385, February 27, 1869 (see this volume, pp. 389-90). Other English newspapers to which Marx applied, including The Times, The Daily News and The Morning Advertiser, refused to publish the document. Marx himself translated Engels' manuscript into German (see his letter to Engels of March 2, 1869), and it was published in Der Social-Demokrat, No. 33, March 17,
Demokratisches Wochenblatt, No. 12 (supplement), March 20, and Zukunft, Nos. 67 and 68, March 20 and 21, 1869. The English original has not been preserved.

The report was published in English in full for the first time in The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870, Moscow, 1966. p. 39

This expression was used by the Prussian Minister of the Interior, von Rochow. In his letter of January 15, 1838 to the citizens of Elbing who had expressed their dissatisfaction at the expulsion of seven opposition professors from Göttingen University, Rochow wrote: "It behoves a loyal subject to exhibit due obedience to his King and Sovereign...; it does not behave him to apply the measure of his limited understanding to the actions of the head of the State."

p. 43

Having received the General Council's letter of December 22, 1868 in which it refused to admit the Alliance of Socialist Democracy to the International as an independent international organisation (see this volume, pp. 34-36), the Alliance's Central Bureau again applied to the General Council on February 27, 1869, declaring its readiness to dissolve its international organisation provided the General Council approved its programme and admitted its individual local sections to the International (see Marx's letter to Engels of March 5 and Engels' reply of March 7, 1869, present edition, Vol. 43).

This letter is the General Council's reply to the second application of the Alliance. It was written by Marx who obtained Engels' agreement to it by quoting it almost verbatim in his letter of March 5, 1869. It was accepted unanimously by the General Council on March 9 and confidentially sent out to all sections of the International. The document was first published in the pamphlet by Marx and Engels, Les prétendues scissions dans l'Internationale (Geneva, 1872) and reprinted in Le Courrier de France, June 24, 1872 and Le Radical, No. 176, June 24, 1872. This letter has been preserved in several copies with minor differences in reading: two rough copies by Marx in English and French, Marx's fair copy in French, and a copy in French in an unknown hand with corrections made by Marx.

This document was first published in English in The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870, Moscow, 1966.

In this volume the document is reproduced from Marx's rough copy in English checked with his fair copy in French. Major differences in reading are given in the footnotes. p. 45

Article 2 of the Alliance's Programme was already included in the Programme which Bakunin presented at the Berne Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom in September 1868. In compliance with the General Council's request, Article 2 of the Alliance's Programme was changed in April 1869 to read as follows: "It is above all working for the complete and final abolition of classes and of political, economic and social equalisation of persons of both sexes." At the General Council meeting of July 27, 1869 Marx proposed and the Council resolved that the Alliance should be admitted to the International. p. 46

Marx wrote this address to the workers of Europe and the United States following the bloody events in Belgium in April 1869. On April 20, the General Council heard the report of Eugen Hins, representative of the Belgian Federal Council of the International, who had been sent to the spot to investigate the details of the massacre in Seraing and Frameries. Marx was commissioned to draw up an address on behalf of the General Council to denounce the atrocities committed by the Belgian authorities. He wrote it in English and French and
read it out at the General Council meeting of May 4. The Council approved the address and decided to have it printed and distributed. In English it was published as a leaflet, "The Belgian Massacres. To the Workmen of Europe and the United States", in London on May 12, 1869. A copy of the leaflet has been preserved in the Minute Book of the General Council. Part of the leaflet was reproduced in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 395, May 8, 1869. The French text was published in the Belgian newspapers *L'Internationale*, No. 18, May 15 and *La Liberté*, May 16, 1869. The German translation by Eccarius was printed in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 58, May 21, in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 21, May 22, 1869 and in other newspapers in Germany, Switzerland and France. The address found a broad response among the people. Read at a mass protest meeting in Brussels on May 16, it was met with tumultuous applause. p. 47

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68 De Paepe wrote to Marx on May 31, 1869 that, for reasons of censorship, when the French text of the address was published in the Belgian newspapers, the names of Kamp, Pirmez and the Prince of Flanders were replaced with the words "persons occupying high posts in Belgium". See "Moralités de l’affaire de Seraing" in *L’Internationale*, No. 14, April 18, 1869. p. 48

69 *Les sommations préalables* (reading the riot act)—in a number of bourgeois countries, the triple demand of the authorities, covered by law, that the crowd should disperse, after which armed force may be used. p. 48

70 The reference is to the Franco-Belgian negotiations (between February and July 1869) on railway concessions in view of the fact that the Belgian Parliament had passed a law by which the transfer of concessionary rights could be done only by the authorities’ permission. The law, which was passed very quickly, was directed against the economic expansion of France which tried to seize the Belgian railways. p. 48

71 Eyre, the Governor of the British colony of Jamaica, organised the brutal suppression of a Negro uprising in October 1865. This massacre caused a public outrage in Britain, and the British Government was compelled to dismiss Eyre from his post. p. 49

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72 Belgium was declared neutral by the protocol of the London conference of five countries (Britain, France, Russia, Austria and Prussia) in January 1831, soon after the Belgian bourgeois revolution of 1830 and Belgium’s separation from Holland. (See: Onzième protocole de la Conférence tenue à Londres, le 20 janvier 1831. In: Martens, G. F., *Nouveau Recueil de Traité d’Alliance, de Paix, de Trêve, de Neutralité, de Commerce...* [Groupe II], T. 10, Goettingue, 1836, pp. 158-60.) p. 49

73 See Note 18. p. 50

74 Originally the name of a religious sect of cut-throats in India, the word “thug” came to be widely used in nineteenth-century European literature to denote professional ruffians and assassins. p. 50

75 These words were said by Delfossé, a deputy to the Belgian Parliament, at a sitting of the Chamber of Representatives on March 1, 1848, in reply to a remark that the ideas of the French revolution of 1848 would travel round the world (see *Les Annales Parlementaires 1847-1848. Chambre des Représentants*, Séance du 1er Mars 1848, p. 950). p. 51

76 The General Council’s Address to the National Labour Union of the United States (see Note 26) was written by Marx, and read by him in the General
Council on May 11, 1869, in view of a threat of war between England and the United States in the spring of 1869. The reply from the Union’s President, Sylvis, is cited by Marx in the General Council's report to the Basel Congress (see this volume, pp. 81-82). The English text of the address was published as a leaflet and in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 396, May 15, 1869. The German translation was printed in the *Demokritisches Wochenblatt*, No. 21, May 22; *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 59, May 23; *Die Volksstimme*, No. 4, Supplement, May 23, and in *Der Vorbote*, No. 8, August 1869. In the USA, the address appeared in workers' periodicals: *Die Arbeiter Union* (New York), No. 10, June 2; *The Workingman’s Advocate* (Chicago-Philadelphia), No. 45, June 5, and *Weekly American Workman* (Boston), No. 22, September 18, 1869. p. 53

77 *Shoddy aristocrats*—people in America who got rich quick on the Civil War.

78 The second edition of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, written by Marx between December 1851 and March 1852 (see present edition, Vol. 11), appeared in Hamburg in 1869.

The bourgeois press kept silent about the new edition of *The Eighteenth Brumaire*. Marx’s preface to the 1869 edition of his work was first reprinted in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 117, Supplement, October 6, 1869. *Der Volksstaat* did not announce the second edition of the book until March 16, 1870 (in a supplement to No. 22); at the same time it published the text of the preface. This preface was also reproduced in the third edition that came out in 1885 under Engels' editorship. In 1889 the preface was translated into Polish. A French translation was published in January 1891 in *Le Socialiste*, organ of the Workers’ Party of France, and in the same year in a separate edition of the book which came out in Lille. In Russian, the preface was published in the first Russian edition of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* that came out in Geneva in 1894. The first English translation of this work was published in *The People*, the weekly of the Socialist Labour Party of the United States, in September-November 1897. It was published in book form in New York in 1898. p. 56

79 On Marx’s advice Joseph Weydemeyer published *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* in May 1852 as the first issue of the “non-periodic journal” *Die Revolution*, and provided it with a short preface. In giving it the title *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon*, Weydemeyer failed to take into account that throughout the book Marx referred to the chief initiator of the coup d’État as Louis Bonaparte, which he did deliberately (see his letter to Jenny Marx of June 11, 1852, present edition, Vol. 39). p. 56

80 Marx presumably refers to a letter from the Leipzig publisher and bookseller Otto Wigand of March 20, 1852, in which he refused to publish Marx’s *Eighteenth Brumaire*, since there was a “risk of being persecuted by the state”. p. 56

81 The *Vendôme Column* was erected in Paris between 1806 and 1810 in tribute to the military victories of Napoleon I. It was made of bronze from captured enemy guns and crowned by a statue of Napoleon; the statue was removed during the Restoration but re-erected in 1833. In the spring of 1871, by order of the Paris Commune, the Vendôme Column was destroyed as a symbol of militarism. p. 57

82 This short biography of Karl Marx is based on Engels’ original version written at the end of July 1868 for the German literary newspaper *Die Gartenlaube* (see
Engels’ letter to Marx of July 20 and Marx’s letter to Kugelmann of October 26, 1868, present edition, Vol. 43), but not printed by the editors. In July 1869 Engels rewrote it for the newspaper Die Zukunft, No. 185, August 11, 1869. This first biography of Marx, written by Engels, was also printed in the Demokratisches Wochenblatt, No. 34 (supplement), August 21, 1869, by Wilhelm Liebknecht, who omitted a most important passage stating that Lassalle was not an original thinker but borrowed the content of his writings from Marx and vulgarised his works.

A reference to the Communist League, the first German and international communist organisation of the proletariat, formed under the leadership of Marx and Engels in London early in June 1847, as a result of the reorganisation of the League of the Just (a secret association of refugee workers and artisans that appeared in the 1830s and had communities in Germany, France, Switzerland and England). The programme and organisational principles of the Communist League were drawn up with the direct participation of Marx and Engels. The League’s members took an active part in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany of 1848-49. Though the defeat of the revolution dealt a blow to the League, it was reorganised in 1849-50 and continued its activities. In the summer of 1850, disagreement arose in the League between the supporters of Marx and Engels and the Willich-Schapper sectarian group which tried to impose on the League its adventurist tactics of immediately unleashing a revolution without taking into account the actual situation and the practical possibilities. The discord led to a split within the League in September 1850. Owing to police persecutions and arrests of League members in May 1851, the activities of the Communist League as an organisation practically ceased in Germany. On November 17, 1852, on a motion by Marx, the League’s London District announced the dissolution of the League.

The Communist League played an important historical role as the first proletarian party guided by the principles of scientific communism, as a school of proletarian revolutionaries, and as the historical forerunner of the International Working Men’s Association.

The Cologne Communist Trial (October 4-November 12, 1852) was organised and stage-managed by the Prussian Government. The defendants were members of the Communist League arrested in the spring of 1851 on charges of “treasonable plotting”. The forged documents and false evidence presented by the police authorities were not only designed to secure the conviction of the defendants but also to compromise their London comrades and the proletarian organisation as a whole. The dishonest tactics resorted to by the Prussian police state in fighting the international working-class movement were exposed by Engels in his article “The Late Trial in Cologne” and, in greater detail, by Marx in his pamphlets Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne (see present edition, Vol. 11) and Herr Vogt, Chapter 3, Section 4 (see present edition, Vol. 17).

This sentence was omitted by Liebknecht in the Demokratisches Wochenblatt, No. 34 (supplement), August 21, 1869, which Engels noted with displeasure in his letter to Marx on September 5, 1869 (see present edition, Vol. 43), p. 60

Engels refers to the beginning of the reign of Frederick William IV of Prussia (1840-57) on whom the liberal bourgeoisie pinned great hopes. But this short-lived “New Era” amounted to insignificant concessions to the liberal bourgeoisie.
On January 19, 1843 the Prussian Government passed a decision banning the *Rheinische Zeitung* as from April 1, 1843 and imposing a rigorous censorship for the remaining period. The decree was promulgated on January 21 (see "Erlass der drei Zensurminister betr. Unterdrückung der Rheinischen Zeitung zum 1. April 1843", Berlin, 1843, 21. Januar). After the publication of the rescript of January 21 Marx directed his efforts to secure its repeal. At the end of January 1843 he was already thinking of resigning the editorship (see letter to Ruge of January 25, 1843, present edition, Vol. 1, p. 397), but he did not consider it possible to carry out his intention at the height of the campaign for the repeal of the ban. In March, however, he believed that changes in the editorial board might make it possible to save the newspaper, and he made up his mind to resign officially from his post (the announcement of his resignation was published on March 17, 1843). Marx was probably prompted to do so also by his unwillingness to take upon himself the responsibility for a possible change of line of the newspaper by which the liberal shareholders wished to prolong its existence.

However the royal rescript was not repealed. The last issue of the newspaper appeared on March 31, 1843.

Later, Marx wrote in the preface to his *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859): "In the year 1842-43, as editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, I first found myself in the embarrassing position of having to discuss what is known as material interests. Debates of the Rhine Province Assembly on the theft of wood and the division of landed property; the official polemic started by Herr von Schapper, then Oberpräsident of the Rhine Province, against the *Rheinische Zeitung* about the condition of the Mosel peasantry, and finally the debates on free trade and protective tariffs caused me in the first instance to turn my attention to economic questions" (see present edition, Vol. 29).

This refers to the *German Democratic Society*, formed in Paris after the February revolution of 1848 and headed by petty-bourgeois democrats who campaigned to raise a volunteer legion of German refugees with the intention of marching into Germany. In this way they hoped to carry out a revolution in Germany and establish a republic there. Marx and Engels resolutely condemned this adventurist plan of "exporting revolution". Late in April 1848 the volunteer legion moved to Baden where it was dispersed by government troops.

Engels refers to reports of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the situation in the various branches of English industry, published in the *Blue Books*.

*Blue Books*—collected documents of the British Parliament and Foreign Office published since the seventeenth century.

The *Health and Morals of Apprentices Act* of 1802 limited the working time of child-apprentices to twelve hours and prohibited their employment at night. This law applied only to the cotton and wool industries; it made no provision for control by factory inspectors and was virtually disregarded by the mill-owners.

A reference to the law of August 15, 1867, which brought new industries under the factory acts (including that of 1847) on the ten-hour working day, and the law of August 21, 1867 on the labour of children, adolescents and women in workshops. The first law covered mainly large factories while the second embraced small enterprises and workshops.
Marx wrote this report after the General Council had discussed the problem of abolishing the right of inheritance at its meetings of July 20 and August 3, 1869 in view of the preparations for the Basle Congress. The question was put on the agenda at the insistence of the section founded by Bakunin in Geneva in May 1869 under the name of "The Alliance of Socialist Democracy. Central Section". This section guided the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy (see Note 55) which continued to exist secretly despite the announcement of its dissolution.

On July 20 Marx made a long speech in the General Council. A record of it has been preserved in the Council's Minute Book (see this volume, pp. 394-97). The text of Marx's report was endorsed by the General Council on August 3. It was read at the Basle Congress by Eccarius on September 11, 1869 and reproduced in full in the reports about the congress in English, French and German: Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association, held at Basle, in Switzerland. From the 6th to the 11th September, 1869, London [1869], pp. 26-27; Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Compte rendu du IV-e Congrès International, tenu à Bâle en septembre, 1869, Bruxelles, 1869, pp. 122-24; Verhandlungen des IV. Congresses des internationalen Arbeiter-bundes in Basel, Nos. 1-7, Basel, 7.-14. September 1869, S. 77-80; in Der Vorbote, No. 10, October 1869 and in Arbeiter-Zeitung (New York), No. 36, October 11, 1873.

The demand to abolish the right of inheritance was put forward by Saint-Simon's followers (Enfantin, Bazard, Rodrigues, Buchez, etc.) who in the late 1820s set out to popularise and develop Saint-Simon's doctrine. In 1830 a book was published in Paris which, based as it was on Bazard's lectures, expressed the views of the followers of Saint-Simon on the right of inheritance: Doctrine de Saint-Simon. Exposition. 1ère année. 1829. Paris, 1830, pp. 143-69.

Marx drew up this report, on the General Council's instructions, in late August and early September 1869 for the Basle Congress, which was to be held in September. (As can be seen from Dupont's letter to Marx of September 1, 1869, Marx's report was discussed at the General Council meeting on that day. The minutes of this meeting were not recorded in the Minute Book.) Marx did not attend the congress but took an active part in its preparations. The Minute Book contains records of his speeches in the General Council during the discussion of the following items on the congress agenda: the agrarian question (July 6, 1869), the right of inheritance (July 20) and public education (August 10 and 17) (see this volume, pp. 398-400).

Having discussed the land question for the second time, the Basle Congress decided by a majority vote in favour of abolishing private property in land and turning it into common property, thereby confirming the socialist platform of the International. It also resolved to unite trade unions on a national and international scale, to strengthen the International organisationally and to extend the General Council's powers. At this congress the supporters of Marx's scientific socialism clashed openly for the first time with the followers of Bakunin's anarchism over the abolition of the right of inheritance (see Note 93).

The text of the General Council's report, written by Marx in English, was read in German and French at the congress on September 7, and published in German in Marx's translation as a separate pamphlet, Bericht des Generalraths der Internationalen Arbeiter-Association an den IV, allgemeinen Congress in Basel, Basel, 1869. In English and French it was published together with the Minutes of the

The report was also published in a number of newspapers and journals: *L'Internationale*, Nos. 37 and 38, September 26 and October 3, 1869; *Le Progrès*, Nos. 26, 27 and 28, December 11, 18 and 25, 1869 and Nos. 1, 2 and 3, January 1, 8 and 15, 1870; *Der Vorbote*, No. 9, September 1869; *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, Nos. 41, 42 and 43, September 18, 22 and 25, 1869; and in the Neapolitan newspaper *L'Eguaglianza*, Nos. 8 and 9, December 24 and 31, 1869. The first Russian translation appeared in the journal *Narodnoye Dyelo*, Nos. 7-10, November 1869. Extracts from the report or summaries of it were printed in *The Times*, No. 26543, September 15, 1869 (in Eccarius' report); *La Liberté* (Brussels), No. 116, September 12, 1869; *L'Égalité* (Geneva), No. 36, September 25, 1869, and in other periodicals.

96 "La Jeune Suisse" ("Young Switzerland")—here, the chauvinistic youth organisation known as "La Jeune Genève" ("Young Geneva"). p. 71

97 "Les orgies infernales des casse-têtes" ("Infernal orgies of the knuckle-dusters")—from a speech by Raspail, a deputy to the Legislative Corps, at a session of July 8, 1869, in which he lodged a protest against the violence of the Bonapartist police during the elections in Paris (see *Annales du Sénat et du Corps législatif. Session extraordinaire du 28 juin au 6 septembre 1869*, Paris, 1869, p. 205). p. 71

98 The facts mentioned here were made public in *L'Égalité*, No. 19, May 29, 1869. During the strikes of Geneva builders and printers in spring 1869, the Romance Federal Committee and the International's sections in Geneva carried out a great deal of work. The Committee issued a number of addresses to the workers. They were published in March and April 1869 in *L'Égalité* and as leaflets: the address of the Committee to the sections of the International of March 17 ("Le Comité Fédéral Romand. Aux Sections Internationales"), the address of a meeting of Swiss citizens, members of the International, convened on April 2 on the Federal Committee's initiative, exposing the employers' slanders against the International Working Men's Association ("Adresse au Conseil d'État et au Peuple de Genève"), and other addresses.

The bulletins periodically put out by the builders' and printers' societies belonging to the International also played an important role in organising the strikes: "Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Grève des Tailleurs de Pierre et Maçons", "La Société Typographique de Genève à l'opinion publique".

99 The *Crédit Mobilier (Société générale du Crédit Mobilier)* was a French joint-stock bank founded in 1852 by the Péreire brothers. Closely connected with and protected by the Government of Napoleon III, it engaged in large-scale speculation. The bank was involved, in particular, in the railway-building business. It went bankrupt in 1867 and was liquidated in 1871. p. 72

100 The strike of Rouen weavers was discussed at the Sub-Committee's meeting of January 2, 1869 and at the General Council meetings of January 5, 12 and 19, 1869. The resolution adopted on January 5 and published in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 379, January 16, sharply criticised the attempt of the employers of Rouen and other departments of France to expand trade "by reducing the wages of
work-people already underpaid”. Various societies were invited to send
delegates to the next Council meeting “to devise the best means to frustrate the
unwarrantable attempts of the French manufacturer, and to render the
workmen concerned such assistance as they may need”.

On the General Council’s aid to the Rouen weavers see Note 62.  p. 74

A reference to the first trial against the International in France (see Note 16).  p. 74

The reference is to the North-German Confederation (Norddeutscher Bund)—a
federative state to the north of the Main that existed from 1867 to 1870. It was
set up under Prussia’s superiority and on the initiative of the Prussian Prime
Minister, Otto Bismarck, after Prussia’s victory over Austria in 1866 and the
disintegration of the German Confederation. It included 19 states and three
free cities in North and Central Germany with a population of about
30,000,000 people. The Confederation adopted its constitution on July 1, 1867.
Its establishment was a major step in unifying Germany under Prussia’s
hegemony.

In the course of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 South-German states
joined the Confederation. On December 9, 1870 the Reichstag decreed that the
united state should be renamed the German Empire. The latter was proclaimed
in Versailles on January 18, 1871.  p. 75

“Les chassepots avaient encore fait merveille” (“Chassepots have worked wonders
again”); chassepots—rifles improved by Chassepot and adopted by the French
army in 1866.  p. 76

This was the slogan of the Lyons weavers during the rebellion of 1831.  p. 77

A reference to Austria’s defeat in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.  p. 77

The general congress of the German Social-Democrats held in Eisenach on
August 7-9, 1869, founded the German Social-Democratic Workers’ Party.
Point 6 of the second section of the Party programme adopted by the Congress
read: “Considering that the task of the emancipation of labour is neither local
nor national but a social task embracing all countries where modern society
exists, the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party regards itself, as far as laws on
associations allow, as a section of the International Working Men’s Association
and shares its aspirations.”  p. 78

The political crisis aggravated by Austria’s defeat in the war with Prussia in
1866 and the growing national liberation movement compelled its reactionary
ruling circles to come to an agreement with Hungary and form a dual
monarchy, Austria-Hungary on the one hand, and to make a number of
political concessions to the bourgeoisie on the other. The Constitution adopted
in December 1867 extended the powers of the representative body—
Reichsrat, established ministerial responsibility to Parliament, introduced
universal military service and centralised administration. In addition to
representatives of the aristocracy, bourgeois liberals became members of the
new government.  p. 78

See Note 56.  p. 78

When describing the workers’ movement in Moravia, Marx drew on the articles
published in L’Internationale, No. 29, August 1 (“Massacre d’ouvriers en
Moravie”), and Die Volksstimme, No. 8, July 25, 1869 (“Die Opfer des 13. Juli
in Brünn”), about the massacre of Brünn workers by government troops. He
also used an article from *Die Volksstimme*, No. 9, August 8, 1869 ("Der Prozess gegen die Social-Demokraten Most und Brüsshaver"), describing the trial of Austrian Social-Democrats in connection with a mass meeting in Vienna on May 29, 1869 and the adoption of a resolution which contained demands similar to those in the programme, drawn up at Eisenach, of the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party.

110 *Cis-Leithanian Austria* or *Cis-Leithania*—part of Austria-Hungary which included Austria proper, Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, Bukovina, Dalmatia and other lands. *Trans-Leithania* consisted of Hungary and Hungarian-ruled Slovakia, Transylvania, Croatia, Slavonia and other lands. These regions were named after the river Leitha that divided them.

111 At its meeting at Elberfeld-Barmen on March 28-31, 1869 the General Association of German Workers declared its accord with the programme of the International Working Men’s Association and advised its members to join the International individually (see "Vereins Theil. Für den Allgem.-Deutschen Arbeiterverein. Generalversammlung", *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 47, April 21, 1869).

112 The *Riot Act*—was introduced in Parliament in 1714 and passed in 1715 for the maintenance of public peace and order. It empowered the local authorities to disperse assemblages of "trouble-makers" by force and charge them with felony. The Act obliged the authorities to read part of it to those assembled and to open fire if the latter refused to disperse within an hour.

113 This resolution was adopted at the Second General Congress of English Trade Unions at Birmingham, August 23-28, 1869, on the motion of Cremer, a member of the General Council of the International who attended it, and was published in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 412, September 4, 1869. The Congress resolved to demand the eight-hour working day for the United Kingdom and to consider the agrarian question in detail at the next congress.

114 See Note 26.

115 This draft resolution was proposed by Marx at a General Council meeting on November 16, 1869 during the debate on the Irish question.

In the summer and autumn of 1869, Ireland was the scene of a widespread campaign for an amnesty of the imprisoned Fenians (see Note 1). The numerous meetings (in Limerick and other cities) sent petitions to the British Government demanding the release of the Irish revolutionaries. Gladstone, then head of the British Government, expressed his refusal to comply with these demands in his letters of October 18 and 23, 1869, to the prominent participants in the amnesty movement Henry O'Shea and Isaac Butt (see *The Times*, Nos. 26579 and 26583, October 23 and 27, 1869; for Marx's analysis of Gladstone's refusal, see this volume, pp. 407-10). In England the second campaign in defence of the imprisoned Fenians was initiated and organised by General Council members. The General Council repeatedly discussed this question in October and November 1869. The British Government's refusal to amnesty the Fenian prisoners resulted in a protest demonstration of nearly 200,000 workers in London on October 24. Marx also attended the demonstration (see the description of it in the letter from Marx's daughter Jenny to Ludwig Kugelmann on October 30, 1869, present edition, Vol. 43). On October 26, the General Council decided to draw up a resolution (an address to the English people in defence of the Irish prisoners) and set up a commission consisting of Marx, Lucraft, Jung and Eccarius to do so. However,
on Marx's proposal the question was given a wider context and on November 9
the General Council decided to discuss the British Government’s attitude
towards the Irish prisoners and the English working class's stand on the Irish
question. Marx spoke twice during the discussion (see this volume, pp. 407-12),
and his draft resolution moved on November 16 was adopted unanimously by
the General Council on November 30, with an amendment proposed by Odger,
a reformist leader of the English trade unions, that the word "deliberately" in
the first paragraph of the resolution be omitted.

The draft resolution has been preserved as a rough copy, in the form of
Marx's original letter to Engels of November 18, 1869, and as recorded by
Eccarius in the Minutes of the General Council. The resolution was published in
Reynolds's Newspaper, No. 1006, November 21, Der Volksstaat, No. 17,
November 27, L'Égalité, Nos. 47 and 48, December 11 and 18, in L'Internatio-
 nale, No. 48, December 12, 1869, and elsewhere.

In his work The Right of Nations to Self-Determination Lenin reproduces the
text of the resolution in full (Collected Works, Vol. 20, Moscow, pp. 438-39),
p. 83

116 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, No. 24372, October 9, 1862. It was mentioned by
speakers during the discussion in the General Council.  

117 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 criticised 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, No. 26067, April 4, 1868).  

118 Marx wrote this circular letter in connection with the campaign launched by
Bakunin and his followers against the General Council in November 1869. At
the Basle Congress of the IWMA, Bakunin had tried to take over the
leadership of the International by transferring the General Council from
London to Geneva. Having failed in this, he changed his tactics and launched
an open campaign against the General Council. A group of Bakunin's followers
won the majority in L'Égalité. The article "Le Bulletin du Conseil Général"
(L'Égalité, No. 42, November 6, 1869) accused the General Council of violating
clauses 2 and 3 of the Rules envisaging the publication by the Council of an
information bulletin on the condition of workers in different countries. The
article "L'Organisation de l'Internationale" (L'Égalité, No. 43, November 13,
1869) proposed that a special Federal Council for England should be set up,
allegedly to help the General Council in fulfilling its functions as regards the
general affairs of the International. The leading article "Les Parties Politiques à
Genève et l'Internationale" (L'Égalité, 45, November 27, 1869) preached
abstention from politics and referred to the distorted French translation of the
General Rules. Finally, the leading article "Réflexions" (L'Égalité, No. 47,
December 11, 1869) contained comments on the General Council's resolution
against Gladstone (see this volume, p. 83), with sharp attacks on the Council for
its position in the Irish question. Similar attacks on the General Council were
made by another pro-Bakunin newspaper, Le Progrès.
The *Égalité* and *Progrès* attacks were first discussed at the General Council meeting of December 14, 1869. The text of the circular letter to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland, drawn up by Marx, was approved by the Council at an extraordinary meeting on January 1, 1870 and sent out to all sections of the International.

Meanwhile, early in January 1870, before it received the circular, the Romance Federal Council launched a decisive campaign against the Bakuninists and managed to have Perron, Robin, and other Alliance supporters withdrawn from the *Égalité* editorial board (for details see this volume, p. 123).

The circular letter was originally not intended for publication, but part of it was published in 1872 in the confidential circular *Fictitious Splits in the International* drawn up by Marx and Engels. The full text of the letter was first printed in *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 2, No. 15, July 12, 1902. There are several copies of the text: three in manuscript (one made by Mrs. Marx and corrected by Marx, another by Jung, and the third by Dupont, which is now in the Lyons municipal archives). There is also Marx's own manuscript, attached to his letter of March 28, 1870, to Ludwig Kugelmann and known as "Confidential Communication" (see this volume, pp. 112-24). The latter version was published in *Die Neue Zeit*.

In this volume the circular letter is printed from Mrs. Marx's copy corrected by Marx (Marx's insertions were made on separate sheets) and has been collated with his manuscript as sent to Kugelmann and with Jung's copy.

The circular letter was first published in English in *Letters to Dr. Kugelmann* by Karl Marx, Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1934, pp. 105-09.  

119 The reference is presumably to the *League of Public Welfare*—an association of pacifist organisations, heterogeneous in composition and views, founded in France in 1863 by the petty-bourgeois journalist Edmond Potonié. Later it merged with the League of Peace and Freedom (see Note 56).  

120 In November 1866, John Hales proposed the reorganisation of the English branch of the International so that it would rely not on the trade unions affiliated with it, but on the new sections, formed according to the territorial principle and headed by a special Federal Council. Similar proposals were made at the end of 1869. Marx and other leaders of the Council considered the moment inopportune since this would isolate the International from the workers' mass organisations. Only after the events of 1871 (the Paris Commune), when the situation in England and in the world had changed radically and reformist trends had gained supremacy in the trade unions, did Marx and his supporters consider it advisable to form the British Federation of the International with a special Council at its head.  

121 The *Land and Labour League* was founded in London in October 1869 with the participation of the General Council. Its Executive Committee included more than 10 General Council members. The League's programme was drawn up by Eccarius on Marx's instruction (see this volume, pp. 401-06). Along with general democratic demands, like the reform of the finance and tax system and of public education, it contained demands for the nationalisation of the land and the reduction of working hours, as well as the Chartist demands for universal suffrage and home colonisation.

Marx held that the League could play a definite role in revolutionising the English working class and saw it as a means of establishing an independent proletarian party in England. However, by the autumn of 1870 the influence of
bourgeois elements had grown in the League and it gradually began to lose contact with the International. p. 87

122 This refers to the London Trades Council (see Note 38). p. 87

123 The Anglo-Irish Union was imposed on Ireland by the British Government after the suppression of the Irish rebellion of 1798. The Union, which came into force on January 1, 1801, abrogated the autonomy of the Irish Parliament and made Ireland more dependent on Britain. One of the consequences of its introduction was, in particular, the abolition of tariffs established by the Irish Parliament at the end of the eighteenth century to protect the rising Irish industry, and this led to its total decline. p. 88

124 The position of the International on the Irish question, as expounded in this document, essentially anticipated the resolution on item 2 of the programme for the debate on this question in the General Council as proposed by Marx early in November 1869, namely, on the item defining the attitude of the English working class to the liberation struggle of the Irish people. Even though other official documents of the International were soon to remove the need for a special resolution on this issue, Marx stuck to his idea of continuing the debate on the Irish question in the General Council. Circumstances hindered this, notably Marx's protracted illness which prevented him from attending Council meetings regularly in the winter and spring of 1870. Later, more urgent matters arose, and in July 1870 the Franco-Prussian war broke out, which absorbed the attention of the Council. The Council therefore confined itself to the decisions already adopted on the Irish question. p. 89


For details concerning the various publications of the Rules, see present edition, Vol. 20 (notes 1 and 351). p. 89

126 Marx refers to the French translation of the Provisional Rules made by Charles Longuet and published in the pamphlet Manifeste de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs suivi du Règlement provisoire issued in Brussels in summer 1866 by the newspaper La Rive Gauche. p. 90

127 Robert Shaw, a member of the General Council, a house-painter, died on December 31, 1869. At a General Council meeting on January 4, 1870 Marx was included in a deputation to attend the funeral on January 5. The General Council resolved that the news of Shaw's death should be communicated to the sections of the International. Marx, who corresponded on behalf of the General Council with De Paepe, leader of the Belgian sections, included this obituary in a letter to him dated January 8, 1870. The obituary was published by L'Internationale, No. 53, January 16, with an editorial note: “News from London”.

In English the obituary was published for the first time in The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870, Moscow, 1966. p. 92

128 Engels prepared the second edition of his The Peasant War in Germany (see present edition, Vol. 10) in 1870 together with Wilhelm Liebknecht, originally as a reprint in 29 numbers of Der Volksstaat, Leipzig (April 2-October 15, Nos. 27-83, at irregular intervals). Numbers 27 and 28 of the newspaper carried Engels' preface to the 1870 edition.

A new, third, authorised edition came out in 1875. For this edition Engels wrote a special addendum to the 1870 Preface, dated July 1, 1874.

In this volume the Preface is printed according to the 1870 Preface verified with the 1875 edition.

In English the Preface was first published in F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*, International Publishers, New York, 1926.

p. 93

129 The *extreme Left* was one of the two factions of the Left wing of the Frankfurt National Assembly during the revolution of 1848-49 in Germany. The extreme Left, known as the radical-democratic party, mainly represented the petty bourgeoisie, but was nevertheless supported by a section of the German workers. The extreme Left vacillated and took a half-way position on the basic problems of the German revolution—abolition of the remnants of feudalism and unification of the country. Engels described the position of the petty bourgeoisie in the revolution of 1848-49 in his works, *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* and *The Peasant War in Germany* (see present edition, Vol. 10).

p. 93

130 This refers to Marx's works: *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*, consisting of a series of articles written between January and October 1850 specially for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Politisch-ökonomische Revue* and published in it under the general title "1848-1849" (see present edition, Vol. 10), and *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, written between December 1851 and March 1852 (see notes 78 and 79).

p. 94

131 On May 15, 1860, the Prussian Chamber of Deputies voted, at the Government's demand, for the allocation of 9,000,000 talers to the War Ministry till June 30, 1861 "for the temporary maintenance of the army in fighting trim and for the increase of its military might". The results of the voting (315 for, 2 against and 5 abstaining) showed that the Prussian bourgeoisie had in fact given in to the government over the reorganisation of the army.

p. 95

132 The *National-Liberals*—members of the party formed by the German, principally Prussian, bourgeoisie in the autumn of 1866 after a split in the Party of Progress. Their policy showed that a considerable part of the liberal bourgeoisie had abandoned its claims to extend its political prerogatives and had capitulated to Bismarck's Junker government as a result of Prussia's victory in the Austro-Prussian war and the establishment of her supremacy in Germany.

p. 95

133 Engels refers to the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 which wound up the long rivalry between Austria and Prussia and predetermined the unification of Germany under the supremacy of Prussia. Several German states—including Hanover, Saxony, Bavaria, Württemberg and Baden—fought on Austria's side. Prussia formed an alliance with Italy. After a serious defeat at Sadowa on July 3 Austria began peace negotiations and signed a treaty in Prague on August 23. Austria conceded Schleswig and Holstein to Prussia, paid small indemnities to her and gave the province of Venetia to Italy. The German Confederation, which was founded in 1815 by decision of the Vienna Congress and embraced over 30 German states, ceased to exist, and North German Confederation was founded in its place under Prussia's supremacy (see Note
Austria, Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt remained outside the Confederation. As a result of the war, Prussia annexed the Kingdom of Hanover, the Electorate of Hesse-Cassel, the Grand Duchy of Nassau and the free city of Frankfurt am Main. (On the events of the Austro-Prussian war see Engels' “Notes on the War in Germany”, present edition, Vol. 20).

Secondly, this term can denote major political events. It was used in this sense by a trend in German historical science known as “objective historiography”. Leopold Ranke was one of its chief representatives. He regarded Haupt- und Staatsaktionen as the main subject-matter to be set forth. Objective historiography, which was primarily interested in the political and diplomatic history of nations, proclaimed the pre-eminence of foreign politics over domestic politics and disregarded the social relations of men and their active role in history. p. 95

Engels refers to the Kingdom of Hanover, the Electorate of Hesse-Cassel and the Grand Duchy of Nassau annexed by Prussia following the Austro-Prussian war of 1866. p. 95

Engels refers to what is known as Trans-Leithania (see Note 110). p. 96

The German People's Party (Deutsche Volkspartei) was set up in 1865 and consisted of democratic elements of the petty bourgeoisie and partly of representatives of the bourgeoisie, chiefly from South-German states. As distinct from the National-Liberals (see Note 132), the People's Party was against Prussia's supremacy in Germany and advocated the plan of the so-called Great Germany uniting both Prussia and Austria. While pursuing an anti-Prussian policy and advancing general democratic slogans, the People's Party at the same time voiced the particularist aspirations of some German states. It was against Germany's unification as a single centralised democratic republic, advocating the idea of a federative German state.

In 1866 the Saxon People's Party, whose nucleus consisted of workers, joined the German People's Party. This Left wing of the German People's Party had, in effect, nothing in common with it except anti-Prussian sentiments and the desire jointly to solve the problems of Germany's national unification in a democratic way; it subsequently developed along socialist lines. The main section of the Party split away from the petty-bourgeois democrats and took part in founding the Social-Democratic Workers' Party in August 1869. p. 96

In the 1860s a number of finance reforms in the interests of the bourgeoisie were carried out in the North German Confederation. In 1867 passports were abolished and freedom of movement and domicile established; in 1868 the system of uniform measures and weights was introduced and the trading code of the Customs Union extended to cover the entire territory of the Confederation. All these reforms undoubtedly facilitated the development of industry and the formation of the German nation.

However, medieval guild regulations in Prussia during the mid-1860s was a great hindrance to the development of capitalism in Germany. In conformity
with the bureaucratic system of regulating industry, there were branches in which no one could engage in business without a special license (concession). Only the Regulations of June 21, 1869 abolished the last remnants of guild privileges, and the law of June 11, 1870 provided for the establishment of joint-stock companies without preliminary permission.

139 The Basle Congress of the International adopted, on September 10, 1869, the following resolution on landed property proposed by Marx's followers:

"1. That Society has the right to abolish private property in land, and convert it into common property.

"2. That it is necessary to abolish private property in land, and convert it into common property."

140 Marx sent this article as a private letter to César De Paepe, the editor of L'Internationale, the newspaper of the Belgian sections of the International Working Men's Association. Marx expected the letter to be edited by De Paepe before it was printed (see Marx's letter to Engels, March 9, 1870; present edition, Vol. 43). The editors, however, published it almost without changes, only adding some explanations in brackets and dividing it into two parts. A small editorial comment was appended, which is not published in this edition.

An excerpt from the article was published in La Liberté, No. 10, March 10, 1872.

Marx used a great amount of factual material from The Irish People and The Irishman for 1869 and 1870.

Contextually close to this article are those written by Jenny, Marx's daughter, for La Marseillaise (see this volume, pp. 414-41).

141 O'Donovan Rossa, a prominent Fenian who in 1865 had been sentenced to penal servitude for life, was nominated candidate at the by-elections to Parliament in County Tipperary (South-Western Ireland). On November 25, 1869, Rossa was elected M.P. Even though the elections were quashed, the fact of his election testified to the growing protest against English policy among the Irish masses. Engels wrote about O'Donovan Rossa's election to Parliament in his letter to Marx of November 29, 1869 (see present edition, Vol. 43).

142 A writ of Habeas Corpus—the name given in English judicial procedure to a document enjoining the appropriate authorities to present an arrested person before a court on the demand of the persons interested to check the legitimacy of the arrest. Having considered the reasons for the arrest, the court either frees the arrested person or sends him back to prison or releases him on bail or guarantee. The procedure, laid down by an Act of Parliament of 1679, does not apply to persons accused of high treason and can be suspended by decision of Parliament. The British authorities frequently made use of this exception in Ireland.

143 A reference to the pamphlet Two Letters to the Earl of Aberdeen on the State Persecutions of the Neapolitan Government, published in London in 1851, in which Gladstone exposed the cruel treatment inflicted by the Government of the Neapolitan King Ferdinand II (nicknamed "Bomba" for the bombardment of Messina in 1848) on political prisoners arrested for participation in the 1848-49 revolutionary movement.

144 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, ostensibly to assist Irish tenants, it contained so many provisos and restrictions
that it actually left intact the basis of big landownership by the English landlords in Ireland. 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.

This is a report of the Standing Committee which it discussed at the sittings of February 19 and March 5, 1870. (Marx also attended them.)

The report was submitted to the General Council of the International on March 8, 1870. The Council, which had the right to arbitrate in conflicts arising between sections of the International, adopted the report and passed a decision on the conflict between Adrien Schettel and other members of the old Lyons section who supported the French Left Republicans, and the group of Albert Richard, a Bakuninist.

The General Council found all the accusations made against Richard untenable and confirmed him in the post of Corresponding Secretary of the IWMA. The decision signed by the Corresponding Secretary for France, Eugène Dupont, was published in L'Internationale, No. 63, March 27, 1870.

The Russian Section of the International was founded in Geneva in the spring of 1870 by a group of Russian political emigrants, young people influenced by the ideas of the Russian revolutionary democrats Chernyshhevsky and Dobrolyubov. A great part in setting up this section was played by A. A. Serno-Solovyovich, a member of the International who died in 1869.

On March 11 the Committee of the Russian Section sent a letter to Hermann Jung enclosing its Programme and Rules (they were published in the section's newspaper, Narodnoye Dyelo, No. 1, April 15, 1870). In a letter of March 12 to Marx, the Committee asked him to be the Russian Section's representative on the General Council of the International. Johann Philipp Becker on his own behalf wrote letters of recommendation to Marx and Jung.

At its meeting on March 22, the General Council admitted the Russian Section to the International and Marx agreed to represent it in the Council. An official reply to the section was written by Marx, in the name of the General Council, on March 24 and published in Narodnoye Dyelo, No. 1, April 15, 1870.

The Russian Section was of great help to Marx and Engels in their struggle against the divisive activities of the Bakuninists. Its members—Nikolai Utin, Anton Trusov, Yekaterina Barteneva, Victor Bartenev, Yelena Dmitriyeva, Anna Korvin-Krukovskaya—took an active part in the Swiss and international working-class movement. Some of them participated in the Paris Commune. The section sought to establish contacts with the revolutionary movement in Russia. It virtually ceased its activity in 1872.

This document was first published in English in K. Marx and F. Engels, Selected Correspondence, 1848-95. Translated by Dana Torr. New York, International Publishers, 1942.

For Flerovskij's book The Condition of the Working Class in Russia, see Marx's letters to Engels of February 10 and 12, 1870 (present edition, Vol. 43).

This Confidential Communication was intended for the Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party. It included the full French text of
the General Council’s circular letter of January 1, 1870 to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland (see this volume, pp. 84-91). As Corresponding Secretary for Germany Marx sent it to Ludwig Kugelmann in a letter of March 28, 1870, asking him to communicate the document to Bracke and other members of the Committee.

In English, the Confidential Communication was first published in *Letters to Dr. Kugelmann* by Karl Marx, Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1934.

In this volume the document is published according to Marx’s manuscript enclosed in the above-mentioned letter to Kugelmann. As compared with the circular letter of the General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland, Marx’s manuscript contains certain mainly stylistic alterations and cuts.

149 See Note 56.

150 At the Second Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom (Berne, September 21-25, 1868), the second item on the agenda was “the relation of the economic and social question to the question of peace and freedom”. By a majority vote the congress rejected the resolution proposed by Bakunin which declared the necessity for “economic and social equalisation of classes and individuals”, the “abolition of the state” and the “liquidation of the right of inheritance”. Having found no support at the congress, Bakunin and his followers withdrew from the League and in the same year established the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy (see Note 55) whose programme was based on the above-mentioned proposals by Bakunin: p. 112

151 See Note 55.

152 See Note 119.

153 See Note 120.

154 See Note 121.

155 The reference is to the London Trades Council (see Note 38).

156 The reference is to the Anglo-Irish Union of 1801 (see Note 123).

157 See Note 124.

158 Marx refers to a letter dated January 4, 1870, from the Romance Federal Council in Geneva to Jung, in which the Council expressed its disagreement with the Égalité’s attacks on the General Council. It also wrote that the Alliance of Socialist Democracy had not been admitted to the Romance Federation and that the Alliance’s aims had nothing in common with the tasks of the International Working Men’s Association. In a private letter of January 4 to Hermann Jung, secretary Henri Perret wrote about the withdrawal of Charles Perron, Paul Robin and other Bakuninists from the Égalité’s editorial board. The announcement of their withdrawal was published in the newspaper on January 8, 1870 (No. 2).

The letters of the Romance Federal Council were sent from Geneva in reply to Jung’s letter of November 1869, before it received the circular letter “The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland”. p. 123

159 The reference is to the official letter of the Romance Federal Council to the General Council of the International of February 3, 1870 read at the General Council meeting on February 8. The Council unanimously agreed that the explanation was satisfactory. p. 123
In 1858 the Russian landowner Pavel Bakhmetev sent Herzen money for propaganda purposes (the so-called Bakhmetev fund). Marx learned about this from Johann Philipp Becker’s letter of March 13, 1870.

In 1869, under pressure from Bakunin and Ogaryov, Herzen agreed to divide the fund into two parts, one of which Ogaryov sent to Netchayev. After Herzen’s death in 1870, Netchayev received the other part from Ogaryov.

See Note 146.

In its letter of March 12, 1870 signed by Utin, Netov (Bartenev) and Trusov, the Committee of the Russian Section asked Marx to represent them in the General Council of the International. It also stated that the section’s members had decided to break off their ties with Bakunin and intended “in the immediate future to expose this man publicly”, as he was deluding the “world of the working people”.

Marx wrote this letter in reply to a request of January 12, 1870, from the International Metalworkers’ Society in Hanover for help in establishing contacts with the English trade unions. The General Council appointed a delegation headed by Jung to conduct the talks. On April 12 Jung reported on a meeting on April 7 with the Council of the London Amalgamated Engineers. The latter was ready to establish contact with the engineers of Germany and France and handed over a list of questions which interested English workers. The questionnaire in Marx’s letter slightly differs in wording from the English text preserved in Jung’s letter to Marx of April 13, 1870 (see The General Council of the First International, 1868-1870, Moscow, 1966, pp. 470-71).

Marx’s letter, with a short editorial and conclusion was published in German in Die Tagwacht, No. 16, May 5, 1870, and in French in L’Internationale, No. 76, June 26, 1870. The author’s name was mentioned in the editorial.

By the General Council’s decision of November 22, 1864 The Bee-Hive was declared an official newspaper of the Association. This was announced in a supplement to the first edition of the Address and Provisional Rules of the Working Men’s International Association, London, 1864. However, closely connected with trade union leaders and representatives of the radical bourgeoisie, the newspaper virtually remained, as Marx wrote to Sigfrid Meyer on July 4, 1868, a narrow trade union organ far from voicing the views of the IWMA (see present edition, Vol. 43). The Bee-Hive frequently suppressed the General Council’s documents, mutilated them at will and sometimes did not publish the reports of the General Council meetings at all (see Marx’s letters to Engels of July 29, November 18, 1869, present edition, Vol. 43). It adopted a negative attitude to the Irish national liberation movement, justifying Gladstone’s policy (The Bee-Hive, No. 420, October 30, 1869; see also Engels’ letter to Marx of November 1). Its policy was censured by members of the International in different countries.

The question of severing all connections with The Bee-Hive was raised by Marx at a meeting of the General Council on April 26, 1870 (see this volume, p. 444). Marx was supported by other members of the Council, who instructed him to draw up a declaration for publication. In a letter to Engels of April 28, 1870 (see present edition, Vol. 43), Marx wrote that he was to prepare a resolution for the next Tuesday, i. e. for the General Council meeting of May 3. Marx drew it up at the beginning of May and sent it to several newspapers (it was published in German in Der Volksstaat, No. 38, May 11, 1870 and in Der
Vorbote, No. 5, May 1870, datelined "London, May 3"). On May 3 the General Council did not discuss the question. On May 10 Marx was not present at the General Council meeting. He moved the resolution on May 17 (its text in Marx's handwriting is pasted into the Minute Book of the General Council). The General Council unanimously resolved to break with The Bee-Hive and to announce this resolution publicly to its different sections.

The resolution was published in French in L'Égalité, No. 22, May 28; L'Internationale, No. 72, May 29 and in Le Mirabeau, No. 46, June 5, 1870.

Samuel Morley and other bourgeois liberals headed by Daniel Pratt built up a fund in 1869 for publishing The Bee-Hive and became its managers. At the beginning of 1870, H. Solley, a clergyman who championed an alliance between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, virtually became its editor-in-chief.

In an attempt to strengthen its weakened position the government of Napoleon III scheduled a plebiscite for May 8, 1870. The questions were formulated in such a way that it was impossible to express disapproval of the Second Empire's policy without simultaneously opposing all democratic reforms. The Paris Federation of the International and the Federal Chamber of Workers' Societies of Paris issued a manifesto on April 24, 1870 (Manifeste antiplébiscitaire des Sections parisiennes fédérées de l'Internationale et de la Chambre fédérale des Sociétés ouvrières), which exposed this demagogic manoeuvre and called on the workers to abstain from voting.

On the eve of the plebiscite, members of the Paris Federation were arrested and charged with conspiring to assassinate Napoleon III. At the same time, persecution of members of the International began in Lyons, Rouen, Marseilles and other cities. The third trial of the members of the Paris Federation was held from June 22 to July 5, 1870. The attempted charge of complicity in the sham plot failed and the detainees were sentenced for being members of the International.

The declaration against the persecution of the members of the French sections written by Marx was approved by the General Council on May 3, 1870, and it was published in English as a leaflet and in the newspapers The Daily Telegraph, May 4, The Eastern Post, May 7 and The Penny Bee-Hive, No. 447, May 7, 1870 over the signature of General Council members. The French translation, made by Marx (see Marx's letter to Engels of May 10, 1870), was published in La Marseillaise, No. 138, May 7; La Liberté, No. 150, May 8; L'Égalité, No. 20, May 14; L'Internationale, No. 70, May 15, and Le Mirabeau, No. 45, May 29, 1870. In German the declaration was printed in Der Volksstaat, No. 38, May 11; Der Vorbote, No. 5, May; Die Tagwacht, No. 14, May 21, 1870, and in other periodicals.

The first trial of the International's Paris Executive Committee took place in March 1868 (see Note 16); the second, from May 22 to June 19, 1868.

This resolution was introduced at the General Council meeting of May 10, 1870 by Hermann Jung on behalf of Marx who was absent because of illness. A group of French petty-bourgeois emigrants in London, followers of Félix Pyat, who had lost contact with the International after the General Council's resolution of July 7, 1868 (see this volume, p. 7), continued to call themselves the French Section in London and to issue documents in the name of the International Working Men's Association. Throughout 1869 the question of
officially severing relations with this group was repeatedly raised in the General Council. In the spring of 1870, when a third trial against members of the International was in preparation in France, the break became all the more necessary, since the incriminatory material included documents of the so-called French Section in London, in particular an address adopted at a meeting on October 20, 1868, in which the International was identified with a secret republican society, the Revolutionary Commune, headed by Félix Pyat.

The text of the resolution in English has been preserved in the form of Marx's own manuscript pasted into the minutes of May 10, 1870 (with minor corrections in Eccarius' hand), and was published in *The Penny Bee-Hive*, No. 418, May 14; *The Times*, No. 26748, May 12; *The Echo*, No. 443, May 12, and in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, May 15, 1870.

The French text of the resolution, copied by Auguste Serrailhier, is also extant; it was published in *La Marseillaise*, No. 145, May 14; *L'Internationale*, No. 70, May 15; *L'Égalité*, No. 21, May 21, and *Le Mirabeau*, No. 45, May 29, 1870. In German it was printed in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 41, May 21 and *Volkswille*, No. 18, May 28, 1870.

Marx refers, in particular, to a report about a banquet given by the so-called French branch in London on May 3, 1870 in honour of Gustave Flourens, a French revolutionary, follower of Blanqui, an organiser of the Paris rising of 1870. The report was forwarded to France, Germany and other countries by the Havas and Reuters agencies and was published in the *Journal des Débats* on May 5. It stated that the banquet was chaired by “M. Le Lubez, President of the International Association”, whereas Le Lubez had been expelled from the International for slander as far back as 1866.

By decision of the Basle Congress, the next congress of the Association was to be held in Paris. At the General Council meeting of May 17, 1870 Marx proposed that the meeting-place should be changed in view of the increasing harassment by Napoleon III's government of the working-class and democratic movement and, in particular, of the International. It was decided to convocate the congress in Mainz.

However, the congress did not meet in Mainz because of the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war in July 1870. At the General Council meeting on August 2, Marx proposed that local sections and federations must be approached in writing and asked whether they would consent to a postponement of the congress. On receiving their consent, the General Council passed a formal resolution on August 23, 1870 for the postponement of the congress "until the earliest opportunity".

The resolution on the convocation of the congress in Mainz proposed by Marx was passed by the General Council on May 17, 1870. The German text, which Marx sent to Wilhelm Liebknecht, was printed in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 42, May 25; *Der Vorbote*, No. 6, June 1870, and in *Volkswille*, No. 20, June 11, 1870. In French the resolution was published in *L'Égalité*, No. 22, May 28 and *Le Mirabeau*, No. 45, May 29, 1870.

In English the text of the resolution has been preserved in the Minute Book of the General Council and as a handwritten copy made by Eleanor Marx. It was first published in English in *The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870*, Moscow, 1966.

On May 9, 1870, the Brunswick Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party sent a letter to the General Council officially proposing that the next congress of the International be held in Germany.
This letter was written by Marx and Engels in connection with a congress of the International to be held in September 1870. Following the General Council's decision of May 17, 1870 on the convocation of the congress in Mainz, Stumpf, authorised by Liebknecht, wrote a letter to Marx on June 11 asking him to postpone the congress till October in view of the forthcoming September elections to the Imperial Diet in Germany. The next day the same request was made by the Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party to the General Council, and by Geib to Marx. Marx was definitely against the postponement and expressed his opinion on the matter in a letter to the Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party on June 27 (see this volume, p. 445).

This letter of Marx and Engels was published in Der Volksstaat, No. 51, June 26, 1872 and in the book Leipziger Hochverratsprozess. Ausführlicher Bericht über die Verhandlungen des Schwurgerichts zu Leipzig in dem Prozess gegen Liebknecht, Bebel und Hepner wegen Vorbereitung zum Hochverrat vom 11.-26. März 1872, Leipzig, 1872. It was reprinted in the 1874 and 1894 editions of the book, the latter edition being prepared by Liebknecht on the instruction of the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party.

The Stuttgart Congress of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party took place from June 4 to 7, 1870. It summed up the results of the party's activity for the past year, paying great attention to the work among the masses. The Congress discussed the peasant question. On Bebel's proposal it adopted the resolution on the socialisation of the land, formulating it in the spirit of the Basle Congress resolutions. In its political programme the Congress sharply criticised the Bakuninist views on the political struggle and the state.

The Congress also discussed the next congress of the International in Mainz.

This refers to a special fund at the personal disposal of Bismarck which was used for bribing the press.

After the Égalité editorial board was reorganised (see Note 158), the Bakuninists, attempting to retain their lost positions, had secured a formal majority of votes at a regular congress of the Romance Federation held in La Chaux-de-Fonds on April 4-6, 1870. The congress discussed the attitude of the working class to the political struggle. In contrast to the Geneva sections, the Bakuninists advocated abstention from the political struggle, referring to the French text of the Rules (see this volume, pp. 89-90). On Bakunin's insistence, the congress began its proceedings with the admission of the newly formed sections to the federation. A sharp struggle arose over the admission of the section named "Alliance of Socialist Democracy—Central Section" (see Note 55) and the Chaux-de-Fonds pro-Bakunin section. Utin, one of the leaders of the Russian Section in Geneva, exposed Bakunin's schismatic activities. A split occurred; the Geneva delegates and other General Council supporters continued their work independently. An announcement about the Chaux-de-Fonds split was published in L'Égalité on April 9, 1870.

The Bakuninists elected a new Federal Committee and transferred its seat to La Chaux-de-Fonds. Thus two Federal committees appeared in Romance Switzerland—in Geneva and in La Chaux-de-Fonds. The Bakuninists started publication of a newspaper, La Solidarité, that appeared under the editorship of James Guillaume, first in Neuchâtel (April 11, 1870-May 12, 1871), and then in Geneva. It was, in fact, a continuation of Le Progrès.

On April 12, 1870 the General Council, having received the news about the
events at the congress instructed Hermann Jung to gather more particulars. Jung brought them to the attention of the Council in April and May. At the request of the Geneva Committee members, the Council discussed the split at the Chaux-de-Fonds congress on June 28 and passed a resolution (for the record of Marx's speech on the question see this volume, p. 446). It was sent to the two Federal Committees by Jung, the Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland, and published in *La Solidarité*, No. 16, July 23 and *Le Mirabeau*, No. 53, July 24, 1870, over his signature.

In English the resolution was first published in *The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870*, Moscow, 1966. p. 136

176 The lock-out of the Geneva building workers was discussed by the General Council at its meetings on June 14 and 21, 1870. On June 21 Marx was instructed to draw up an address to the trade unions and sections of the International in Europe and the United States. The address was approved by the General Council on July 5 and published in leaflet form in English, German and French: "The Lock-out of the Building Trades at Geneva. The General Council of the International Working Men's Association to the Working Men and Women of Europe and the United States"; "Die Aussperrung der Bauarbeiter in Genf. Der Generalrath der internationalen Arbeiterassoziation an die Arbeiter und Arbeiterinnen in Europa und den Vereinigten Staaten"; "La Grève des corps de métiers en bâtiment à Genève. Appel du Conseil général de l'Association internationale des Travailleurs aux travailleurs et travailleuses de l'Europe et des États-Unis". The German text was also published in the newspapers *Der Volkstaat*, No. 56, July 13 and *Volkswille*, No. 25, July 16, 1870 and in the journal *Der Vorbote*, No. 7, July 1870. In this volume the address is printed according to the English leaflet, checked with the German and French texts. p. 137

177 The masters' appeal was adopted on June 2, 1870, at a meeting of the Association of Building Trade Masters in the Canton of Geneva, and published as a poster. It placed the whole responsibility for the strike in Geneva on the International Association. The masters demanded that the authorities should put into effect an article in the federal constitution entitling the government to expel "foreigners violating the home and foreign security of Switzerland". p. 138

178 The decision of the Geneva master builders to declare a lock-out of building workers evoked protests from workers of other trades. On June 19, 1870, *L'Internationale* wrote about a 10,000-strong meeting of Geneva workers protesting against this decision of the employers. *L'Égalité*, No. 23, June 11, 1870 published a protest of a 5,000-strong meeting of watch-makers ("Protestation votée en Assemblée populaire nationale tenue au Bâtiment Electoral 7 juin 1870"). On June 14 the *Égalité* editors published a special supplement to No. 23 on the Geneva building workers' strike. The next issue of June 18 published an address by the Geneva factory workers to the strikers, expressing solidarity with them and informing them of the aid that had been organised. p. 138

179 Engels wrote notes at the request of Marx's eldest daughter, Jenny. They were intended as a preface to *Erins-Harfe, Irländische Volksmelodien nach Thomas Moore*, which was being prepared for publication in Hanover. Jenny Marx sent them to Ludwig Kugelmann, asking him to hand them to Joseph Risse, the compiler of the collection (see Jenny Marx's letter to Kugelmann, July 17, 1870, present edition, Vol. 43). However, they did not appear in the collection
printed in 1870. They were first published in 1955, in *Movimento Operaio*, No. 2, Milano, in Italian, and in *La Pensée*, No. 75, 1957, in French.

In English this article was published in Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978. p. 140

The supposed works of Ossian, a mythical Celtic bard, were forged and published in 1760-65 by the Scottish poet James Macpherson. p. 140

180 This confidential communication was drawn up by Marx in connection with preparations for the next congress of the International scheduled for September 5, 1870 in Mainz. At the General Council meeting on June 28, 1870 Marx proposed that the sections of the Association should discuss the change of the seat of the General Council so as to avoid creating privileged conditions for workers of one or another country. Although adopted, Marx's proposition was objected to by Hales, a General Council member. The Council resumed the debate on July 5 and 12 and turned down Hales' objections. On July 14 Marx sent Hermann Jung the French text of the confidential communication and a letter in English (see present edition, Vol. 43) to be forwarded to Switzerland, with one reservation: “The following must *not be published* but only communicated by letter to the different sections.” Also extant is the text sent to De Paepe by Auguste Serraillier, Corresponding Secretary for Belgium. The sections opposed any change of the Council's seat, considering London the most suitable place for the leading body of the International Working Men's Association.


181 The agenda of the Mainz Congress of the International to be opened on September 5, 1870 was drawn up by Marx and approved by the General Council on July 12, 1870. When it was discussed Marx took the floor several times to explain different points. The text of the programme adopted by the Council was published as a leaflet entitled *The Fifth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association*. The programme was prefaced by the following text: “The International Working Men's Congress of 1870 will be held in the city of Mayence-on-the-Rhine. The delegates are requested to assemble on Monday, September 5, at nine o'clock in the forenoon, in the Marble Hall, which the Burgomaster of the City has kindly placed at the disposal of the Association during the Session of the Congress.” In a letter to Jung of July 14, 1870, Marx quoted the full text of the agenda, asking him to preserve the order of the items. He wrote: “Dear Jung. Enclosed the Programme. The questions are arranged in such an order as will facilitate the business of next Congress. You'll understand my meaning. Your truly, K. M.” (see present edition, Vol. 43).

In this volume the programme of the Mainz Congress is printed according to Marx's manuscript, sent to Jung, which is fuller than the text of the leaflet.

Besides the Mainz Congress agenda was published in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 461, August 13, 1870; it appeared in French in *La Solidarité*, No. 17, July 30, *La Liberté*, No. 162, July 31, *L'Internationale*, No. 81, July 31, *L'Égalité*, No. 28, August 6 and *Le Mirabeau*, No. 55, August 7, 1870; and in German in *Der Vorbote*, No. 7, July 1870 (with some inaccuracies), *Die Tagwacht*, No. 24, July 30, *Der Volksstaat*, No. 65, August 13, 1870 (the text corrected and signed by Marx). p. 143
It was Wilhelm Liebknecht who proposed that this point should be included in the agenda of the Mainz Congress (in his letter to Marx of April 27, 1870). It was also discussed at the Stuttgart Congress of the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party (see Note 173), Liebknecht delivering a report on the subject. p. 143

*The History of Ireland* is a fragment of a voluminous work which Engels intended to write and on which he worked at the end of 1869 and during the first half of 1870. Engels studied a vast selection of literary and historical sources: the works of antique and medieval writers, annals, collections of ancient law codes, legislative acts and legal treatises, folklore, travellers’ notes, numerous works on archaeology, history, economics, geography, geology, etc. Engels’ bibliography, embracing over 150 titles, is selective and includes only a few of the sources he studied.

Engels presumably did not complete his preparatory work. However, the collected material comprising 15 paginated notebooks, the excerpts from books, the list of literature, notes on separate sheets and newspaper cuttings show the scale of his research into Irish history as well as his understanding of certain of its aspects.

Engels studied Gaelic in order to do research into Irish sources. Marx attached great importance to Engels’ work and constantly helped him with it (see their letters during this period in Vol. 43 of the present edition). The views of Marx and Engels on major problems of Irish history took shape in the course of joint discussion.

The draft plan (see p. 307) shows that Engels’ 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—“Old Ireland”—is unfinished. The manuscript breaks off where Engels intended to throw light on the social structure of Irish society before the English conquest in the second half of the twelfth 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 required material. In a letter to Sigismund Borkheim written in early March 1872 (see present edition, Vol. 44), 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, such as *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see present edition, Vol. 27) and in his letters to various correspondents.

The fragment *The History of Ireland* (see this volume, pp. 308-14) and some preparatory material Engels collected for this work were first published in 1948 in Russian in the Marx-Engels Archives, Vol. X. In English, excerpts from the draft plan and the fragment *The History of Ireland* were published in Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, while *The History of Ireland* was published for the Irish Communist Group by Angela Clifford, 258 Liverpool Road, No. 1, August 1965.

In the present edition *The History of Ireland* is printed according to Engels’ manuscript in German. Omissions in passages from different authors are marked by dots in square brackets. Italics in the quotations are mostly by Engels unless otherwise indicated in the footnotes. p. 145

Engels refers to the formation of a centralised feudal state in England after the conquest in 1066 by William, Duke of Normandy. The reforms carried out in the twelfth 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 and still in a state of feudal decentralisation. Between 1169 and 1171 part of the island was conquered by the Anglo-Norman barons, who founded a colony in South-East Ireland known as the English Pale. The term came into use in the second half of the fourteenth century. The boundaries of the English Pale changed during the continual wars of the conquerors against the hitherto unsubdued population. Castles and fortifications were built in the border areas. At the end of the fifteenth century the Pale included only part of the present counties of Louth, Meath, Dublin and Kildare, but it served as a bridgehead for the complete subjection of Ireland by the English in the sixteenth century. Dublin was the centre of the Pale and the seat of the English Lord Deputy.

186 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 honour of Mary Tudor, Queen of England. The neighbouring Offaley (Offaly) County, the population of which had also fallen victim to the expropriation policy of the English colonial authorities, was renamed King's County in honour of Mary's husband, Philip II of Spain (see also this volume, pp. 297 and 298). p. 148

187 In modern terms—deposits of the Mesozoic and Cainozoic periods. p. 152

188 Engels presumably quoted Young according to Murphy's Ireland. Industrial, Political, and Social, London, 1870. p. 156

189 The synopsis of Wakefield's book, which contains rich factual material on the Ireland of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, is to be found in notebooks VII, XI and XII of Engels' preparatory material on the history of Ireland (see his letters to Marx of February 22 and April 13, 1870, present edition, Vol. 43). p. 156

190 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 (see Note 229). 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 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 English mercenaries and Protestant gangs hired by the landlords from among their menials (Ancient Britons, etc.), against the local Catholic population and its self-defence units. Under the pretext of confiscating arms from the population and billeting, soldiers 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". p. 159

191 A reference to the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 (see Note 219), leading to the influx of cheap corn to England and creating conditions which, from the point of view of the landlords and the bourgeoisie, favoured the development of stock-breeding in Ireland. p. 161

The reference is to England's war against Napoleonic France and the European countries dependent on her (in 1812 England fought Napoleon in alliance with Russia, Spain and Portugal), and to the Anglo-American War which broke out that year. It was won by the United States in 1814. p. 165

The third volume of this publication, concluding 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 records of the laws of the Brehons, guardians of and commentators on laws and customs in Celtic Ireland (for Engels' description of *Senchus Mor*, see his letters to Marx of April 29, May 8 and 10, 1870, present edition, Vol. 43). p. 165

Engels refers to the collection *Rerum Hiberniarum Scriptores* (Ancient Annalists of Ireland), published in four volumes in 1814, 1825 and 1826 by Charles O'Connor in Buckingham.

The collection contains the first publications of part of the *Annales IV Magistrorum*, the *Annales Tigernachi*, which were written between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries and described events from the close of the third century, the *Annales Ultonienses* (compiled by various chroniclers between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries and describing events beginning with the mid-fifth century), and the *Annales Inisfalensis* (generally assumed to have been compiled from 1215 onwards, and treating events up to 1318), all of them mentioned by Engels, and others. p. 168

Arthur O'Connor was one of the few leaders of the United Irishmen Society, which prepared the 1798 uprising (see Note 229), 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. p. 169

*Saerrath* and *Daerrath*—two forms of tenancy in old 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 élite. They entailed partial loss of personal freedom (especially under 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 feudalisation. At this time land tenure was still mainly communal, while stock and farming implements were already private property, and private landownership already existed in embryonic form.

Engels' "see below" refers to the unfinished part of this chapter. p. 172

The works of Giraldus Cambrensis on Ireland, *Topographia Hibernica* and *Expugnatio Hibernica* (in Engels' manuscript *Hibernia Expugnata*), were included in the fifth volume of the *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, mentioned by Engels, the publication of which was begun by J. S. Brewer. The fifth volume, published by J. F. Dimock, appeared in 1867. p. 173

appeared); F. Moryson, An Itinerary Containing Ten Years Travels through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Denmark, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland and Ireland, London, 1617.

p. 173

200 Huxley spoke of this in a public lecture 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 under the heading “Professor Huxley on Political Ethnology” (see also Engels’ letter of March 9, 1870 to Marx, present edition. Vol. 43).

p. 174

201 See Note 180.

202 The reference is to the following medieval works: Claudianus, De IV consulatu Honorii Augusti panegiricus; Isidorus Hispalensis, Etymologiarum libri XX; Beda Venerabilis, Historiae Ecclesiasticae libri quinque; Anonymous 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.

p. 177

203 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 subdivided into historical, theological, judicial, poetical and ethical. The early Triads were composed not later than the tenth century, but the extant manuscripts of these works date back to the period from the twelfth to the fifteenth century.

p. 177

204 Alexandrian Neoplatonic school—a trend in ancient philosophy originating in the third 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 fifth century A.D. an unknown adherent of this school, who attempted to combine the Christian doctrine with Neoplatonism, signed his works with the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, the first Christian Bishop of Athens.

p. 178

205 Haraldsaga was written early in the thirteenth century by the Icelandic poet and chronicler Snorri Sturluson and describes the life and exploits of the Norwegian King Harald (the ninth-tenth centuries), founder of the Harfagr (Fair hair) dynasty. It is part of Snorri Sturluson’s book Heimskringla covering the history of the Norwegian kings from ancient times to the twelfth century.

p. 179

206 Krókmúl (Song of Kráka)—a medieval Scandinavian poem, composed as the death-song of Ragnar Lodbrók (ninth century), a Danish Viking taken prisoner and put to death by Ella, King of Northumberland. According to the legend, Kráka, Ragnar’s wife, sang the song to her children to inspire them with 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.

p. 180

207 Njál’s Saga—an Icelandic saga which, according to the latest research, was recorded at the end of the thirteenth century from oral tradition and ancient written documents. The central theme is the life story of Gunnar, an Icelandic Hawding (a member of the clan nobility), and his friend Bond Njál (a free community member), an expert and commentator on ancient customs and laws.
The saga tells of the battle of the Norsemen against the Irish King Brian Boru, 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 Njál's Saga according to the text of the reader: F. E. Ch. Dietrich, Altnordisches Lesebuch, Leipzig, 1864, S. 103-08.

Contemporary scholars transcribe the name of King Brian's residence in Munster as Kankaraborg, or Kincora.

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 at 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.

Beowulf—a poem about the legendary hero Beowulf is supposed to have been recorded in the eighth century and ranks as the finest known work of Anglo-Saxon poetry. It is based on folk sagas about the life of the Germanic tribes in the early sixth century.

Hildebrandslied—an eighth-century German epic poem, of which only a few passages have survived.

Engels refers to the so-called Elder Edda and the Younger Edda. The Elder Edda is 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 back to the thirteenth century, discovered in 1643 by the Icelandic Bishop Sveinsson. The Younger Edda is a treatise on pagan mythology and the poetry of the scalds compiled in the early thirteenth century by Snorri Sturluson.

Leges barbarorum—records of the common law of various Germanic tribes, compiled between the fifth and ninth centuries.

Engels' manuscript breaks off here. The extant plan for the second chapter ("Old Ireland") shows that Engels also intended to describe the clan system, landed property and the laws of old Ireland (see this volume, p. 307).

These notes were written by Marx in English as a conspectus for a speech to be made at a 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 be continued. In view of the immense disturbance 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 of November 30, 1867 to Engels (see present edition, Vol. 42). Later, preparing for a report on the Irish question in the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see this volume, p. 194), Marx used this draft and the materials he had compiled for it.

These notes were first published in English in The General Council of the First International. 1866-1868, Moscow, 1964. Inaccuracies in the figures have been corrected.
214 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 legalised the reign of terror and violence established by the English colonialists in Ireland and sanctioned the wholesale plunder of Irish lands in favour of the English bourgeois 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 Parliament 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 County Clare (see Note 190) 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.

p. 189

215 See Note 142.

216 Marx uses an appraisal of the Fenian movement given in Queen Victoria’s address to Parliament of November 19, 1867 (see The Times, No. 25973, November 20, 1867) to describe the brutal policy of the English Government towards the Irish Fenians.

p. 189

217 During an abortive coup in Boulogne in 1840, Prince Louis Bonaparte wounded an officer of the government troops. This crime did not prevent the English Government from obsequiously recognising the Bonapartist regime after the usurpation of power by Louis Bonaparte in 1851. In 1867, however, three Irish Fenians were sent to the gallows purely on suspicion of having made an attempt on the life of a policeman while attacking a prison van in Manchester.

p. 189

218 The corn-acre (conacre) system—the subletting to the poorest peasants of small plots (up to half an acre) by middlemen on extortionate terms, which was extensively practised in Ireland. The term came into use in the eighteenth century, after the adoption of a law decreeing that corn be sown on these smallholdings.

p. 191

219 The repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 led to a reduction 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 (see Marx’s letter to Engels of November 30, 1867, present edition, Vol. 42). This made landlords and rich farmers switch to extensive pasture farming which resulted in the mass eviction of small Irish tenants from the land (“clearing of estates”) in the mid-nineteenth century (see also this volume, pp. 201-03).

p. 192

220 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 eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, a process similar to the “clearing of estates” in Ireland. Marx describes this process in Chapter XXVII of Volume I of Capital and in his article “Elections.—Financial Clouds.—The Duchess of Sutherland and Slavery” (present edition, Vol. 11).

p. 192
Notes

221 *Roundheads*—the nickname given by the Royalists to the Parliamentarians during the seventeenth-century English revolution because of their puritan custom of cutting their hair close, while the *cavaliers*—supporters of the King—wore their hair long.  

222 See Note 123.

223 Early in the nineteenth 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. In 1829 the British Parliament, under pressure of a mass movement in Ireland, lifted some of the restrictions (*Catholic Relief Act*). Catholics were granted the rights to be elected to Parliament and hold certain government posts. Simultaneously the property qualification for electors was increased fivefold. With the aid of this manoeuvre 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.

224 In the 1820s the demand for the repeal of the Union became the most popular slogan of the Irish national liberation movement. In 1840 a *Repeal Association* was founded whose leader, Daniel O'Connell, stood for a compromise with the English ruling circles and reduced the programme of the movement to the demand for autonomy and other political concessions. In the mid-fourties the supporters of the liberation of Ireland by revolutionary methods, up to and including armed uprising against English rule (Young Ireland—a revolutionary patriotic society), gained ground in the Repeal Association. The differences between O'Connell and those advocating the use of "physical force" led to a split in the Association and the formation of the more radical Irish Confederation (the beginning of 1847). Its Left, revolutionary wing headed the national liberation movement and became the target of severe reprisals in 1848. Eventually, the Repeal Association broke up completely.

225 Marx refers to France’s colonial wars in Algeria which began in the 1830s and lasted (with intervals) for 40 years.

226 A reference to the reactionary foreign policy pursued by Castlereagh, the British Foreign Secretary (1812-22). He supported the efforts of the Holy Alliance to strengthen 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 the party. He, however, masked the real nature of this policy with liberal phrases and hypocritical expressions of sympathy with the oppressed peoples. Marx showed in his pamphlet *Lord Palmerston* (see present edition, Vol. 12) that, as Foreign Secretary, Palmerston played an ignoble role with regard to the Polish struggle for independence during the general uprising of 1830-31 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.

227 Marx refers to an error which the leadership of the Reform League (see Note 39) committed by refusing to give any real support to the Irish national liberation movement, although many of the League’s 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. p. 193

This outline is a draft prospectus for a report on the Irish question that Marx was to make at a meeting of the German Workers' Educational Society in London on December 16, 1867. "Yesterday I gave a 1½ hour lecture on Ireland at our German Workers' Society (though a further 3 German workers' associations were represented, about 100 people in all)," Marx wrote to Engels on December 17 (see present edition, Vol. 42). Some members of the General Council of the International also attended the meeting. Eccarius, a Council member who attached great importance to this report, which explained the attitude of the General Council towards the Irish national liberation movement, took notes in order to prepare them for publication (for Eccarius' record of Marx's report see this volume, pp. 317-19). A copy of these notes was sent to Johann Philipp Becker, the editor of Der Vorbote, but they were not published.

The outline was written by Marx both in German and English. English words used by Marx are set in small caps. Longer passages written in English in the original are placed in asterisks. German words and sentences occurring in the passages written by Marx in English are, with a few exceptions, not indicated, so as to avoid numerous footnotes.

The outline was first published in English in Marx and Engels, Ireland and the Irish Question, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971.

On the German Workers' Educational Society in London see Note 50, p. 194

228 A reference to the three biggest national liberation uprisings in Ireland.

The 1641-52 uprising was provoked by the colonialist policy which the English absolute monarchy pursued in Ireland and which was continued during the seventeenth-century English Revolution by the English bourgeoisie and the "new" nobility. The majority of the insurgents were Irish peasants led by the expropriated clan chiefs and the Catholic clergy. The Anglo-Irish nobility, descendants of the first English conquerors who had become related to the Irish clan elite and adopted many Irish customs and habits, also participated in the uprising. In October 1642, the insurgents formed the Irish Confederation in Kilkenny. A struggle went on within it between the indigenous Irish, who stood for Ireland's independence and action both against the Long Parliament and the English Royalists, and the Anglo-Irish aristocrats, who endeavoured to come to terms with Charles I on condition that they were allowed to keep their estates and receive a guarantee of freedom of worship for Catholics. The latter gained the upper hand and a treaty was signed with a representative of Charles I. After the defeat of the Royalists in England, Oliver Cromwell, the head of the new bourgeois republic, organised an expedition to Ireland on the pretext of suppressing a Royalist revolt there but in fact with the aim of reducing it to colonial submission and plundering the land. (He hoped that by confiscating Irish lands he would solve the problem of paying the creditors of the republic, the officers and men of the army.) In 1649-52, the Irish uprising was brutally suppressed; the garrisons and population of entire towns were destroyed, the Irish were sold en masse into slavery in the West Indies, and Irish lands were confiscated and handed over to new English landlords. These actions by Cromwell and his successors did much to prepare the ground for the restoration of the monarchy in England in 1660.

The 1689-91 uprising followed in the wake of the 1688-89 coup d'état in England (known as the Glorious Revolution), involving the overthrow of
James II and the establishment of a bourgeois-aristocratic constitutional monarchy in England under William III of Orange. The Catholic nobility in Ireland, supported by the masses who were dissatisfied with the colonial regime, rose against William. Under the banner of defence of the Stuarts the insurgents fought for the abolition of Ireland's political and religious inequality and the return of the confiscated estates. James II, who had taken refuge in Ireland and was endeavouring to use the Irish movement to regain the crown, became its official head and recognised the demands of the Irish people. But the differences between the reactionary Jacobites and the Irish patriots weakened the insurgents. Despite their stubborn resistance, they were finally defeated.

The 1798 uprising was the result of the upsurge of national sentiments in Ireland, caused by the growth of the liberation movement and the impact of the American and French bourgeois revolutions at the end of the eighteenth century. It was prepared by Irish bourgeois revolutionaries (Theobald Wolfe Tone, Edward Fitzgerald and others), who in 1791 founded a patriotic society, "The United Irishmen", in Belfast (the chief town of the Northern Irish province of Ulster) and proclaimed a fight for an independent Irish republic. On the eve of the uprising, however, most of the society's leaders were tracked down by government spies and arrested. The uprising broke out on May 23 and lasted until June 17, 1798. It flared up in a number of counties in South-Eastern and Northern Ireland and was particularly strong in County Wexford. The majority of the insurgents were peasants and urban poor. In August and September 1798, after the landing of a French force in support of the Irish patriots, the uprising spread to a number of places in Connaught. The English authorities launched savage reprisals against the rebels (almost all the leaders were executed) and passed the Act of Anglo-Irish Union (see Note 123).

230 About 1155 Pope Adrian IV issued a Bull which conferred on the English King Henry II the title of Supreme Ruler of Ireland in exchange for the promise to subject the Irish Church to Rome. Henry II used this "gift" to launch an aggressive expedition against Ireland in 1171.

In 1576, in connection with the exacerbation of relations between Protestant England and the Catholic powers, Pope Gregory XIII declared that Queen Elizabeth I had forfeited the right to the Irish crown.

231 See Note 185.

232 The name given in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to merchants and bankers, particularly those from the City of London, who took part in colonial plunder and financial speculation. During the English revolution of the mid-seventeenth century, "adventurers" loaned Parliament considerable sums of money to finance the war against the Royalists in exchange for land confiscated in Ireland. Among the "adventurers" were many statesmen, members of the gentry, and civil servants.

233 The Anglo-Irish Parliament, convoked at the end of the thirteenth century, was initially made up of representatives of the big barons and dignitaries of the Church of the English colony in Ireland (the Pale). With the extension of the power of the English Crown to the entire island (sixteenth-early seventeenth centuries), the Parliament became a representative body of the English and Anglo-Irish aristocracy under the English Lord Deputy. The competency of that Parliament was limited; according to an Act passed by Lord Deputy Poyning in 1495, it could be convoked only with the sanction of the Royal
Notes 497

Privy Council. Under the impact of the growing national liberation movement, in the 1780s the English Government was compelled to extend the rights of the Irish Parliament (Renunciation Act). In 1801, however, the Irish Parliament was abolished under the Act of Union. p. 195

234 See Note 214. p. 196

235 Amalekites—members of a nomadic tribe living in the second millennium B.C. on the Sinai. The Amalekite warriors made raids on Palestine and drove the population into captivity. At the turn of the tenth century B.C. the Amalekites were practically annihilated. p. 196

236 A reference to the capitulation at Limerick, an agreement signed in October 1691 between the Irish insurgents and representatives of the English command and approved by King William III. The surrender terms were honourable: the insurgents were given permission to serve either in foreign armies or in the army of William III; the people were promised an amnesty, the preservation of their property, suffrage and religious freedom. Several months before the Limerick Agreement, similar agreements were concluded during the capitulation of the insurgent garrisons in Galway and other towns. The terms of these agreements, however, were soon flagrantly violated by the English authorities. p. 196

237 Absentees—landlords who owned estates in Ireland but lived permanently in England. Their estates were managed by realty agents who robbed the Irish peasants, or were leased to speculator-middlemen who subleased small plots to the peasants. p. 197

238 Penal Code or Penal Laws—a set of laws passed by the English for Ireland at the end of the seventeenth and in the first half of the eighteenth centuries on the pretext of a struggle against Catholic conspiracies. These laws deprived the indigenous Irish, the majority of whom were Catholics, of all civil and political rights. They limited the right of Catholics to inheritance and to the acquisition and alienation of property, introducing the practice of confiscating property for petty offences. The Penal Code was used as an instrument for the expropriation of the Irish who still owned land. It established unfavourable lease terms for Catholic peasants, increasing their dependence on the English landlords. The ban on Catholic schools, the severe punishment meted out to Catholic priests and other measures were intended to stamp out Irish national traditions. The penal laws were abrogated, and then only in part, at the end of the eighteenth century under the influence of the growing national liberation struggle in Ireland. p. 197

239 Catholics were officially deprived of voting rights by the Act on the Regulation of Elections passed in 1727. Irish Catholics had not enjoyed the right to stand for election to Parliament from the end of the seventeenth century, after the introduction of an oath to be taken by M.P.s involving the abjuration of Catholic dogma. The latter restriction was only lifted in 1829. Voting rights were restored to the Catholic population somewhat earlier, in 1793, since the English landlords themselves often needed the votes of their Catholic tenants. p. 197

240 Marx refers to a number of concessions which the English Government was forced to make to Ireland because of the victory of the American troops at Saratoga in October 1777, during the American War of Independence, and the reaction to this event in England. The penal laws most hated by the Irishmen were abrogated (in 1778 the Government abrogated the law prohibiting the

18*
Catholics to rent more than two acres of land from Protestants or to enter into commercial or credit agreements with them). However, as before the Catholics were deprived of the right to elect M.P.s.

241 *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. In Ireland, freeholders were mainly English colonists and their descendants.

242 See Note 123.

243 Marx refers to England's war against Napoleonic France which ended in 1815. On the movement for the emancipation of Catholics mentioned by Marx further in this passage, see Note 223.

244 *Cottiers*—a category of the rural population consisting of land-hungry or landless peasants. In Ireland cottiers rented small plots of land and cottages from landlords or real estate agents on extremely onerous terms. Their position resembled that of farmhands.

245 The *Corn Laws*, the first of which were passed as early as the fifteenth century, imposed high import duties on agricultural products in order to maintain high prices for these products on the domestic market. The Corn Laws served the interests of the big landowners. The struggle between the industrial bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy over the Corn Laws ended in their repeal in June 1846. The repeal of the Corn Laws marked the victory of the industrial bourgeoisie whose motto was Free Trade (see also Note 219).

246 In February 1835, Daniel O'Connell, the leader of the Irish bourgeoisie 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 certain 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 (see also Note 223).

247 See Note 218.

248 Marx made these remarks on the Programme and Rules of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy (see Note 55) probably on December 15, 1868, the day when the General Council of the International Working Men's Association discussed the admission of the Alliance into the International and instructed Marx to prepare an answer. The remarks were written in the right and left margins of a French leaflet containing the Programme and Rules. Marx underlined certain words and phrases (in this volume they are set in bold type) and in some places drew vertical lines in the margins. (The names of Jules Johannard and Eugène Dupont, who had read the Programme and taken part in its discussion, were written in the margin by Jung.) The same day Marx sent this document to Engels asking for his opinion (see Note 55). Taking into account Engels' ideas, Marx drew up a circular letter "The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy" (see this volume, pp. 34-36) which was approved by the General Council on December 22, 1868.
Marx's comments on the Programme and Rules of the Alliance were first published in English in *The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870*, Moscow, 1966.

243 Marx apparently refers to the plans to publish *L'Egalité*. He was invited to contribute to this paper by A. A. Serno-Solovevich in a letter of November 20, 1868 which did not mention the new newspaper's title. On December 3, 1868 Charles Perron wrote to Hermann Jung about steps taken to publish *L'Egalité* and asked Marx, Eccarius and Jung to contribute to it. Eccarius' reply of December 2 and Jung's reply of December 6 were published in a special issue of *L'Egalité* on December 16. In addition, the editors published the following note: "Citizen Marx brings it to the notice of the commission that, to his great regret, his health and the excessive amount of work make it impossible for him to guarantee his participation in the journal. Nevertheless, we hope that from time to time this brave champion of the working class will write to the organ of the Romance sections in Switzerland."

250 Marx wrote this work in October and November 1869 when preparing for the forthcoming debate on the Irish question in the General Council of the International (see this volume, p. 83). This is also shown by the extracts taken by Marx from the newspaper *The Irishman* about the movement for the amnesty of the Irish political prisoners and the draft resolution on the amnesty adopted by the General Council on November 30, 1869. At a later date, apparently when looking through Marx's manuscripts after his death, Engels attached a separate page with an inscription "Hibernica" and the date "1869" to this series of manuscripts. On this basis we may assume that Marx intended to use "Extracts and Notes" as preparatory material for a report on Item 2 of his plan for the forthcoming discussion in the General Council—the attitude of the English working class to the Irish question (see Note 124). Marx's letter to Engels of December 10, 1869 (see present edition, Vol. 43) shows that he took an interest in developments in Ireland at the close of the eighteenth century because he wanted to examine the characteristics of England's policy in Ireland and of the Irish national movement at the time, whose progressive exponents demanded that Ireland be granted the status of an independent republic, a demand which was just as urgent in the nineteenth century. It was particularly important for Marx to show that the cruel treatment of the Irish revolutionaries and the subjugation of Ireland by the English authorities had a detrimental effect on the English people themselves.

Marx's work consists of two parts: the main investigation and a supplementary summary of comprehensive chronological data. Each of the parts is in the form of a separate manuscript with the author's pagination. Page 9 of the second manuscript is missing. The first manuscript is a rough draft of the main investigation with evidence of subsequent editing. On several pages the text is written in above lines crossed out by the author or insertions are made on pieces of paper pasted to the manuscript. Marx used the following sources for his "Extracts and Notes": J. Mitchell, *The History of Ireland, from the Treaty of Limerick to the Present Time*, vols. I-II, Dublin, 1869; [J. Ph. Curran,] *The Speeches of the Right Honorable John Philpot Curran. Edited, with Memoir and Historical Notices, by Thomas Davis*, Dublin, 1855; G. Ensor, *Anti-Union. Ireland as She Ought to Be*, Newry, 1831, and other material such as the journal *Political Register*, published by the English radical William Cobbett, a number of documentary publications (Grattan's speeches, etc.) and historical treatises.

The work is not a synopsis of these books. Marx selected material according to his own plan, showing how he understood the course of Irish history at the
time considered and its division into periods. This is also clear from the structure of both manuscripts and by the way Marx himself divided them into sections, paragraphs and items. He very often selects facts from various sources or from various sections of the same source (for example, from Thomas Davis' "Memoir of the Right Honorable John Philpot Curran" and from his commentary, or "Historical Notices", to Curran's speeches) and arranges them in his own way. The exposition proves that Marx took a creative approach to the material.

Direct quotations from various sources and Marx's own renderings of certain passages (also given in small type but without quotation marks) are written in English. His own remarks are written both in English (mostly) and German and are given in normal type. Passages written in German are indicated in the footnotes (separate German words are not indicated). In both manuscripts, there are passages indicated by Marx with vertical lines in the margin (these are reproduced in this volume). Passages enclosed by Marx in square brackets are given in this volume in braces to distinguish them from the editor's insertions in square brackets. Words doubly underlined by Marx are given in bold type.

The known sources quoted or rendered by Marx are referred to either in footnotes or in the editorial Notes to the relevant passages. Italics in the quotations belong to Marx except where otherwise stated in the footnotes.

This work was first published in English in Marx and Engels, Ireland and the Irish Question, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978.

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251 A reference to the peace treaty concluded by Napoleonic France and her allies with England at Amiens on March 27, 1802. It was no more than a short-lived armistice. In May 1803 the armed struggle for world supremacy was resumed. The change in the royal title under the Peace of Amiens amounted to the final and formal repudiation by the English kings of their claims to the French throne, claims that dated back to the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453).

p. 212

252 Poyning's Law was passed in 1495 by the Parliament convened by Poyning, representative of the English Crown in the town of Drogheda, in the south-eastern part of Ireland conquered by the English. It was repealed in May 1782 under the impact of the Irish national liberation movement (see this volume, p. 225).

p. 212

253 The Privy Council of the Lord Lieutenant (Viceroy) of Ireland consisted of high officials who headed various departments of colonial administration.

p. 212

254 A reference to the books: W. Molyneux, The Case of Ireland's Being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated, Dublin, 1698; J. Swift, Drapier's Letters, Dublin, 1725, and A Short View of the State of Ireland, Dublin, 1727; Ch. Lucas, Barber's Letters, Dublin, 1747. (These writers are mentioned by Thomas Davis in his "Memoir of... Curran" included in The Speeches of the Right Honorable John Philpot Curran, Dublin, 1855, p. XIX.)

p. 212

255 The Statute of George I mentioned here was promulgated in 1719 and is also known as the Declaratory Act (6. George I. An Act for the Better Securing the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland on the Crown of Great Britain). It was repealed during 1782 and 1783 owing to the upsurge of the liberation movement in Ireland.

p. 212

256 See notes 232 and 237.

p. 215
In the latter half of the eighteenth century Britain strove for greater influence over her American colonies. From 1763 onwards, the British Government issued a series of edicts restricting both the territorial location of the American population and the rights of American states in questions of trade. In 1765 laws were issued which provided for a standing army in the colonies and made an attempt to introduce direct taxation (Stamp Act). All this caused mass anti-British actions among the American population. On March 18, 1766 the Stamp Act was repealed but the Declaratory Act was proclaimed instead. It confirmed the British Crown's supreme rights over its American colonies and repeated, almost verbatim, the Statute of George I concerning Ireland. These acts by the British Government provoked the war of the North American colonies for independence.

On February 6, 1778 the French Government concluded treaties with the United States of America. France officially recognised the American Republic, promised to defend the independence and sovereignty of the USA, and undertook not to lay down her arms until Britain recognised American independence. These treaties ensured mutual support for the territorial claims of the two countries. At the same time France and the USA concluded the Treaty of Amity and Commerce.

This passage from Curran's speech to the Irish Parliament on February 18, 1792 is quoted from *The Speeches of the Right Honorable John Philpot Curran*, Dublin, 1855, pp. 140-41. This book contains Curran's parliamentary speeches from November 1783 to May 1797, as well as those he made later in the courts and elsewhere in defence of participants in the Irish revolutionary movement and in the 1798 uprising. The quoted edition is supplied with "Memoir" and "Historical Notices" containing biographical notes on Curran and a description of the most important developments of the time. The author was Thomas Davis, a prominent Irish democrat, historian and poet, one of the leaders of "Young Ireland" (see Note 224). Throughout his work, Marx gives either direct quotations or his own rendering of passages both from Curran's speeches and from the "Memoir" and "Historical Notices" by Davis. Marx regarded this book as the most important source for a study of the political history of Ireland in the late eighteenth century and considered Curran himself a "great lawyer and the noblest personality". Marx brought this book to the attention of the English members of the General Council (see Marx's letter to Engels of December 10, 1869, present edition, Vol. 43).

Protestant ascendancy—a principle employed openly in governing Ireland between 1691 and 1800 according to which the Protestants, mostly English colonists and their descendants, enjoyed extensive political, social and religious privileges, whereas the Catholic majority was deprived of all rights and had to pay tithes to the state Anglican Church. This principle was expressed most brazenly in the Penal Code (see Note 238) against the Catholics.

The recognition of the American colonies' independence and the conclusion of the treaties of alliance and commerce on February 6, 1778, involved France, in alliance with Spain, in war with Britain (see Note 259).

The principles of armed neutrality proclaimed by the government of Catherine II in 1780 were soon recognised by several states as the norm for international maritime law. They envisaged freedom of trade between neutral and belligerent countries, prohibition of privateering, inviolability of neutral
cargo carried by enemy vessels and of enemy cargo carried by neutral vessels (with the exception of arms smuggling), and refusal to recognise a port under blockade if access is not blocked by the enemy navy. The declaration on armed neutrality undermined Great Britain's monopoly domination of the seas and helped the North American states in their struggle for independence.

264 Marx borrowed the expression "armed Protestantism of Ireland" from Thomas Davis' "Memoir" in the book J. Ph. Curran, The Speeches..., p. XIX, to describe the Irish Volunteer movement in the late eighteenth century. In his outline of the four periods in the Volunteer movement, Marx gives long quotations from Davis.

265 The Catholic Committee was founded in the late 1750s. Among its members were liberal Catholic landowners, Catholic merchants, manufacturers and intellectuals whose aim was to fight for the alleviation and repeal of the penal laws against the Catholics. Originally the Catholic Committee took a very moderate and loyal stand in regard to the English authorities. But the national upsurge at the end of the eighteenth century changed its composition and tactics, and radical elements of the Irish bourgeoisie now prevailed in the Committee. Its left wing took part in the Volunteer movement and subsequently joined the revolutionary Society of United Irishmen. The efforts of the Catholic Committee to secure for the Catholics equal rights with the Protestants continued in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

The Whig Club was founded in 1789 in Dublin and the Northern Whig Club in 1791 in Belfast. The composition and political tendencies of this organisation were diverse. Its Protestant leaders voiced the interests of Protestant liberal landlords and the big bourgeoisie. They stood for a compromise with the British Government and wanted to keep the national movement within strictly constitutional bounds. The committee's radical wing, on the contrary, proposed more resolute action and later formed the nucleus of the United Irishmen Society.

266 The rest of the section (up to the asterisks), consists of Marx's close rendering of passages from Davis' "Memoir" in J. Ph. Curran, The Speeches... (pp. XIX-XX) and excerpts from this book.

267 Marx refers to the struggle for political power among British ruling political circles under George III. In 1788, after George III's first attack of insanity, the Prince of Wales (the future George IV) and his followers believed that the Prince would become Regent, but the King quickly recovered, and the Prince, who had hoped that the Whigs would help him pay his debts, was rejected by the head of the Cabinet, Pitt. In 1806 the latter died and the administration actually went over to Fox, a representative of the Whigs. In 1811 George III's health deteriorated and the question of the Regency was finally settled.

268 The Catholic Relief Act was passed by the Irish Parliament, with the consent of the British Government, in April 1793. It abrogated part of the Penal Code. Catholic freeholders paying income tax of not less than 40s., were officially allowed to vote. The Catholics were granted the right to acquire, sell and transfer property by will; they were allowed to enter Dublin University but, as before, could not stand for election to Parliament.

269 At the beginning of February 1793 Britain officially began a war with the French Republic. This war was extremely unpopular in Ireland, and the United
Irishmen Society issued proclamations calling on the government to conclude an honourable peace with France. The English ruling circles launched an offensive against the Irish national liberation movement. The Convention, Gunpowder and other Acts passed by the Irish Parliament in 1793 effectively deprived the Volunteer organisations and the United Irishmen of their legal ground.

270 Dublin Castle was built by the English conquerors in the thirteenth century and became the seat of the English authorities—the Lord Lieutenant (Viceroy) of Ireland and the Privy Council (see Note 253), and a stronghold against the Irish population. It was a symbol of English colonial rule.

271 The full text of the resolution moved by Hussey Burgh reads as follows: “We beg to represent to His Majesty that it is not by temporary expedients, but by a free trade alone, that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin.” It is quoted in the book: J. Mitchel, The History of Ireland, Vol. I, p. 127.

Marx made wide use of the factual information in this book and of the quoted texts of speeches and documents, but he hardly ever quoted the author's text. Marx must have borrowed from Mitchel's book excerpts from some of Grattan's speeches, the text of the resolution adopted by the Volunteer Convention at Dungannon and data concerning the correspondence between Fitzwilliam and Lord Carlyle (Mitchel, op. cit., Vol. I, chapters XX and XXVIII). Information on the Irish uprising of 1798, on the use of Hanoverian and other German troops for the suppression of the Irish national movement also came from the same source (Mitchel, op. cit., Vol. I, chapters XXVI, XXXII and XXXIII). When estimating the policy of the English Prime Minister Pitt the Younger, Marx also took some of Mitchel's conclusions into account. He gave high praise to Mitchel's activities as a leader of the revolutionary-democratic trend in the Irish national movement in the 1840s and valued his opinion as a historian.

272 A Mutiny Act (an Act for Punishing Officers or Soldiers who shall Mutiny or Desert Their Majesties' Service) was passed annually by Parliament from 1689 to 1881. This Act invested the Crown with the authority to have a standing army and navy of a certain strength, to introduce rules and regulations in the army and navy, to court-martial and to establish a system of punishment for mutiny, disobedience of orders, breach of discipline, etc.

273 The Methuen Treaty was a trade treaty concluded between England and Portugal on December 27, 1703. It was signed by the English diplomat John Methuen, hence its name. It opened wide access in Portugal for English woollens, in return for which Portugal received the right to export its wines to England on favourable terms.

274 See Note 142.


276 In this section Marx must have taken passages from the speeches of Portland, Grattan, Hutchinson and others from The Speeches of the Right Honourable Henry Grattan, published in London in 1822-30 in four volumes (the quoted passages are from Vol. I, pp. 131-134, 139, 122-23, 129, 138-43), and from the book: J. Mitchel, The History of Ireland, Vol. I, pp. 144-45.
George III's Speech from the Throne of April 8, 1782 (Marx mistakenly wrote April 18) was read by Fox in the House of Commons on April 9. Conveying the contents of the speech, Marx apparently drew on J. Mitchel's History of Ireland, Vol. I, p. 144.  

The Court of King's (Queen's) Bench—one of the oldest courts in England. In the nineteenth century (up to 1873) it was an independent supreme court for criminal and civil cases, competent to review the decisions of lower judicial bodies.  

The rotten boroughs were sparsely populated constituencies which had retained the right to a seat in Parliament from the Middle Ages. In practice the election of M.P.s from the rotten boroughs depended on the landlords who controlled them.  

See Note 265.

The text to the end of the section (up to the asterisks) consists of Marx's close renderings of passages from Curran's speeches and Davis' "Notices" in The Speeches of the Right Honorable John Philpot Curran, and extracts from the book (pp. 53-60, 73-76, 91-103 and 131-36).  

This section contains Marx's close renderings of Davis' "Notices" in The Speeches of the Right Honorable John Philpot Curran, and extracts from the book (pp. 46-56).  

This section contains Marx's close renderings of Davis' "Notices" and Curran's speeches from the book J. Ph. Curran, The Speeches..., and extracts from the book (pp. 82-91).  

This section contains Marx's close renderings of passages from The Speeches of the Right Honorable John Philpot Curran, and quotations from the book (pp. 61-65, 68-73 and 76-77).  

See Note 237.

Right Boys (from the name of an imaginary leader known as Captain Right)—a secret peasant society that arose in 1785 in the southern counties of Ireland as a spontaneous protest by the Irish peasants against cruel oppression. The Right Boys employed the same organisational forms (special ritual, oath of loyalty) and the same methods of struggle (threatening letters, raids on estates, terrorist acts against landlords, middlemen, tax and tithe collectors, destruction of enclosures put up on communal lands, seizure of the harvests grown on landlords' fields, etc.) as did the secret peasant societies that appeared in various localities of Ireland in the 1760s, such as Whiteboys, Steelhearts and the like. The actions of these societies often developed into local peasant revolts. The English authorities resorted to the most cruel punitive measures against them.  

In this section Marx renders and quotes passages from Davis' "Notices" in The Speeches of the Right Honorable John Philpot Curran, pp. 103, 128-30.  

See Note 241.

See Note 265.

A reference to the final stage of the royalist uprising that flared up in March 1793 in the Vendée, a department in the west of France. The rebels were mostly backward peasants, incited by counter-revolutionary noblemen and priests. The English ruling circles supported the Vendée rebels with arms and money. A
decisive blow was inflicted on them in 1795 by republican troops under Lazar Hoche. Many leaders of the uprising were executed in 1796, but attempts to renew it were made in 1799 and in later years.

A Vendée has become a synonym for a reactionary uprising.

The text to the end of the section consists of Marx's close rendering of passages from Davis' "Memoir" and "Notices" in *The Speeches of the Right Honorable John Philpot Curran*, and quotations from the book (pp. XX-XXI and 138-42).

This section consists of Marx's close renderings of passages from Curran's speeches and from Davis' "Memoir" and "Notices" in *The Speeches...,*, and quotations from that book (pp. XXI, 154-56).

A reference to the so-called corresponding societies—democratic organisations that arose in England and Scotland under the impact of revolutionary events in France. A particularly important role was played by the London Corresponding Society founded at the beginning of 1792 with Thomas Hardy, a shoemaker, as chairman. The corresponding societies disseminated the ideas of the French Revolution, demanded peace with the French Republic and fought for democratic reforms in England. The societies existed for a number of years despite cruel persecution by the government.

Dissenters—persons who do not profess the state religion. Here the author refers to adherents of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland among the descendants of the Scottish colonists who had moved to Northern Ireland, and to members of various Protestant sects at variance with the official Anglican Church.

A reference to the convocation of the Volunteer Convention at Dungannon on February 15, 1793, where the delegates expressed their readiness to fight for the equal rights for the Protestants and Catholics.

Marx quotes the above-mentioned Declaration and the Address of the Irish Jacobins of Belfast to the Public apparently from Davis' commentaries to Curran's speeches (see *The Speeches of the Right Honorable John Philpot Curran*, Dublin, 1855, pp. 208-09). Further, till the end of the section, there follow extracts from Davis' "Memoir" and commentaries, and from Curran's speeches (op. cit., pp. XXI-XXII, 147-53, 173-74).

Defenders—the members of an organisation of Irish Catholics, which emerged in the 1780s and 1790s in defence against the terrorist gangs of Protestants (yeomen). Many of the Defenders, recruited mainly from among the Irish peasants, took part in the national liberation uprising of 1798.

Ribbonmen—Irish peasants who 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 and organised attempts on the lives of hated landlords and managers. The activities of the Ribbonmen had a purely local, decentralised character and they had no common programme of action.

The text below consists of Marx's close renderings of passages from Curran's speeches and Davis' "Notices" in The Speeches of the Right Honorable John Philpot Curran, Dublin, 1855 (pp. 190, 196, 211-12, 248-58, 261, 264-85, 315-16) and quotations from the book.

The expedition under General Hoche was organised by the French Government (Directory) on the insistence of Wolfe Tone, a leader of the United Irishmen Society, who came to France early in 1796 to obtain military assistance for the Irish patriots. He thought the arrival of the French landing force would be the signal for a general uprising in Ireland. The flotilla with the landing force sailed from Brest in mid-December 1796, but only a few ships reached Bantry Bay, the rest either being scattered by storms or sunk by English ships, as is stated in Marx's excerpts (see this volume, p. 280). The expedition was a failure and, towards the end of December, the surviving ships returned to Brest. In spite of this the English authorities waited with apprehension for General Hoche to resume landing operations early in 1797. However, fresh attempts to land French troops in Ireland were undertaken only later (one attempt, in the autumn of 1798, is described below, see pp. 281-82) with very weak landing forces, since support for Ireland's fight for independence was a subordinate issue in the strategy of the French bourgeois rulers, as compared with their plans for conquering colonies in the Middle East and other regions (Bonaparte's campaign in Egypt, Syria, etc.).

A reference to the provocative role of Prussian ruling circles during the second and third partitions of Poland at the close of the eighteenth century. Secretly inciting Polish patriots against Tsarist Russia, the Prussian Government helped in the second partition of Polish lands (1793) and in suppressing the uprising led by Tadeusz Kościuszko, which was followed by the third partition of Poland (between Prussia, Austria and Russia) and the final liquidation of the Polish state (1795).

The policy of the English Government with respect to Ireland at the close of the eighteenth century is compared with Prussia's policy on the Polish question in G. Ensor, Anti-Union. Ireland as She Ought to Be, Newry, 1831, p. 85. In some sections of the present work Marx made wide use of this Irish journalist's accusatory pamphlet. Marx refers to Ensor's pamphlet mainly when he examines the concrete situation and methods of enforcing the Union. He also borrows historical parallels from Ensor (with the Cromwellian period, with the Union of 1707 between England and Scotland and with the Swedish-Norwegian Union of 1814), plus quotations from speeches made by various statesmen, and passages from newspapers and books by Petty, Lawrence, Harris and other authors whom Ensor himself often quoted without giving reference to the actual editions.

Here and below, up to the section "Lord Cornwallis' Administration", Marx gives rendering of passages from Ensor's book Anti-Union. Ireland as She Ought to Be, Newry, 1831, pp. 85-89.
307 A reference to the Peace Treaty, which Charles Cornwallis concluded in 1792 with Tippoo Sahib (or Tippoo Sultan)—ruler of the South-Indian state of Mysore, who offered stubborn resistance to English expansion. Under the treaty, Mysore lost a considerable part of its territory and had to pay the East India Company 33 million rupees. Further attempts by Tippoo Sultan to prevent England’s conquest of India resulted in a fourth Anglo-Mysore war (1799), in which Tippoo was killed and Mysore became a vassal state. p. 259

308 The bottom of Marx’s manuscript page 46 is left blank with a remark in Marx’s hand “See continuation p. 47”. In turn, part of the text on page 47, repeating the foregoing description of Cornwallis’ actions against the French landing force and Irish insurgents, is deleted with a vertical line. The undelated text begins with a repetition of the sentence, a little longer this time, “Pitt now conceived...”. p. 261

309 See Note 186. p. 262

310 A reference to the unification of England and Scotland into a single state—the Kingdom of Great Britain—by the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707, which abolished Scotland’s parliament, allowing Scottish deputies several scores of seats in the English Parliament. However, the autonomy and rights of the Presbyterian Church were retained. The people opposed the Union, seeing it as an encroachment on their country’s independence. It was, however, enforced thanks to the efforts of the Scottish aristocrats, who sought thus to secure their privileges, and of the Scottish upper bourgeoisie seeking access to enterprise in the colonies and to England’s world trade. p. 263

311 The Swedish-Norwegian Union of 1814 reflected the interests of Sweden’s ruling classes. By their promises to help in incorporating Norway into the Swedish Crown, the governments of certain European countries, including England, secured Sweden’s participation in the anti-Napoleon coalition of 1813-14. The annexation was sanctioned by the Vienna Congress (1814-15). The Union, however, provided for an autonomous Norwegian Parliament and administration. In 1905 the Norwegian Parliament abrogated the Union and Norway regained her independence. p. 264

312 A reference to Pitt’s resignation in view of the forthcoming Anglo-French negotiations which resulted in the conclusion of the Peace Treaty of Amiens (see Note 251). p. 265

313 Threshers were members of a secret peasant organisation active in the Irish countries of Mayo, Leitrim, Sligo and Roscommon in 1806 and 1807. They opposed excessive requisitions made by church tithe collectors. The authorities meted out cruel punishments to the threshers, many of whom were hanged. p. 266

314 Here and elsewhere Marx quotes The Morning Chronicle for June 1828 from G. Ensor, Anti-Union. Ireland as She Ought to Be, Newry, 1831, p. 31. p. 268

315 This section consists of Marx’s close rendering of passages and of quotations from Ensor’s Anti-Union. Ireland as She Ought to Be, Newry, 1831, pp. 6, 18, 24-27, 44-45. p. 268

316 On August 16, 1819 government troops shot down unarmed participants in a mass meeting in support of electoral reform at St. Peter’s Fields, near Manchester. After the “Battle of Peterloo”, as this massacre was ironically
called by analogy with the Battle of Waterloo, Parliament hastened to pass six reactionary acts against freedom of the press and assembly ("gagging laws"), Castlereagh being one of the initiators of their adoption. p. 268

317 This and the next section of the manuscript consist of Marx's renderings and quotations from Ensor's book Anti-Union..., pp. 51, 54, 56-57. p. 269

318 See Note 232. p. 269

319 Brehon—an ancient Irish lawyer or judge; Brehon law—the code of law used in Ireland before its occupation by the English. p. 269

320 A reference to two major uprisings against English rule in Ireland.

The first uprising started in 1315 when a detachment led by Edward Bruce, brother of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, landed in Ireland shortly after routing the army of King Edward II of England. Many Irish clan chiefs joined him. However, although the army led by Robert Bruce came to the assistance of the Irish insurgents, the uprising was quelled in 1318.

On the uprising of 1641-52 see Note 229. p. 269

321 The second part of the work is subdivided in almost the same way as the first. The only difference being that here two paragraphs are designated by the letter c): "Volunteer Organisation" and "Declaration of Irish Independence", whereas in the main part of the work the first of these paragraphs is designated by the letter b). p. 270

322 See Note 240. p. 270

323 See Note 264. p. 270

324 See Note 271. p. 271

325 See Note 270. p. 274

326 Notes on Goldwin Smith's book Irish History and Irish Character (Oxford and London, 1861) are to be found in Notebook IV, one of those with excerpts that Engels wrote while working on The History of Ireland. Smith's book drew Engels' attention not as a source for the study of Irish history, but rather as a specimen of the Liberal falsification of this history that reflected the colonialist tendencies of the English bourgeoisie. Engels considered refutation of such chauvinistic conceptions to be one of his most important tasks, as witnessed by his sharp criticism of Smith in this and other articles, in particular by his description of this author in The History of Ireland, Varia on the History of the Irish Confiscations, as well as in his excerpts from M. O'Conor's History of the Irish Catholics... and in his letter to Marx of November 29, 1869 (see present edition, Vol. 43).

Engels set down these excerpts and critical remarks on Smith's book in November 1869. The work consists of two parts: Notebook IV begins with the first; the second follows Engels' excerpts from another book on Irish history and is entitled: "Goldwin Smith. Conclusion (passages quoted word for word and addenda)"). Apart from new excerpts referring to the book as a whole, Engels quotes entire passages that were merely mentioned in the first part. In both parts there are insertions in the margin made by Engels at a later date and references to other notebooks with excerpts comparing Smith's views to those of other authors and to data obtained from other sources.

In Engels' manuscript there are direct quotations from Smith's book (and from other authors) in the original English and also his own renderings of certain passages, also in English (these are given in this volume, like the quotations, in breviator but without quotation marks). Engels wrote his own
remarks mostly in German (the English translation is in great primer) and in English (these are in small caps in this volume). Words doubly underlined by Engels are printed here in bold face. Italics in the quotations are by Engels.

The notes were first published in English in Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Moscow, 1978. p. 283


328 Engels refers to the book by J. G. Kohl, *Reisen in Irland*, Vols. I and II, Dresden and Leipzig, 1843, excerpts from which he later inserted in the notebook of notes on Smith's book. Engels said that the Irish people were still in the grip of superstition at the time when Kohl travelled in Ireland.

"Two year olds" and "three year olds"—names applied to groups of fighters in Ireland. It is believed that these names derived from debates about the age of steers. p. 284

329 Here and below Engels refers to his excerpts from the book by John Davies, *Historical Tracts*, London, 1786, which he wrote down on separate sheets, apparently in order to compare evidence concerning Irish customs as interpreted by Smith and other English historians with that taken directly from source. Excerpts are made from Davies' main treatise: *True Causes Why Ireland was never entirely subdued and brought under obedience of the Crown of England until the Beginning of his Majesty's happy Reign* (the reference is to James I, during whose reign this treatise was published, 1612).

In Engels' opinion, this treatise by Davies was a very important source for the study of the Irish medieval history (see his letter to Marx of November 29, 1869, present edition, Vol. 43). Consequently, in addition to the excerpts, Engels wrote a detailed conspectus of this book (Notebook V) to which he refers in his insertions to the Notes on Goldwin Smith's work and in other material on the history of Ireland.

In his excerpts, Engels gave an explanation of such Irish customs as tanistry and gavelkind, either by quoting the source or by giving his own rendering.

*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 clan chief's successor 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 parcelled out after their death, they were not regarded as their private property and were not inherited by the family but passed to a new owner in accordance with the described tanistry principle. p. 284
The Wars of the Roses (1455-85)—wars between the feudal Houses of York and Lancaster fighting for the throne, the white rose being the badge of the House of York, and the red rose that of the House of Lancaster. The wars almost completely wiped out the ancient feudal nobility and brought Henry VII to power to form a new dynasty, that of the Tudors, who established absolute monarchy in England.

The Brotherhood of St. George had as its members the thirteen most powerful English and Irish feudal lords of the Pale. Edward IV, who feared that the Pale would separate from England, hastened to renounce the services of this Brotherhood.

The note in brackets to the effect that the fact mentioned in Thomas Moore's The History of Ireland, Paris, 1835-46, vols. I-IV (there are excerpts from it in Notebook II of Engels' preparatory material for The History of Ireland) is not to be found in Engels' Chronology of Ireland was apparently inserted at a later date.

Chronology of Ireland, compiled by Engels mainly from Moore's book, is contained in Engels' notebook XI of excerpts. The number was entered later. Engels may have compiled it in the late spring or early summer of 1870 when he began work on his preparatory material for The History of Ireland before, or simultaneously with, the writing of its first chapters. Written in German, the manuscript was first published in Russian in Marx-Engels Archives, Vol. X, Moscow, 1948. In English it was first published in Marx and Engels, Ireland and the Irish Question, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971.

In 1366, the Parliament in Kilkenny adopted the Statute of Kilkenny—a code of prohibitions designed to protect the colonists from the spread of Irish customs and habits. Under the threat of confiscating land, the Statute forbade the English resident in Ireland to intermarry with the Irish, to appoint Irishmen to ecclesiastical posts, and to use their apparel, customs, or language. The English law was valid within the territory of the Pale. The adoption of the Statute was prompted by the desire of the English authorities to intensify their policy of conquest in Ireland and to legalise the inequality of the Irish population in the occupied 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.

In his synopsis of Davies' book (in Notebook V), to which Engels is here referring, he accused Smith of misinterpreting the quoted sources. Among other things, Davies wrote that indigenous Irishmen accused of murder were convicted and fined a specified sum of money in favour of the English King. From Davies' text it also followed that one Irish chief's answer concerning the sheriff was given in jest, whereas Smith quotes it to prove that the laws on the legal privileges of English colonists in Ireland are allegedly fully justified.

Excerpts from Spenser's book, A View of the State of Ireland, to which Engels also refers in connection with the Kilkenny Statute, are to be found in Notebook VI of his preparatory material.

Geraldines—an Anglo-Irish aristocratic family that descended from the first conquerors of Ireland, the Anglo-Norman nobles from South Wales.
Ireland, the Geraldines became related to the clan chiefs and thereby acquired considerable connections and influence. At the same time they fought in the wars of conquest against the indigenous Irish. From the beginning of the fourteenth 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 armies of the Anglo-Norman barons that invaded Ireland in 1169-71.

338 See Note 189.

339 "Potemkin villages"—an expression for false, ostentatious prosperity, originating from rumours that, when the Russian Empress Catherine II made a trip to the South in 1787, her favourite G. A. Potemkin, governor-general of the southern provinces of Russia, had sham villages put up all along her route to demonstrate the “prosperity” of his region.

340 See Note 186.

341 Orangemen or Orange Lodges (the Orangeist Order)—named after William III, Prince of Orange—an organisation set up in Ireland in 1795. The English authorities, the landlords and Protestant clergy used this organisation to fight the Irish national liberation movement. The Order united 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.

342 Sepoys were native Indian soldiers serving in the British colonial army. They made up the core of the popular Indian uprising of 1857-59 (Sepoy mutiny) against British colonial rule.

343 In this passage Engels exposes the apologetic attempts of Smith and other English historians to justify English cruelty in Ireland by references to the intolerance and fanaticism characteristic of the whole period of the religious wars (including the Thirty Years’ War, 1618-48, whose main battleground was Germany), and to the persecution of the Protestants in the absolutist Catholic states of Europe.

344 See Note 236.

345 Engels refers to MacGeoghegan’s History of Ireland. Translated by O’Kelly, Dublin, 1844 (originally published in French, in Paris in 1758). John Mitchel’s History of Ireland was written as a continuation of that book (see Note 250).

346 See Note 311.

347 Major battles in the Hundred Years’ War between England and France (1337-1453) took place at Crécy in 1346 and at Poitiers in 1356.

348 Irishry—the name used from the second half of the fourteenth century to distinguish the indigenous population of Ireland from the English settlers. The former were mainly Irishmen who lived beyond the Pale and who retained their independence, their social order and customs up to the sixteenth century.

349 See Note 278.

350 A reference to the uprising in Ulster that broke out on October 23, 1641, under the leadership of Phelim O’Neill and sparked off the Irish people’s national liberation uprising (see Note 229).
In 1853, Parliament adopted a Bill on the encumbered estates in Ireland belonging to the Irish nobility. At that time there were many estates in Ireland which had been mortgaged and mortgaged again because their owners were unable to make ends meet. Moreover, according to English legislation they were obliged to help the poor residing on their lands. Under the 1853 Act, these estates (the remnants of the Irish landed estates) were to be sold quickly to the highest bidder and the proceeds used to pay off creditors. This was one of the measures that helped English landlords to take possession of Irish lands and use them as pasture.

p. 295

Engels' own title for the preparatory material to his unfinished work on the history of Ireland, included in Notebook X, is Varia zur Geschichte der irischen Konfiskationen. J. N. Murphy's Ireland, Industrial, Political, and Social, London, 1870, of which he made a conspectus in the previous notebook, served Engels as the main source for this work. In the Varia, however, Engels endeavoured to disclose and generalise the historical facts relevant to the cardinal problem in the history of Anglo-Irish relations, the expropriation of the indigenous population of Ireland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and of her conversion into a mainstay of English landlordism as a result of the plunder of Irish lands by the "new" nobility and bourgeoisie. This process, which took place in the period of English absolutism and bourgeois revolution, led to the final colonial subjugation of Ireland by bourgeois-aristocratic England.

The pages in Notebook X are divided into two columns. Excerpts from Murphy's book are in the left-hand column. The right-hand column was, most probably, meant for excerpts from other sources but remained blank (except for two lines on one of the pages). However, on the basis of numerous references made by Engels to his own notebooks, as well as to works and collections of documents mentioned by Murphy, we may assume that Engels intended to collect extensive material on this subject from various sources and to supplement and, in some cases, verify data given by Murphy with evidence from other authors (Thomas Leland, Thomas Carte, John Patrick Prendergast, Matthew O'Conor and others). The pages of the notebook were numbered by Engels. At the top of each one he wrote the title of the relevant section, which sometimes repeated that given on the preceding page, adding the word "continued".

The first page, entitled "15th Century", remained blank. The left-hand column is sometimes not entirely filled. Some pages are left blank merely reproducing the titles given on the preceding page.

Varia was written by Engels in German and English. Direct quotations from different sources (written by Engels as a rule in English) and Engels' close renderings of passages in German or English are given in this volume in brevior, while Engels' own remarks, mostly in German, are given in great primer. Separate English words, titles, or phrases, occurring in the German text, are given in small caps.

The work was published in English for the first time in Marx and Engels, Ireland and the Irish Question, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971. p. 297

351 Sicilian Vespers—a popular uprising against the French invaders that broke out in Palermo on March 30, 1282, during vespers. Inflamed by the cruelty of the French soldiers, the uprising spread throughout Sicily. As a result, the French army was driven out and the Anjou dynasty, which had ruled the Kingdom of Sicily from 1266, was dethroned.

p. 294
4 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.  

Engels refers to W. Camden's Annals, or the History of Elizabeth. The book was first published in Latin (London, 1615); the English translation was also published there in 1625-29. Here and below Engels quotes this work according to Murphy's Ireland, Industrial, Political, and Social.  

In this passage Engels analyses the anti-Catholic act passed by the Government of Elizabeth, given by Murphy on pp. 256-60 of his book. (This act imposed fines for non-attendance at a Protestant Church, introduced the Oath of Supremacy to the Queen as head of the Anglican Church, making this oath a condition of access to government service, to practice at the bar and to obtaining documents for the acquisition of land, etc.) Engels describes the act of 1560 and similar later acts as penal laws, evidently by analogy with the widespread term used to describe the anti-Catholic legislation for Ireland at the end of the seventeenth century and in the early half of the eighteenth century (see Note 238).  

Engels refers here to his excerpts from J. Davies' Historical Tracts (see Note 329), pp. 127, 128, 135, 136.  

See Note 329.  

See Note 278.  

See Note 334.  


Engels refers to the passage in his excerpts from M. O'Conor's History of the Irish Catholics, already referred to Chronology of Ireland.  

"Graces"—minor concessions "granted" to Irish Catholic lords and gentry by Charles I in 1628, after receiving from them large financial subsidies over a period of three years. The relevant document granted Irish Catholics certain guarantees of title deeds and instituted that only those of less than sixty years' duration were to be verified; it replaced the Oath of Supremacy to the King as head of the Anglican Church by the Oath of Loyalty in the event of Catholics being appointed to office; it permitted them to practise at the bar, etc. However, these "graces" were not properly formalised, and very soon representatives of the English Crown, in particular the Lord Lieutenant of Wentworth (Strafford), began grossly to violate them.  

The Court of High Commission was founded in England in 1559 by Elizabeth I to deal with breaches of royal edicts and Acts of Parliament instrumental in furthering the Reformation, and with offences against the Church of England.
It was directed not only against the Catholics but also against the radical Protestant sects—the Puritans.

366 The Star Chamber was founded in England in 1487 by Henry VII as a special court for the trial of local barons. Under Elizabeth I it became one of the supreme judicial bodies investigating political crimes, a weapon in the ruthless struggle against the opponents of 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 colonisation.

367 Edmund Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland*, in *Ancient Irish Histories*, Dublin, 1809. In Engels' excerpts from Spenser's book (see Note 336) 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 living, ... and some of them ... pay, as due, tributes and shares of their livings to their bishops..." (Spenser, pp. 139-40). Engels added the following remark: "All the above, apparently, refers to the Protestant priests of that time."

368 A reference to an order given in 1641 by Lords Justices Parsons and Borlase to the English Commander with instructions 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 harboured, and all the corn and hay there, and to kill and destroy all the men there inhabiting able to bear arms".

369 In October 1642, the participants in the Irish uprising of 1641-52 (see Note 229) formed the Catholic Confederation, a state organisation with its centre in Kilkenny and the Supreme Council as a provisional government. A struggle went on within the Kilkenny Confederation between the Anglo-Irish nobility and the high Catholic clergy, on the one hand, and the more radical elements from among the gentry expropriated by the English, and émigré officers who had returned to Ireland, on the other hand. While the former strove for compromise with Charles I, the latter stood for Ireland's independence and resolute action both against the English parliamentary forces and the English Royalists. The predominance of aristocrats, their policy of vacillation, their treaties with Charles I which put him in control of the armed forces and resources of the Confederation—all this weakened the Irish resistance and led to the defeat of the uprising.

370 Cromwell and his followers (who had defeated the Royalist forces in England, proclaimed a republic and beheaded Charles I) organised 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.
Drogheda, an ancient fortress in Eastern Ireland, was besieged by Oliver Cromwell on September 3, 1649, and taken by storm on September 12. In accordance with the Commander-in-Chief's order to show no mercy to anyone caught with arms, the three-thousand-strong Irish garrison was massacred and many peaceful citizens were killed. p. 302

Soldiers' debentures—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 profiteers bought them from the soldiers for a song. p. 303

Engels refers to his excerpts from the book by J. Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, London, 1865. In these excerpts, Engels describes the Act of Settlement (August 12, 1652) and the Act of Satisfaction (September 26, 1653) (see Note 214). Both acts legalised the expropriation of the local Irish population in favour of the English conquerors after suppression of the 1641-52 national liberation uprising in Ireland. The English set up a special commission in Athlone (which is mentioned by Engels below) to implement the second act and compensate Irishmen found only partially guilty of revolt by allotting them land in the barren province of Connaught and in Clare County. This commission defined the size of the domains to be kept, the other one, at Lougry, allotted lands in Connaught and Clare on the instructions of a special Committee in Dublin. p. 303

See Note 232.

Engels refers to his notes from Matthew O'Conor's *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 (on the Irish policy of the post-Restoration Stuarts see Note 387). According to that declaration the "adventurers" (see Note 232), 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 in the form of those same 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. p. 304

Given below are data on the confiscations of Irish lands carried out by William III after the suppression of the 1689-91 Irish uprising (see Note 229) and in violation of the terms of surrender signed with the insurgents at Limerick (see Note 236). p. 305

This plan is part of Engels' vast preparatory material for his *History of Ireland* (see Note 184). It includes Engels' own division of Irish history into periods.

In English this plan was first published in Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971. p. 307

The plan of Chapter Two and the most significant fragments for Engels' *History of Ireland* comprise part of his preparatory material for this work. Chapter Two, "Old Ireland", remained unfinished, but its plan gives an idea of the problems Engels wanted to raise.

In English this plan is published for the first time in this volume. Some fragments were first published in English in Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971.
In this volume the plan and fragments are printed according to the manuscript written mostly in German, and partly in English. English words used by Engels are given in small caps.

378 Engels refers to the works on the history of ancient Ireland by Ed. Ledwich, a well-known Irish archaeologist.  

379 Coshery—an ancient right, dating back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of an Irish chief of a tribe or a clan with his retainers to claim bed and board at the expense of a dependent. This right was widely exercised during festivals.  

380 A reference to an uprising of the Scottish highlanders in 1745. The rebellion was caused by 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 of the overthrown Stuart dynasty to the English Crown (the official aim of the insurgents was to enthrone Charles Edward, the grandson of James II), took advantage of the discontent among the highlanders. The suppression of the rebellion put an end to the clan system in the Scottish Highlands and resulted in more evictions.  

381 The Island of Heligoland (North Sea) was settled in early times by a Germanic tribe, the Frisians. Having become a Danish possession in the eighteenth century, it was captured by the English in 1807 and ceded to England in 1814 by the Treaty of Kiel.  

382 The Prussians defeated the Austrians on July 3, 1866, near the village of Sadowa, in the vicinity of the town of Königgrätz in Bohemia (now Hradec Kralově).  

On the North-German Confederation see Note 102.  

383 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 seventeenth and early eighteenth 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 seventeenth century there emerged detachments made up of peasants alone, the rapparees. The authorities used extremely brutal methods in the fight against the Tories and rapparees. Those caught were hanged, drawn and quartered. Informers were rewarded generously. 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.  

On the Penal Laws see Note 238.  

384 A reference to the trial, held in Dublin at the end of 1865, of the prominent Fenians, accused of organising an anti-government plot. The principal defendants 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 pro-English jury was hostile to the Irish rebels. The sentences were extremely severe: twenty years' penal servitude to O'Leary and Luby, fifteen years' penal servitude to Kickham and penal servitude for life to O'Donovan Rossa.  

385 This record of Marx's speech on the Irish question on December 16, 1867 was made by Eccarius (for the outline of this report made by Marx himself see this
volume, pp. 194-206). It was intended for the journal *Der Vorbote* and was sent by Friedrich Lessner to Johann Philipp Becker in Switzerland but remained unpublished.


386 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 favour of the English colonists on the pretext of struggle against Catholicism.

387 A reference to the Restoration of the Stuart dynasty in England in 1660. The restored Stuarts (Charles II and James II) continued to rule up to the Glorious Revolution of 1688-89. The Restoration was the result of a compromise between the bourgeois élite and the "new" nobility, which had grown rich during the revolution, and the aristocrats supporting the Stuarts. The adherents of the Stuarts, many of whom had lost their estates in England, now received title to confiscated Irish lands in compensation. Only in rare cases did the representatives of the new regime take action on complaints and petitions for the return of property to Irish owners, and after the 1665 Act such complaints were no longer considered. Thus, the sweeping expropriation of the Irish population implemented during the English bourgeois revolution was sanctioned by the restored monarchy.

388 See Note 238.

389 See Note 233.

390 See Note 123.

387 Marx made these speeches to substantiate his proposal to change the venue of the congress and the subsequent withdrawal of the relevant resolution. The record of his speeches is reproduced from *The Bee-Hive Newspaper* because it is more detailed than in the Minute Book of the General Council.

391 See Note 18.

392 See Note 4.

394 Wilhelm Eichhoff wrote this pamphlet with Marx's active assistance. This was the first work on the history of the International Working Men's Association. Wilhelm Eichhoff conceived it in the summer of 1868, when his brother Albert, a publisher, planned to issue the Workers' Calendar (*Arbeiterkalender*) for 1869. Wilhelm Eichhoff proposed that the leading item should be devoted to the history of the establishment, spread and activity of the International Working Men's Association. On June 6, 1868 Wilhelm Eichhoff informed Marx of his intention and asked the latter to send the necessary material and help him in writing the article. On June 27 Marx sent to Berlin many documents of the Association, newspaper cuttings and notes on the activity of the International. The day before Marx wrote to Engels: "...I am writing something for Eichhoff. Tomorrow I shall send it off" (see present edition, Vol. 43). In his reply of June 29, Eichhoff thanked Marx for the material and wrote that he was going to use Marx's manuscript word for word and supplement and expand it as advised by Marx.
There is every reason to believe that Marx drew up the thesis and plan that determined the work's structure, general tendency and basic conclusions.

Eichhoff's work grew into a pamphlet because of the abundance of material sent by Marx. Eichhoff's letters show that in the course of his work Marx answered his numerous questions, gave advice and made suggestions. Some sections of the pamphlet include documents of the General Council (the Inaugural Address, Rules and Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council) or give their contents. Eichhoff used the Minutes of the Geneva and Lausanne congresses of the International, addresses of the General Council and local sections, Becker's pamphlet *Die Internationale Arbeiterassociation und die Arbeiterstimmung in Genf im Frühjahr 1868*, the pamphlet *Procès de L'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Bureau de Paris* published in 1868, and extracts from English, German, French and Belgian newspapers on the activity of local sections of the International. A number of pages in the pamphlet contain Marx's own material which he subsequently used elsewhere. Thus, the description of the Charleroi events, the information about an incident with the Geneva Congress documents on the French frontier and talks of Minister Rouher with the delegate of the Paris Committee of the International Working Men's Association were partially included by Marx in the Fourth Annual Report of the General Council (see this volume, pp. 12-17). Marx presumably wrote the section about the political activity of the General Council, the list of periodicals of the Association, etc. From July 12 to 22, 1868 Marx edited the pamphlet and read the proofs. On July 29 a specimen copy of the pamphlet was sent to Marx in London, and the entire edition was printed in August 1868. Copies were also sent to Engels, Liebknecht, Becker, Lessner, Kugelmann, to the General Council, the German Workers' Educational Society in London, and others.

395 In 1824, under public pressure, the British Parliament lifted the ban on the trade unions. In 1825, however, it passed a Bill on workers' combinations, which, while confirming the raising of the ban on trade unions, greatly restricted their activity. In particular any agitation for workers to join unions and take part in strikes was regarded as compulsion and violence and punished as a crime.

396 The Statutes submitted by Luigi Wolff to the Sub-Committee on October 8, 1864 were an English translation entitled *Fraternal Bond Between the Italian Workmen's Associations*, which had been published in *Il Giornale delle Associazioni Operai* on July 31, 1864 and adopted by a congress of Italian pro-Mazzini working men's associations, held in Naples at the end of October. By submitting these Statutes, written from bourgeois-democratic positions, to the International Working Men's Association, Mazzini and his followers sought to spread their influence on it.

397 At the beginning of April 1864 Garibaldi made a fund-raising journey to England to finance an expedition against Austrian rule in Venice. Garibaldi hoped to get support from English ruling circles. The people gave the Italian national hero an enthusiastic welcome. At first the British Government treated Garibaldi as an honoured guest. However, the discontent of the English ruling circles was aroused by his meeting with Mazzini, who was living in London as a political emigrant, and his speeches in defence of the Polish insurgents. Garibaldi left England at the end of April.
Eichhoff's pamphlet included the programme documents of the International—Inaugural Address and Rules. They were given in a new and highly accurate translation made by Eichhoff and edited by Marx. This helped to familiarise more people in Germany with these documents. Eichhoff translated the Address from the pamphlet *Address and Provisional Rules of the Working Men's International Association* published in London in 1864. Eichhoff's translation was later reprinted in a number of German works about the International.

Here, the text of the Address is reproduced from the 1864 English edition, with an account of the changes in Eichhoff's German translation. The most significant discrepancies are indicated in footnotes.

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400 *Garotters*—highway robbers who strangled their victims. In the early 1860s the practice was so widespread in London that it was the subject of a special debate in Parliament.

401 See Note 90.

402 The passage quoted by Marx from Gladstone's speech of April 16, 1863 appeared in nearly all the London newspaper reports of this parliamentary session (*The Times, The Morning Star, The Daily Telegraph,* April 17, 1863), but was omitted in Hansard's semi-official report of parliamentary debates in which the text was corrected by the speakers themselves. The German bourgeois economist Brentano used this as a pretext for accusing Marx of unscrupulous misquotation. Marx replied to this libel in his letters to the *Volkstaat* editors written on May 23 and July 28, 1872 (see present edition, Vol. 23).

After Marx's death the same accusation was made in November 1883 by the British bourgeois economist Sadley Taylor. This accusation was refuted by Eleanor Marx in two letters to the magazine *To-Day* in February and March 1884 and then by Engels in the preface to the fourth German edition of *Capital* in June 1890 and in the pamphlet *Brentano contra Marx* in 1891 (see present edition, Vol. 27).

403 The *Ten Hours' Bill,* the battle for which had been fought for many years, was passed by Parliament in 1847 against a background of the sharply intensified contradictions, generated by the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, between the landed aristocracy and the industrial bourgeoisie. To revenge themselves on the industrial bourgeoisie, a section of Tory M.P.s supported the Bill. Its provisions applied only to women and children. Nevertheless, many manufacturers evaded it in practice.

In 1850 Engels wrote two articles on the Ten Hours' Bill (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 271-76 and 288-300). True, they were written when Marx's economic teaching was not yet sufficiently developed, and this can be seen in a certain underestimation of the struggle for a shorter working day.

404 At the 1863 parliamentary session, the Irish deputies led by Thomas Maguire demanded legislative measures limiting the irregularities of the landlords and, in particular, they demanded that tenants should have the right to receive compensation for all their expenditures on a rented plot when the lease expired or was terminated. In his speech on June 23 Palmerston called these
demands "communistic doctrines" and described them as "subversive of all the fundamental principles of social order" (The Times, No. 24593, June 24, 1864).

During the US Civil War the English workers opposed the government's attempts to interfere in the war on the side of the Southern slave-holding states. Their massive campaign, which reached its peak at the end of 1861 and the beginning of 1862, prevented the reactionaries from drawing Europe into the war on the side of the slave-holders and helped considerably to strengthen the international solidarity of the workers.

The Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association were approved by the Geneva Congress on September 5 and 8, 1866. These Rules were based on the text of the Provisional Rules, written by Marx in October 1864 (see present edition, Vol. 20), with certain changes and additions. The Administrative Regulations were drawn up by a Congress commission of which Eccarius was a member. The German text of the two documents was published by Johann Philipp Becker in Der Vorbote, No. 9, September 1866.

In the autumn of 1867 Eccarius, instructed and assisted by Marx, prepared a new official edition of the Rules and Administrative Regulations which was sanctioned by the General Council on November 5. The pamphlet Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association came off the press in London in 1867.

Eichhoff translated the Rules into German according to this pamphlet, omitting the section "Administrative Regulations" (for the full text of the Rules see present edition, Vol. 20, Appendices).

This and the preceding paragraphs of a declarative character were included by Marx in the Preamble to the Provisional Rules on the insistence of other members of the Sub-Committee who discussed the document on October 27, 1864 (see Marx's letter to Engels on November 4, 1864, present edition, Vol. 42).

The London Conference of the International Working Men's Association was held from September 25 to 29, 1865. It was convened on the insistence of Marx who believed that the International's sections were not strong enough to hold a general congress as envisaged by the Provisional Rules. The conference was attended by nine delegates from France, Switzerland and Belgium, and the Central (General) Council members. On September 28 a meeting (soirée) was held in St. Martin's Hall to celebrate the first anniversary of the founding of the Association.

The conference heard the Central Council's reports and reports of local sections. The main question discussed was the agenda of the forthcoming congress and the order of its convocation. It was decided to hold it in Geneva in May 1866 (later it was postponed by the Central Council until the beginning of September 1866). Despite the Proudhonists, who demanded that the Polish question should be excluded from the agenda of the congress and that any member of the Association may have the right to take part in it, the conference retained the item on the restoration of Poland's independence and recognised as competent only elected delegates. The conference also adopted the Council's other proposals on the work of the congress. Prepared and conducted under Marx's leadership, the London Conference of 1865 played a big role in the establishment of the International and in shaping it as an organisation.
The Geneva Congress of the International met from September 3 to 8, 1866. It was attended by 60 delegates from the Central (General) Council, the different sections of the Association and the workers' societies of England, France, Germany and Switzerland. The Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional Central Council were drawn up by Marx in August 1866, when the final preparations were being made for the Geneva Congress. They were written in English and then translated into French by Paul Lafargue.

The Instructions were read at the congress as the General Council's official report. The congress became the scene of a heated debate between Marx's followers and the Proudhonists, who countered the Instructions with their own programme. Jung, Eccarius and other members of the General Council managed to have most points of the Instructions adopted as congress resolutions. The Proudhonists were only able to have their resolutions passed on matters of secondary importance.

The Geneva Congress approved the Rules (based on the Provisional Rules drawn up by Marx) and the Regulations of the International Working Men's Association, and marked the end of the International's organisational period.

Compared with the original English text (see present edition, Vol. 20), Eichhoff's German translation of the Instructions contains some differences in reading and abridgements.

The general scheme of statistical inquiry into the condition of the working class as proposed by Marx was unanimously accepted by the Geneva Congress. In practice, however, the collection of data and their publication in the form of the Central Council's reports were hampered by lack of money and negligence on the part of local sections. The Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International confirmed the need to carry the Geneva Congress resolution on workers' statistics, while the London Conference of 1871 included point "c" of Section 2 of the Instructions in the Administrative Regulations of the Association (see present edition, Vol. 23).

After the Civil War, the movement for the legislative introduction of an eight-hour working day intensified in the USA. Leagues of struggle for an eight-hour working day were formed all over the country. At its inaugural congress in Baltimore in August 1866, the National Labour Union (see Note 26) declared the demand for an eight-hour working day to be an indispensable condition for the emancipation of labour.

The Lausanne Congress of the International was held from September 2 to 8, 1867. Marx took part in preparing the congress but did not attend it because he was busy reading the proofs of Volume I of Capital. He withdrew his candidature at the General Council meeting of August 13, 1867.

Sixty-four delegates from six countries (England, France, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium and Italy) were present at the congress. Apart from the General Council's report, the congress heard local reports. The latter showed that the influence of the International on the proletarian masses had increased and that its organisations in different countries had become stronger. The Proudhonist-minded delegates at the congress tried to change the International's line and programme principles. Despite the General Council's efforts, they managed to impose their own agenda on the congress and sought to revise the Geneva Congress decisions in a Proudhonist spirit. They carried out a number of their resolutions, in particular on the question of co-operation and credit.

The Proudhonists, however, failed to achieve their main aim. The congress
confirmed the Geneva resolutions on economic struggle and strikes. In contrast to the Proudhonists' demand for abstention from political struggle, the Lausanne Congress resolution on political freedom emphasised that the social emancipation of workers was inseparably bound up with their political emancipation. Nor did the Proudhonists manage to take over the leadership of the International. The congress re-elected the General Council in its previous composition and retained London as its seat.

414 On the League of Peace and Freedom and the General Council's attitude to its congress, see Note 56.

The Lausanne Congress ignored the General Council's resolution on the attitude of the International Working Men's Association towards the League's congress (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 204), and, influenced by petty-bourgeois elements, it resolved to take part officially in the League's congress. The League's congress itself (several members of the General Council and of the International attended) revealed a big difference between the proletarian and the abstract-pacifist approach to the struggle for peace. Marx's tactics as regards the League of Peace and Freedom was fully acknowledged by the Brussels Congress of the International in 1868 which opposed the official affiliation to the League.

415 The Manchester School—a trend in economic thought reflecting the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. It advocated Free Trade and non-interference by the state in economic affairs. In the 1840s and 1850s the Free Traders were an independent political group; later they constituted the Left wing of the Liberal Party.

416 The conference of trades delegates in Sheffield was held from July 17 to 21, 1866 and was attended by 138 delegates representing 200,000 organised workers. A resolution calling on trade unions to join the International Working Men's Association was published in a book, Report of the Conference of Trades' Delegates of the United Kingdom, held in Sheffield, on July 17th, 1866, and Four Following Days, Sheffield, 1866.

417 See Note 38.

418 On British trade unions' participation in the general democratic movement for the second electoral reform, see Note 39.

419 This refers to the reform finally adopted by the British Parliament on August 15, 1867. The law extended suffrage to people resident in town for a period of not less than 12 months and renting houses or flats. In counties the right to vote was granted to tenants with an annual income of £12. The extension of suffrage increased the number of voters from one to two million. Apart from the middle-class strata of town and country, the law also applied to a better-off section of the working class. However, the bulk of the toiling people of England, as before, had no right to vote.

420 The economic crisis of 1866 involved mainly Britain, France and the USA. It was preceded by the US Civil War which caused the notorious "cotton famine". The latter proved extremely advantageous for big manufacturers and ruinous for hundreds of small factory owners.

The 1866 crisis chiefly affected finances. At the same time the mining and iron and steel industries reduced production, railway construction was curtailed and so on.
421 This refers to the abrogation of the 1791 Le Chapelier law prohibiting workers' coalitions and strikes (France, 1864) and to the lifting of the ban on workers' coalitions (Belgium, 1867). p. 345

422 On the strike of weavers and spinners in Roubaix and of bronze-workers in Paris, see Note 14. p. 347

423 This appraisal of the Geneva strike was given by Marx—see “The Fourth Annual Report of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association” (see this volume, p. 16) and the “Report of the General Council to the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association” (this volume, pp. 71-72). p. 349

424 This description of the situation in Belgium was written by Marx—see “The Belgian Massacres” (this volume, p. 47). p. 353

425 This appeal was drawn up by Eccarius on the instructions of the General Council (meeting of February 26, 1867) and published in The International Courier, No. 8, March 13, 1867. p. 357

426 See Note 71. p. 359

427 See Note 18. p. 360

428 The Secessionists advocated the withdrawal of the Southern States from the USA before and during the Civil War of 1861-65. In 1861 the slave-holders staged a rebellion and proclaimed the establishment of the Confederate States of America. p. 361

429 The reference is to the Austro-Prussian war of 1866. See Note 133. p. 362

430 See Note 278. p. 363

431 See Note 17. p. 363

432 See Note 13. p. 364


434 See Note 16. p. 366

435 The text to the end of this section (see pp. 365-74) is based on the book Procès de l'Association Internationale de Travailleurs. Bureau de Paris (Paris, 1868) and consists either of an abridged rendering of the text or direct quotations. On interrogation of Tolain see also pp. 12-15 of this book. p. 366

436 A reference to the conflict between the ruling circles of Prussia and France over their claims to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg early in 1867. It was accompanied by military preparations and brash militarist propaganda in both states and marked a stage in the preparations for the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71.

On October 17, 1867 Liebknecht criticised, in a speech to the North-German Reichstag, Bismarck's policy on the Luxembourgu question. At the General Council meeting of October 22, Marx read some extracts from it. The speech was included in the report of this Council meeting published in The Bee-Hive, No. 315, October 26, 1867. Marx attached great importance to it and
instructed Lafargue to translate it into French and send it to France for publication in *Le Courrier français*.

See Note 167.

On December 2, 1852 Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was proclaimed Emperor of France under the name of Napoleon III, and this led to the fall of the Second Republic. The coup d'état which resulted in the establishment of Louis Napoleon's dictatorship, had taken place a year earlier, on December 2, 1851.

See Note 5.

See Note 4.

See Note 26.

Grüti Union (Grütli-Verein)—a Swiss reformist organisation founded in 1838 as an educational association of artisans and workers. Its name emphasised its Swiss national character: according to a legend, representatives of three Swiss cantons met in 1307 in the Grüti (Rutli) meadow and concluded an alliance on a joint struggle against Austrian rule.

See Note 21.

The movement for the eight-hour working day began in the USA in the 1840s and 1850s.

In the 1860s the movement acquired a mass character, with leagues of struggle for an eight-hour working day and trade unions taking part. The National Labour Union (see Note 26) was also active in it.

Under pressure from the mass movement a law on an eight-hour working day was passed in several states by Congress (see Note 27). However, in practice it was either not carried out or was violated by the employers. The National Labour Union called on the trade unions to resist the employers.

In the Minutes of the General Council meeting of July 21, 1868, Marx's speech is given as follows: “Citizen Marx. Germany. The General Working Men's Union is going to do in a round-about way what the Prussian law prohibits to be done directly. There is another working men's union in the Southern and Eastern States of Germany which has some affiliations in Switzerland; they also are going to join. A new paper, *Le Réveil*, published by Ledru-Rollin's party, makes favourable comments upon the International Association” (see *The General Council of the First International. 1866-1868*, Moscow, 1964, p. 228).

In this volume the record of Marx's speech is reproduced from a more detailed report of this Council meeting in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 353, July 25, 1868).

Marx refers to the Union of German Workers' Associations headed by August Bebel (see Note 24). In his letter of July 17, 1868, Wilhelm Liebknecht gave Marx details of the preparations for a general congress of the Union and of his and Bebel's intention to raise there the question of affiliating to the International.

Marx delivered his speech on the consequences of using machinery under capitalism at a meeting of the General Council on July 28, 1868 when the agenda of the Brussels Congress were discussed (see Note 8).

This record of Marx's speech was taken down by the General Council's
Secretary Eccarius and has been preserved in the Minute Book of the General Council in the form of clipping from The Bee-Hive, No. 354, August 1, 1868. p. 382

448 See Note 403. p. 382

449 This refers to the growing poverty in London, particularly in the East End, after the 1866 crisis. It was also mentioned at the General Council meeting of August 11, 1868, during the debate on the reduction of the working day. p. 384

450 This appeal was written by Friedrich Lessner in connection with the Brussels Congress of the International to be held in September 1868 and was sent to Marx for review. When returning it to Lessner, Marx wrote on August 11, 1868: “Because of spelling mistakes I have entirely rewritten the enclosed appeal” (see present edition, Vol. 43).

Marx's extant manuscript is identical with the text of the appeal as published in the London newspaper Hermann, No. 502, August 15, 1868. p. 385

451 Marx delivered this speech at the General Council meeting of August 11, 1868, during the debate on the reduction of the working day, the point included in the Brussels Congress agenda.

The record of this speech has survived in the Minute Book of the General Council in the form of a clipping pasted in from The Bee-Hive, No. 358, August 22, 1868 with corrections by the Secretary, Eccarius. p. 387

452 Here the record mistakenly mentions Eccarius. It was Milner, who, in opposition to Eccarius, asserted that the reduction of working hours, though desirable, would mean lower production. p. 387

453 Marx refers to Eccarius' substantiation of the harmful effect of the lengthy working day on the workers' health which he made at the General Council meeting. p. 387

454 Marx made this speech at the General Council meeting of January 5, 1869 on behalf of the Standing Committee which, at its meeting on January 2 discussed a letter from the Rouen Section requesting help for the locked-out Rouen workers, and put up this question for discussion by the General Council. After Marx's speech, the General Council adopted a resolution, which voiced its protest at the French manufacturers' actions and called on the English workers to give assistance to the Rouen workers.

This record by Jung has been preserved in the Minute Book of the General Council. The speech was also summarised briefly in the Bee-Hive (No. 379, January 16, 1869) report of the General Council meeting.

The full text of Marx's speech was first published in English in The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870, Moscow, 1966. p. 388

455 At the General Council meeting of February 23, 1869 Marx set forth in detail the “Report on the Miners' Guilds in the Coalfields of Saxony” written by Engels in German (see this volume, pp. 39-44). A record of Marx's speech has been preserved in the Minute Book of the General Council. The newspaper report of it published in this volume is more complete and precise. p. 389

456 The agenda of the Basle Congress of the International was approved by the General Council on June 22, 1869. As far back as February 16, the Council instructed the corresponding secretaries to write to all the Continental sections and ask them which additional subjects they would like to be brought before
the congress apart from the three questions already put on the agenda by decision of the previous congress, namely Land, Credit and Education. As a result, two more items were included in the final text of the agenda: “The right to inheritance” introduced by the Geneva Alliance of Socialist Democracy and “The influence of trades unions upon the emancipation of the working class” (introduced by the Paris bronze-workers).

The agenda of the Basle Congress was discussed in the General Council of June 29 and July 6, 13 and 20, 1869.

It was published by the General Council as a leaflet, Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men’s Association, London, 1869, and was also printed in a number of English newspapers and in French in L’Égalité, No. 24, July 3, 1869.

Marx spoke twice on landed property during the discussion of the Basle Congress programme at the General Council meeting of July 6, 1869 (see this volume, p. 391). Although the Brussels Congress of 1868 had adopted a resolution by a majority vote in favour of common property, this question was again put on the agenda of the Basle Congress on the insistence of a minor group of advocates of small private property in land headed by Proudhonist Tolain.

In his first speech Marx replied to the General Council member Milner who had spoken in defence of the natural right of man to land when trying to substantiate the Brussels Congress resolution on land.

In his second speech Marx opposed the French anarchist Élisée Reclus who was present at the meeting as a guest and who declared that since the peasants did not attend the International congresses they should not be cared for.

By a majority vote the General Council confirmed the correctness of the resolution on landed property adopted by the Brussels Congress.

Marx’s speeches have been preserved in the Minute Book as written down by Eccarius. They were also published in brief in the Bee-Hive (No. 404, July 10, 1869) report of the General Council meeting of July 6, 1869.

In English they were first published in full in The General Council of the First International, 1868-1870, Moscow, 1966. p. 392

The Committee, elected at the Brussels Congress to prepare a study of landed property, presented two reports to the congress on the agrarian question: one by Emile Aubry (Rouen Section) and the other by César De Paepe (Brussels Section). The Committee informed the congress that they were all unanimous on the socialisation of mines, collieries, canals, railways etc., but disagreed over arable land. The majority, headed by De Paepe, a Belgian delegate, moved a resolution in favour of common property in all land. It was adopted by the congress, while the minority headed by Tolain, a Proudhonist, defended the ownership by peasants of small private property in land. p. 393

Marx spoke on the right to inheritance at the General Council meeting of July 20, 1869, during the debate of the programme of the Basle Congress (see this volume, p. 391). The record of his speech in Eccarius’ hand has been preserved in the Minute Book of the General Council.

There is also a brief summary in The Bee-Hive (No. 406, July 24, 1869) in the report of this Council meeting.

The full text of Marx’s speech on the right to inheritance was first published in English in The General Council of the First International, 1868-1870, Moscow, 1966. p. 394
461 Marx delivered a speech on general education at the General Council meeting of August 10, 1869 during the debate on the Basle Congress programme (see this volume, p. 391), and a concluding speech on August 17. Both speeches have been preserved in the Minute Book of the General Council in Eccarius' hand. A brief account of the first speech is included in the report of the General Council meeting of August 10 printed in The Bee-Hive, No. 409, August 14, 1869; a brief account of the concluding speech was published in The Bee-Hive, No. 410, August 21, 1869.

A brief account of Marx's speeches in German translation from The Bee-Hive was given in the article "Die Internationale und die Schule", Die Neue Zeit, No. 52, Jg. 12, Bd. 2, 1893-1894.

462 The question of general education was discussed at the previous congresses of the International Association—in Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867) and Brussels (1868).

463 Harriet Law's proposition moved at the General Council meeting of August 17, 1869 meant the transfer of the Church's property and income to schools.

464 George Milner proposed at the Council meetings of August 10 and 17, 1869 that the children should be taught bourgeois political economy, which was unacceptable from the proletarian viewpoint and in practice would only increase the ideological influence of the ruling bourgeoisie on the rising generation. Milner particularly stressed the need to give the pupils an idea of the "value of labour" and distribution. He referred, in particular, to the American Utopian Socialist Warren who preached the theory of "just exchange".

465 Marx mentioned the abolition of the standing army because during the debate at the General Council meetings, Eccarius and Reclus proposed increasing funds for general education by abolishing expenditures on standing armies.

466 This address is in fact the programme of the Land and Labour League founded in October 1869 (see Note 121). It was drawn up by Eccarius who was on the commission preparing it, and edited by Marx, and this found expression in the League's programme.

467 In agitating for the repeal of the Corn Laws, the advocates of the Anti-Corn Law League endeavoured to prove to the workers that with the introduction of Free Trade their real wages would rise and their loaf of bread would be twice as large. Life proved these promises to be utterly false. The industrial capital of Britain, which became stronger after the repeal of the Corn Laws (see Note 219), intensified its onslaught on the vital interests of the working class.

468 This category of taxpayers included people deriving their income from trade and those of the free professions.

469 A reference to the workhouses, where all needy people were sent after the passing of the Poor Law of 1834. This law abolished relief for all the poor, who had until then lived in parishes. Because of the prison regime in the workhouses, people called them "Bastilles for the poor".
At the General Council meeting on November 9, 1869 Marx proposed the discussion of the following questions: the attitude of the British Government towards the Irish prisoners and the position of the English working class in the Irish question.

On November 16 Marx opened the discussion and moved a resolution on this question (see this volume, p. 83). Stormy debates followed, particularly on November 23, when Mottershead, an Englishman, opposed Marx's resolution and tried to justify Gladstone's colonial policy in Ireland; Mottershead was supported by Odger, another English member of the General Council. Two other speeches (on November 23 and 30) were made by Marx in reply to them (see the next article in this volume). Marx described in detail the discussion on November 23 in his letter to Engels on November 26 (see present edition, Vol. 43).

In the Minute Book of the General Council Marx's speeches on November 16, 23 and 30 are recorded by Eccarius.

The report of the General Council meeting of November 16 was published in Reynolds's Newspaper, No. 1006, November 21 and The National Reformer, November 28, 1869; the report of the November 23 meeting—in Reynolds's Newspaper, No. 1007, November 28 and The National Reformer, December 5, 1869. However, these reports were brief and inaccurate. The full text of Marx's three speeches was first published in English in The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870, Moscow, 1966.

In German a brief account of Marx's first speech (November 16) was published in Der Volksstaat, No. 21, December 11, and in French in L'Égalité, No. 48, December 18, 1869.

When preparing his speeches Marx made wide use of material from the Irish press, in particular in The Irishman. Their contents have much in common with Marx's later articles on the subject written for L'Internationale (see this volume, pp. 101-07), and with the articles of Jenny Marx, his daughter, for La Marseillaise (see this volume, pp. 414-41).

The amnesty was granted to the participants in the Hungarian national liberation movement following the re-organisation 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.

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 endeavoured to justify his refusal in his letters to O'Shea and Butt (see Note 115), which were published in The Times on October 23 and 27, 1869. Marx criticised the motives given by Gladstone in these letters (see this volume, p. 83).

This expression was current in the Irish workers' press of the time and meant England's 700-years oppression of Ireland (see The Irishman, Nos. 13 and 20, September 25 and November 13, 1869).

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 Centre of the plot is tinged with irony, since this
was the title of the leader of the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, the secret
Fenian organisation.

477 See Note 116.

478 On dissenters see Note 295.

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 (see Note 117). 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.

479 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.

480 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.

481 See Note 141.

482 Marx had in mind Cobbett's Weekly Political Register. In it William Cobbett and
other English radicals sharply criticised the policy of the English Government,
notably its police measures in Ireland.

483 The British authorities brutally put down the Irish national liberation
movement in 1798 (see Note 229). Marx compares this act with those during
the revolution of 1849 in Hungary.

484 In the Minutes of this meeting published in Reynolds's Newspaper, November 28,
1869, the concluding sentence of Marx's speech is given as follows: "The
question was which was most important—to conciliate the Irish or make this
resolution acceptable to Mr. Gladstone."

485 On November 23, 1869, during the debate of the draft resolution of the
General Council of the International on the English Government's policy
towards the Irish prisoners, Odger, a trade union leader, proposed to delete
the word "deliberately" from the sentence "Mr. Gladstone deliberately insults
the Irish nation". At the next meeting on November 30, 1869, he made new
attempts to subdue the revolutionary and anti-government tone of the
resolution.

486 In contrast to Marx, who sought to expose the colonialist policy of the English
Government, Odger demanded that the expressions used by Marx in the draft
resolution on Gladstone's policy should be toned down. Otherwise, as Odger
explained, the Council would fail to secure the release of the prisoners. He
reminded the Council members that, in his replies to the petitions, Gladstone had
expressed dissatisfaction with the sharp tone of some of them. Odger justified and
defended Gladstone's policy. This was an attempt by reformist trade union leaders
to reduce the resolution, a document exposing English policy and expressing solidarity with the fighters for Ireland’s independence, to a humble appeal to the ruling classes for clemency.

Marx meant the second item in his draft for the debate on the Irish question—the attitude of the English working class. Marx explained the General Council’s stand on this question in “Confidential Communication” (see this volume, pp. 119-21) and in his letters to Ludwig Kugelmann on November 29, to Engels on December 10, 1869, to Paul and Laura Lafargue on March 5, and to Sigfrid Meyer and August Vogt on April 9, 1870 (see present edition, Vol. 43).

These eight articles by Marx’s daughter Jenny were written for the French republican newspaper La Marseillaise and dealt with the problems raised in Marx’s article “The English Government and the Fenian Prisoners” (see this volume, pp. 101-07). The third article was written together with Marx (see his letter to Engels of March 19, 1870, present edition, Vol. 43). All articles, except the second, were signed: J. Williams (see Marx’s letter to Engels of March 5 and Engels’ letter to Marx of March 7, 1870, present edition, Vol. 43). Jenny Marx’s authorship is confirmed by Marx’s letter to Engels of March 10. These articles received a widespread response. The sixth article was also published in English in The Irishman, No. 45, May 7, 1870 under the heading “Agrarian Crime in Ireland (Translated from the Marseillaise)”. Passages from Jenny’s fifth article were quoted in the article “The Irishman in Paris” in The Irishman, No. 40, April 2, 1870.

In English, these articles were first published in full in Marx and Engels, Ireland and the Irish Question, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971.

On February 8, 1870 the French police arrested Henry Rochefort, the editor-in-chief of La Marseillaise, for an article published after the assassination of the newspaper’s journalist, Victor Noir, by Prince Pierre Bonaparte. The arrest intensified the opposition movement and resulted in mass affiliation to the International Working Men’s Association.

In the small hours of September 16, 1865, the Dublin police raided the premises of The Irish People, confiscated its property and imprisoned almost all its editors. Mass arrests of Fenians took place in Dublin and, later, in Cork.

La Marseillaise supplied this article by Jenny Marx with a short introduction signed A. De Fonvielle, temporarily at liberty. It deals with O’Donovan Rossa’s activity and the reasons for his persecution by the government. De Fonvielle welcomes Rossa’s election to the Irish Parliament.

See notes 341 and 301.

The demonstration demanding an amnesty for the Fenians detained in English prisons was held in Hyde Park on October 24, 1869 (see also Note 115).

An article written by Henry Bruce, Home Secretary in the Liberal Government and published anonymously in The Times, No. 26699 of March 16, 1870, attempted to deny the facts adduced by O’Donovan Rossa.

Moore’s speech in the House of Commons and Gladstone’s reply there on March 17, 1870 were published in The Times, No. 26701, March 18, 1870.

On December 13, 1867, a group of Fenians set off an explosion in London’s Clerkenwell Prison in an abortive attempt to free the gaol ed Fenian leaders.
The explosion destroyed several neighbouring houses, killing several people and wounding 120. This was used by the bourgeois press to incite chauvinistic anti-Irish feelings among the English population. p. 426

Jenny Marx refers here to announcement in *The Irishman* on March 12, 1868 of the publication of a Blue Book: *Report of Commission on the Treatment of certain Treason-Felony Convicts in English Prison, who have been transferred thereto at the request of the Irish Government, 1867*. p. 426

In December 1868, when the election campaign was in full swing, Gladstone and the Liberals sharply criticised in the House of Commons the Conservative Government's policy in Ireland, especially the reprisals against the Fenians. The Liberals compared the actions of the Conservatives with the subjugation of England by William the Conqueror in the eleventh century.

The Fenian insurrection was prepared by the Fenian Irish Revolutionary (republican) Brotherhood early in 1867 with the aim of winning independence for Ireland. It was to begin on March 5. The organisers planned to form several mobile columns of insurgents who were to conduct guerrilla warfare from bases in woods and mountainous areas. However, weak military leadership and the fact that the authorities got to know of the insurgents' intentions prevented the plan from being brought to fruition. Armed revolts 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 clashes with the police in the suburbs of Dublin and Cork. The insurrection failed because of the conspiratorial tactics of the Fenians and their weak ties with the masses. Half of the 169 participants in the insurrection who had been arrested and brought to trial were sentenced to hard labour. p. 426

The reference is to the *Coercion Bill* submitted by Gladstone to the House of Commons on March 17, 1870. Aimed at the national liberation movement, the Bill provided for the suspension of constitutional guarantees in Ireland and the introduction of extraordinary powers for the English authorities in the struggle against Irish revolutionaries. The Bill was passed by Parliament. On the *Land Bill* see Note 144. p. 428

*Dahomey*, a state in Africa, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was notorious for its despotic regime, maintained by espionage and denunciation. p. 430

Lawyer Laurier made this speech on March 25, 1870, at the trial of Prince Pierre Bonaparte, who was accused of assassinating the journalist Victor Noir. The speech was published in the French newspaper *La Marseillaise*, No. 97, March 27, 1870. p. 438

Eccarius wrote this letter on the instructions of the General Council after it discussed, on April 19, 1870, Hume's letter and the memorial in which he suggested that special representatives should be appointed for various nationalities in different countries. The Minutes of the General Council meeting for April 19 contain the following resume of Marx's speech on the subject: "Citizen Marx disagreed with the memorial as the different nationalities were represented on the Council and the rest must be left to the correspondents of the Association. The letter pointed out that the trade union movement tended to assume the form of secret societies in the United States. This was confirmed by a letter from the German correspondent of New York who appealed to the Council to interfere by trying to dissuade Hume and
Jessup from taking part in it.” The Council decided that the Secretary should solicit further information on the question (see The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870, Moscow, 1966, p. 226).

Eccarius’ letter has been preserved in the form of a clipping from an American newspaper (presumably The Democrat) pasted into the Minute Book of the General Council, in the Minutes for May 24, 1870. p. 442

In March 1870, Cluseret was appointed the General Council’s agent for establishing contacts with the French sections in the USA. However, passing himself off as an organiser of the International, Cluseret ignored the already existing sections in the USA and exceeded his powers. Soon, certain sections of the International in the USA censured his behaviour and approached the General Council, Johann Philipp Becker and Eugene Varlin with an inquiry concerning the powers granted to Cluseret. Marx replied to the inquiry in his letter to Sigfrid Meyer and August Vogt of April 9, 1870 and mentioned the matter in a letter to Sorge dated September 1, 1870 (see present edition, Vol. 43). p. 442

Marx spoke about The Bee-Hive at the General Council meeting of April 26, 1870, to substantiate his resolution on it (see this volume, p. 126). p. 444

The Bee-Hive’s policy of compromise became particularly manifest in its attitude towards the Irish national liberation movement. The newspaper openly supported Gladstone’s Government in this question, having refused to print the General Council’s resolution in defence of the Fenians. On November 1, 1869 Engels wrote to Marx: “I’ve never seen such a filthy issue as yesterday’s. This cringing before Gladstone and the whole bourgeois-patronising-philanthropic tone should soon break the neck of that paper and make it necessary to have a real workers’ paper” (see present edition, Vol. 43). p. 444

See Note 499. p. 444

The content of Marx’s letter to the Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers’ Party of June 27, 1870 was given by the President of the court proceedings at the Leipzig trial (1872) of Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel and Adolph Hepner, all three accused of high treason. It was presented as incriminating evidence at the trial of the Brunswick Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party in 1871.

The text is published here from Leipziger Hochverrathsprozess..., Leipzig 1872 which was reprinted in 1874 and 1894. The latter edition was prepared by Wilhelm Liebknecht on the instructions of the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party. According to the President of the Leipzig court the letter was signed: “In the name of the General Council of the International Working Men’s Association, Karl Marx, Secretary for Germany.” p. 445

See Note 172. p. 445

Marx delivered this speech in the General Council on June 28, 1870 to substantiate his resolution on the subject (see this volume, p. 136). The speech was recorded by Eccarius. p. 446

The reference is to the congress of the Romance Federation held at La Chaux-de-Fonds from April 4 to 6, 1870 (see Note 175). The Alliance of Socialist Democracy made vigorous preparations for the congress and, as a result of various manoeuvres, managed to send 21 delegates representing 13 minor and often fictitious sections (about 700 members), while the Federal Council failed to secure full representation of all its sections and had only 19 delegates from 23 sections (about 1,500 members). p. 446
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Bauer, Edgar (1820-1886)—German philosopher and journalist; Young Hegelian; emigrated to England after the 1848-49 revolution; editor of the London Neue Zeit (1859); Prussian official after the 1861 amnesty.—27

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Bebel, August (1840-1913)—a leading figure in the international and German working-class movement; turner; President of the Union of German Workers' Associations from 1867; member of the First International; deputy to the Reichstag from 1867; one of the founders and leaders of German Social-Democracy; fought Lassalleanism; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—32

Becker, Bernhard (1826-1891)—German journalist; follower of Lassalle, President of the General Association of German Workers (1864-65); subsequently supported Eisenachers; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—24

Becker, Ernest (d. after 1898)—210
Becker, Johann Philipp (1809-1886) — German revolutionary, took part in the German and Swiss democratic movement in the 1830s and 1840s and in the 1848-49 revolution; organised German sections of the International in Switzerland; delegate to the London Conference (1865) and all the congresses of the International; editor of Der Vorbote (1866-71); in October 1868 became a member of the provisional committee of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, but, influenced by Marx and Engels, soon broke with the Bakuninists; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—90, 114, 122, 209, 336, 348-49, 378

Bede (Beda or Beda) the Venerable (c. 673-735) — Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastic, scholar and historian.—177

Bédeau, J.—210

Bedell, William (1571-1642) — Bishop of Kilmore and Ardg in Ireland.—302

Bel, André (d. after 1898) — Swiss worker, joiner; Secretary of the Joiners' Society in Geneva.—210

Bellingham, Edward (d. 1549) — Lord Deputy of Ireland from 1548.—297

Belvidere — Irish Lord.—263

Benignus (d. 468) — Irish priest; according to tradition, a compiler of Senchus Mor, a collection of ancient laws.—171

Beresford, John (1738-1805) — Irish statesman; supporter of the Anglo-Irish Union, M. P., Pitt's adviser on Irish policy.—251

Beresfords — aristocratic family in Ireland, Protestants.—252

Bernard, Marie — Belgian house-painter; member of the General Council of the International (September 1868-69); Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (September 1868-November 1869).—37, 51, 55

Bernard of Clairvaux (Bernard, Saint) (c. 1091-1153) — French theologian, fanatical champion of Catholicism.—172, 285, 308, 311

Bertel — Mayor of Sotteville-lès-Rouen and one of the biggest manufacturers there.—388

Bertie, Willoughby, Earl Abingdon (1740-1799) — Speaker in the House of Lords (1775-99), Whig supporter.—232, 275

Bervi, Vasily Vasilyevich (pseudonym N. Flerovsky) (1829-1918) — Russian economist and sociologist, enlightener and democrat, Narodnik utopian socialist; author of The Condition of the Working Class in Russia.—110-11

Besson, Alexandre — mechanic; French refugee in London; member of the General Council of the International (1866-68), Corresponding Secretary for Belgium, a leader of the French branch in London; follower of Félix Pyat.—4

Biscamp (Biskamp), Elard — German democrat, journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated after its defeat; member of the editorial board of Das Volk, the newspaper of the German refugees in London published with Marx's active participation.—27

Bismark (or Bismarck-Schönhausen), Otto, Prince von (1815-1898) — statesman of Prussia and Germany; diplomat, Ambassador to St. Petersburg (1859-62) and Paris (1862); Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-72, 1873-90), Chancellor of the North-German Confederation (1867-71) and of the German Empire (1871-90); carried through the unification of Germany by counterrevolutionary means.—21, 75, 134-35

Blackburn, Colin, Baron Blackburn (1813-1896) — British judge, presided at the trial of the Manchester Fenians (October 1867) and took part in the
trial of the former Jamaica Governor Edward John Eyre (June 1868).—362

Blackburne, Francis (1782-1867)—Irish lawyer and statesman, held high posts in English judiciary in Ireland.—200

Blackwood—see Dufferin and Ava, Frederick Temple Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood

Blake, J. A.—British politician, Liberal M.P.—431

Blanc, André—member of the Lyons Section of the International.—108

Blanchard, D.A. (d. 1869)—owner of a printing house in Geneva, member of the International.—210

Blount, Charles, Lord Mountjoy, Earl of Devonshire (1563-1606)—Lord Deputy of Ireland from 1599; directed the suppression of Tyrone's uprising against the English.—257, 281, 298

Boate (or Botius), Gerard (1604-1650)—English physician of Dutch origin; author of Ireland's Natural History.—162

Bofféty, François (d. after 1898)—Swiss worker, joiner.—210

Bohn, Henry George (1796-1884)—English publisher.—173

Boileau - Despréaux, Nicolas (1636-1711)—French poet and theoretician of Classicism.—426

Bond, Oliver (c. 1760-1798)—member of the United Irishmen Society in Dublin, Republican.—255, 281

Boon, Martin James—British worker, mechanic; active in the British working-class movement, member of the General Council of the International (1869-72), Secretary of the Land and Labour League, member of the British Federal Council (1872).—54, 406

Borlase (Borlace), Edmund (d. 1682)—British historian and physician; son of Sir John Borlase; wrote a book on the history of the Irish uprising of 1641-52.—302

Borlase, Sir John (1576-1648)—British army officer; Lord Justice of Ireland (1640-44); governed Ireland with William Parsons in absence of Lord Deputy.—302

Borret, Étienne—210

Boudet, Paul (b. 1800)—French Minister of the Interior (1863-65).—364, 368

Bourdon, Antoine Marie (b. 1842)—French worker, engraver; active participant in the French working-class movement; delegate to and secretary of the Geneva Congress (1866); member of the Paris Committee of the International.—13, 365

Brechtel, Carl (d. after 1898)—member of the Geneva Central Committee of the German-speaking sections in Switzerland (from 1866); member of the Geneva Section of the International named Alliance of Socialist Democracy (January-March 1870).—210

Brewer, John Sherren (1810-1879)—English historian and philologist, professor of King's College, London.—173

Brian Borumha (926-1014)—King of Ireland (1001-14) who routed the Norsemen at the battle of Clontarf (1014).—140, 181-84

Bright, John (1811-1889)—British manufacturer and politician, a Free Trade leader and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; leader of the Left wing of the Liberal Party from the early 1860s; held several ministerial posts.—97, 103, 343, 407, 409, 430

Bristol—see Hervey, Frederick, Earl of Bristol

Broadstreet, Samuel—member of the Irish Parliament (1782).—228

Brodhir (Brodir or Brodar) (d. 1014)—Norse Viking, killed Irish King Brian Borumha at the battle of Clontarf (1014).—181-84
Brown, John (1800-1859)—American farmer; a prominent leader of the revolutionary wing of the abolitionist movement; took an active part in the armed struggle against the slave-owners in Kansas (1854-56); attempted to organise a revolt of Negro slaves in Virginia in 1859; was tried and executed.—189

Brownlow—member of the Irish Parliament (1785).—227, 237, 277

Bruce, Henry Austin, 1st Baron Aberdare (1815-1895)—British Liberal statesman, Home Secretary (1868-73).—81, 103, 104, 408, 421-22, 426-28, 430-32, 438

Buckingharn—see Grenville, George Nugent-Temple, hi Marquis of Buckingham

Buckley, James—British trade unionist; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864-69) and of the Reform League.—26, 54

Burgh, Walter Hussey (1742-1783)—Irish statesman, Whig, lawyer; member of the Irish Parliament; Free Trader.—222, 271

Burke, Richard (d. 1870)—Irish Fenian, officer in the North-American Army; an organiser of the 1867 uprising in Ireland; arrested in 1867, died in prison.—102, 416, 421, 425-26, 430-32

Burke, Thomas F. (b. 1840)—Irish Fenian, General of the Southern Army in the US Civil War; an organiser of the 1867 uprising in Ireland; sentenced to life imprisonment in April 1867.—103

Burke, Thomas Henry (1829-1882)—British statesman, permanent Irish Under-Secretary from 1869.—408

Burnet, Gilbert (1643-1715)—English bishop and historian.—302

Bushe, Charles Kendal (1767-1843)—Lord Chief Justice; member of the Irish Parliament from 1796; opposed the Anglo-Irish Union.—261, 266

Butler, James, 12th Earl and 1st Duke of Ormond (1610-1688)—Irish statesman.—300, 302-04

Butt, Isaac (1813-1879)—Irish lawyer and politician, Liberal M.P.; in the 1860s came out in defence of the Fenian prisoners; an organiser of the Home Rule movement in the 1870s.—83, 408, 410

Byrne, William (1775-1799)—member of the United Irishmen society, hanged for taking part in the 1798 uprising.—249, 256

C

Caesar (Gaius Julius Caesar) (c. 100-44 B.C.)—Roman general, statesman and writer, author of De Bello Gallico.—185

Caird, Sir James (1816-1892)—Scottish agriculturist, Liberal M.P.; author of works on the land question in England and Ireland.—158

Cairnach (5th cent.)—Christian missionary in Ireland; according to tradition, a compiler of Senchus Mor, a collection of ancient laws.—171

Camden—see Pratt, John Jeffreys, 2nd Earl and 1st Marquis of Camden

Camden, William (1551-1623)—English antiquary and historian.—173, 298, 308, 311

Campe, Johann Julius Wilhelm (1792-1867)—German publisher and bookseller; co-proprietor of the Hoffmann & Campe Publishing House in Hamburg (from 1823); published works by the authors of the Young Germany group in the 1830s.—56

Camperio, Philipp (1810-1882)—Swiss statesman, Italian by birth, lawyer; member of the Grand Council (1847-70); President of the State Council of Geneva and head of the Department of Justice and Police.—138, 352
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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date of Birth—Date of Death</th>
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<tr>
<td>Campion, Edmund</td>
<td>(1540-1581)</td>
<td>exponent of Catholicism in Britain; author of <em>A History of Ireland</em>—173, 307</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canning, George</td>
<td>(1770-1827)</td>
<td>British statesman and diplomat, Tory; Foreign Secretary (1807-09, 1822-27), Prime Minister (1827)—266</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carew, George</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baron Carew of Clopton and Earl of Tonnes (1555-1629) British statesman, president of Munster (South Ireland); brutally suppressed Irish uprising in Tyrone (1595-1603).—257, 281</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carey, Martin Henley</td>
<td></td>
<td>Irish journalist, Fenian, sentenced to five years' penal servitude in 1865.—102, 409, 416</td>
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<td>Carhampton</td>
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<td>see Luttrell, Henry Lawes, Earl of Carhampton</td>
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<td>Carlisle</td>
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<td>see Howard, Frederick, Earl of Carlisle</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carolan (O'Carolan),</td>
<td>(1670-1738)</td>
<td>Torlogh—Irish bard, author of many folk songs.—140</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carte, Thomas</td>
<td>(1686-1754)</td>
<td>English historian; in his writings defended the Stuart dynasty.—299, 300, 302, 303</td>
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<tr>
<td>Casey, John</td>
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<td>Irish Fenian, arrested and sentenced to five years' penal servitude in 1866.—437-38</td>
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<td>Castlehaven</td>
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<td>see Touchet, James, Baron Audley of Hely or Heleigh, 3rd Earl of Castlehaven</td>
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<tr>
<td>Castlereagh, Robert</td>
<td>(1769-1822)</td>
<td>Stewart, Viscount—British Tory statesman, Chief Secretary for Ireland (1799-1801), Secretary for War and for the Colonies (1805-06, 1807-09), and Foreign Secretary (1812-22).—193, 227, 236, 252, 254, 256, 258-59, 262, 263, 266, 268, 280-82, 411, 430</td>
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<tr>
<td>Catalan, Adolphe</td>
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<td>Swiss radical journalist, editor of <em>La Liberté</em> delegate to the Brussels Congress of the International (1868).—210</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cavendish, Sir Henry</td>
<td>(1732-1804)</td>
<td>British politician, member of the British (1768-74) and the Irish Parliament (1766-68, 1776-1800); Deputy Vice-Treasurer of Ireland from 1795.—238</td>
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<td>Celestine I (Saint)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(mid. 4th-early 5th cent.)—Irish missionary; Pope (422-32).—177</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chanoz, Jean Baptiste</td>
<td></td>
<td>(b. 1828)—French worker, weaver; member of the Lyons Section of the International.—108</td>
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<tr>
<td>Charette de la Contrie,</td>
<td></td>
<td>François (1763-1796)—French army officer, a leader of the royalist revolt in Vendée; executed after the defeat of the Quiberon expedition.—246</td>
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<tr>
<td>Charles I</td>
<td>(1600-1649)</td>
<td>King of Great Britain and Ireland (1625-49); beheaded during the English Revolution.—195, 269, 300-01, 304</td>
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<td>Charles II</td>
<td>(1630-1685)</td>
<td>King of Great Britain and Ireland (1660-85).—196, 289, 304, 305</td>
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<tr>
<td>Charles II the Bald</td>
<td>(823-877)</td>
<td>(823-877)—King of France (840-77).—179</td>
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<td>Charles (Carlos) III</td>
<td>(1716-1788)</td>
<td>King of Spain (1759-88).—217, 270</td>
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<tr>
<td>Charles the Great</td>
<td></td>
<td>(c. 742-814)—King of the Franks (768-800) and Holy Roman Emperor (800-14).—178</td>
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<tr>
<td>Charras, Jean Baptiste Adolphe</td>
<td>(1810-1865)</td>
<td>French military leader and politician, moderate republican; took part in suppressing the June 1848 uprising of the Paris workers; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic (1848-51); opposed Louis Bonaparte; banished from France after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.—57</td>
</tr>
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Cheneval, L. J.—210

Chernyshevsky, Nikolai Gavrilovich (1828-1889)—Russian revolutionary democrat, materialist philosopher, writer and literary critic; a predecessor of Russian Social-Democracy.—111

Chevallier, François—active in the Swiss working-class movement; member of the committee of the Geneva Bakers’ Cooperative Society which was a section of the International.—210

Chichester of Belfast, Arthur Chichester, Baron (1563-1625)—Lord Deputy of Ireland (1604-14).—300, 301

Clanmorris—Irish Lord, member of the Irish Parliament (1800).—263

Clare—see Fitzgibbon, John, Earl of Clare

Clarendon, Edward Hyde, 1st Earl of (1609-1674)—British statesman and historian.—294

Clarendon, George William Frederick Villiers, Earl of, Baron Hyde (1800-1870)—British statesman, Whig, later Liberal; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1847-52), Foreign Secretary (1853-58, 1865-66, 1868-70).—29

Claudianus, Claudius (Claudian) (late 4th-early 5th cent.)—Latin epic poet; an Alexandrian by birth.—177

Clerfayt, Karl, Count (1733-1798)—Austrian field marshal; took part in the war between Austria and Turkey (1788-89); in 1794 and 1795 Commander-in-Chief of the Austrian army in the war with the French Republic.—246

Clouseret, Gustave Paul (1823-1900)—French politician, general; joined Garibaldi’s volunteers in Italy (1860); fought in the US Civil War; member of the First International, Bakuninist; the General Council’s correspondent in the USA in the spring of 1870; took part in revolutionary uprisings in Lyons and Marseille (1870); member of the Paris Commune; emigrated after its defeat.—442

Cobbett, William (c. 1762-1835)—British politician and radical writer.—251, 266, 411

Cockburn, Sir Alexander James Edmund (1802-1880)—Lord Chief Justice of England from 1859.—363

Cohn, James—leading figure in the British working-class movement, President of the London Association of Cigar-Makers; member of the General Council of the International (1867-71), Corresponding Secretary for Denmark (1870-71), delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868) and the London Conference (1871) of the International.—26, 55

Columba (c. 521-597)—Irish Christian missionary in Scotland.—178

Conaing—nephew of the Irish King Brian Borumha, killed at the battle of Clontarf (1014).—183

Condon, Edward O’Meagher (c. 1835-1915)—Irish Fenian; in 1867 was sentenced to death; this was commuted into imprisonment.—3

Conolly, Thomas (1738-1803)—Irish politician, member of the Irish Parliament (1761-1800); supporter of the Anglo-Irish Union.—229, 234, 242, 278

Cooke, Edward (1755-1820)—British statesman, held several posts in the Irish government (1778-1800), member of the Irish Parliament (1789-1801), supporter of the Anglo-Irish Union.—256

Coope—Sheriff of the Monaghan County in Ireland (1870).—313

Copeland—a leading figure in the atheist movement in Britain, member of the General Council of the International (1868-69).—26

Coppet, Louis de—210

Córc (5th cent.)—King of Munster; according to a legend from Irish chronicles, helped in compiling Senchus Mor, a collection of ancient laws.—171
Cormac Mac Art (Cormac Ulfada) (d. 260)—King of Ireland (218-54).—176

Cormac McCulinan (836-908)—King of Munster and Bishop of Cashel (901-08).—172

Cormier, Aristide—worker in the lace industry, member of the Lyons Section of the International.—108

Cornell, Ezra (1807-1874)—US capitalist and philanthropist, founder of Cornell University in Ithaca (USA).—161

Cornwallis, Charles Cornwallis, 1st Marquis (1738-1805)—British politician, Governor-General of India (1786-93, 1805); as Viceroy of Ireland (1798-1801) suppressed the Irish uprising of 1798.—217, 259-62, 271, 281, 282

Costello, Augustin—Irish Fenian, American army officer; in 1867 came to Ireland to take part in the uprising, was arrested and sentenced to twelve years' penal servitude.—422

Coulin, L.—210

Courtois, Jacques—Swiss worker, joiner; member of the First International.—210

Couley, Henry Wellesley, Earl of (1804-1884)—British diplomat, Ambassador to Paris (1852-67).—364

Creed, H. Herries—correspondent of The Times; in December 1866-January 1867, in collaboration with W. Williams, published a series of articles on Belgian industry.—357

Crochet, François (d. after 1898)—Swiss worker, carpenter.—210

Cromwell, Henry (1628-1674)—son of Oliver Cromwell; general in the English Parliamentary Army; in 1650 took part in Oliver Cromwell's punitive expedition to Ireland; Commander of the English army in Ireland (1654); Lord Deputy (1655-57) and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1657-59).—196, 289

Cromwell, Oliver (1599-1658)—leader of the English Revolution; Lord Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief of Ireland from 1649; Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland from 1653.—140, 192, 194, 195, 196, 264, 294, 300, 302-04, 317

Croset, J.—210

Croset, Suzette—210

Crosset, Édouard—Swiss worker, printer; took part in the Inaugural Congress of the Romance Federation of the International (January 1869); opponent of Bakunin.—210

Curran, John Philpot (1750-1817)—Irish politician and judge, member of the Irish Parliament, defended leaders of the United Irishmen revolutionary society at state trials.—216, 230, 234, 236-44, 247-55, 256, 267, 276-80

Custine, Adam Philippe, comte de (1740-1793)—French general and politician; took part in the war of the French Republic against the First European Coalition, General-in-Chief of the Vosges army in 1792.—249

Daire (5th cent.)—a ruler of Ulster; according to tradition, a compiler of Senchus Mor, a collection of ancient laws.—171

Davies, Sir John (1569-1626)—British statesman, poet, author of books on the history of Ireland, Attorney-General of Ireland (1606-19), supporter of the English colonisation of Ireland.—173, 284-87, 299, 308, 310

Davis, Jefferson (1808-1889)—American statesman, big slave-owner and planter, Democrat; an organiser of the Southern slave-holders' revolt; took an active part in the war with Mexico (1846-48); U.S. Secretary of War (1853-57); President of the Confederate States of America (1861-65).—409
Davis, Thomas Osborne (1814-1845)—Irish democrat, historian and poet; a leader of the Young Ireland group; prepared a publication of Curran’s speeches with commentaries.—219, 250, 252, 256

Davisson, A. N.—secretary of the Board of Directors of the Schiller Institute in Manchester at the end of the 1860s.—18

Dean, Frederick—English worker, a smith; delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868) of the First International.—26

Deane, Robert—member of the Irish Parliament (1779-80).—222

Defoe, Daniel (c. 1660-1731)—English novelist and journalist.—269

Delescluze, Louis Charles (1809-1871)—French revolutionary, journalist; participant in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; founder, editor and publisher of Le Réveil (1868-71); member of the Paris Commune of 1871.—374

Delessieux—President at the trial of the Executive Committee of the Paris Section of the First International (1868).—366-67

Dell, William—interior decorator; active in the British working-class and democratic movement; member of the British National League for the Independence of Poland; took part in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin’s Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-69) and its Treasurer (1865, 1866-67); participated in the London Conference (1865); a leader of the Reform League.—26

Derkinderen—member of the General Council of the International (1866-67), Corresponding Secretary for Holland (1867).—4

Desmond, Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of (d. 1583)—powerful Anglo-Irish feudal lord; a leader of the uprising against English rule in the south of Ireland.—299

Détrez, Charles—210

Dickson, William (1745-1804)—Irish Bishop of Down and Connor (1783).—261

Dinter, Johann Gotlieb (1813-1910)—German miner, leader of the miners’ union in Zwickau.—43, 389

Diodoros, Siculus (c. 80-29 B.C.)—Greek historian, author of Bibliothecae historicae.—174

Dionysius Areopagiticus (the Areopagite) (1st cent.)—first Christian Bishop of Athens, member of the Athenian Areopagus.—178

Disraeli, Benjamin, 1st Earl of Beaconsfield (1804-1881)—British statesman and writer; adherent of the Young England group in the 1840s; later a Tory leader; Prime Minister (1868, 1874-80).—105, 407, 427

Dolent—210

Downing, M’Carthy—Irish politician, Liberal M.P.—431-32

Drennan, William (1754-1820)—Irish poet, a leader of the United Irishmen society in Dublin.—248

Dubhghall—son of Amhlaebh (Amhlanibh Anlaf, or Olaf), killed at the battle of Clontarf (1014).—183

Dubhthach Mac Cu Luga (5th cent.)—Irish court poet and lawyer; according to tradition, a compiler of Senchus Mor, a collection of ancient laws.—171

Duchâtel, Charles Marie Tanneguy, comte (1803-1867)—French statesman, Orleanist, Minister of the Interior (1839-40, 1840-February 1848).—373
Dufferin and Ava, Frederick Temple Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood, 1st Marquis of (1826-1902)—British statesman and diplomat, Liberal, member of Gladstone's Cabinet (1868-72), big landowner in Ireland.—190, 206, 428, 435

Duffy, Edward (1840-1868)—a leader of the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, leader of the Fenian movement in Western Ireland; in 1867 was sentenced to fifteen years of penal servitude, died in prison.—418

Dumas, Alexandre (Dumas père) (1802-1870)—French writer.—423

Dumouriez, Charles François du Perier (1739-1823)—French general, commanded the Northern revolutionary army in 1792-93; was close to the Girondists, betrayed the revolution in March 1793.—248, 249

Dunaud, Antoine—Swiss worker, engraver; at a congress of the Romance Federation of the International, held in La Chaux-de-Fonds (April 1870), opposed the Bakuninists.—210

Duncker, Franz Gustav (1822-1888)—German publisher, prominent figure in the Party of Progress; founder and editor of the Volks-Zeitung (1853-59); in 1868, together with Max Hirsch, founded reformist trade unions, known as Hirsch-Duncker unions, which existed until 1933.—25

Dungal (died c. 827)—Irish monk, scholar and poet, invited to teach in Pavia (c. 820).—178

Dupont, Eugène (c. 1831-1881)—prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement; musical instrument maker; took part in the June 1848 uprising in Paris; from 1862 on, lived in London; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1872), Corresponding Secretary for France (1865-71); participant in the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866); Chairman of the Lausanne Congress (1867), delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868); the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); associate of Marx and Engels; became a member of the British Federal Council of the International in 1872; moved to the USA in 1874.—4, 37, 51, 55, 341, 364, 443

Dupraz, Louis—delegate of the Geneva building workers at the talks with the government during their strike in the spring of 1869.—210

Dutoit, Jules—an editor of L'Égalité (1870).—123

E

Eccarius, Johann Georg (John George) (1818-1889)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; tailor; member of the League of the Just, later of the Communist League; a leader of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-72), Council's General Secretary (1867-71), Corresponding Secretary for America (1870-72); delegate to all the International's congresses and conferences; until 1872 follower of Marx; in the spring of 1872 joined the reformist leaders of the British trade unions.—4, 17, 51, 55, 82, 139, 358, 364, 378, 406, 443

Edgeworth, Richard Lovell (1744-1817)—British writer; from 1782 lived in Ireland, where he owned an estate; member of the Irish Parliament (1798-1800); opponent of the Anglo-Irish Union.—264

Edward I (1239-1307)—King of England (1272-1307).—287
Edward II (1284-1327)—King of England (1307-27).—269
Edward III (1312-1377)—King of England (1327-77).—290
Edward VI (1537-1553)—King of England (1547-53).—297
Edward “the Confessor” (1004-1066)—King of England (1043-66).—292

Eichhoff, Wilhelm Karl (1833-1895)—German socialist and journalist; refugee in London (1861-66); member of the International (from 1868) and one of its first historians; organiser of the Berlin Section of the International; General Council’s correspondent; member of the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party of Germany (from 1869).—326, 329, 330, 337, 345, 354, 357, 363, 364, 377, 378

Einhard (Eginhard) (c. 770-840)—historian of the Franks, biographer of Charles the Great.—177


Ella (or Aella) (d. 867)—King of Northumbria (c. 862-67).—180

Elpidin, Mikhail Konstantinovich (1835-1908)—participant in the Russian students’ revolutionary movement in the early 1860s; in 1865 emigrated to Geneva, founded a Russian printing plant where the newspaper Narodnoye Dyelo (The People’s Cause) was published.—210

Ely—Irish aristocrat, Marquis, M.P. (1800).—263

Emmet, Thomas Addis (1764-1827)—Irish politician, lawyer, secretary of the United Irishmen society from 1795.—255, 281

Engels, Frederick (1820-1895).—18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 93, 94, 95, 135, 154, 156, 158, 161, 185, 284, 286, 299, 307, 308, 309-11

Ensor, George (1769-1843)—Irish journalist; opponent of the Anglo-Irish Union; in his works denounced the colonial policy of the English ruling classes.—259, 264, 265-68, 269

Erdrmann, Johann Eduard (1805-1892)—German philosopher, Right-wing Hegelian.—178

Erigena, Johannes Scotus (c. 810-c. 877)—medieval philosopher, theologian, and translator; Irish by birth.—179, 308, 311

Erlingr from Straumey—Norse Viking, killed at the battle of Clontarf (1014).—181

Eyre, Edward John (1815-1901)—British colonial official, Governor of Jamaica (1864-66); suppressed a Negro insurrection in 1865.—49, 362

F

Fane, John, Earl of Westmoreland (1759-1841)—British statesman, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1790-95); opposed emancipation of the Catholics.—229, 230, 234, 236, 245-47, 249, 278

Ferdinand II (1810-1859)—King of the Two Sicilies (1830-59), nicknamed King Bomba for his bombardment of Messina in 1848.—105, 422

Fergus (5th cent.)—Irish poet; according to tradition, a compiler of Senchus Mor, a collection of ancient laws.—171

Ferguson, Patrick (1744-1780)—English army officer, commanded troops during the American War of Independence; killed in the battle at Kings Mountain in 1780.—217

Filliétaz, G.—participant in the Swiss working-class movement in the second half of the 1860s; member of the International.—210

Finn—King of Leinster; Murchadh’s father.—183
Fitzgerald, Edward (1763-1798)—Irish bourgeois revolutionary; a founder of the United Irishmen society; was in charge of preparations for the 1798 rebellion.—194, 198, 255, 281

Fitzgerald, George Robert (c. 1748-1786)—member of the Anglo-Irish clan of Geraldines; took part in the political life of Ireland; supported independent legislature in Ireland; executed in 1786.—226

Fitzgerald, James (1742-1835)—Irish lawyer and politician, M.P. from 1769; supported emancipation of the Catholics; Prime Serjeant of Ireland from 1787; in 1799 dismissed for his opposition to the Anglo-Irish Union; later supporter of the Union.—266

Fitzgerald, John David, Lord Fitzgerald (1816-1889)—Irish lawyer and Liberal politician, M.P.; held a series of high judicial posts in the British administration in Ireland.—439

Fitzgerald, William Robert, 2nd Duke of Leinster (1749-1804)—member of the Irish Parliament from Dublin (1769-73); colonel in the Dublin volunteers’ army; supporter of the Anglo-Irish Union.—222, 271

Fitzgeralds (or Geraldines)—the name of an ancient Irish dynasty; owners of large estates in Leinster and Munster.—288

Fitzgibbon, John, Earl of Clare (1749-1802)—Lord Chancellor of Ireland (1789); member of the Irish Parliament; supported the government’s trade policy; adherent of the Anglo-Irish Union.—225, 227, 234, 236, 243, 244, 252, 261, 273, 277, 278, 279

Fitzherbert, Alleyne, Baron St. Helens (1753-1839)—British statesman; Chief Secretary of Buckingham’s government in Ireland from 1787, member of the Irish Parliament.—242, 244, 278

Fitzpatrick, Richard (1747-1813)—British general and statesman, Whig, M.P., Chief Secretary for Ireland (1782), War Secretary (1783, 1806-07).—229

Fitwilliam, William Wentworth Fitzwilliam, 2nd Earl (1748-1833)—Whig leader, member of Pitt’s government, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (January-March 1795).—220, 245, 251, 252, 255, 258, 279

Fleetwood, Charles (d. 1692)—general in the Parliamentary Army during the English Revolution; Commander-in-Chief of the English army in Ireland from 1652; Lord Deputy of Ireland (1651-57).—196

Flerovsky, N.—see Bervi, Vasily Vasilyevich

Flood, Henry (1732-1791)—Irish statesman, member of the Irish Parliament, leader of the people’s party; in the 1780s spoke in Parliament against Grattan’s moderate position, moved the Renunciation Act adopted in 1783.—228, 230-33, 236, 240, 273-75

Forbes, George, 6th Earl of Granard (1760-1837)—general, member of the House of Lords; opposed the Anglo-Irish Union.—237, 238, 277, 278

Fornachon, L. H. (d. after 1898)—member of the Geneva Section of the International named Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—210

Fürsterling, Emil (1827-1872)—coppersmith; member of the General Association of German Workers; later President of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers founded by Hatzfeldt (1867-68); deputy to the North German Imperial Diet (1867-70).—24

Fortescue—see Parkinson-Fortescue, Chichester Samuel, Baron Carlingford

Foster, John—English worker, carpenter; member of a co-operative society in Hull, delegate to the Brussels
Congress of the First International (1868).—26

Foster, John—English worker, mechanic; member of a co-operative society in Hull, delegate to the Brussels Congress of the First International (1868). John Foster's son.—26

Foster, John, Baron Oriel (1740-1828)—Irish lawyer, Privy Councillor; Speaker of the Irish House of Commons from 1785; member of the united Parliament from 1801; opposed the Anglo-Irish Union.—261, 266

Fourier, François Marie Charles (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—175

Fox, Charles James (1749-1806)—British statesman, a Whig leader, Foreign Secretary (1782, 1783, 1806).—226, 228, 230, 231, 240-42, 259, 273-74, 278

Fox, Henry Richard V assail, 3rd Baron Holland (1773-1840)—Whig, member of Grenville's Cabinet (1806-07), opposed the Anglo-Irish Union.—266

Fox, Luke—Irish lawyer, M. P., in 1799 actively supported the Anglo-Irish Union.—261, 282

Fox, Peter (André, Peter Fox) (d. 1869)—journalist, active member of the British democratic and working-class movement; Positivist; a leader of the British National League for the Independence of Poland; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-69); General Secretary of the Council (September-November 1866); Corresponding Secretary for America (1866-67); an editor of The Commonwealth (1866); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League.—16

Frederick William IV (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—60

Fridolin or Fridold, Saint (6th cent.)—Irish Christian missionary among the Alamanni of the Upper Rhine.—178

Fries, J. (or Fries)—member of the International and of the Central Committee of the German-speaking sections in Geneva.—210

Frodi—son of Harald I Fairhair.—179

Fullquet, Louis—Swiss worker; member of the International, Secretary of the Geneva cabinet-makers' section.—210

Gay, Désirée—210

Gay, François—in May 1869 refused to join the committee of the Geneva Section named Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—210

Gay, Jules Leopold (1807-d. after 1876)—French journalist; utopian communist, communist, follower of Owen; publisher of Le Communiste in Paris (1849); member of the International; an editor of L'Égalité and La Liberté.—210
Geib, August (1842-1879)—German bookseller in Hamburg; Social-Democrat; member of the General Association of German Workers; participant in the Eisenach Congress (1869); a founder of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; Treasurer of the Party (1872-78); deputy to the Imperial Diet (1874-77).—133

Gennadius (5th cent.)—Gallic writer.—177

George I (1660-1727)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1714-27).—212, 225, 228, 229, 230, 232, 270, 272-74


George IV (1762-1830)—Prince Regent (1811-20), King of Great Britain and Ireland (1820-30).—242, 256, 278

Gerlach, Karl Heinrich Eduard Friedrich von—Prussian official, Regierungspräsident in Cologne (1839-44).—60

Gilliaciarain—Viking, son of Gluniairn, killed at the battle of Clontarf (1014).—183

Giraldus Cambrensis (Gerald de Barry) (c. 1146-c. 1220)—English writer; took part in the military expedition to Ireland (1185); author of essays on Ireland.—172, 173, 180, 185, 285-86

Gladstone, William Ewart (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory, later Peelite; leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the 19th century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55, 1859-66) and Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94).—28, 83, 103, 105, 189, 324, 326, 327, 345, 407-11, 415, 416-18, 421-30, 434-36, 438-40

Gluniairn—father of Gilliaciarain.—183

Godfrey, Thomas—English inventor of a patent medicine (Godfrey's Cordial).—327

Gordon, James Bentley (1750-1819)—English historian, author of works on the history of Ireland.—309

Gottlob, Walter—210

Gottraux, Jules—a Swiss, who became a British subject; member of the International.—364

Grange, Charles—Swiss worker, plasterer; member of the Geneva Section named Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—210

Grattan, Henry (1746-1820)—Irish politician, lawyer; from 1775 to 1800 leader of moderate Liberal opposition to the British Government in the Irish Parliament; member of the British Parliament from 1805.—222, 227-34, 235, 236, 241, 244, 247, 250, 254, 258, 271, 273-75, 276, 278, 280

Graves, Charles (1812-1899)—Irish scholar, mathematician; in 1852-99 member of the government commission for translating and publishing the ancient Irish laws; Bishop of Limerick from 1866.—170

Gray, Sir John (1816-1875)—British journalist, member of the House of Commons (1865-75).—407

Gregory XIII (1502-1585)—Pope (1572-85).—195

Grenville, George Nugent-Temple, 1st Marquis of Buckingham (1753-1813)—British statesman, member of the Privy Council, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1782-83, 1787-90).—222, 231, 236, 238, 241, 242, 264, 274, 278

Grenville, William Wyndham Grenville, Baron (1759-1834)—British statesman, Tory, later Whig; in 1782 he became secretary to his brother. Marquis of Buckingham; Foreign Secretary (1791-1801), Prime Minister (1806-07).—231, 274

Greville-Nugent, Reginald—Irish army officer, Liberal.—439

Grey, Charles, Earl of, Viscount Howick, Baron Grey (1764-1845)—British
statesman, a Whig leader; First Lord of the Admiralty (1806), Prime Minister (1830-34); opposed the Anglo-Irish Union of 1801.—266

**Gréy or Gray, Lord Leonard, Viscount Grane of Ireland** (d. 1541)—Deputy-Governor of Ireland (1535-40).—288

**Griffith, Richard** (1752-1820)—member of the Irish Parliament (1783-90).—239, 276

**Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Carl** (1785-1863)—German philologist, author of a historical grammar of the German language and of folklore adaptations; professor in Göttingen and then in Berlin; Liberal.—175, 184

**Grouchy, Emmanuel, marquis de** (1766-1847)—Marshal of France, participated in the Napoleonic wars.—254, 280

**Guerry**—210

**Guillaume, James** (1844-1916)—Swiss teacher; anarchist, Bakuninist; member of the International, delegate to the Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Basle (1869) and the Hague (1872) congresses of the International; an organiser of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; editor of Progrès, La Solidarité and the Bulletin de la Fédération Jurassienne; was expelled from the International at the Hague Congress for his splitting activities.—114-15

**Guilmeaux**—member of the Romance Federation of the International; Chairman of the section of turners and mechanics; elected member of the Égalité editorial board at the Federation’s congress in January 1869, withdrew from the board in January 1870, together with the other Bakuninists.—123, 210

**Guinet, Jenny**—210

**Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume** (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman; virtually directed France’s home and foreign policy from 1840 to the February 1848 revolution; expressed the interests of the big financial bourgeoisie.—61

**Guyot, Charles**—210

**H**

**Habsburgs** (or **Hapsburgs**)—dynasty of emperors of the Holy Roman Empire from 1273 to 1806 (with intervals), Spanish Kings (1516-1700), Austrian emperors (1804-67) and Austro-Hungarian emperors (1867-1918).—289

**Haeberling, Adolphe**—member of the committee of a bakers’ co-operative society in Geneva affiliated to the International.—210

**Hales, John** (b. 1839)—British trade-union leader; weaver; member of the Reform League, the Land and Labour League; member of the General Council of the International (1866-72) and its Secretary (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; headed the reformist wing of the British Federal Council from the beginning of 1872; expelled from the International in 1873.—26, 54

**Hallam, Henry** (1777-1859)—English historian, author of works on the history of English constitution.—285, 288

**Hancock, U. Nelson**—Irish lawyer, with O'Mahony published two volumes of *Senchus Mor*, a collection of ancient laws.—170

**Hanmer, Meredith** (1543-1604)—English clergyman and historian, author of *The Chronicle of Ireland*.—173

**Hansemann, David Justus** (1790-1864)—German capitalist, a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Prussian Finance Minister (March-September 1848).—40

**Harald I Fairhair** (c. 850-c. 933)—King of Norway (872-930).—179
Harcourt, Simon, 1st Earl Harcourt (1714-1777)—British aristocrat, held various posts at Court; Ambassador to Paris (1768-72), Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1772-77).—222, 238

Hardy, Jean (1763-1802)—French general; taken prisoner by the English during the expedition to Ireland (1798); later fought in the French Rhenish Army.—282

Harris, Walter (1686-1761)—Irish historiographer, author of works on the history of Ireland; published documents collected by Sir James Ware with his additions and comments.—269

Hastings, Francis Rawdon, Marquis of Hastings, Earl of Moira (1754-1826)—English army officer; member of the Irish Parliament from 1780.—245

Hatzfeldt, Sophie, Countess von (1805-1881)—German aristocrat, friend and supporter of Lassalle.—24

Hay, Peter—governor of Spike Island Convict Prison.—106

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—01, 309

Heine, Heinrich (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—348

Hely-Hutchinson, John (1724-1794)—Secretary of State in Ireland from 1777, supported English rule in Ireland.—227, 273

Hely-Hutchinson, John, Earl of Donoughmore (1757-1832)—Irish general; member of the Irish Parliament; supporter of the Anglo-Irish Union; son of the above.—260

Hennessy, John Pope (1834-1891)—Irish politician, Conservative M. P.; proposed several minor reforms in Ireland in the early 1860s.—206

Henry I (1068-1135)—King of England (1100-35).—173

Henry II Plantagenet (1133-1189)—King of England (1154-89).—195, 285

Henry V (1387-1422)—King of England (1413-22).—291

Henry VII (1457-1509)—King of England (1485-1509).—212, 270, 287

Henry VIII (1491-1547)—King of England (1509-47).—287, 288, 292, 297, 302

Hérédier, Marc—210

Heron, Denis Caulfield (1824-1881)—Irish lawyer and economist, M. P. —440

Hervey, Frederick, Earl of Bristol (1730-1803)—Bishop of Derry; member of the Irish Parliament; commanded a volunteer regiment in Londonderry (1782), took an active part in the volunteer congress in Dublin in 1783.—226, 234, 235, 275

Herzen, Alexander Ivanovich (1812-1870)—Russian revolutionary democrat, materialist philosopher and writer; left Russia in 1847, from 1852 lived in England where he established the Free Russian Press and published the periodical Polyarnaya Zvezda (Polar Star) and the newspaper Kolokol (The Bell).—123

Hieronymus—sec Jerome, St.

Hirsch, Max (1832-1905)—German economist, prominent figure in the Party of Progress; in 1868, together with Franz Duncker, founded reformist trade unions which were known as Hirsch-Duncker trade unions and which existed until 1933.—25, 26

Hobart, Robert, Lord Hobart, Earl of Buckinghamshire (1760-1816)—English army officer; Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1784-93); member of the Irish Parliament (1787-93).—234, 236, 238, 245, 278

Hoche, Lazare Louis (1768-1797)—French general; directed the suppression of the counter-revolutionary revolt in Bretagne and Vendée in 1794; in 1795 routed the royalist landing party at Quiberon thus put-
ting an end to Vendean wars; in 1796 commanded an expeditionary corps that was to land in Ireland.—246, 254, 280

Holinshed (or Hollingshead), Raphael (died c. 1580)—English historian, author of the *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* from ancient times to the 1570s.—298

Holland—see Fox, Henry Richard Vassall, 3rd Baron Holland

Homer—semi-legendary Greek epic poet, author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.—294

Hood, Gunner—Irish Fenian, sentenced to four years' penal servitude by a military tribunal in 1866.—415-16

Houchard, Jean Nicolas (1740-1793)—French general; commanded the Northern army which defeated the Duke of York's troops (1793).—246

Howard, Frederick, Earl of Carlisle (1748-1825)—Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1780-82).—224, 251

Howell, George (1833-1910)—British mason; a reformist leader of the British trade unions; former Chartist, Secretary of the London Trades Council (1861-62); participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (October 1864 to 1869); participant in the London Conference of the International (1865); Secretary of the Reform League; opposed revolutionary tactics.—26

Howison—Irish politician, alderman; in 1790 was put up by the Municipal Council as candidate for the post of Mayor of Dublin.—244, 279

Hrafn the Red—Norse Viking, took part in the battle of Clontarf (1014).—181

Hugo, Victor Marie (1802-1885)—French writer; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; opposed Louis Bonaparte.—56

Humbert, Jean Robert Marie (1755-1823)—French general; commander of a French force that landed in Ireland.—281

Hume, Robert William—American petty-bourgeois radical, journalist; a leader of the National Labour Union; member of the International, General Council's correspondent.—442-43

Huriot, Victor—member of the editorial board of *Le Courrier français* (1866-68).—348

Huxley, Thomas Henry (1825-1895)—English naturalist; close associate of Charles Darwin and populariser of his teaching.—174

I

Ireton, Henry (1611-1651)—prominent figure in the English Revolution; an ideologist of the Independent Party; general in the Parliamentary Army; participant in Oliver Cromwell's punitive expedition to Ireland (1649-50); succeeded Cromwell as Commander-in-Chief and Lord Deputy of Ireland (1650-51).—196

Isidore of Seville (Isidorus Hispalensis) (c. 570-636)—Spanish bishop and Catholic writer.—177

J

Jackson, William (c. 1737-1795)—Irish Catholic clergyman, member of the United Irishmen society; in 1794 came from France to establish links with Theobald Wolfe Tone, was arrested and sentenced to death, committed suicide.—251, 253

Jaclard, Charles Victor (1843-1900)—French journalist, Blanquist; member of the International; was active in the Paris Commune, 1871; member of
the National Guard’s Central Committee, commander of a legion of the National Guard; following the suppression of the Paris Commune, emigrated to Switzerland and then to Russia; after the 1880 amnesty returned to France and resumed his activities in the socialist movement.—210

James—alderman and, from 1790, Mayor of Dublin; commanded troops that crushed the Defenders’ uprising near Dublin (1795).—244-45, 279

James I (1566-1625)—King of England, Scotland and Ireland (1603-25).—140, 195, 288, 293, 297, 299-300

James II (1633-1701)—Duke of York (from 1634), King of England, Scotland and Ireland (1685-88).—194, 196, 289-90, 294, 304-05

Jerome, St. (Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus) (c. 340-420)—theologian; born in Dalmatia; translated the Bible into Latin.—176

Jessup, William J.—American worker, carpenter; active participant in the American labour movement; Vice-President (1866) and Corresponding Secretary (1867) of the National Labour Union of the United States for the State of New York; a leader of the Workers’ Union of New York; General Council’s correspondent in the USA.—443

Johannard, Jules (1843-1888)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement; lithographer; member of the General Council of the International (1868-69, 1871-72) and Corresponding Secretary for Italy (1868-69); in 1870 founded a section of the International at St. Denis; member of the Paris Commune of 1871; sided with the Blanquists; after the defeat of the Commune emigrated to London; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—51, 55

John (Lackland) (c. 1167-1216)—King of England (1199-1216).—173

Johnstone, James (d. 1798)—Scottish collector and publisher of ancient Scandinavian literature.—181

Jost, Jean—secretary of the section of the Geneva turners, mechanics and foundrymen.—210

Jourdan, Jean Baptiste, comte (1762-1833)—Marshal of France; fought in the wars of the French Republic and Napoleonic France, won a victory at Fleurus (1794); commanded the French Army in Spain (1808-14); Minister of Foreign Affairs during the July monarchy.—246

Jukes, Joseph Beetie (1811-1869)—English geologist, supervised the geological survey of Ireland in 1850-69.—148, 151

Jung, Hermann (1830-1901)—prominent figure in the international and Swiss working-class movement; watchmaker; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland (November 1864 to 1872); Treasurer of the General Council (1871-72); participant in the London Conference (1865), Chairman of the Geneva (1866), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and of the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the British Federal Council; supported Marx before the Hague Congress of 1872, later joined the reformist leaders of the British trade unions.—4, 37, 38, 51, 55, 123, 136, 336-37

K

Kamp—Mayor of Seraing (Belgium), member of the Cockerill Company.—48

Kane, Sir Robert John (1810-1890)—Irish scientist, professor of chemistry and physics; also studied the economy of Ireland.—152, 163
Kelly, Jeremiah Hubert—physician in Spike Island Convict Prison.—106-07


Keogh, John (1740-1817)—Irish merchant; member of the Catholic Committee, supported emancipation of the Irish Catholics; on his initiative the Relief Act was adopted in 1793; member of the United Irishmen society.—219, 249

Kerthialfadh (Kerthialfadr)—Irish soldier, participant in the battle of Clontarf (1014).—182-83

Kickham, Charles Joseph (1826-1882)—Irish journalist; took part in the national liberation movement of the 1840s; Fenian; an editor of The Irish People (1865); in 1865 was arrested and sentenced to 14 years' penal servitude, released in 1869.—102, 422, 440

Kilian (Chilian, Killian), St. (d. 697)—Irish missionary, preached Christianity in Eastern Franconia; first Bishop of Würzburg.—178

Kimbaoth (3rd cent. B. C.)—mentioned in chronicles as the ruler of Ulster.—169

Knox, Alexander Andrew (1818-1891)—English journalist and police magistrate; member of a commission which reported to Parliament in 1867 on the treatment of political prisoners in British prisons.—418, 424, 428, 438

Kohl, Johann Georg (1808-1878)—German geographer, author of several works on the geography of European countries.—284

L

Laeghaire (Loeghaire) (d. 458)—King of Ireland (428-58).—171

Lafargue, Paul (1842-1911)—prominent figure in the international and French working-class movement; member of the General Council of the International, Corresponding Secretary for Spain (1866-69); helped to organise sections of the International in France (1869-70), Spain and Portugal (1871-72); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); a founder of the Workers' Party of France; disciple and associate of Marx and Engels; husband of Marx's daughter, Laura.—4, 55

Lake, Gerard, 1st Viscount Lake of Delhi and Leswarree (1744-1808)—British general, M. P. (1790-1802); commanded troops that quelled the Irish uprising of 1798.—254, 260, 280

Lambert, John (1619-1683)—general in the Parliamentary Army during the English Revolution; took part in all major battles with royalist troops and in conquering Scotland; Lord Deputy of Ireland (1652).—196

Langrishe, Sir Hercules (1731-1811)—Irish politician, M. P.—263

Lanigan, John (1758-1828)—Irish bishop, supported the Anglo-Irish Union, wrote several works on ecclesiastical history.—263, 265

Laplace, Jacques—delegate to the third congress of the Romance Federation of the International from the Carouge Section.—210

Larcom, Sir Thomas Aiskew (1801-1879)—Irish government official, later major-general; from 1826 worked at the British geological survey of Ireland, studied material on the history of old Ireland; permanent Irish Under-Secretary from 1853.—170

Larkin, Michael (d. 1867)—Irish Fenian, sentenced to death by English court.—3, 13

Lassalle, Ferdinand (1825-1864)—German journalist and lawyer, petty-bourgeois socialist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution, founder and first President of the General Association
of German Workers (1863), one of the originators of the opportunist trend in the German working-class movement.—20, 21, 23-24, 59

Laurier, Clement (1832-1872)—French lawyer and politician, Republican; after the revolution of September 4, 1870 was in the service of the Government of National Defence; later a monarchist.—438

La Valette, Charles Jean Marie Félix, marquis de (1806-1881)—French statesman, Minister of the Interior (1865-67).—364

Lovelle, Patrick—Irish clergyman, sympathised with the Fenians; author of the book The Irish Landlord since the Revolution.—434

Lavergne, Louis Gabriel Léonce Guilhaud de (1809-1880)—French bourgeois economist, author of a number of works on agricultural economics.—159-60, 283

Law, Harriet (1832-1897)—a leading figure in the atheist movement in England; member of the General Council (June 1867-72) and of the Manchester Section of the International (1872).—26, 55, 399-400

Lawrence (Laurence), Richard (1643-1682)—Parliamentary Army colonel during the English Revolution; took part in Cromwell's expedition to Ireland and in land confiscations there; author of pamphlets on Ireland.—269

Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste (1807-1874)—French journalist and politician, a leader of the petty-bourgeois democrats; editor of La Réforme; Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government in 1848; Deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (leader of the Montagne party); emigrated to England following the events of June 13, 1849; returned to France in 1870.—376, 381, 411

Ledwich, Edward (1739-1823)—Irish ar-

chaeologist; author of works on the history of old Ireland (The Antiquities of Ireland and others).—308

Leinster, Duke of—see Fitzgerald, William Robert, 2nd Duke of Leinster

Leland, Thomas (1722-1785)—English historian, author of The History of Ireland from the Invasion of Henry II.—298-300, 301-03

Lepeltier—public prosecutor at the trial of the Executive Committee of the Paris Section of the International (1868).—367

Leslie, Thomas Edward Cliffe (c. 1827-1882)—English economist.—191, 205

Lessner, Friedrich (1825-1910)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; tailor; member of the Communist League from 1847; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; prosecuted at the Cologne Communist trial in 1852; emigrated to London in 1856; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London and of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1872); delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868), Basle (1869) and the Hague (1872) congresses of the International; member of the British Federal Council; later a founder of the British Independent Labour Party; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—55

Levy, Joseph Moses (1812-1888)—a founder and publisher of The Daily Telegraph.—421

Lewis, Sir George Cornwall, Baronet (1806-1863)—British statesman, Whig; Financial Secretary to the Treasury (1850-52); editor of The Edinburgh Review (1852-55); Chancellor of the Exchequer (1855-58); Home Secretary (1859-61), Secretary of State for War (1861-63).—28

Liddell, A. F. O.—English employee in the Home Office (1870).—422
**Liebknecht, Wilhelm** (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; participant in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League and the International; delegate to the Basle Congress (1869) of the International; deputy to the Imperial Diet from 1867; a founder and leader of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—24, 32, 90, 116, 122, 133, 354, 445

**Limburg, W.**—German shoemaker; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, member of the General Council of the International (1868-69).—55

**Lincoln, Abraham** (1809-1865)—American statesman; a leader of the Republican Party; President of the United States (1861-65); during the Civil War, under pressure from the masses, carried out a number of important bourgeois-democratic reforms which led to the adoption of revolutionary methods of warfare; assassinated by a slave-holders' agent in April 1865.—53, 361, 362

**Lindegger, Antoine** (d. after 1898)—Swiss worker, loader; follower of Bakunin; member of the Committee of the Geneva Section named Alliance of Socialist Democracy; member of the Égalité editorial board (1869).—123, 209

**Lingard, John** (1771-1851)—English historian, author of *A History of England* in eight volumes.—303, 305

**Loder**—Norse ruler of Orkney Islands; fought at the battle of Clontarf (1014).—183

**Longfield**—Irish nobleman, M.P. from County Cork (1787).—243

**Longuet, Charles** (1839-1903)—prominent in the French working-class movement; journalist; Proudhonist; member of the General Council of the International (1866-67, 1871-72); Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1866); delegate to the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and the Hague (1872) congresses and the London Conference (1871); member of the Paris Commune; later joined the Possibilists; husband of Marx's daughter, Jenny.—366

**Louis XIV** (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—289, 295

**Louis Philippe I** (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of France (1830-48).—328

**Lucas, Charles** (1713-1771)—Irish physician and journalist, patriotic pamphleteer.—212

**Lucret, Benjamin** (1809-1897)—a reformist leader of the British trade unions; cabinet-maker; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71); delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's address *The Civil War in France* and withdrew from the International.—26, 55, 139

**Luttrell, Henry Lawes, Earl of Carhampton** (1743-1821)—English general, member of the Irish Parliament; from 1796 Commander-in-Chief in Ireland.—257, 281

**Lynch, John** (c. 1599-c. 1673)—Irish clergyman, author and translator of several works on the history of Ireland.—174

**Lynch, John** (1832-1866)—Irish Fenian, leader of a Fenian organisation in Cork; sentenced to ten years' penal servitude in January 1866; died in Working Prison that year.—418, 437-38

**Lyons, Robert Spencer Dyer** (1826-1886)—Irish physician, Liberal, member of
the commission of inquiry (1870) into the treatment of the Irish political prisoners.—417

M

McCann—member of the United Irishmen society, took part in preparing an uprising in 1798.—255, 281

Macaulay, Thomas Babington Macaulay, Baron (1800-1859)—English historian and politician, Whig, M.P.—294, 301, 313

McCormic—Irish politician, secretary of the Catholic Committee in the early 1790s.—249

McCracken, Henry Joy (1767-1798)—a founder of the United Irishmen society in Belfast, leader of the Antrim uprising (1798).—219

M'Donnel—Irish typographer, printed the Hibernian Journal at the end of the 18th century.—250

M'Donnell—prison doctor in Dublin dismissed from the post because of his protest against the brutal treatment of the Fenian prisoners.—106-07, 409, 427

MacGeoghegan, James (1702-1763)—French abbot of Irish origin, author of History of Ireland.—290, 299

Machiavelli, Niccolo (1469-1527)—Italian politician, historian, military theorist and writer.—75, 419

MacNevin (MacNeill), William James (1763-1841)—Irish physician, member of the United Irishmen society.—255, 281

Macpherson, James (1736-1796)—Scottish poet, author of several poems based on an Irish epic.—140

Maelseachlainn II (949-1022)—King of Ireland, (980-1002 and 1014-22).—183

Maguane—government spy in the United Irishmen society.—255

Maguire, Thomas—Irish sailor; arrested in 1867 on a false charge of trying to arrange the escape of the imprisoned Fenians; was sentenced to be hanged but was released soon afterwards.—3

Malachy—see Maelseachlainn II

Malachy, St. (c. 1094-1148)—Irish prelate, Archbishop of Armagh and papal legate in Ireland.—172, 285

Malthus, Thomas Robert (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist, author of a theory of population.—373

Manners, Charles, Duke of Rutland (1754-1787)—British statesman, member of the Privy Council, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1784-87).—236, 239, 242, 244, 276-77

Mansfield—see Murray, William, Lord Mansfield

Maolmordha (d. 1014)—King of Leinster (999-1014).—181, 183

Marauda—210

Marilly, Joseph—210

Marly—Irish Catholic leader, Bishop of Waterford.—261

Martin, John (1812-1875)—Irish politician, participant in the national liberation movement in the 1840s; a founder of the National League (1864); Honorary Secretary of the Home Rule League, M.P. (1871-75).—439

Marx, Jenny (née von Westphalen) (1814-1881)—wife of Karl Marx.—61

Marx, Jenny (1844-1883)—Karl Marx's eldest daughter.—414, 420-21, 424


Mary I (1516-1558)—Queen of England (1553-58), wife of Philip II of Spain.—289, 297, 298
Massey, William Nathaniel (1809-1881)—English historian, author of an unfinished work on the reign of George III.—290

Matis, A.—210

Maulet, Joseph D.—210

Maurice, Zévy—tailor; member of the General Council of the International (1866-72), Corresponding Secretary for Hungary (1870-71).—26

Maxwell—Attorney-General of Ireland (1796).—254, 280

Mayo—see Naas, Richard Southwell Bourke, Earl of Mayo

Mazzini, Giuseppe (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; a leader of the Italian national liberation movement; headed the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic (1849); an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London (1850); after the foundation of the International in 1864 tried to bring it under his influence.—323

Meagher, Thomas Francis (1823-1867)—leader of the Irish national liberation movement in the 1840s; a founder of the Irish Confederation (1847); in 1848 was arrested and sentenced to penal servitude for life for taking part in the preparation of an uprising; escaped in 1852 and emigrated to the USA; during the US Civil War (1861-65) commanded the brigade of Irish volunteers that fought on the side of the Northerners.—200, 206, 318

Meissner, Otto Karl (1819-1902)—Hamburg publisher; brought out Marx’s Capital and other works by Marx and Engels.—62

Mela, Pomponius (1st cent.)—Roman geographer, author of De situ orbis in three volumes.—161

Mende, Fritz (d. 1879)—member of the General Association of German Workers; president of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers founded by Hatzfeldt (1869-72); deputy to the North-German Imperial Diet (1869).—24

Mermillod, François—Swiss case-maker; took an active part in the Swiss working-class movement in the latter part of the 1860s; Vice-President of the Romance Federation of the International; delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868).—210

Methuen, John (c. 1650-1706)—British diplomat; in 1703 concluded a trade treaty with Portugal known as the Methuen Treaty.—224

Meyer, Sigfrid (c. 1840-1872)—a prominent figure in the German and American working-class movement, socialist; engineer; member of the General Association of German Workers; opposed the Lassallean influence in the German working-class movement; in 1864 published in Germany, at his own expense, the Manifesto of the Communist Party by Marx and Engels; in 1866 emigrated to the USA, member of the New York Communist Club; an organiser of the International’s sections in the USA; follower of Marx and Engels.—443

Meyers—doctor at Broadmoor asylum.—422, 431.

Milner, George—Irishman, prominent figure in the British working-class movement; follower of James O’Brien; member of the National Reform League and of the Land and Labour League; member of the General Council of the International (1868-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the British Federal Council (autumn of 1872 to 1873); fought the reformist wing in the Council.—26, 55, 387, 392, 399

Mitchel, John (1815-1875)—Irish revolutionary democrat, Left-wing leader of the Young Ireland group; deported to a penal colony for taking part in the preparation of an uprising in 1848; escaped in 1853 and emig-
rated to the USA; fought on the side of the Southerners during the US Civil War; author of *The History of Ireland.*—222, 232, 256, 266

Moira—see Hastings, Francis Rawdon, Marquis of Hastings, Earl of Moira

Molyneux, William (1656-1698)—Irish scholar, studied philosophy, mathematics and astronomy; M.P. from Dublin University; author of an essay, *The Case of Ireland* (1698).—197, 212

Monachon, L.—210

Monck (Monck), George, 1st Duke of Albemarle (1608-1670)—English general and statesman; originally a royalist; later served in Cromwell's army; helped restore the Stuart dynasty in 1660.—264

Moore, Charles, 6th Earl and 1st Marquis of Drogheda (1730-1822)—Anglo-Irish politician; judge; field marshal, M.P., supported the Anglo-Irish Union.—266

Moore, George Henry (1811-1870)—Irish politician, leader of the tenant-right movement, M.P. (1847-57, 1868-70); defended the imprisoned Irish Fenians.—103, 313, 408, 410, 415, 422, 423-26, 430

Moore, John—coroner of the Midleton district.—104, 107, 415

Moore, Thomas (Morus) (1779-1852)—Irish poet and writer, author of *The History of Ireland* in four volumes.—287, 309, 310

Moreau, Jean Victor Marie (1763-1813)—French general; took part in the wars waged by the French Republic against European coalitions.—246

Morhardt, Emile—Swiss official in the Geneva canton in the 1860s.—71

Morley, Samuel (1809-1886)—English manufacturer and politician; owner of *The Bee-Hive Newspaper* (1869).—126

Morison, Fynes (1566-1630)—English traveller; author of *An Itinerary*, a part of which contains the description of Ireland.—173

Mottershead, Thomas (c. 1825-1884)—English weaver; member of the General Council (1869-72), Corresponding Secretary for Denmark (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; opposed Marx's line in the General Council and the British Federal Council; expelled from the International by decision of the General Council on May 30, 1873.—411

Mountjoy—see Blount, Charles, Lord Mountjoy, Earl of Devonshire

Mroczkowski, Valerien (1840-1889)—photographer; took part in the Polish insurrection of 1863, after which he emigrated first to France and then to Switzerland; follower of Bakunin; member of the League of Peace and Freedom Committee; member of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, both the open and the secret alliance.—210

Mulcahy, Denis Dowling (b. 1840)—Irish journalist and physician; leader of the Fenian organisation in Clonmel; a leader of the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood; assistant editor of *The Irish People* (1863-65); sentenced to ten years' penal servitude (1865); amnestied in 1871.—101

Müller, Anton—Swiss watchmaker; member of the General Council of the International (1869).—55

Münzer, Thomas (c. 1490-1525)—leader of the urban plebeians and poor peasants during the Reformation and the Peasant War in Germany (1525); advocated egalitarian utopian communism.—93

Murchad (d. 1070)—first Irish King of the Dublin Danes; son of Finn, King of Leinster.—183

Murphy (called O'Leary)—Irish Fenian; in 1864 was arrested for agitation among the royal army soldiers in
Ireland; sentenced to ten years' penal servitude.—102, 415

Murphy, John Nicholas—English journalist, author of several works, including *Ireland, Industrial, Political, and Social* published in London in 1870.—297, 298, 300, 301-05

Murray, Patrick Joseph—inspector of a convict prison in Dublin.—104, 409, 427

Murray, William, Lord Mansfield (1705-1793)—British statesman, Chief Justice of the King’s Bench.—232, 275

Naas, Richard Southwell Bourke, Earl of Mayo (1822-1872)—British statesman, Conservative; Chief Secretary for Ireland (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68); Viceroy of India (1869-72).—103, 409, 427

Napoleon I Bonaparte (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—246, 313

Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte) (1808-1873)—nephew of Napoleon I; President of the Second Republic (December 1848 to 1851), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—13, 18, 42, 49, 57, 62, 72, 97, 189, 365, 408, 435

Neilson, Samuel (1761-1803)—an organiser of the United Irishmen society; founder of *The Northern Star* (Belfast, 1792); supporter of Ireland’s independence.—219, 247, 255

Nennius (8th cent.)—Welsh chronicler, author of *Historia Britonum*.—177, 308

Nero (Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus) (37-68)—Roman Emperor (54-68).—328

Nest or Nesta—daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwyr, King of South Wales.—172

Newell—government spy in the United Irishmen society.—255

Nevenham, Sir Edward (1732-1814)—participant in the volunteer movement in the early 1780s; member of the Irish Parliament (1769-97); supporter of the Anglo-Irish Union.—245

Newport, Sir John (1756-1843)—participant in the volunteer movement in the early 1780s; Whig, member of the British Parliament (1803-32); supporter of emancipation of the Catholics.—267

Nicholas I (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—429

Nidegger, Louis—209-10

Niemtzik, Eduard Richard Julius (1838-1897)—active in the Slovak working-class movement; an organiser of the workers’ educational association *Vpred* (Forward) in Bratislava (Pressburg) (1869).—78

North, Frederick, 2nd Earl of Guilford (1732-1792)—British statesman, Tory; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1767), Prime Minister (1770-82), Home Secretary in Portland’s Coalition Cabinet (1783).—222, 226, 231, 240, 270-71, 273, 274, 295

Notker, Labeo (c. 952-1022)—German monk who taught at the monastic school of St. Gall, Switzerland.—175

Oates, Titus (1649-1705)—English Protestant clergyman.—289

O’Braein, Tighearnach (d. 1088)—Irish annalist and abbot.—168-69, 309

O’Brien—government spy in the United Irishmen society.—255

O’Brien, James (literary pseudonym Bronterre) (1805-1864)—British journalist, Chartist leader; editor of *Poor Man’s Guardian* (1830s); author of several social reform projects; founder of the National Reform League (1849).—26
O’Brien, Sir Lucius Henry (d. 1795)—member of the Irish Parliament, member of the Privy Council from 1787, clerk of the High Court of Chancery.—225

O’Brien, Michael (d. 1867)—Irish Fenian, executed by sentence of an English court.—3, 13

O’Byrnes—noble Irish family.—301

O’Clery, Michael (1575-1643)—Irish monk, chronicler, a compiler of Annales IV Magistrorum.—168, 309

O’Connell, Daniel (1775-1847)—Irish lawyer and politician; leader of the liberal wing in the national liberation movement.—192, 194, 201

O’Connor, Arthur (1763-1852)—a prominent figure in the Irish national liberation movement; in 1797-98 a leader of the United Irishmen society and editor-in-chief of its organ, The Press; arrested on the eve of the 1798 uprising; emigrated to France in 1803.—169, 255, 281

O’Connor, Brian (or Bernard) (c. 1490-c. 1560)—Leinster chieftain, Lord of Offaly.—289, 297

O’Connor, Feargus Edward (1794-1855)—Left-wing Chartist leader, editor-in-chief of The Northern Star; reformist after 1848.—169

O’Connors—noble Irish family from Offaly County (later King’s County) in Leinster Province.—297

O’Conor, Charles (1764-1828)—Irish priest and collector of antiquities, translator and editor of Irish chronicles.—168

O’Conor, Matthew (1773-1844)—Irish historian, author of The History of the Irish Catholics.—283, 300, 304

O’Curry, Eugene (1796-1862)—Irish historian, authority on the chronicles; from 1852 member of the government commission for translating and publishing the ancient Irish laws; author of a work on ancient Irish manuscripts.—170

Odger, George (1820-1877)—shoemaker; a reformist leader of the British trade unions, Secretary of the London Trades Council (1862-72); member of the British National League for the Independence of Poland, the Land and Labour League; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin’s Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71), its President (1864-67); took part in the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; opposed revolutionary tactics; in 1871 refused to sign the General Council’s address The Civil War in France, and left the Council.—26, 55, 344, 356, 412

O’Dogherty, Sir Cahir (1587-1608)—Irish feudalist, leader of the 1608 uprising.—300

O’Donnell—see M’Donnell

O’Donnell, Hugh Mac-Manus, Lord of Tyrconnel from 1566—North Irish chieftain; father of Irish insurgent leader Hugh O’Donnell.—298

O’Donnell, Hugh Roe (Red Hugh), Lord of Tyrconnel (c. 1571-1602)—a leader of the anti-English insurrection.—298

O’Donnell, Rory, 1st Earl of Tyrconnel (1575-1608)—North Irish chieftain, brother of Hugh O’Donnell.—293

O’Donovan, John (1809-1861)—Irish philologist and historian, from 1852 member of government commission on the translation and publication of ancient Irish laws.—168, 169-70, 173-74

O’Donovan Rossa, Jeremiah (1831-1915) a leader of the Fenian movement; publisher of The Irish People (1863-65); in 1865 was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment; amnestied in 1870; emigrated to the USA where he headed the Fenian organisation; retired from political
life in the 1880s.—101, 103, 410, 414, 415, 416-22, 423-24, 427-28, 436, 438, 450

O'Donovan Rossa, Mary J.—wife of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa; organised the collection of funds for the families of the Irish political prisoners in 1865-66; author of an appeal to Irish women published in The Workman's Advocate on January 6, 1866 by the decision of the General Council.—417

O'Leary—see Murphy (called O'Leary)

O'Mahony, Thaddeus—Irish philologist; jointly with Hancock he published two volumes of Senchus Mor, a collection of ancient laws.—170

O'More, Guilpatrick—chieftain of the big Irish clan; owner of the County Leix; fought against English domination until 1542.—289, 297

O'Mores—Irish clan from County Leix (later Queen's County) in Leinster Province.—297

O'Neill, Conn Bacach (c. 1484-c. 1559)—descendant of the ancient Irish feudal clan in Northern Ireland; Earl of Tyrone (from 1542).—297

O'Neill, Hugh, Earl of Tyrone (c. 1540-1616)—head of an influential clan in Ulster; leader of an insurrection against the English (1595-1603).—293, 298

O'Neill, John, 1st Viscount O'Neill (1740-1798)—member of the Irish Parliament, Governor of the County of Antrim; killed during the Irish uprising of 1798.—224, 242, 244

O'Neill, Sir Phelim (c. 1604-1653)—Irish nobleman, participant in the 1641 uprising.—293

O'Neill, Shane, Earl of Tyrone (c. 1530-1567)—leader of a rebellion against the English (1559-67).—288

O'Neills—an Irish family from Northern Ireland.—289

Orde, afterwards Orde-Powlett, 1st Baron Bolton (1746-1807)—English lawyer; member of the Irish Parliament (1784-90); member of the Privy Council of Ireland and its Chief Secretary (1784-87).—236, 237, 239-42, 276-78

Oriel—see Foster, John, Baron Oriel

Ormonde—see Butler, James, 12th Earl and 1st Duke of Ormonde

Orr, William (1766-1797)—Irish farmer, member of the United Irishmen society; executed for taking part in the movement.—255, 280

O'Shea, William Henry (1840-1905)—Irish public figure; came out in support of the imprisoned Fenians in 1869.—83

O'spaker—Irish soldier, fought at the battle of Clontarf (1014).—182

Owen, Robert (1771-1858)—English utopian socialist.—331, 382

P

Palmerston, Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount (1784-1865)—British statesman, Tory, from 1830 Whig; Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51), Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58, 1859-65).—193, 322, 331, 435

Parkinson-Fortescue, Chichester Samuel, Baron Carlingford (1823-1898)—British Liberal statesman, M.P. (1847-74), Chief Secretary for Ireland (1865-66, 1868-70).—408

Parnell, Sir John (1744-1801)—Irish lawyer, Protestant; member of the Irish Parliament from 1761, Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1799; opposed the Anglo-Irish Union.—261, 266

Parsons, Sir Lawrence, 2nd Earl of Rosse (1758-1841)—Irish politician, member of the Irish Parliament.—254, 261

Parsons, Sir William (1570-1650)—Lord Justice of Ireland (1640-43), inspired
policy of Ireland's colonial subjugation.—300, 302

Patrick, St. (c. 389-c. 461)—Christian missionary in Ireland; founder of the Irish Catholic Church and its first bishop.—171, 176, 178, 433

Patterson, William—Irish physician, author of Observations on the Climate of Ireland.—171, 176, 178, 433

Patterson, William—Irish physician, author of Observations on the Climate of Ireland.—171, 176, 178, 433

Patterson, William—Irish physician, author of Observations on the Climate of Ireland.—171, 176, 178, 433

Pelagius (c. 360-c. 420)—a British theologian; condemned as a heretic for preaching the doctrine of righteousness by the exercise of free will.—176-77

Pelham, Thomas, Earl of Chichester (1756-1826)—member of the Irish Parliament, Whig; opposed emancipation of Catholics; Chief Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland Camden in 1795-98.—254, 280

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Pellaton, S.—Secretary of the Bakers' Co-operative Society in Geneva; member of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, withdrew from it in February 1869.—210

Pelletier, Claude (1816-1881)—French democrat; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (1848-51); exiled from France after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; emigrated to the USA; the International's correspondent for the French-language section in America.—442

Perret, Henri—prominent figure in the Swiss working-class movement; engraver, a leader of the International in Switzerland, General Secretary of the Romance Federal Committee (1868-73); member of the Égalité editorial board; delegate to the Geneva (1866) and Basle (1869) congresses and to the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; in 1869 broke with the Bakuninists, but adopted a conciliatory stand after the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—84, 117, 123, 210

Perrié—210

Perron, Charles Eugène (1837-1919)—active in the Swiss working-class movement; enamel painter, then cartographer; delegate to the Lausanne (1867) and Brussels (1868) congresses of the International; follower of Bakunin; member of the Central Bureau of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; an editor of L'Égalité (1869) and La Solidarité; a leader of the Jura Federation; subsequently left the working-class movement.—114, 123, 210

Perrot, Sir John (c. 1527-1592)—Lord President of Munster (1570-73), Lord Deputy of Ireland (1584-88).—298

Pétan, George (1789-1866)—Irish scholar, archaeologist; member of the Irish Royal Academy; author of works on ancient Irish architecture; from 1852 member of the government commission for translating and publishing the ancient Irish laws.—165, 169, 170

Pett, Sir William (1623-1687)—English economist and statistician, founder of the classical school of bourgeois political economy in Britain.—268-69, 303, 305

Phealan, William (1789-1830)—Irish scholar; author of works on the history of Ireland.—290

Philip, Prince (1837-1905)—Count of Flanders, son of Leopold I of Belgium.—48

Philip II (1527-1598)—King of Spain (1556-98), Mary I's husband.—298

Picqegue, Charles (1761-1804)—French general; in 1794-95 conducted military operations in Holland.—246

Pigott, Richard (c. 1828-1889)—Irish journalist, publisher of The Irishman (1865-79); supporter of the Fenians;
sided with the British government in the 1880s.—415, 437

**Pinière** (or **Pinier**) (d. after 1898)—Swiss shopkeeper; Bakuninist; member of the editorial board of *L'Égalité* (1869).—123, 210

**Piriéz, Eudore** (1830-1890)—Belgian statesman, Liberal M.P.: (1857-90); Home Minister (1868-70), Director of the National Bank.—48

**Pisteur, Fr.**—210

**Pitt, William** (1759-1806)—British statesman, a Tory leader; Prime Minister (1783-1801, 1804-06).—227, 235, 236, 240-42, 246, 252, 256-62, 265, 276, 281, 282, 290, 295

**Placide, Margarittaz**—210

**Plantagenets**—English royal dynasty (1154-1399).—292

**Pliny the Elder** (*Gaius Plinius Secundus*) (A.D. 23-79)—Roman scholar, author of *Natural History* in 37 volumes.—175, 312

**Plunket, Oliver** (1629-1681)—Irish Archbishop in Armagh County.—289

**Plunket, Thomas Span, 2nd Lord Plunket of Newtown** (1792-1866)—elder son of William Conyngham Plunket; Bishop in Ireland from 1839.—266

**Plunket, William Conyngham, 1st Baron Plunket** (1764-1854)—Irish lawyer; Lord Chancellor of Ireland from 1830, member of the King's Council from 1797; M.P.; opponent of the Anglo-Irish Union; after the Union was a member of the government.—261, 266

**Poerio, Carlo** (1803-1867)—Italian politician, Liberal; Prefect of Police and Minister of Education in Naples in 1848; imprisoned in 1849-59 for taking part in the national movement; Vice-President of Parliament (1861-67).—105

**Pollock, George D.**—British army doctor; member of the commission, which in June 1867 submitted to the Parlia-

ment a report on the treatment of the political prisoners in the English convict prisons.—418, 424, 427-29, 438

**Penstonby, George** (1755-1817)—lawyer; member of the Irish Parliament from 1776; Lord Chancellor of Ireland.—227, 254, 273, 280

**Portland, William Henry Cavendish Bentinck, 3rd Duke of** (1738-1809)—English statesman, a Whig leader; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1782-83); Home Secretary (1794-1801), Prime Minister (1783, 1807-09).—226, 227-31, 273-74

**Postleb, Charles**—210

**Potemkin, Grigory Alexandrovich, Prince Tavrichesky** (1739-1791)—Russian statesman, field marshal-general, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army in the Russo-Turkish war of 1787-91.—288

**Potot, John**—210

**Potter, George** (1832-1893)—British worker, carpenter; a reformist leader of the trade-union movement; member of the London Trades Council and a leader of the Amalgamated Union of Building Workers; founder, editor and publisher of *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*.—26, 37

**Paynings, Sir Edward** (1459-1521)—British statesman, Henry VII's Attorney-General, Lord Deputy of Ireland (1494-96).—212, 215, 225, 270, 272, 287

**Pratt, John Jeffreys, 2nd Earl and 1st Marquis of Camden** (1759-1840)—British statesman; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1795-99); English Secretary for War (1804-05); advocated Orangeism.—245, 252-54, 257, 258, 279, 280

**Prendergast, John Patrick** (1808-1893)—Irish historian, Liberal, author of works on the history of Ireland.—303

**Proudhon, Pierre Joseph** (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist; a founder of anarchism.—56-57, 61, 344, 393, 399
Ptolemy (Claudius Ptolemaeus) (2nd cent.)—Greek mathematician, astronomer and geographer; founder of the geocentric conception of the universe.—175

Pyat, Félix (1810-1889)—French journalist, playwright and politician; democrat; took part in the 1848 revolution; emigrated in 1849 to Switzerland and later to Belgium and England; opposed independent working-class movement; conducted a slander campaign against Marx and the First International; member of the Paris Commune (1871).—7

R

Radcliffe, Thomas, 3rd Earl of Sussex (c. 1526-1583)—Lord Deputy of Ireland from 1556.—298, 300

Raleigh, Sir Walter (c. 1552-1618)—British military figure and explorer; favourite of Elizabeth I; took part in suppressing uprisings in Ireland.—288

Raspail, François Vincent (1794-1878)—French naturalist and writer; social democrat; sympathised with the revolutionary proletariat; took part in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; after the revolution of 1848 was imprisoned, then lived in exile in Belgium; returned to France in 1863; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1869).—71

Rau, Wilhelm—member of the Central Committee of the German-speaking sections in Geneva.—210

Raymond, Charles—delegate to the first congress of the Romance Federation of the International (January 1869); Secretary of the Central Section in Geneva (1870).—210

Reilly, Henry—Sheriff of the County of Dublin; supporter of reforms; in 1784 was prosecuted for an attempt to organise, in the county, election of members to a national congress.—237, 276

Rémy, Theodor—Swiss teacher; Secretary of the Central Committee of the German-speaking sections in Geneva; follower of Bakunin; member of the Geneva Section of the International named Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—209

Reynolds, Thomas (1771-1836)—joined the United Irishmen society in 1797; reported to the government on the plan for the uprising; later an English official.—256

Rhys ap Tewdwr (d. 1093)—King of South Wales (1078-93).—173

Richard, Albert (1846-1925)—French journalist; a leader of the Lyons Section of the International; member of the secret Alliance of Socialist Democracy; took part in the Lyons uprising of September 1870; after the suppression of the Paris Commune, a Bonapartist.—108

Richelieu, Armand Jean du Plessis de (1585-1642)—French statesman, Cardinal, Chief Minister of Louis XIII.—293

Robin, Paul (1837-1912)—French teacher; Bakuninist; a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; member of the General Council (1870-71); delegate to the Basle Congress (1869) and the London Conference (1871) of the First International; an editor of L’Égalité (1870).—123

Rochambeau, Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, comte de (1725-1807)—Marshal of France; commanded a French corps during the American War of Independence.—217

Rochat, François—210

Rochefort, Henri, marquis de Rochefort-Luçay (c. 1831-1913)—French journalist and politician; Left-wing republican; publisher of the journal La Lanterne (1868-69) and the newspaper La Marseillaise (1869-70); after the revolution of September 4, 1870, a member of the Government of
National Defence; monarchist from the end of the 1880s.—414, 436

Rochow, Gustav Adolf Rochus von (1792-1847)—Prussian Minister of the Interior (1834-42).—43

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Rogers—English army officer, major of artillery, served in Ireland (1799).—262, 264

Ross, J.—English worker; member of the General Council of the International (1869).—55

Rossa (5th cent.)—according to tradition, a compiler of Senchus Mor, a collection of ancient laws.—171

Rossety (or Rossetti), Biagio (Blaise)—Italian worker; President of the Italian Section in Geneva; member of the Romance Federal Committee from 1870.—210

Rouher, Eugène (1814-1884)—French statesman, Bonapartist; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; Minister of Justice (1849-52, with intervals); held several government posts during the Second Empire.—13, 365, 366, 374

Rowan, Archibald Hamilton (1751-1834)—Irish politician; English army officer; Secretary of the United Irishmen society in Dublin; in 1794 was prosecuted for the Proclamation to the Volunteers of Ireland.—245, 248, 251

Ruchet, Charles—210

Ruge, Arnold (1802-1880)—German radical journalist; Young Hegelian; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848 (Left wing); a leader of German petty-bourgeois refugees in England during the 1850s; National-Liberal after 1866.—61

Rushworth, John (c. 1612-1690)—English historian and statesman.—294

Russell, John Russell, 1st Earl (1792-1878)—British statesman, Whig leader; Prime Minister (1846-52, 1865-66), Foreign Secretary (1852-53, 1859-65).—28, 345

Russell, Thomas (1767-1803)—Irish army officer; a founder of the United Irishmen society in Belfast; executed for taking part in the movement in 1803.—219

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Rutty, John (c. 1698-1775)—Irish physician and meteorologist; author of works on medicine and meteorology.—162-63

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Saint-Paul, Wilhelm (c. 1815-1852)—Prussian army officer, then an official in the Ministry of the Interior; censor of the Rheinische Zeitung in 1843.—60

Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—66, 115, 208, 395

Sampson, William (1764-1836)—member of the United Irishmen society, was arrested and deported to France for taking part in the 1798 uprising.—255, 281

Sanguinède, J.—210

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Saurin, William (c. 1757-1839)—Irish lawyer; member of the Irish Parliament from 1799; Attorney-General of Ireland; opposed the Anglo-Irish Union.—261, 265

Saxo Grammaticus (mid-12th-beginning of 13th cent.)—Danish chronicler; author of Gesta Danorum (Historia Danica).—184

Schettel, Adrien—French worker, mechanic; Left-wing Republican; took part in the revolution of 1848; an organiser of the Lyons Section of the International; delegate to the Geneva
(1866) and Lausanne (1867) congresses of the International; was imprisoned for taking part in the revolutionary events in Lyons in September 1870.—108

Schönburg, Prinz—owner of coal-mines in Saxony (1869).—40, 41

Schulze-Delitzsch, Franz Hermann (1808-1883)—German economist; liberal politician; advocated unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy; a founder of the National Association and a leader of the Party of Progress; sought to divert the workers from revolutionary struggle by organising co-operative societies.—25, 37

Schweitzer, Johann Baptist von (1833-1875)—German lawyer; a Lassallean leader; editor of *Der Social-Demokrat* (1864-67); President of the General Association of German Workers (1867-71); supported unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy; fought against the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; expelled from the General Association for his contacts with the Prussian authorities (1872).—10, 32, 33, 90-91, 116, 122, 133-34

Scopini, J. J.—Chairman and then Deputy Secretary of the Geneva Section of joiners, mechanics and rollers; delegate to the Chaux-de-Fonds Congress of the Romance Federation (April 1870).—210

Scott, John, Earl of Clonmel (1739-1798)—Irish lawyer; member of the Irish Parliament; Attorney-General of Ireland.—227, 265, 273

Senior, Nassau William (1790-1864)—English economist, vulgarised Ricardo's theory; opposed reduction of the working day.—330

Shakespeare, William (1564-1616)—English poet and dramatist.—435

Shannon—Irish Lord (late 18th-early 19th cent.).—263

Shaw, Robert (d. 1869)—a leader of the British working-class movement; house-painter; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-69), Treasurer of the Council (1867-68), Corresponding Secretary for America (1867-69); delegate to the London Conference (1865) and the Brussels Congress (1868) of the International.—4, 17, 26, 51, 55, 92, 358

Sheares, Henry (1753-1798)—Irish lawyer; member of the United Irishmen society; executed as a leader of the 1798 uprising.—255, 281

Sheares, John (1766-1798)—Irish lawyer; member of the United Irishmen society; executed as a leader of the 1798 uprising; brother of Henry Sheares.—255, 281

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Sihtric or Sigtryggr (d. 1042)—Norse King of Dublin.—182-83

Sismondi, Jean Charles Léonard Simonde de (1773-1842)—Swiss economist; representative of economic romanticism.—57

Smith, Edward (c. 1818-1874)—English physician and medical officer of the Privy Council to Inquire into the Nourishment of the Poorer Labouring Classes.—325

Smith, Goldwin (1823-1910)—British historian, economist and publicist; Liberal; supported British colonial policy in Ireland; went to the USA in 1868, and to Canada in 1871.—161, 166, 184, 283-96, 313

Smith, Sir Thomas (1513-1577)—British statesman, professor of civil law; in 1572 proposed a plan for establishing a colony of Scottish Protestants in Ireland.—288
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Spenser (Spencer), Edmund (c. 1552-1599)—English poet and historian; private secretary to the Lord Deputy of Ireland (1580-82); author of the treatise A View of the State of Ireland and the poem The Faerie Queene.—173, 287, 288, 302, 308

Speyer, Karl (b. 1845)—joiner; Secretary of the German Workers’ Educational Society in London in the 1860s; from 1870 member of the General Council of the First International in London and then in the USA.—32

Stacpoole, William—Irish army officer; Liberal M. P. (1860-80).—416

Stampa, Gaspare—member of the Central Council of the Italian workers’ associations; delegate to the London Congress of the First International (1867).—341

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Stumpf, Paul (1826-1912)—German mechanic; member of the German Workers’ Society in Brussels (1847); member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, member of the First International; delegate to the Lausanne Congress of the International (1867); member of the German Social-Democratic Workers’ Party.—133-34

Stieber, Wilhelm (1818-1882)—Prussian police officer; an organiser of and chief witness for the prosecution in the Cologne Communist trial (1852); jointly with Wermuth wrote Die Kommunisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts; later chief of the Prussian political police.—72

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Strafford, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of (1593-1641)—English statesman; principal minister to Charles I from 1628; Lord Deputy of Ireland (1632-40); advocate of absolutism.—289, 300-01
Sullivan, Sir Edward (1822-1885)—Irish lawyer, conducted the trial of Fenians in 1865; Attorney-General for Ireland (1868-70); Master of the Rolls and Lord Chancellor of Ireland (1883-85).—410

Sumner, Charles (1811-1874)—American politician, a leader of the Republican Party (Left wing); Senator (from 1851); Chairman of the Senate Committee for Foreign Affairs (1861-71), favoured revolutionary methods of struggle against the slave-owning South; after the victory of the North in the US Civil War (1861-65) spoke in support of political rights for the Negroes.—379

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Thurneysen, Edward (1824-1890)—Swiss politician, jurist; member of the Basle Grand Council (1869).—69

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can labour movement; shoemaker; member of the Communist
League; participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; member
of the General Association of German Workers; together with Liebknecht
opposed Lassaleanism; member of the International; in 1867 emi-
trated to the USA; member of the New York Communist Club; an
organiser of the International's sections in the United States; correspond-
ent of the General Council; supporter of Marx and Engels.—443

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**Walton, Alfred Armstrong** (b. 1816)—participant in the British democratic
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**Warren, John**—British worker, trunkmaker; member of the General
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the Reform League.—55

**Warren, Josiah** (c. 1799-1874)—American utopian socialist; follower of
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Wenckheim, Béla (1811-1879)—Hungarian statesman; Liberal, Home Minister (1867-69).—79

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Weston, John—active in the British labour movement; carpenter; subsequently manufacturer; follower of Owen; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin’s Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-72); delegate to the London Conference (1865); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; a leader of the Land and Labour League.—4, 26, 55, 139, 393, 406

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Westphalen, Johann Ludwig von (1770-1842)—Jenny Marx’s father; Privy Councillor in Trier.—61

Weydemeyer, Joseph (1818-1866)—leading figure in the German and American working-class movement; member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; editor of the Neue Deutsche Zeitung (1849-50); emigrated to the USA after the defeat of the revolution; fought in the US Civil War on the side of the North; helped to disseminate the ideas and documents of the International in the USA; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—56

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Williams W.—correspondent of The Times; in December 1866 and January 1867, together with Creed H. Herries, published a series of articles on Belgian industry.—357

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Zagorsky, Jean—Polish refugee in Switzerland; member of the committee of the League of Peace and Freedom; in the late 1860s left for Italy and deserted the movement.—210-11

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La Coopération. Journal du progrès social—a bi-monthly newspaper published in Paris from September 1866 to June 1868, organ of the workers' co-operative societies which were under the influence of the republicans.—372

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The Daily News—a liberal daily of the British industrial bourgeoisie published in London from 1846 to 1930.—414, 420, 430

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Demokratisches Wochenblatt—a workers’ newspaper published under this title in Leipzig from January 1868 to September 1869 under the editorship of Wilhelm Liebknecht; at the Eisenach Congress in 1869 it was declared Central Organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers’ Party and renamed Der Volksstaat.—15, 79, 91, 122, 354, 378

Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher—a German-language yearly published in Paris under the editorship of Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge; only the first issue, a double one, appeared in February 1844. It carried a number of works by Marx and Engels.—61

Le Devoir—a Belgian weekly which appeared in Liège from March 1865 to May 1869; from 1868 it was the organ of the Liège Section of the International.—378

The Echo—a liberal daily published in London from 1868 to 1905.—422


L’Économiste belge. Organe des intérêts politiques et économiques des consommateurs—a magazine published in Brussels from 1855 to 1920.—357

L’Égalité—a French-language daily published in Geneva from December 1868 to December 1872, organ of the Romance Federation of the International; from 1869 to January 1870 it was controlled by the Bakuninists.—71, 72, 84-87, 89-90, 114-19, 121-23, 138

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The Evening Standard—a conservative daily founded in London in 1827.—423, 439

The Evening Star—a newspaper of the United Irishmen published in Dublin after January 1792.—247

La Federacion—a Spanish-language newspaper which appeared in Barcelona from August 1869 to November 1873; the weekly organ of the Barcelona Section and, later, of the Federal Council of the International in Barcelona.—80, 115

Le Figaro—a conservative daily, published in Paris since 1854; was connected with the government of the Second Empire.—127

The Fortnightly Review—a historical, philosophical and literary magazine founded in 1865 by a group of radicals; subsequently it became liberal in character; under this title it was published in London till 1934.—87, 119

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L'International—a French-language daily published in London from 1863 to 1871; semi-official organ of the French Government.—75

L'Internationale—a weekly published in Brussels from 1869 to 1873; organ of the Belgian sections of the International.—48, 51, 72, 77, 106

The Irishman—a weekly published from 1858 to 1885 first in Belfast and then in Dublin; came out in defence of Fenians.—102, 103, 104-06, 107, 206, 407-08, 409, 410, 415, 419, 421-22, 426, 430-31, 435-36, 437

The Irish People—a weekly, the main organ of the Fenians which appeared in Dublin from 1863 to 1865; was banned by the British Government.—101, 414, 416, 420

Journal de Genève national, politique et littéraire—a conservative daily published in Geneva from 1826.—350

Kölische Zeitung—a daily published in Cologne from 1802 to 1945; during the 1848-49 revolution and in subsequent years it expressed the interests of the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie.—379

La Liberté—a Belgian democratic newspaper published in Brussels from 1865 to 1873; from 1867, an organ of the International Working Men's Association in Belgium.—15, 50, 76, 375, 378

La Liberté—a conservative evening daily published in Paris from 1865 to 1940.—378

La Marseillaise—a daily newspaper, organ of the Left republicans, published in Paris from December 1869 to September 1870; the paper carried material on the activity of the International and the working-class movement.—123, 414, 415, 422, 423, 424, 425, 436

Le Mirabeau—a daily which appeared in Verviers, Belgium, from 1868 to 1874, organ of the Belgian sections of the International.—378

Moniteur—see Le Moniteur universel

Le Moniteur universel—a daily published in Paris from 1789 to 1901; from 1799 to 1869 it was an official government newspaper; it appeared under this title from 1811.—76, 127, 435

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The Morning Star—a daily of the English Free Traders published in London from 1856 to 1869.—27

Narodnoye Dyelo—a magazine (from April 1870, newspaper) published in Geneva in 1868-70 by a group of Russian revolutionary émigrés; the first issue was
prepared by Bakunin; in October 1868, the editors, among whom was Nikolai Utin, broke off relations with Bakunin and opposed his views; in April 1870 it became the organ of the Russian Section of the International Working Men's Association which pursued the policy of Marx and the General Council; it published documents of the International.—110, 124

Newe freie Presse—a daily newspaper which appeared in Vienna from 1864 to 1939.—350

Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie—a daily newspaper of the German revolutionary-proletarian democrats during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; it was published in Cologne under the editorship of Marx from June 1, 1848 to May 19, 1849 (with an interval between September 27 and October 12, 1848); Engels was one of its editors.—61

Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue—a journal published by Marx and Engels from December 1849 to November 1850, theoretical organ of the Communist League.—62, 93-94

Neue Zürcher-Zeitung—a German-language liberal newspaper published under this title in Zurich from July 1, 1821; from 1780 to 1821 it came out under the title Zürcher-Zeitung.—350

New-York Daily Tribune—a newspaper founded by Horace Greeley and published from 1841 to 1924; until the mid-1850s it spoke for the Left wing of the American Whigs and subsequently for the Republican Party. In the 1840s and 1850s it voiced progressive views and opposed slavery. Marx and Engels contributed to it from August 1851 to March 1862.—62

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The Northern Star—the newspaper of the United Irishmen founded in Belfast in January 1792 by Samuel Neilson; at the beginning of 1798 it was banned by the government.—247, 248

L'Opinion Nationale—a daily published in Paris from 1859 to 1874.—367

L'Opinion Publique—an illustrated weekly, published in Montreal from January 1870 to December 1883.—378

The Pall Mall Gazette—a conservative daily which appeared in London from 1865 to 1921.—87, 119, 430

Le Peuple Belge—a daily newspaper published in Brussels from January 1867 to September 1877; an official organ of the International from 1871.—378

La Philosophie positive—a philosophical magazine published in Paris from 1867 to 1883; it advocated the positivism of Auguste Comte.—113

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Le Progrès—a Bakuninist newspaper which opposed the General Council of the International; it was published in French in Le Locle under the editorship of
James Guillaume from December 1868 to April 1870.—84-85, 89-90, 114-17, 121-23

Le Réveil—a weekly and, from May 1869 onwards, daily newspaper of the Left Republicans published in Paris under the editorship of Charles Delescluse between July 1868 and January 1871.—374, 381

Die Revolution—a communist German-language journal published in New York in 1852 by Joseph Weydemeyer. On January 6 and 13 two weekly issues appeared, in May and June two “non-periodic” issues appeared.—56

La Révolution sociale—a weekly published in Geneva in 1871 and 1872, organ of Bakunin’s Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—210

Revue Positiviste—see La Philosophie positive

Reynolds’s Newspaper. A Weekly Journal of Politics, History, Literature and General Intelligence—a radical newspaper published by George William Reynolds in London from 1850; was close to the working-class movement.—429, 430

Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe—a daily founded on January 1, 1842 as the organ of the Rhenish bourgeois opposition. It was published in Cologne till March 31, 1843. From October 15, 1842 to March 17, 1843 it was edited by Marx and assumed a strongly pronounced revolutionary-democratic complexion, which led to its suppression. Engels was one of its contributors.—60

La Rive Gauche—a democratic weekly published from October 1864 to August 1866, first in Paris and then in Brussels, by a group of French Left Republicans; it printed documents of the International. Its editor was Charles Longuet.—90

Saturday Review—see Saturday review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art

Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art—an English weekly published in London from 1855 to 1938.—27, 87, 119, 363, 412

Le Siècle—a daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1939.—367, 378

Der Social-Demokrat—organ of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers. It was published under this title in Berlin from December 15, 1864 to 1871; in 1864-65 it was edited by Johann Baptist von Schweitzer.—10, 24, 90-91, 122

The Spectator—a weekly published in London since 1828, originally liberal, later conservative.—87, 119, 423

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Le Travail—a weekly of the Paris sections of the International published in Paris from October 3 to December 12, 1869.—85, 116-17

La Tribune du Peuple—a democratic newspaper of the socialist and atheistic society “Peuple” published in Brussels from May 1861 to April 1869; from August 1865 the de facto and from January 1866 official newspaper of the International in Belgium.—321, 375, 376
La Voix de l'Avenir—a weekly published in La Chaux-de-Fonds from 1865 to 1868; from 1867 official organ of the Romance sections of the International in Switzerland; was under the Proudhonists’ influence.—321, 375, 378

Der Volksstaat—Central Organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers’ Party published in Leipzig from October 2, 1869 to September 29, 1876, first twice and, from 1873, three times a week.—134, 436

Volksstimme—a newspaper of the Austrian Social-Democrats published in Vienna from April to December 1869; it supported the General Council of the International.—79

Volks-Zeitung—a liberal daily published in Berlin since 1853.—25

Der Vorbote—a monthly of the German sections of the International in Switzerland published in Geneva from 1866 to 1871 under the editorship of Johann Philipp Becker; on the whole, it upheld the line pursued by Marx and the General Council by regularly publishing documents of the International and information about its activity in various countries.—15, 32, 69, 336, 348, 378

De Werkman—a newspaper published in Amsterdam from 1868 to 1874; weekly organ of the Dutch Central Section of the International from 1869.—80

Weser-Zeitung—a liberal daily published in Bremen from 1844 to 1930.—26, 27

The Workingman’s Advocate—a weekly published in Chicago from 1864 to 1877; printed material dealing with the trade union movement, and documents of the International; organ of the National Labour Union.—378

The Workmen’s Advocate—see The Workingman’s Advocate

Die Zukunft—a democratic newspaper, organ of the People’s Party, published in 1867 in Königsberg, and from 1868 to 1871 in Berlin; printed Marx’s preface to Volume One of Capital and Engels’ review of this volume.—134

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